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**The Institutionalisation Project of Latvian
Contemporary Visual Arts: A Critical-Historical
Analysis of the Latvian Field of Cultural Production
1991-2016**

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Cultural Policy Studies

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Speaking in terms of social network analysis, this doctoral thesis is dedicated to my most favourite triad: Firat, Alnis, and Damla!

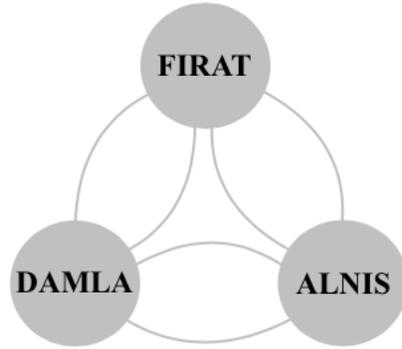


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ABBREVIATIONS

ALA-LC	American Library Association – Library of Congress
AMA	Art Museum Arsenāls
AUL	Artists’ Union of Latvia
AVCDAAL	Audio-visual Communication Department at the Art Academy of Latvia
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CC CPSU	Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CCe	Cultural capital (embodied)
CCi	Cultural capital (institutionalised)
CCo	Cultural capital (objectified)
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEECs	Central Eastern European Countries
CoE	Council of Europe
CPC	Culture Project Contest
CPI	Consumer price index
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSBL	Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community/Communities
EcC	Economic capital
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community (EC after the 1992 Maastricht Treaty)
EHL	Exhibition Hall Latvia

EIPCP	European Institute of Progressive Cultural Policy
ENCC	European Network of Cultural Centres
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
ICOM	International Council of Museums
INSNA	International Network for Social Network Analysis
LAMA	Latvian Art Museum Association
LAU	Latvian Artists' Union
LCCA	Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art
LNMA	Latvian National Museum of Art
LSSR	Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic
MDAA	Museum of Decorative Applied Arts
MFA	Museum of Foreign Art
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
nGbK	neue Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NGOC	Non-governmental Organisation Centre
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSF	Open Society Foundation
PCe	Political capital (embodied)
PCo	Political capital (objectified)
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
SAM	State Art Museum

SCCA	Soros Center for Contemporary Arts
SCCF	State Culture Capital Foundation
SF	Soros Foundation
SNA	Social network analysis
SoC	Social capital
SyC	Symbolic capital
TEC	Treaty establishing the European Community
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on Functioning of the European Union
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree at another university. This dissertation benefits from general historical and empirical research on this subject conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis – “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991” – for the Department of Arts Administration and Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 2006.

ABSTRACT

As there is limited research conducted on the changing cultural policy modes and the impact they have had on the emerging contemporary visual arts fields in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the goal of this thesis is to examine the emergence, development, and maturation of contemporary visual arts in Latvia as a distinct organisational and institutional field between the early 1990s and the 2010s. In doing so, this study examines the role that social and political environments and infrastructures played in shaping the institutional history of the field. The research particularly focuses on the growing influence of the non-governmental sector and the changing behaviour of state actors in the formation of cultural policy trends in Latvia in the aftermath of the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union and the effects they had on the structuration dynamics of the field. In the context of post-Soviet cultural transition of the 1990s, the term “emergence” represents a qualitative break from the relationships the actors of the new field shared with the past.

In order to develop the theoretical framework for the analysis of structuration dynamics, whereby the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia came to be organised and institutionally defined throughout the 1990s and 2010s, this thesis draws on new institutionalism in organizational analysis, conceptualising that “organizations are deeply embedded in social and political environments and that organizational practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment” (Powell and Colyvas 2008, 975).

The empirical analysis of this thesis is based on the sequential mixed methods research design, employing the social network analysis (SNA) as an integral research strategy during the quantitative data collection phase. In this study, the SNA is critical in expanding the understanding of the examined field and enabling the construction of a dense relational structure of the participating actors beyond the scale of the qualitative interviews, which define the first phase of the research design. Through the lens of the SNA, the field is expressed as patterns or regularities in relationships among interacting units, allowing investigating the constraining and enabling dimensions of these patterned relationships between the actors within the field. Based on SNA, in conjunction with the primary source analysis and the qualitative interviews, the empirical analysis of this thesis establishes that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual arts field is divided into three distinctive historical phases, denoting innovation, local validation, and diffusion. During the innovation phase, representing the post-Soviet transition and lasting from the early 1990s to the early 2000s, the new structures and institutions in contemporary visual arts developed outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture, Artists' Union, and Academy of Art. Lacking systemic support and recognition from the "official" actors of the dominant state field of cultural production, the new organizations displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of non-state actors. The positional configuration of the field structure, involving cultural, economic, political, social, and symbolic capitals, indicates that the structuration process, defining institutional development of the field, in its initial – innovation – phase did not occur across all levels, but was very local and professionally defined within a relatively narrow circle of artistic community. The locality where the emerging problem was generated, cognised, classified,

and theorised did not represent a national level (top-down) but was peripheral and narrowly professional, denoting a bottom-up approach in institution building and the persistence of a polarised organisational reality. The local validation phase, representing the first decade of the 2000s, indicated a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and strongly exhibited changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. During this phase, the emerging field, for the first time, appeared as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents and the government started playing an increasingly more important role in the constitution of the field. Latvia's accession to the European Union is analysed as the principal external factor, strongly influencing the endogenous changes within the field at the time. During the local validation phase, the field grew to be recognised as national level responsibility that was predominantly cognised, classified, and theorised in political circles, signalling the decrease in dissonance between the policy rhetoric and application, as well as between the localities where the cognition and theorisation processes took place. The diffusion phase coincided with the aftermath of the global economic crisis, which struck the country particularly hard in 2009, and this stage was characterized by increased public-private partnerships (PPP) and by emergence of strong local civil initiatives furthering the institutionalisation project of Latvian contemporary visual arts. During this final phase, the field development and the institutional framework that it represented gradually became legitimised in a wider social environment, comprising larger group of influential and active civic actors who were taking over the institutionalisation project and ensuring institutional reproduction of the field.

INTRODUCTION

Whether by the irony of fate or by mere coincidence the research and writing process of both – my master’s thesis (Demir 2006) and this doctoral dissertation – took place during the times of high hopes when Latvian Contemporary Art Museum project was seemingly just a blink away from its fruition. Exactly one decade separates the two museum initiatives, which, entangled in an intricate network of political, economic, and professional interests, came to an abrupt end before even having a chance to take off. I should agree with Dragan Klaic (2007, 35) who has claimed that “[c]ontemporary art constitutes the most fragile aspect of culture even though both the cultural industry and cultural heritage are heavily dependent on it.” Obtaining its institutional recognition and definition at the beginning of the 1990s through the presence of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art-Riga and gradually emerging as a political category in the official language of cultural policy during the 2000s, the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of contemporary visual arts marks a twenty-six year-long presence within the cultural production field of Latvia. Notwithstanding the field’s currently strong professional presence within the cultural policy discourse of the state, capitalising on the continuity idea of art history processes and necessity for appropriate infrastructure to facilitate an uninterrupted flow of the development through consistent acquisition, conservation, research, communication, and exhibition (ICOM 2007, Article 3, Section 1, 2), it is, however, possible to argue that several generations have grown up without a comprehensive knowledge about contemporary visual arts in Latvia. It would not be an overstated assertion that for most of its history, contemporary visual art in Latvia has

resided in storage crates, including present day. It is important, in this regard, to clarify two significant components of contemporary art field, referring, first, to content or works of art and, second, to institutional and organisational framework. Contemporary art as content denotes an art history style of a particular artistic language that is bond to a specific historical timeframe. As Taylor (2005, 9) describes,

during the last thirty or so years art objects have come to exist that bear no resemblance to the art of former times, presenting experiences of puzzlement, disorder, and in some cases disappointment to the ordinary viewer in search of imaginative stimulation. Paintings that are blank or disorganised; sculptures that lie on floor or fill the room with clutter; performances that seem to direct violence against the body or enact apparently meaningless communication; films or works of video that are repetitive, ritualised, or focused upon some arcane obsession of the artist.

All of these descriptions can be applied to the art works that are portrayed under the label of contemporary art. Institutional framework, on the other hand, denotes “*creation* [emphasis added] or appropriation of [ideational and] organisational vehicles sufficient to launch and sustain innovative collective action” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91). At the very beginning of the 1990s, particularly considering the institutional experience of the field of cultural production during the Soviet era, the two components, namely content and institutional support and representation, were incongruent. The asynchronous historical development of *artistic practices* (content) and the *art-institutional recognition* of these practices is an underlying factor that needs to be taken into account when analysing the advancement of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia and the neighbouring Baltic countries in general. The artistic practices of the first conceptual art generation that had already emerged by the mid-1980s were not defined by the complex socio-historical processes of the 1990s. This was rather the time when content mature and

innovative forms of art finally acquired their official institutional recognition and definition through the emergence of the organisational vehicles that could sustain them.

During the decade that followed the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 the “neoliberal discourse of radical reform became a new ideology. It quickly installed itself in the vacuum left after the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, and its working postulates (directed primarily at politics and economics) soon reached into the domain of art and culture, altering not only pre-established artistic and aesthetic conventions, but changing also the social status of art [and the artist] in the post-communist society” (Esanu 2002, 6). The whole dynamics and, and above all, the rules of the game within the field of cultural production were changing, challenging and transgressing the existing institutional and symbolic hierarchies. When characterising the threats that the field of culture could potentially face during this highly volatile period, Toepler (2000, 8) argues that “[b]ecause of the tremendous political, economic, and social challenges of the transition, a widespread privatisation of cultural assets, if not a complete abandonment of culture by the state, was the logical if undesired outcome of the revolution after the immediate post-1989 euphoria had subsided.” The big question was what is going to happen with the field of culture and the existing modus operandi that was greasing the wheels of cultural production? Otakar Roubinek (n.d.), when describing the decade succeeding the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc, has captured the essence of the time rather vividly: “[w]e are now living in a strange period of transition, in which old models, institutions, laws and regulations continue to exist, though they have ceased to function, whilst their replacements are still in the process – a slow, painful, cautious process – of creation” During the 1990s, the institutional change of the field of cultural production entailed dual

dynamics of decrease and increase in infrastructure. Sharply declining state allocations for culture, privatisation, and restitution processes (LR Ministry of Culture 1998) were the principal factors that caused abrupt decrease in infrastructure, particularly impacting public libraries, culture houses, and cinemas (FIGURES 3.23., 3.24., and 3.25.) (CSBL 2017). Important in this regard, however, is the fact that, even with generally shrinking public resources, the institutional decline of the professional state culture organisations (e.g., museums, theatres, state music organisations) remained minimally affected (FIGURE 3.23.) (CSBL 2017). In Latvia, pertaining to the general trend prevalent in the Central and Eastern European Countries¹ (CEECs) and former Soviet Union republics, “the cultural industries (e.g., publishing, cinema, recording, and the media) have mostly been transferred to the private or market sector, [but] the state has not relinquished its primary responsibility for the institutions of high culture” (Toepler 2000, 8) and state institutions have retained their dominating role within the inherited field of cultural production.

Considering that “the Ministry of Culture and local authorities have ... tried to keep as much of the cultural infrastructure intact as possible” (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 197) more acute were the questions of systemic change, i.e., political and fiscal

¹ Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) is a term used by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to describe a group of countries comprising Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, and the three Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (OECD 2017). Within the scope of this thesis, the term – CEEC – implies a specific political, economic, and social context that should be closely associated and analysed with the former communist regimes of the Eastern Bloc and particularly with the complex institutional and structural processes of post-socialist transition that the countries went through. The United Nations Statistics Division defines Latvia as part of Northern Europe. Considering the particular historical time frame and the important role that the economic and political transition of the 1990s played within the cultural policy frameworks of the countries that were behind the Iron Curtain, representing the Eastern Bloc until the 1990s, the application of the OECD definition has been selected as more contextually fitting to the analysed content of this thesis.

decentralisation, development and implementation of new legal framework, governing the large and inefficient institutional system. Cultural analyst Dragan Klaic (2007, 23) argues, “in the years after the end of the Cold War, the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe abolished their formal and informal censorship, but did not radically alter the inherited cultural system, marked by many rather heavy and inflexible cultural institutions. In the ensuing rapid socio-economic and political changes many of those institutions became increasingly disoriented and passive.” The status quo and the preservation approach that the authorities pursued during the 1990s clearly indicated that the heavy hand of the history (Ikenberry 1994) was at work, leaving “behind ingrained intellectual and administrative heritage that ha[d] been difficult to transform into liberal and democratic models” (CoE/ERICarts 2006, 3). The *dirigiste*² (Miller and Yúdice 2002) or “engineer” (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989) modus operandi of production, distribution, and promotion of cultural goods and services prevailed and the state centred system that was already in place persisted as a dominant executive force. In 1995, state subsidies, including central and local governments, accounted for ninety-three per cent of all the support for culture. Only the remaining seven per cent of funding was coming from local or international foundations (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 154-161). The funding decisions were highly bureaucratized and most of the funds from the government were swallowed in order to sustain the massive and passive infrastructure without reaching innovative projects organised by either individual artists or non-governmental organisations. The persistence of institutional funding and centre oriented cultural magistracy (Miller and Yúdice 2002) revealed an acute administrative dilemma that the

² Toby Miller and George Yúdice use the term when describing cultural policy that is predominantly centralised and controlled by the government; it alternately is referred to as “cultural magistracy.”

policy makers faced during the first decade of independence, i.e., dilemma between infrastructure and activity. Matarasso and Landry (1999, 54) argue that

Infrastructure is a visible asset which can appear on a balance sheet As a static object, it is reliable and controllable, and it will always stand as silent testimony to culture. Cultural infrastructure is essential: without museums, libraries, theatres, sports stadia cultural activity would be severely curtailed. But facilities bring the serious danger that their presence and management demand leads cultural planners into thinking that they are the [country's] culture, rather than a means of supporting it.

As it is argued in this thesis, the very centralized and hierarchical institutional legacy and the status quo approach to its administration and funding was one of the principal endogenous factors that made the very beginning of developing new infrastructures, particularly in the field of contemporary visual arts, slow and difficult and that undermined innovative and non-traditional art initiatives. Since there was no infrastructure in place for contemporary art and, “within the framework of institutionalised art at the time, all the funding was directed towards more conventional and academic programming and institutional support” (Krese 2006a). The foresight that “culture is living, changing and developing, and [that] the role of cultural policy is to ensure that it remains so” (Matarasso and Landry 1999, 38) was not present within the political discourse of the time. In regard to the essentiality of continuous narrative building Klaic (2007, 35) argues that “the cultural heritage of the future is art being made today,” reminding that in policy development and implementation it is important to conceptualise contemporary art within the framework of cultural heritage. Matarasso and Landry (1999, 38) have discussed the dichotomy between heritage and contemporary as one of the social development dilemmas that challenge policy makers, arguing that “[u]nless attention and resources are directed towards the encouragement and support of experimental, avant-garde and critical cultural

activities, the ever-present danger of a rift between the state's cultural policy and actual cultural development can only grow. The policy challenge is to ensure that the whole cultural chain is thriving because the consequences of neglecting one link will be felt across the whole."

The government behaviour towards the field of cultural production can also be used to explain the opposite tendency that took place during the 1990s as part of institutional change, namely the increase in infrastructure. Weisbrod's (1974, 1977) public goods theory maintains that the third sector performs a gap-filling role in relation to the governmental sector, arguing that "[t]he existence of certain constraints on governments will be seen to create what might be termed as government market failure Development of a voluntary [third or non-profit] sector will then be posited as an adjustment to the restricted capabilities" (Weisbrod 1974, 172) of the state. The European Panel of Examiners, working within the framework of the Cultural Policy Evaluation Programme that was commenced by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, in their evaluation report observed that "[a]bsence of state help [was] felt especially strongly in the area of alternative art, where practicing artists [had] little hope of making a living on the marketplace. ... if the Ministry of Culture [was] seriously interested in high quality and the development of non-commercial forms of visual arts, then its intervention in this area should be extended" (Council of Europe 1998, 181). This intervention did not take place until the early 2000s. Contemporary visual art was not recognized within the established dominant institutional structure and government assistance was virtually absent before 2000. It also did not exist, at least until 2001, as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents, i.e., the

field of contemporary visual arts was not recognised as one of the state cultural policy objectives. As registration dynamics of non-profit organisations indicate (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences 2011; Lursoft 2014, 2017), in parallel to the state institution network, a slow, but steady increase in development of non-profit organisations was apparent (FIGURES 3.1. and 3.2.) during the 1990s, starting to fill the gaps of post-command cultural landscape and offering cultural products in fields, which were not institutionally represented during the Soviet period and were not included in the programming of state cultural institutions. Toepler (2000, 14-15) provides a rather precise characterisation of the trend, arguing that “independent organisations arose in response to a demand for truly free artistic production and expression. The establishment of independent, non-profit organisations for artistic and aesthetic purposes ... allowed a fuller exploration of formerly suppressed works or styles as well as avant-garde and other artistic expression not feasible in the context of existing institutions.”

As indicated earlier, creation of sufficient institutional vehicles in order to launch and sustain innovative content and action is essential if the process of field formation is to happen (Fligstein and McAdam 2012); hence, the role of the third sector in the production and distribution of contemporary visual arts during the 1990s should not be underestimated. Baiba Tjarve (2010) argues that the dominant actor of change for institutional transformations within the field of cultural production in Latvia is state. The claim is partially valid when applied to the very first decade after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The new structures and new institutions, focusing on the contemporary visual arts, did not originate from the established infrastructure, but developed outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture. Lacking systematic support and recognition

from the “official” actors of the field of cultural production, the new organisations displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor. In the literature, this “additional part of the cultural infrastructure” (Klaic 2007, 24) is often referred to as alternative, independent, or informal (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Klaic 2007; Astahovska 2010; Auziņa 2010; Mazika 2008, 2010; Šmite and Šmits 2010), indicating the existence of rather polarised institutional context. Because of the prevailing institutional funding trend and inconsistent application of law,³ regulating the activity of non-profit organisations, there was hardly any public support for the third sector representing the non-traditional and innovative initiatives that were mostly carried out by small organisations, centres, labs, festivals, studios, and galleries. The partnership with the state also was not established. These factors clearly reveal the very “slow, painful, cautious process – of creation” of the legal framework governing the field of cultural production that Roubinek (n.d.) earlier had described when characterising the volatility of cultural transition.

An important exogenous factor that needs to be taken into consideration when analysing the development of the non-profit sector is the Western funding that was made available as part of the transition to democracy package (Salamon et al. 1999). At the very beginning of the 1990s, Western countries, particularly the US and the EU, and private philanthropic organisations⁴ mobilised their assistance to the CEECs in attempts to eliminate “the worst and most dangerous legacies of the previous regime” (Quandt 2002,

³ The main law, regulating the activity of the nonprofit organisations, was the *Law on Public Organisations and their Associations*. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia ratified the law on 15 December 1992.

⁴ On International Assistance Programs for CEECs, see Richard E. Quandt. 2002. *The Changing Landscape in Eastern Europe. A Personal Perspective on Philanthropy and Technology Transfer*. New York: Oxford University Press.

22). As a result, the international support facilitated the emergence of new types of art institutions. The philanthropic investment assistance of the Soros Foundation (SF) played a particularly important role in Latvia. The Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga (SCCA-Riga), established under the auspices of the SF in 1993, was the central actor undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of Latvian contemporary visual arts during the 1990s:

Believing that autonomous cultural initiatives would contribute to the emerging civil society, the Soros foundations supported projects, individual and group mobility, training, and international cooperation, building competencies, professional know-how and complex networks of cultural operators along the way. Culture that was critical, alternative, youth-oriented and cyber emerged, to a great extent thanks to this private intervention, and was set not only on the East-West, but also on the East-East axis, stimulating cooperation within the region. (Klaic 2007, 24)

The SCCA-Riga was the “institutional entrepreneur” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) or, as Esanu (2002, 4) describes it, the major “instrument of transition to a new cultural model, a model formulated on a different understanding of society, of history and of truth.” The dichotomous dynamics of institutional change indicated also the change of actors and their power relations within the field of cultural production. The new agents through the creation of “organisational vehicles sufficient to launch and sustain innovative collective action” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91) challenged and transgressed the existing institutional and symbolic hierarchies, and they cognised, theorised, and constructed new narratives that shaped a common framework of cultural values, beliefs, norms, policies, rules, and laws, addressing the pressing problems ignored by the dominant institutional establishment of the cultural production of the time. DiMaggio (1988a, 15) claims that “new institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources ... see in them an

opportunity to realise interests that they value highly.” As argued in Chapter Three, the SCCA-Riga was not only the vehicle that sustained innovative and alternative art forms⁵ of the time, but also provided institutional routinisation, administration, and representation of content-mature works of non-traditional art that had originated before the fall of the Soviet Union, eliminating the existing historical development incongruity between the content and institutional representation of that content and suggesting that post-communist art is a myth (Astahovska 2011, 2015; Borgs 1988, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2010, 2015; Demakova 1994, 2010b, 2011; Juske 2001). What is more important, the SCCA-Riga was a catalyst of continuous interaction, creating a vibrant network of actors that occupied “previously unorganised social space” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91) thus indicating the formation and emergence of a new field. In the context of post-soviet cultural transition of the 1990s, the term “emergence” represents “some *qualitative break* [emphasis added] from whatever relationship, if any, they [the actors of the field] shared in the past” (McAdam 2007, 253). Consequently, the core purpose of this study is to examine the emergence, development and maturation of Latvian contemporary visual arts as a distinct organisational field between the 1990s and 2010s. The focal theoretical concept of my thesis is the assumption that varying levels, i.e., endogenous and exogenous, of social and political environments and actors and their interests are essential during the formation, development, and maturation processes of a field (Bourdieu [1992] 1996, 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; DiMaggio 1983, 1988a, 1991a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991a,b; Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Scott 1983a,b,c; Scott and Meyer

⁵ During the 1990s the term “contemporary” was not used consistently and different descriptions, such as innovative, alternative, non-traditional, avant-garde, new art, were commonly used in the literature and among professionals and academicians to refer to the works of contemporary art.

1983, 1991). The research particularly focuses on the changing behaviour of the state actors and consequently instituted cultural policy trends that prevailed in Latvia following the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union and the effects they had on the development dynamics of the new field. In order to develop the theoretical framework that would facilitate and support my analysis of structuration dynamics (DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b), whereby the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia comes to be constructed, organised, and institutionally recognised between the 1990s and 2010s, I apply new institutionalism in organisation analysis (DiMaggio 1983, 1986, 1988a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b), paying a special attention to Bourdieu's (1983, 1993, [1984] 1993, 1996) and Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theorisations of a field concept. When discussing different institutionalisation stages of the field, including emergence or formation, stabilisation, and settlement or maturation, I extrapolate on the vocabulary and terminology that is introduced and used by the founding scholars of the chosen theoretical points of view.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The hypothesis of this thesis is that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual arts field is divided into three distinct stages where each is initiated by critical juncture (as exogenous shock) that leads to the episode of crisis and contention and that is principal in shaping the ensuing phase of field development (FIGURES 1.4. and 1.5.). The three putative stages of the field are as follows:

1. autonomisation and innovation: 1991-1999;

2. local validation: 2000-2008; and
3. diffusion: 2009-ongoing.

The application of this periodisation is essential in facilitating the critical analysis that is included in the empirical section of this thesis, comprising Chapters Three and Four. Each one of the outlined stages signifies a different structuration dynamic within the field that is determined by applying DiMaggio's (1983, 1988a, 1991a) four phases of institutionalisation. Further in my research I refer to these phases as indexes of institutionalisation that characterise the change in intensity of interaction among the actors; (change in) professional information generation and availability; (change in) dominance hierarchy among actors; and (change in) policies towards the field, endorsing collective definition and ideology of the field. The four indexes are closely associated with the following processes that comprise constituency building, information generating, legitimisation, and professionalisation (DiMaggio 1983) (TABLE 1.3.). Since each of the field stages represents certain qualities of structuration, they need to be analysed in the context of process and change; hence, the major and minor research questions are designed in a manner to reveal the distinctive trajectory of each phase. The indexes of structuration dynamic, revealing the intensity and change that takes place within in each corresponding process, are going to be assessed through four inter-related dimensions that are used as a major lens of analysis, and they are: (1) development and implementation of state cultural

policy, (2) emergence of the third sector,⁶ (3) funding trends (public,⁷ third sector, private), and (4) development of field specific infrastructure. The four dimensions will also help structurally shaping the content framework of each empirical chapter, i.e., Chapters Three and Four.

The major research questions comprise four essential components – factors, actors, institutional logic, and governance structures, and they closely correlate with the four inter-related dimensions of analysis, establishing the overarching theme and content structure of this thesis:

RQ 1: What are the exogenous and endogenous factors that led to the emergence, development, and reproduction of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1991 to 2016?

RQ 2: Who were the major social actors (both individual and collective; public, third sector, private) affecting the construction, development, and reproduction processes of the institutional narrative and framework of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1991 to 2016?

⁶ Emergence of the third sector in Latvia is indicative of a steady development of civil society dimension during the three phases of field constitution. The term *third sector* entails a “broad range of social institutions that operate outside the confines of the market and the state. [They are] known variously as the “non-profit,” the “voluntary,” the “civil society,” the “third,” or the “independent” sector” (Salamon and Anheier 1999, 1). In Latvia, a commonly used term is the “non-governmental” sector to refer to this type of social organisations. Their legal status and functioning is defined by the *Law on Public Organisations and their Associations* (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d) (expired in 2018) and by the *Associations and Foundations Law* (LR Saeima 2003a). According to the latter version of the law, the non-governmental organisations are recognised as critical in facilitating the development and strengthening of democratic and civil society (LR Saeima 2003a, Article 1, Point 1). In this thesis, all above-mentioned terms are used interchangeably.

⁷ Public funding refers to different types of government support (e.g., direct subsidies and grants, allocations through arms-lengths agencies, different assistance and collaboration programmes, indirect economic incentives).

RQ 3: What was the institutional logic that shaped the activities in the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1991 to 2016?

RQ 4: What were the governance structures (public, third sector, private) that supervised and directed the activities in the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1991 to 2016?

The historical scope of the study covers nearly thirty years, implying changes concerning factors, actors, institutional logic, and governance structures. The goal of the minor questions included below is to specify the dynamic of structuration that took place in each development phase of the field; hence each empirical chapter has its own minor questions in conjunction with the major questions. The empirical data, collected based on the four essential components at the core of the research questions, were instrumental in assessing the change that took place in the field of contemporary visual arts in Latvia over three decades. The minor questions relevant to the autonomisation and innovation, representing the first phase of the field, are as follows:

1. What were the exogenous and endogenous factors that ignited the emergence of the contemporary visual arts field?
2. What were the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) that undertook the institutionalisation project of the emerging field?

Due to a strong tradition of *étatisme*, it is impossible to completely detach the discussion of institutionalisation of the field from the state, particularly during the stabilisation (phase II) when an encouraging trajectory became apparent in political and fiscal decentralisation processes of the inert administrative and funding apparatus. Ideology, politics, and

economics are essential facets, shaping the relationship between government and the arts in Latvia. Regarding this relationship, the sub-questions of importance were:

- 2.1. What was the role of the state actors during the founding episode of the field?
 - 2.2. What had been state's ideological basis for its actions towards the contemporary visual arts?
 - 2.3. To what extent and in what way had the contemporary visual arts been supported economically?
 - 2.4. What kind of governance structure had been established?
3. What were the qualitative break and the alternative perception that the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) cognised and theorised during the autonomisation and innovation stage of the field?
 4. What resources (economic, political, ideological) did the founding actors bring to the formation process of the new field?
 5. What were the major terms of power (economic, political, ideological) among the actors and what was the prevalent power structure during the formation phase of the field (e.g., coalition or hierarchy)?

The reproduction and facilitation of field stability was the biggest challenge of the second phase. The fields are “reproduced when actors are willing to do institutional work in order to reproduce them. Institutional work is undertaken by actors with material or ideal interests in the persistence of the [field]: where such interests are not present and influential, deinstitutionalisation is likely” (DiMaggio 1988a, 13). The major questions

pertinent to the local validation stage of the field development (phase II), indicating settlement and stabilisation trends, were:

1. What were the exogenous and endogenous factors that precipitated second phase?
2. Who were the dominant (incumbents) and the oppositional actors (challengers) (both individual and collective) and what resources (economic, political, ideological) did they bring to the stabilisation process of the field?
3. What were the qualitative break and the alternative perception that the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) cognised and theorised during the local validation stage and how they were different or the same when compared to the previous stage of field development?
4. What was the role of the state actors (both individual and collective) during the stabilisation and reproduction efforts of the field during the second phase?
5. What were the major terms of power (economic, political, ideological) among the actors and what was the prevalent power structure of the field (e.g., coalition or hierarchy) during the local validation stage of the field?

As mentioned earlier, “institutionalisation project” of contemporary visual arts marks nearly a thirty-year-long presence within the cultural production field of Latvia and, despite the fact that the museum project still remains in a form of a concept, the incumbents of the field have proven to be able to reproduce themselves for almost three decades. In my periodisation, I have referred to phase III as diffusion that is characterised by maturation traits of the field, however, Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 92) remind that a field “must always be regarded as a work in progress.” In connection with the point

previously mentioned, DiMaggio (1988, 13) also suggests that institutionalisation project needs to be perceived as a process and as such it is “profoundly political and reflects the relative power of organised interests and actors who mobilise around them.” As a consequence and particularly considering the cyclical development of each phase, moving through the episode of crisis and contention, the maturation should be viewed as rather relative. The questions relevant to the putative third phase of the field are as follows:

1. What are the exogenous and endogenous factors that precipitate the phase of diffusion?
2. Who were the dominant (incumbents) and the oppositional actors (challengers) (both individual and collective) and what resources (economic, political, ideological) did they bring to the diffusion stage of the field?
3. What were the qualitative break and the alternative perception that the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) cognised and theorised during the diffusion stage and how they were different or the same when compared to the previous stage of field development?
4. What are the terms (economic, political, ideological) of the new settlement (diffusion) and to what extent do these terms change the previous power structure of the field?

STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

The thesis comprises four chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. In order to support or refute the hypothesis, the study is divided into two broad sections: Chapter One and Chapter Two establish the theoretical and methodological framework,

and Chapter Three and Chapter Four constitute the empirical analysis, in which the three phases of structuration are examined. The final Conclusion of the thesis summarises the findings and resulting conclusions in close relation to the initial hypothesis and the research questions.

Chapter One starts out by explaining applicability of new institutionalism in organisation analysis and Bourdieu's field concept and by providing support of why this particular theoretical framework is the most feasible.

The goal of Chapter Two is to outline the methodological approach in detail and provide justification for the selected research design of the study. When planning the mixed methods research design, four essential facets were taken into consideration, i.e., timing of qualitative and quantitative data collection, weighting, mixing, and theorising (Creswell 2009). The four aspects performed a practical role and, during the planning stages, helped answering significant questions, like: in what way the qualitative and quantitative research phases are going to be sequenced; what priority is given to either of the data sets; how the data sets are going to be mixed during the study; how the research design relates to and is consistent with the overarching theoretical demands of the study? The research was conducted using sequential mixed methods design, which implies two-phase data collection with a second quantitative phase building on an initial qualitative phase. The first phase, qualitative research, comprises the designing, conducting, and analysing of preliminary and in-depth interviews. Vital to this first phase of data collection were archival research, primary and secondary source analysis and interpretation. The social network analysis (SNA) was integral to the quantitative part of the study, and it represents the second phase of the data collection. SNA fulfils an important supportive

role to the qualitative data and provides an efficient method to analyse the inter-organisational network structure of the field. Relational and structural processes and outcomes substantially define the theoretical framework of this thesis and the application of SNA is particularly consistent with the theoretical demands of the study.

Empirical Chapters Three and Four examine the three stages of field development, including analysis of the dynamic sequence and structuration processes that help identifying the major institutionalisation trends, relational patterns, and change. The hypothesis of this thesis is that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual arts field can be divided into three distinctive stages. I find empirical support that during the first or transition phase, represented in Chapter Three, lasting from the early 1990s to the early 2000s, the new structures and institutions in contemporary visual arts developed outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture, Artists' Union, and Academy of Art. Lacking systemic support and recognition from the "official" actors of the field of cultural production, the new organisations displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of non-state actors. The second phase, representing the first decade of the 2000s, indicates a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and strongly exhibits changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. During this phase, the emerging field, for the first time, appears as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents and the government starts playing an increasingly more important role in the constitution of the field. Latvia's accession to the European Union is analysed as the principal external factor, strongly influencing the endogenous changes within the field at the time. The development trends of the second phase are analysed in Chapter Four. The third phase coincides with the

aftermath of the global economic crisis, which struck the country particularly hard in 2009. This period is characterized by increased public-private partnerships and by emergence of strong local civil initiatives furthering the institutionalisation project of Latvian contemporary visual arts. Also, this tentative phase is described in Chapter Four.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Despite an increased interest in Eastern European studies and the political, economic, social, and culture transformation processes that occurred in the Eastern Bloc countries after the fall of Berlin Wall, it is surprising that so little empirical research has been conducted on the proposed topic, especially from the perspectives of changing cultural policy modes and the effects they had on the emergence and structuration processes of a new organisational field. In particular, academic research that examines development patterns of contemporary visual arts field within cultural policy framework is especially scarce.

Among the few, Batia Sharon (1979) and Britta Wheeler (2004) have conducted studies that examined the institutionalisation phenomenon of American avant-garde with a particular focus on development of performance art as a new and distinct field. These studies have explained the institutionalisation as a negotiation process of contradictions between avant-garde ideology and the established “artworld” (Danto 1964) between 1970 and 2000. The theoretical framework of institutional critique is important in these studies. The emergence of the very first contemporary art collectives and organisations in Latvia at the very beginning of the 1990s coincided with the arrival of the so-called second wave of institutional critique, which can be described as an “attempt to redefine the

contemporary art institution ... ready to let go, not only of the limited discourse of the work of art as a mere object, but also of the whole institutional framework that went with it” (Ekeberg 2003, 9; 14). This theoretical approach, however, is not applicable to Latvia’s case where the early development trends of the independent contemporary art organisations were more shaped by government’s ideology and its manifestations through cultural policy and funding strategies.

In this context, the research on cultural policy trends in conjunction with the institutionalisation processes of Latvian contemporary visual arts is innovative and can be applied to practice, initiating an academic debate in Latvia and also internationally. The study will be of significant importance for professionals working in the in the field of contemporary visual arts (administrators, policy specialists, artists, curators, educators, etc.), providing them with a comprehensive development overview of the field, including a thorough analysis of the existing problems and challenges. The research also has implications for the development of strategies concerning state cultural policy. It may serve as a reference point to better understand and examine the current policies in place, and, as such, it can be used to initiate a dialogue with policy makers regarding possible modifications and further improvements related to the field.

I believe that my research will contribute to the larger debate on the applicability and importance of cultural policy models when analysing the emergence, development, and maturation processes of a new institutional field – especially in the countries that underwent a complex transition phase from one policy mode to another after the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact in 1991. I also expect this thesis to contribute to the

research on the significance of social, economic, and political structures in the development and structuration patterns of an organisational field.

Particular emphasis in the execution of this thesis should be put on the application of the SNA as a potent tool to measure structuration process. The SNA method is particularly compatible with the theoretical demands of this study, examining an emerging field. The structuration process defines institutional development of the field and quantitatively can be described as “a result of patterns of relations” (Martin 2003, 27). SNA is a novel, but growing research strategy in cultural policy studies, providing a visual characterization of the structure of inter-organizational relations and illustrating the complex political, economic, and social processes that are involved in a specific field of study. The method focusses “on relationships among social entities and establishes the patterns and implications of these relationships” (Wasserman and Faust 1994, 3). In this doctoral thesis, SNA was essential in determining major holders of economic, political, and cultural capitals (organizations and individuals) within an emerging field of contemporary visual arts during the post-Soviet transition. The method also helped to establish the institutional impact (legal, normative, cultural-cognitive) of the major actors involved in the constitution process of the field and estimate longitudinal structural and institutional changes that considerably affected policy development, professionalisation, and funding trends during the three decades of field development.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THREE STAGES OF FIELD DEVELOPMENT

1.1 INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF *EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT* WITHIN THE THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF ORGANISATIONAL STUDIES

Historically, institutional theory, which is a formative component of organisational studies (OS), emerged from a range of academic fields, like sociology, political science, economics, and social psychology. Delmestri (2008, 683-684) contends that this theoretical approach...

offers explanations for social order, social action, and cultural persistence. It does so with regard both to the stability of social systems at various levels (i.e., organisation, field, society, world) and to the effects of institutional processes in situations of change or of conflicting legal, cultural, or normative jurisdictions. Institutional theory highlights the role of rules, norms, and ... cultural beliefs and scripts in constraining and empowering social action and giving meaning to social life.

Institutional thought, however, is not a recent phenomenon and is laden with rich and diverse content that has developed through different distinctive disciplinary traditions. Scott ([1995] 2014, vii), in this regard, reminds that “[t]he existing literature is a jungle of conflicting conceptions, divergent underlying assumptions, and discordant voices.” Within the advancement of political ideas, institutional thought can be traced back to the sixteenth century, coinciding with the emergence of the theoretical conceptions of the

nation state. Machiavelli is regarded as one of the founding figures of modern Western political thought and his pivotal work, *The Prince* (1532), created a new semantic framework for the concept of *state*, determining its future usage in social and political discourse. The concept of *regulative institution* (explained further in the chapter) of a state (i.e., law and law-making), occupies an important place in Machiavelli's writings. Cristea (2013, 61) claims that "[a]lthough the term ... was not coined by the Florentine thinker, he managed, for the first time, to produce a semantic shift, which allows for the expression of political and ethnic forces, natural conditions, and the existence of a territory, together with subjective forces involved in the existence of state power, the complex of public powers and the ways in which they manifest." Fundamental formative ideas of institutional thought can be further traced in the works of Althusius, formulating the early development of federalism; of Locke, the founding father of liberalism; and of Montesquieu, conceptualising presidentialism, parliamentarism, and constitutional monarchy (Lane and Ersson 2000). During the nineteenth century, three disciplinary categories became apparent among leading theoreticians, whose work particularly contributed to the advancement of institutional thought, i.e., economics, political science, and sociology. Scott ([1995] 2014, 10) asserts that "[a]ttention to institutions by sociologists has been more constant than that exhibited by either economists or political scientists." As mentioned earlier, institutions were recognized, analysed, and conceptualised quite early by social theorists, including Marx, Durkheim, Spencer, Sumner, Mead, and Bourdieu, to mention just a few most prominent and influential predecessors, developing different threads and representing unique vocabulary and accentuation in early institutional thought in sociology. Some of the early social scientists,

like Weber, Tocqueville, and Parsons, however, paid a particular attention to “organisations as one type of social structure” (Scott [1995] 2014, 21).

1.1.1 Independence from Environment: Closed System Analytical Framework

The appearance of organisational studies (OS) as a distinctive academic discipline within sociology can be traced back to the late 1940s (Weber [1947] 1964; Selznick 1948, 1949, 1992; Fayol [1949] 2013; Scott 1983c). However, the very beginnings of the scholarship stemmed from the theoretical work of the American mechanical engineer Frederic Winslow Taylor ([1911] 2014), introducing a *scientific management* method that focused on industrial efficiency and worker-machine relationship in steel manufacturing factory. After Taylor, mining engineer and administrative management theorist, Henri Fayol ([1949] 2013) established the principles of *administrative management*, which concentrated on managerial level functions within a mining company. The work of social scientist Max Weber ([1947] 1964) was also formative – he developed a *bureaucratic administration* model that emphasised the management of the organizational system as a whole. These three theoretical models introduced management principles that were applied on different organisational levels and examined different organisational facets. They demonstrated that during the early development phase of the field, i.e., organisational studies in sociology, organisations were being conceptually analysed as closed entities or systems, which recognise...

the external environment (technological advancements, the cultural and demographic characteristics of the community, legal decisions, political decisions,

etc.) to be stable and predictable, and ... assume that it does not intervene in or cause problems for the functioning of an organization. Therefore, the closed-system models do not depend on the external environment for explanations or solutions to managerial issues; instead, they are enclosed and sealed off from the outside world. These models rely primarily on *internal* [emphasis added] organizational processes and dynamics to account for organizational, group, and individual behaviours. (Allen and Sawhney 2014, 28)

Interpretation of the role that the environment, particularly *external environment*, acquires within this theoretical development is essential; during the 1970s, it was one of the major determinants indicating the difference between the old and the new institutionalisms. The emphasis of these early works, however, lies on machine-like, instrumental, and technocratic characteristics of the organisation and, as Scott ([1995] 2014) points out, little or no attention is given to human emotions and interaction within, as well as social environment without. In the closed-system model, technical requirements and production pressures define the environment. In his seminal survey of the historical development of the organisational studies field in sociology, Gouldner (1959, 404-405) discerns this approach to organisational analysis as *rational*, implying a mechanical model and arguing that in this particular framework the organisation is interpreted as an “instrument” – as a rationally conceived means to the realisation of expressly announced group goals. Its structures are understood as tools deliberately established for the efficient realisation of these group purposes.”

In the late 1940s, Philip Selznick was the leading sociologist to provide the early institutional analysis of organisations. Scott ([1995] 2014, 23) emphasises that “it was Selznick who developed the most explicit theoretical treatment of institutions and their

relation to organizations.”⁸ His analysis is organization-centric, emphasizing power processes and the role of constraining or empowering rules, norms, and beliefs *inside* the organization. Selznick (1949: 256– 257) argued that organizations are social systems and because of that “goals or procedures [within an organization] tend to achieve an established, value-impregnated status. ... they become institutionalized.” Although Selznick’s analytical approach was predominantly organisation-centred, emphasising the *internal* functioning of organizations and the behaviour of their members, it is important to note that his body-of-work introduced the notion of *open system* perspective to the organisational analysis, which, in later decades, acquired a foundational role within historical development of neo-institutional theory in sociology. Selznick (1949, 10) maintained that “[t]he internal life of any organisation tends to become, but never achieves, a closed system” due to the fact that “... no organisation subsists in a vacuum.” Scholar’s analysis emphasised an adaptive response to the external environment in order to maintain legitimacy and stability. In this regard, the interpretation of the role that the external environment plays within the theory should be introduced both as a comparative and also defining component. Following Gouldner’s categorisation, Selznick’s analytical approach to organisational studies represented “natural system” (Gouldner 1959, 404) model, in which organisation is interpreted as “a natural whole or a system.” This conceptual framework is constructed on “an underlying “organismic” model, which

⁸ In 1947, Max Weber’s, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, was first published in English. The translators of the volume were A. M. Hendereson and Talcott Parsons. This translated work represents part I of Weber’s larger opus, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriß der verstehenden Soziologie* (1921), comprising “comparative historical study of the sociological and institutional foundations of the modern economic and social order” (Parsons [1947] 1964, 4). The particular translation had a strong influence on the work of scholars who were engaged in the early theoretical discourse, analysing the institutional effects in organizations (e.g., Talcott Parsons, Philip Selznick, James D. Thompson).

stresses the interdependence of the component parts” (Gouldner 1959, 406), i.e., spontaneous (informal) and formal structures, within an organisation.

The organisation level or organisation-centric approach in the sociological study of organisations marks the putative first phase, lasting from the 1940s to the 1960s. Scott (1983c, 156) argues that this “first era of organisational studies was characterised by dominance of closed-systems models, emphasising internal factors as the prime causal agents in accounting for the structure and behaviour of organisations.” This rather “myopic focus” (Scott 2004, 5) of analytical framework drew attention to workings of actors and processes inside the borders of an organisation. During this time, the research done in the field emphasized the *independence* factor of an organisation from the external environment.

1.1.2 Interdependence with Environment: Open System Analytical Framework

There is no sharp borderline between the “knower” and the “known” ... – no actual system is isolated.

—Bertalanffy, *General System Theory: A New Approach to Unity of Science*, 344

Gouldner’s “organismic” model of organisation is quite meaningful in the context of historical development of organisational analysis in sociology. A new “interdisciplinary movement” (Boulding 1956, 199) outside the social sciences was evolving at the end of the 1940s and at the very beginning of the 1950s. The effect of the movement to the historical development of organisation studies was overriding, however. It was developed parallelly by two scientists – an American mathematician Norbert Wiener and an Austrian

biologist Karl Ludwig von Bertalanffy. In 1948, N. Wiener defined a new discipline, termed cybernetics (Wiener [1948] 1961), and a few years later, in 1951, von Bertalanffy published a multi-panel discussion of his new theoretical approach, called General Systems Theory (GST) (von Bertalanffy 1951a,b) in the journal, *Human Biology*. Both conceptions claimed “to pave the way for a new understanding of the organism” (von Bertalanffy 1951b, 346). They both also embraced a common inter-scientific approach to analysis, “contending that certain model conceptions are applicable in quite different fields” (von Bertalanffy 1951b, 346). What was particularly important in relation to the historical development of organisational studies was the centrality of *open system* concept and the role that the *external environment* acquired in it. Within the conceptual framework of this emerging theoretical approach, the organism was regarded “as system of dynamically interacting elements. Basic to this conception are kinetic and dynamic principles of equilibria or pseudo-equilibria to which the system as a whole is tending. With respect to the living organism in particular, one of its most profound characteristics is found in the fact that it is an open system, i.e., a system exchanging materials with its environment” (Bertalanffy 1951b, 352). Von Bertalanffy (1951a) and Boulding (1956) argued that the open system concept is transactional, involving input, throughput, and output and that there is a specific relation between the behaviour of the organism and the external environment.

Kenneth Boulding was one of the first scholars who in his writings emphasised the importance of the interdisciplinary movement and analysed the applicability of the General Systems Theory (GST) to different academic disciplines. He argued that the new theoretical approach “represents an important breakaway from overtly simple mechanical

models in the theory of organisation and control” (Boulding 1956, 207). Boulding (1956) recognised the open systems concept as essential when studying a wide range of empirical situations and when analysing the development of organisation, both in biology and social world. In his analysis of the GST, Boulding (1956) applied a “system of systems” approach, which specified and distinguished different levels of theoretical discourse. Different structural levels of organisation thus indicated that there was variability in the “hierarchy of complexity” within different systems. Structural arrangements within one specific environment therefore explained the behaviour of the “individuals”⁹ that were being studied.

It is important to note that, during the 1960s and continuing into the mid 1970s, the open system ideas “penetrated numerous fields of study, including sociology, [however], nowhere did they have a larger impact than in organization studies” (Scott 2004, 5). March and Simon’s seminal book, *Organisations*, was one of the first scholarships in organisational studies that attempted to integrate the open system concept, applying the biological analogy to organisations as “resembling a central coordinative system” (March and Simon 1958, 4).

1.1.2.1 Technical Interdependence

The concept of *environment* is one of the key terms of reference within the theoretical development of neo-institutional approach (in sociology) to organisational

⁹ The term “individual” is used following Kenneth Boulding’s description of the open systems concept – the interaction of an “individual” of some kind with its environment. Depending on the discipline, the “individual” can be interpreted as electron, atom, molecule, crystal, virus, cell, plant, animal, man, family, tribe, state, church, firm, corporation, university, etc.

analysis and the major source determining the factors and the actors during the emergence, development, and maturation of contemporary visual art in Latvia as a distinct organisational field between the 1990s and 2010s. In this respect, James D. Thompson's ([1967] 2003) influential treatise, *Organisations in Action*, provides a conceptual connection between the *closed* system (rationality, determinateness, certainty, predictability) and *open* system (indeterminateness, uncertainty, spontaneity) assumptions, incorporating in his analytical approach components of both models. Thompson ([1967] 2003, 10) formulated organisations “*as open systems, hence indeterminate and faced with uncertainty, but at the same time as subject to criteria of rationality and hence needing determinateness and certainty* [emphasis in original].” The sociologist's treatise provided foundational contribution in shaping contingency theory, which was the first theoretical framework introduced in organisational studies, applying open system model. Contingency theory rejected the universalistic approach to organisation and structure, which emphasised that “there was one best way to organize [and] that one structure produces the highest performance in all organizations,” despite “those variable contingencies with which the organisation has to deal” (Donaldson 2008, 1476). The essence of the theory entails that “[t]he best way to organise depends on the nature of the environment to which the organisation relates” (Scott 1998, 96), implying that organisations that best succeed in aligning the internal – closed system – features that are subject to criteria of rationality with the penetrating – open system – elements of their environments will attain the best adaptation, i.e., they will achieve the most effective organisational structure, producing the highest performance (Thompson [1967] 2003; Scott 1998; Donaldson 2008).

In the historical development of organisational studies field, Thompson's work represented a "bridge over troubled waters" (Scott (2003, xv); his theoretical approach and ninety-five distinct propositions, relating dissimilar environmental conditions to varying organisational responses and structures, considerably influenced the conceptual trajectory of the further body of scholarship that surged during the late 1960s and during the 1970s. Scott (2004, 5) described this surge as a theorising frenzy, claiming that "much of the history of the development of organization studies during the last quarter of the twentieth century to the present reflects a growing recognition of the many and diverse ways in which the environment constitutes, influences, and penetrates organizations." The conceptualisation of the environmental determinants draws attention to an important question of how the *environment* is conceived and formulated within different theoretical frameworks, bringing me closer to the key theoretical components that are applied in this study.

The advancement of the open system ideas in the late 1960s and extending into the mid 1970s indicated a paradigmatic shift in analytical approach to organisational studies. The application of the environment concept or *organisation-environment* perspective became more widely used within the body of scholarship of the time (March and Simon 1958; Thompson [1967] 2003; Aldrich 1971, 1972, [1979] 2008; Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984; Pfeffer and Salancik [1978] 2003; Meyer et al. 1978), demonstrating the seriousness toward the claim that "organisations are affected by their environments" (Scott and Meyer 1983, 129). The focus on the single organisation as an analytical frame of reference gave way to the theoretical perspectives that examined organisation as a unit within a wider environment. Scott (2004, 8) claims that "[o]nly with the advent of open

system models did organisations themselves become the subject of investigation, viewed variously as responsive systems shaped by environments, as collective actors themselves shaping their context.” The shift from organisation’s *independence from* to organisation’s *interdependence with* the environment marked the second putative period within the historical development of the sociological studies of organisations.

The conceptualisation of the environmental determinants that was developed within the diverse and innovative frameworks during the theorising frenzy of the 1970s is particularly important. Following the advancement of contingency theory (Thompson [1967] 2003), development of network theory (White et al. 1976), organisational ecology theory (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984), and resource dependence theory (Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Pfeffer and Salancik [1978] 2003; Aldrich [1979] 2008) followed one another in a very short span of time, emphasising open system approach, in which interdependence between an organisation and environment was examined.¹⁰ The above-mentioned theoretical frameworks, however, revealed a clear analytical divide in their approach to conceptualising the various environmental factors; Scott (1983, 157) argues, “many of the most popular analytic models diverted attention away from the more remote but relevant linkages of organisations to their environments. The dominant models developed up to the late 1970s were limited both in *level of analysis* and in *substantive focus* [emphasis added].” The limitations that were ascribed to the focus of the analytical frameworks, representing the second putative period, were related to materialist

¹⁰ Please refer to the works of Thompson ([1967] 2003), White et al. (1976), Hannan and Freeman (1977, 1984), Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976), Pfeffer and Salancik ([1978] 2003), Aldrich ([1979] 2008) for more detailed analysis of the new theoretical frameworks that surged during the late 1960s and during the 1970s after the paradigmatic shift in analytical approach to organisational studies that was fostered by the advancement of open system ideas within different academic disciplines, including sociology.

interpretations of the environment, determined by resources, technology, and exchange markets. The contingency, network, organisational ecology, and resource dependence theoretical perspectives (Thompson [1967] 2003; White et al. 1976; Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984; Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Pfeffer and Salancik [1978] 2003; Aldrich [1979] 2008) emphasised the technical interdependence of an organisation and its environment. An organisation was analysed as a production system, in which, via throughputs, the inputs were transformed into outputs. Figure 1.1. illustrates the substantive focus limitations of the technical interdependence approach when viewed within a larger environmental context. It also indicates the limitations in the level of analysis that were prevalent in the studies guided by technical interdependence factors of the environment.

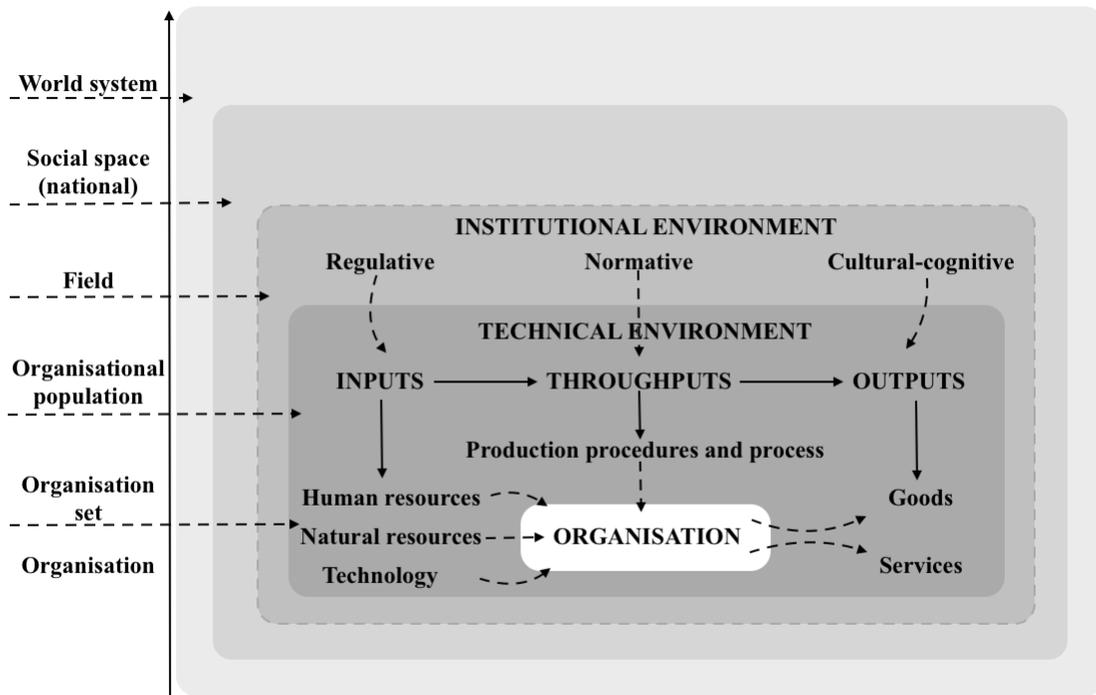


FIGURE 1.1. Open system: different focuses (technical and institutional determinants of the environment) and different levels of analysis within various theoretical frameworks of organisational studies

Source: Demir 2019.

When compared to the closed system models of analysis, focusing on intra-organisational processes, the dominant theories of the second phase, emphasising technical environment and its influence on the organisational structure, introduced higher level of analysis that shifted attention from an individual organisation to *organisation set* and *organisational population*.

Organisation set approach to analysis was adopted by contingency and resource dependence theorists (Thompson [1967] 2003; Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Aldrich [1979] 2008). According to Aldrich ([1979] 2008, 279), “[a]n organization set consists of those organizations with which a focal organization has direct [or effective] links.” In this model, the environment was examined from the perspective of one “focal” organisation, and the members of the set were determined based on resource flows, i.e., goods, services, information, and boundary spanning relations between the selected (focal) organisation and the others (Aldrich [1979] 2008). The organisation set level of analysis allowed scholars to examine and assess empirically identifiable and observable environmental context (through specific resource flows and effective relations that defined boundaries of the environment) and its impingement on the “focal” organisation rather than study “abstracted environmental dimensions such as “complexity” and “uncertainty”” (Scott 2004, 8). While application of the organisation set level of analysis was valuable in determining the impact of specific resource flows and boundary spanning contacts on the “focal” organisation, this approach ignored a larger existing network of relations within which the selected organisation represented only one of the many actors, indicating a rather specialised and narrow focus to analysing causal connections between the environment and organisation.

A step higher level of analysis (FIGURE 1.1.), i.e., organisational population, was associated with the body of work by organisational ecology theorists (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984; Aldrich [1979] 2008; Hannan and Carroll 1995), who applied models from and vocabulary of biology in their approach to organisational analysis. Hannan and Freeman (1977) indicated the common organisational form as the central component in order to determine a population. In a more recent study, Hannan and Carroll (1995, 29) had specified the interpretation of the “form” in more detail, contending that “[f]orm serves as the organisational ecologist’s analogue to the biological ecologist’s species. Form summarises the core properties that make a set of organisations ecologically similar. ... *Organisational populations* [emphasis in original] are specific time-and-space instances of organisational forms.” While examining similar organisations that share a “unit character”¹¹ (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 934), organisational ecology theory focused explicitly on competition that took place within common environmental niche in which these organisations competed for resources. Hannan and Freeman (1977) indicated and examined competition as a key causal factor of structural and relational likeness, i.e., isomorphism, among organisations. The premise that “diversity of organizational forms is isomorphic to the diversity of environments” (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 939) is important in this regard. The environmental niche that the organisations similar in form have demands on “consists of all those combinations of resource levels at which the population can survive and reproduce itself” (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 947) – namely, the organisations that share a unit character are also homologous in their dependence on

¹¹ Hannan and Freeman (1977) are using a biology term, particularly applied in genetics, to describe a specific physical or mental characteristic or property that is genetically determined, namely - it is passed on genetically from one generation to the next.

the external environment. Instead of examining causal relationship between one selected organisation and the environment, the organisational ecology theorists directed attention to higher level of analysis and focused on causal relationship between organisational population, e.g., medical care providers, newspaper publishers, universities (Hannan and Freeman 1977), art museums (Blau 1995), radio broadcasters, labour unions (Hannan and Carroll 1995; Carroll and Hannan 1995), and the environment.

Although the application of organisational ecology theory expanded the level of analysis upward, the attention of the approach was limited within a specific environmental niche that determined competition among the organisations of the ecology for particular resources that were required to survive, reproduce, and yield similar outputs (products and services), indicating a rather specialised and narrow focus to analysing causal connections between the environment and organisations. As stated above, the emphasis of the analysis was on competition rather than cooperative and connecting relations among the organisations in a population.

1.1.2.2 Institutional Interdependence

The body of empirical research in organisational studies, which started to surge during the late 1970s, indicated the presence of the analytical shift in theoretical approach to conceptualisation of the environment and the environmental determinants yet again (Meyer 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977, 1978; Scott 1983a,b,c; Meyer and Scott 1983; Meyer, Scott, Deal 1983; DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1983), marking the emergence of the third putative period in the historical development of the sociological

studies of organisations. The new conceptual developments were epitomised within the theoretical framework of new institutionalism. Three seminal researches by Meyer and Rowan (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983), and Meyer and Scott (1983) introduced the principal elements of the new approach. The third period implied the *social and cognitive-cultural* turn within the field of organisational studies, emphasising growing research interest in institutional interdependence of an organisation and its environment. In contrast to previous materialist interpretations of the environment, determined by resources, technology, and exchange markets, the new perspective emphasised causal relationship between the ideational elements of the environment and the organisation. Among researchers, representing the new theoretical development of the field, important became the acknowledgement that an organisation does not function solely as a production system and that political, social, and cultural elements should be emphasised when conceptualising environmental determinants and their effect on and relationship with the organisations. As Scott (1995, xiii) notes, “attention to the role of ... knowledge systems, beliefs, and rules in the structure and operation of organisations,” was emphasised.

The cognitive-cultural turn or, as DiMaggio and Powell (1991, Kindle location 9646) have described it, “cognitive revolution in institutional theory”¹² was conceptually supported by the premise of socially constructed reality, which was introduced by Berger and Luckmann in 1967 and further developed by cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz¹³

¹² DiMaggio and Powell (1991, Kindle Locations 9646-9649) determine the term of cognition as follows: “[a]lthough cognition sometimes refers to the full range of mental activity, we follow current usage in distinguishing between cognition, on the one hand, and affective or evaluative processes on the other. *By cognition we refer to both reasoning and the preconscious grounds of reason: classifications, representations, scripts, schemas, production systems, and the like* [emphasis added].

¹³ In 1973, Clifford Geertz in his seminal treatise, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, undertook the task to reformulate Tylor’s ([1871] 2016, 1) original definition of culture, which was interpreted as “that complex whole.” Geertz’s goal was to narrow down, specialise, and provide a theoretically more powerful interpretation of culture, guiding the theorising about the term out of the Tylolean “conceptual morass”

during the 1970. The new theoretical approach maintained that, in order to study social phenomena, including “organisations as one type of social structure” (Scott [1995] 2014, 21), it was imperative to examine social and cognitive-cultural forces (e.g., value, knowledge, symbol, and belief systems, rules and norms) of the environment. In this regard, Zucker (1983, 1) stresses, “[o]rganisations are everywhere, involved in almost every possible sphere of human action.” Summating the argument about the socially constructed reality that the new approach in analysing organisation’s interdependence with the environment embraced, Scott (1998, 135) asserts that “social life is only possible because and to the extent that individuals in interaction create common frameworks and understandings that support collective action. The process by which actions are repeated and given similar meaning by self and others is defined as institutionalisation: it is the process by which social reality is constructed,” and, as Zucker (1983, 25) claims, “institutionalization is fundamentally a cognitive process.”

Meyer and Rowan’s studies, conducted during the late 1970s, were particularly influential and were regarded as foundations of the new theoretical approach. They introduced the cognitive-cultural dimension of the environment and the concept of socially constructed framework in the analysis of organisations. Particularly important in

(Geertz 1973, 4). The reformulation that he developed was very close to Berger and Luckmann’s term of social construction, namely, that “reality is socially constructed” (Berger and Luckmann [1967] 2011, vi). Geertz (1973, 5) argued that “[t]he concept of culture ... is essentially semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.” Edward Burnett Tylor was recognised as the father of cultural anthropology who introduced one of the earliest and most comprehensive definitions of culture in his seminal work, *Primitive Culture*, which was first published in 1871. In the opening paragraph of the first volume of the book Tylor ([1871] 2016, 1) articulates, culture “is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind ... is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action.”

this regard was Meyer and Rowan's seminal treatise, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," which explored the constitutive nature of the *institutional environment* and its effects on formal structures of organisations. Meyer and Rowan (1977, 340-141) argued that "[f]ormal organizations are generally understood to be systems of coordinated and controlled activities that arise when work is embedded in complex networks of technical relations and boundary-spanning exchanges. But in modern societies formal organizational structures arise in highly institutionalized contexts," greatly reflecting "the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities," i.e., technical environment. The formal structure was understood as a blueprint for activities of an organisation, comprising offices, departments, positions, programs, and procedures that were connected by specific goals and policies (Meyer and Rowan 1977). Scholars claimed that the formal structure could not be explained as a direct outcome of the organisation's technical interdependence with the environment (e.g., specific resources, task and technical demands and complexity); instead,

... [i]n modern societies, the elements of rationalized formal structure are deeply ingrained in, and reflect, widespread understandings of social reality. Many of the positions, policies, programs, and procedures of modern organizations are enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents, by knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws, and by the definitions of negligence and prudence used by the courts. Such elements of formal structure are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations. (Meyer and Rowan 1977, 143)

When defining institutions, Meyer and Rowan emphasised the cognitive-cultural dimension and explanation of an institution, which was one of the principal distinctive characteristics of new institutionalism in organizational studies. They maintained,

“institutions inevitably involve normative obligations, but often enter into social life primarily as facts, which must be taken into account by actors. Institutionalisation involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought and action” (Meyer and Rowan 1977, 341). Institutionalised products, services, techniques, policies, and programs hence define the institutional environment, and they act as powerful constitutive myths, which organizations adopt as taken for granted truths and realities.

One of the founding scholars of the new institutionalism, Richard Scott (1983c), defined the institutional interdependence in the following way: “organisations are seen as participating in larger systems of inter-organisational relations, involving flows of budgeted funds, orders, and reports, as well as larger cultural systems, involving the exchange of such normative elements as legitimacy and meaning” (Scott 1983c, 156). Consequently, Scott and his fellow scholars, who represented the new theoretical development in organisational studies, in their analyses approached the technical and institutional environments as variables and not as dichotomies (Meyer, Scott, Deal [1981] 1983; Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991; Hoffman 2001), claiming that all organisations were subject to both – technical and institutional factors. The strength of the influence of either of the environmental components depended on the type of the organisation that was examined in each particular case (FIGURE 1.2.).

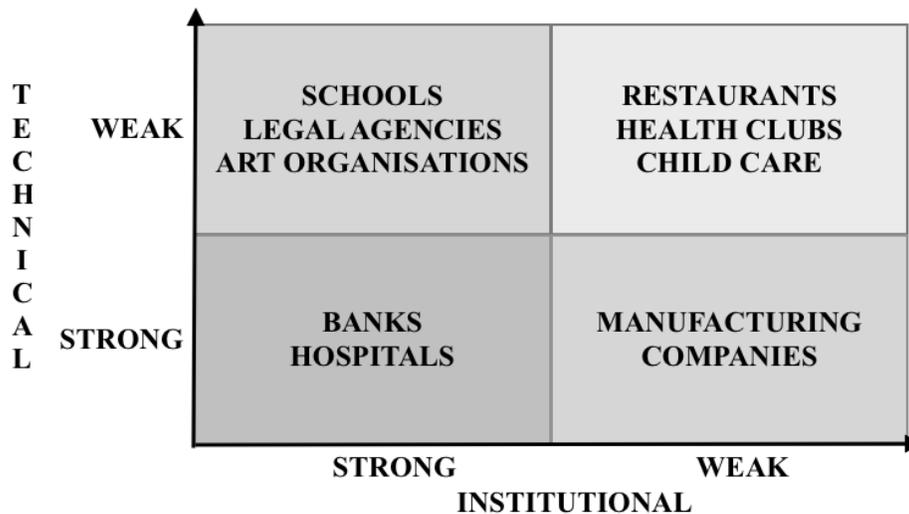


FIGURE 1.2. Technical and institutional determinants of external environment and their varying range of influence (week or strong) over corresponding organisations

Sources: Meyer, Scott, Deal [1981] 1983; Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991; Hoffman 2001, visual image prepared by Demir 2019.

In a more recent study, Scott (1998, 137) specified that indeed “all organisations operate in institutional environments,” emphasising that there can be various kinds of institutional environments and that technical environments are determined, i.e., shaped and framed, by institutional factors and forces:

All technologies are shaped by social intentions and concerns. ... [A]ll exchange processes take place in markets that are themselves socially constructed. Rather than being “natural” processes or following universal economic principles, markets are embedded in a complex of institutional rules and practices: rules regarding private property, norms governing fair exchange, definitions concerning the rights and capacities of economic actors such as partnerships and corporations, beliefs regarding the appropriate role of the state in governing economic transactions, and so on. (Scott 1998, 137)

In this regard, the notion of embeddedness (Scott 1983c; Bourdieu 1983, [1984] 1993, 1993, 1996; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Fligstein and McAdam 2012) is conceptually significant, and it is going to be fundamentally important when determining the level of

analysis of this thesis. Instead of determining the relationship between technical and institutional environments as variables in an axes grid (FIGURE 1.2.), the latter assertion applies the relational principle of embeddedness, which I have visually depicted in FIGURE 1.1.

1.2 INSTITUTIONALISM IN ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS: THE OLD AND THE NEW

As I have emphasised earlier, in the late 1940s, Philip Selznick was the leading sociologist who introduced the early institutional analysis of organisations, developing “the most explicit theoretical treatment of institutions and their relation to organisations” (Scott [1995] 2014, 23). For Selznick (1949), the organisation was a dynamic conditioning field, providing context within which certain structure and behaviour prevail, however, the scholars who represented new institutionalism applied the open system concept and introduced wider institutional environment as a prevailing template in determining the structure and behaviour of and relations among organisations (Meyer and Rowan 1977; 1978; DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powel 1983; Scott 1983a,b,c; Meyer and Scott 1983).

In his later work, reflecting on the distinctiveness between the “old” and the “new”, Selznick elaborates that “... institutional theory traces the emergence of distinctive forms, processes, strategies, outlooks, and competences as they emerge from patterns of organisational interaction and adaptation. Such patterns must be understood as responses to both internal and external environments” (Selznick 1992, 271). He emphasises that, fundamentally, institutionalisation is a neutral concept, and the difference should not be

perceived too literally, adding that “we may be describing the formation of a certain *kind* [emphasis in original] of institution” (Selznick 1992, 271). In this regard varying levels of theory application and analysis are the principal determinants that separate the two institutionalisms. Scott ([1995] 2014, 105) explains that “[i]n defining levels, the key underlying dimension is the scope of the phenomena encompassed, whether measured in terms of space, time, or numbers of persons affected. For institutions, level may be usefully operationalised as *the range of jurisdiction of the institutional form* [emphasis added].” Zucker (1987) divides the range of jurisdiction into two theoretical approaches, i.e., environment as institution and organisation as institution. She argues that that “[e]nvironment as institution assumes that the basic process is reproduction or copying of system-wide (or sector-wide) social facts on the organisational level, while organisation as institution assumes that the central process is generation (meaning creation of new cultural elements) at the organisation level” (Zucker 1987, 444).

In 1991, DiMaggio and Powell, for the first time, published the foundational works of new institutionalism (Meyer 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977, 1978; Scott 1983a,b,c; Meyer and Scott 1983; Meyer, Scott, Deal 1983; DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1983) together in an edited book, *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*; hence, emphasising the significance of these early writings and establishing a clear distinction not only between the “old” and the “new”, but also among various “new” institutionalisms within different social science disciplines, emphasising political science, economics, and sociology. DiMaggio and Powell (1991a, locations 248-251) argue that “[t]he new institutionalism in organisation theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn towards

cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals' attributes or motives.”¹⁴ Zucker (1983, 2), in this regard, explains that institutionalisation is both a process and a condition: “it is a phenomenological process by which certain social relationships and actions come to be taken for granted, ... while at the same time it is the structure of reality [in which shared cognitive and cultural explanations] define what has meaning and what actions are possible.”

When compared to the previous phase of institutionalism, i.e., the “old” approach to the analysis of institutions and the structure and behaviour of organisations, a higher level of analysis (meso and macro) or the range of jurisdiction of the institutional form and open system concept are central in the “new” approach. DiMaggio and Powell (1991a, location 358-362) emphasise,

...[b]ecause institutionalisation was a process in which constraining relations with local constituencies evolved over time, older institutionalists regarded organisations as both the units that were institutionalized and the key loci of the process. By contrast, neo-institutionalists view institutionalisation as occurring at the sectoral or societal levels, and consequently interorganisational in locus. Organisational forms, structural components, and rules, not specific organisations, are institutionalised.

The process model that was introduced by Selznick (1957), explaining institutionalisation as a process and not a consequence, is an important component of analysis in organisational studies, particularly considering that “most sector specific institutional understandings [as opposed to society-wide constitutive understandings] about

¹⁴ DiMaggio and Powell (1991a, location 239) defines the conceptual difference of how the term *institution* is examined in political science and economics and how it is approached in the organisational analysis, emphasising that even though “institutions are the products of human design,” they are not outcomes of “instrumentally oriented” purposeful design (economics and political science), but rather are products of unconscious action.

organisational forms, programs, and procedures are relatively unstable [and] must be reproduced continuously” (DiMaggio 1988a, 13). The reproduction in both institutionalisms, however, takes place on different ranges of jurisdiction of the institutional form:

The old model privileged conflicts of interest, power processes, informal structure, values, norms, and social commitments [normative frameworks], and saw institutionalisation as a *process* [emphasis added] occurring within an organisation. The new model emphasised cultural and constitutive processes, routines and schemas, legitimacy processes, and formal structure [cognitive frameworks], and viewed institutionalisation as a *process* [emphasis added] occurring in the environment of organisations, often at the field level. (Scott [1995] 2014, 51-52)

The 1991 edited collection of works can be regarded as the theoretical cornerstone of the new institutionalism, and in this highly cited treatise Powell and DiMaggio have clearly defined the difference between the “old” and the “new”, employing specific indicators that set the two analytical approaches apart (TABLE 1.1.).

TABLE 1.1. Comparative indicators of old and new institutionalism

INDICATOR	OLD INSTITUTIONALISM	NEW INSTITUTIONALISM
Conflicts of interest	Central	Peripheral
Source of inertia	Vested interests	Legitimacy imperative
Structural emphasis	Informal structure	Symbolic role of formal structure
Organisation embedded in	Local community	Field, sector, or society
Nature of embeddedness	Co-optation	Constitutive
Locus of institutionalisation	Organisation	Field or society
Organisational dynamics	Change	Persistence
Key forms of cognition	Values, norms, attitudes	Classifications, routines, scripts, schema

Cognitive basis of order	Commitment	Habit, practical action
Organisation viewed as	Organic whole	Loosely coupled arrays of standardised elements

Source: Powell and DiMaggio 1991a, Kindle Locations 313-368.

1.3 DEFINING THE TERM AND THE PROCESS: INSTITUTION AND INSTITUTIONALISATION

When analysing one of the fundamental constructs of sociology, Mohr and Friedland (2008, 421) assert that “[a]n institution is a hard thing to pin down,” and, in connection with the claim, Jepperson (1991, Kindle Locations 2886-2887) contends that “the import and centrality of the concept of institution (and of its related terms) have not guaranteed clear and thoughtful usage.” Some of the most common classic examples of an institution are family, marriage, religion, education, government, voting, academic tenure, handshake, the formal organisation, the corporation, the language (just to name a few), yet they all imply conceptual vagueness and diversity and can denote ““production systems,” or “enabling structures,” or social “programs,” or performance scripts” (Jepperson 1991, Kindle Location 2918). Some of them are more structural, yet others are more cultural. Mohr and Friedland (2008, 421) argue, “[t]here is ... something of a collective consensus that institutions represent the more *enduring* features of social life, that they tend to be *reproduced* and that they serve to *structure* and *organize* [emphasis added] social action, and hence are the most important constituent components of society. But beyond this, there is less consistency in how we speak of institutions or how we define them.” The fact that after Selznick (1948, 1949, [1957] 1992) the concept of institution went missing from the organisational theory and also from the research in sociology in

general is important. It explains and justifies the introduction of the prefix “new” or “neo” that institutional theory acquired at the end of the 1970s when the new approach, i.e., new institutionalism in organisational analysis, started reconceptualising the role and effects of institutions. Scott (1995, 2008) characterises the appearance of the new perspective within sociology in terms of invasion, a rapid and momentous change, which is a rather intense description,¹⁵ providing the overall context that prevailed in the social sciences in regard to the specific subject matter. Mohr and Friedland (2008, 422) reflect that “the relationship between different institutions and the relation between institutional fields and what Bourdieu (1991) calls the field of power were not targeted for empirical study. The concept of institution became increasingly invisible medium, like water for fish. Institutions were everywhere and nowhere in the social sciences.”

In their seminal work Meyer and Rowan (1977) also apply a rather vague definition, referring to institutions as “monolithic framework” (Scott 2008, 430) and describing them as “rational myths,” “rule-like” conditions, “knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws, ... by the courts” (Meyer and Rowan 1977, 340-343). As I have mentioned earlier, their work, however, implied an important emphasis on cognitive-cultural forces in constituting institutions. Meyer and Rowan (1977, 341) argued, “institutions inevitably involve normative obligations, but often enter into social life primarily as facts [cognitive-cultural elements], which must be taken into account by actors. Institutionalisation involves the processes by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rule-like status in social thought

¹⁵ “INSTITUTIONAL THEORY IS ON THE RISE. Perhaps it takes a period of rapid and momentous change to make us aware of the importance of the social and cultural context surrounding and supporting organisational forms. We are assuredly in such a period now” (Scott 1995, xi).

and action.” Institutionalisation here refers to processes, but exactly what are these processes? Jepperson (1991, Kindle Location 2926-2927) articulates that “[i]nstitution represents a social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property” and “institutionalisation denotes the process of such attainment.” Both descriptions (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Jepperson 1991) imply durability via pattern (regular repetition) and continuity, but Jepperson comes closer in defining the process and argues that “[a]n institution is . . . a social pattern that reveals a particular reproduction process” (Jepperson 1991, Kindle Location 2927).

In 1983, DiMaggio and Powell provided their “seminal distinction” (Scott 2008), differentiating between coercive, mimetic, and normative processes of institutional reproduction (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b). As DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 150) explain, coercive process “stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy,” mimetic process results “from standard responses to uncertainty,” and normative process is “associated with professionalisation.” A closer analysis of the three processes is provided in Chapters Three, Four, and Five, which contain empirical analysis of the emergence, development, and maturation of contemporary visual art field in Latvia from the 1990s to the 2010s. Following the lead of DiMaggio and Powell, Scott (1995, [1995] 2014) has explicated the “seminal distinction,” denoting three constitutive pillars as foundations of institutional processes. His work integrates the coercive, mimetic, and normative processes of institutional reproduction as part of a larger institutional reality (TABLE 1.2.). Scott (1995, [1995] 2014) differentiates between three formative elements, i.e., regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive, and consequently introduces the “omnibus” or “dense” definition of institutions. According to the scholar,

...[i]nstitutions comprise regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life Institutions exhibit stabilizing and meaning-making properties because of the processes set in motion by regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements. These elements are the central building blocks of institutional structures, providing the elastic fibres that guide behaviour and resist change. (Scott [1995] 2014, 56-57)

Regulative pillar of institutional order entails the rule establishing, monitoring, and sanctioning capacity and is characterised by the logic of instrumentality (Scott [1995] 2014, 59-62); the normative elements “introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into social life,” they “define goals or objectives, ... but also designate appropriate ways to pursue them” (Scott [1995] 2014, 64). Normative pillar is characterised by the logic of appropriateness (Scott [1995] 2014). The cognitive paradigm or cultural-cognitive pillar emphasises “the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and create the frames through which meaning is made” (Scott [1995] 2014, 67), and is characterised by the logic of orthodoxy – “the perceived correctness and soundness of the ideas underlying action” (Scott [1995] 2014, 68).

While assessing a certain institutional environment, it is important to emphasise “the multiplex nature of institutional reality” (Scott [1995] 2014, 84), in which the multiple elements representing the three pillars are interdependent, mutually related and reinforcing. In this regard, it also should be noted that, depending on the field of study,¹⁶ different analytic concepts could be applied, assigning differing levels of vitality to the various institutional elements that are indicated within the three-pillar structure. The “inter-pillar communication” (Scott [1995] 2014, 84) is also important in regard to the

¹⁶ As previously indicated, in the disciplines of economics and political science the instrumentality and structural elements of the regulative pillar are more emphasised.

relational model of embeddedness, which I have discussed in the sub-chapter, focusing on institutional interdependence of organisations and the environment, and have visually depicted in FIGURE 1.1. When referring to the three pillars, the relational model of embeddedness indicates that “the regulative and normative levels of institutions are the product of political [and social] dynamics. Cognitive institutions are ideational, hence less defined. The former two are the products of direct human design. The latter is the product of “natural” development” (Hoffman 2001, 36). The elements of the regulative pillar are more visible, but they are also “more fast-moving and easier to manipulate,” and “they can ... be more superficial, “thinner,” and less consequential than normative and cultural elements” (Scott 2008, 429). When characterising the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutional elements, Scott (2008, 429) emphasises that they “provide the deeper foundations of institutional forms. In formulating the classificatory systems, assumptions, and premises that underlie institutional logics, [cultural-cognitive elements] provide infrastructure on which not only beliefs, but norms and rules rest.” The continuum arrow in TABLE 1.2. represents the relation of embeddedness between the three pillars.

TABLE 1.2. Three pillars and carriers of institutions

	REGULATIVE	NORMATIVE	CULTURAL- COGNITIVE
	<i>Conscious/ legally enforced</i>		<i>Unconscious/ taken for granted¹⁷</i>
	← -----		
Symbolic systems	Rules, laws, policies, sanctions	Values, expectations, standards	Categories, typifications, schemas, frames
Relational systems	Governance and power systems	Regimes, authority systems	Structural isomorphism, identities
Activities	Monitoring, sanctioning, disrupting	Roles, jobs, habits, repertoires of	Predispositions, scripts

¹⁷ The direction of the arrow (from right to left) indicates that the cultural-cognitive pillar represents the deeper foundations of institutions.

		collective action	
Artifacts	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions, standards	Objects possessing symbolic value
Indicators	Rules, laws, policies, sanctions	Work roles, habits, norms (certification, accreditation)	Common beliefs, values, assumptions, shared logic of action, isomorphism
Basis of order	Regulative rules	Binding	Constitutive schema
Basis of legitimacy	Legal systems (legally sanctioned)	Moral and ethical systems (morally governed)	Cultural systems (comprehensible, recognisable, culturally supported)
Basis of compliance	Legal obligation, expedience, coercion, fear	Social and moral obligation	Taken-for-grantedness, shared understanding
Underlying institutional logic	Instrumentality	Appropriateness	Orthodoxy
Affect	Fear, guilt/innocence	Shame/ honour	Certainty/ confusion
Mechanisms	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
Basis of behaviour	Have to	Ought to	Want to

Sources: Scott 1995, 1998, 2014; Hoffman 2001; Palthe 2014.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY AND THE EMPIRICAL INDICATORS

Application of the open system approach to organisational analysis in the late 1960s and continuing into the mid 1970s indicated a paradigmatic shift that ensued in theorising frenzy and diverse and innovative theoretical frameworks, conceptualising the environmental determinants, sprang to life (as discussed in sub-chapter 1.2). The historical development of organisational studies during the 1970s can be epitomised as a decade of environment. DiMaggio (1986) and Scott (1998) have criticised the decade, however,

maintaining that analysis of complex systems of organisations requires a definition of certain boundaries of the environment and indicating that “it is not very helpful to regard the environment as simply “everything else”” (Scott 1998, 123) and that undifferentiated environment cannot be applied as a successful analytic tool. Such theoretical frameworks as organisation set (Thompson [1967] 2003; Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Aldrich [1979] 2008) and organisational population or ecology (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984; Aldrich [1979] 2008; Hannan and Carroll 1995) were the first to analyse the interdependence between the environment and organisation, defining a specific level of analysis and substantive focus (range of factors and forces that has influence on the organisational structure) and expanding both, i.e., the level and the focus, upward and outward (FIGURE 1.3.). Instead of examining causal relationship between one selected organisation and the environment, the scholars directed attention to higher level of analysis and wider focus and studied inter-organisational relationships that are defined within a specific set, network, or population, which consequently constitute a certain institutionalised professional domain, e.g., medical care providers, newspaper publishers, universities (Hannan and Freeman 1977), art museums (DiMaggio 1991a; Blau 1995), radio broadcasters, labour unions (Hannan and Carroll 1995; Carroll and Hannan 1995). The concentration on higher level and wider focus in studying organisations that took place at the end of the 1970s implied an analytical shift in examining causal relationship between a specific organisational set, network, or population and the environment.

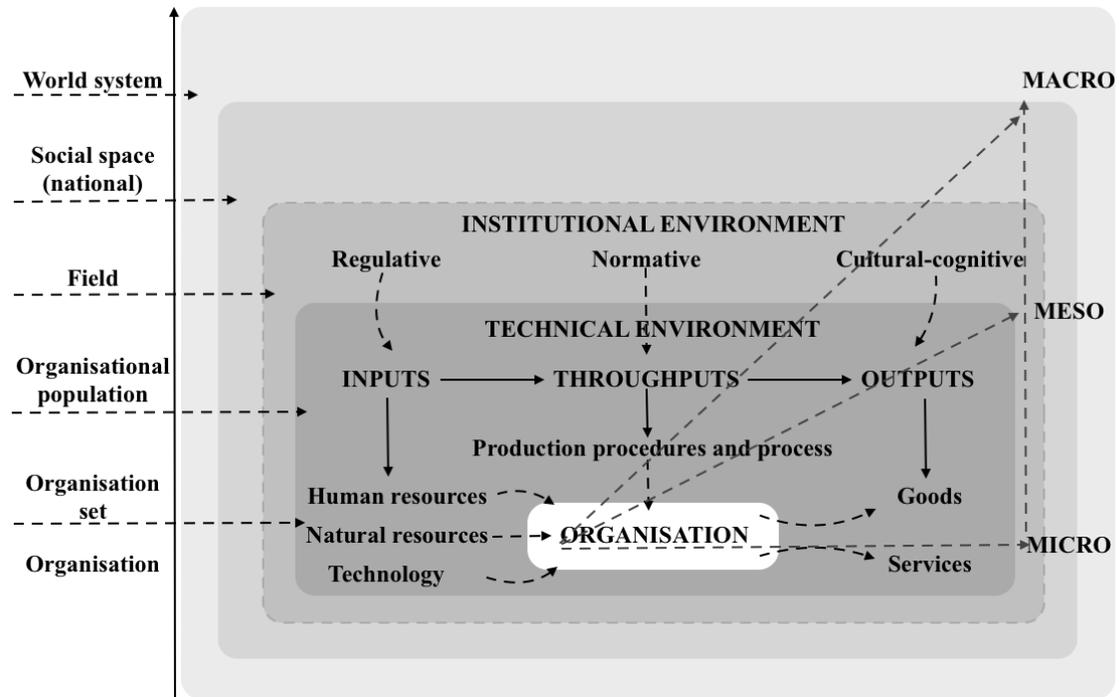


FIGURE 1.3. Open system: different focuses (technical and institutional determinants of the environment) and different levels of analysis within various theoretical frameworks of organisational studies

Source: Demir 2019.

Notes: Expansion of the level and the substantive focus of analysis, indicating upward and outward movement.

1.4.1 Level of Analysis: The Field Concept – from the Environment of Organisations to the Relational Organisation of Environment

When evaluating the dominant theoretical models of the late 1970s, Scott (1983) argues that the working definitions of the environment of both approaches in regard to the level of analysis and substantive focus were still rather limited (more detailed discussion is included in sub-chapter 1.2). The emergence of a new theoretical framework, epitomised by the formulation of the new institutionalism, at the end of the 1970s marked yet another expansion, shifting the level of analysis upward and the focus of analysis

outward. In 1983, four authors introduced organisational field (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b)¹⁸ and societal sector (Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991) as new levels of analysis, arguing that they, i.e., field and sector, are “particularly suited to the study of institutional processes ...” and that they “help to bound the environments within which institutional processes operate” (Scott [1995] 2014, 51). The application of a higher level of analysis also indicated a move to a more systemic level of analysis (DiMaggio 1983, DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Scott and Meyer 1983), shifting attention away from the causal relationship of an organisation as a unit with the environment to the organisation of the causal relationships as a totality, namely structural organisation of the environment itself (Scott 1983a, 1998). As analytical tools and as methods of “analysing causal relations and of building scientific constructs” (Lewin [1943] 1951, 45), both – the societal sector and the organisational field – are conceptually similar. Scott and Meyer (1983, 129) propose that “a societal sector is defined to include all organisations within a society supplying a given type of product or service together with their associated organisational sets: suppliers, financiers, regulators, and the like.”¹⁹ In their research, the scholars emphasise regulative and funding relations as salient factors in shaping the structure of the sector (Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991, [1995] 2014). In 1983, concurrently with the previous set of authors, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 148) formulated the concept of organisational field and introduced the following definition:

By organisational field, we mean those organisations that, in the aggregate,

¹⁸ It is important to note that Paul J. DiMaggio has also used the field concept in an individually authored article “State Expansion and Organisational Fields,” which was published in the same year (1983) as the seminal co-authored treatise published together with Walter W. Powell.

¹⁹ Scott and Meyer (1991, Kindle Locations 2166-2168) apply the same definition in an updated version of the research paper, “The Organisation of Societal Sectors: Propositions and Early Evidence,” which was reprinted in 1991 in DiMaggio and Powell’s edited book, *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, including the foundational works of new institutionalism.

constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products. The virtue of this unit of analysis is that it directs our attention not simply to competing firms ... or to networks of organisations that actually interact, ... but to *the totality of relevant actors* [emphasis added].²⁰

The attention to “the totality of relevant actors” is imperative in this formulation of the field as a level of analysis. Organisation set (Thompson [1967] 2003; Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Aldrich [1979] 2008) and organisational population (Hannan and Freeman 1977, 1984; Aldrich [1979] 2008; Hannan and Carroll 1995) approaches (discussed in sub-chapter 1.2.1) both are incorporated within the field framework, providing a more comprehensive analytical approach in examining the causal relationships of organisations and the environment and the making of “collective rationality” (Scott [1995] 2014, 268) or shared meaning system. Scott argues that the formation of “socially constructed frameworks of beliefs, rules, and norms – where we can observe contentious processes involving the participation of various types of actors with varying levels of understanding and influence” can be apprehended particularly well on the field level of analysis. Regulatory pressures and funding connections are important factors for DiMaggio (1983, 1986, 1987c, 1988a,b, 1991a), DiMaggio and Powel (1983, 1991b) in determining the structure of the field, but the scholars also pay a particular attention to the network topology and social relation components in order to establish the structural properties of the field and relational positioning²¹ of “the totality of relevant actors” within it.

²⁰ DiMaggio and Powell (1991b, Kindle Locations 1318-1325) apply the same definition in an updated version of the research paper, “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields,” which was re-printed in 1991 in DiMaggio and Powell’s edited book, *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis*, including the foundational works of the new institutionalism.

²¹ Structure of relations determined by multitude of interdependent factors.

In 1986, DiMaggio expressed criticism, arguing that in organisational analysis research, the organisational field concept is often applied as a metaphor rather than a potent analytical tool; however, he also conveyed a strong confidence in the 1980s as a decade, which will prove the efficacy of the concept in examining complex systems of organisations and the structure of the causal relationships as a totality. Three decades later, Scott ([1995] 2014, 219) still refers to the concept as a work in progress, explaining that within organisational analysis it “has been subject to criticism, amendment, and improvement up to the present moment. It is ... widely accepted and hotly contested.” DiMaggio and Powel formulated the concept of field in the organisational studies in sociology in the early 1980s, introducing both, societal or meso-level analysis of relational structure of organisations in a defined environment and the theoretical conception of the field as well. When formulating the theoretical demands of the field approach within the framework of the new institutionalism in organisational analysis, the scholars relied on a prior historical development of the term and its application in natural and later also social sciences.

1.4.2 The Field: From Physical Sciences to Social Phenomena

The history of the field stems from the theoretical and empirical developments in physical sciences during the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries, particularly from the research focusing on electromagnetism²² – the science of

²² The achievements of researchers such as André-Marie Ampère, Charles Augustin de Coulomb, Michael Faraday, and James Clerk Maxwell are of particular importance in historical development of electromagnetic theory.

electromagnetic fields. In physics, stated in simple terms, the current of electrically charged particles produces a physical field, i.e., electromagnetic field, which exhibits electromagnetic force, determining physical interaction of the electrically charged units in the area of the field. Important in this regard is the fact that the behaviour of particles is not determined by their intrinsic properties, but by their placement in some physically defined location. When explaining the behaviour of an electromagnetic field, theoretical physicist Richard Feynman ([1965] 2013, Chapter 1.2., Para. 3 and 5) characterizes that “a “field” is any physical quantity, which takes on different values at different points in space,” and we should regard “the fields as mathematical functions of position and time.” The field concept is conceived as an empirical entity that is subject to change, depending on a specific time of measurement and assessment. During the 1940s, following the general principles of the behavioural dynamics of the field in physics, social psychologist Kurt Lewin developed an innovative theoretical approach in the study of social behaviour, applying psychological field theory, also known as topological and vector psychology. Lewin ([1942], [1943], [1946], [1947] 1951) describes the psychological field of a person, using the concept of life space, and defines it as a dynamic behavioural or psychological environment that is shaped by a totality of objective and mutually interdependent factors. The scholar has expressed the concept in a form of a mathematical equation, also referred to as Lewin’s equation: $B = F(P, E)$. He argued that “[i]n general terms, behaviour (B) is a function (F) of the person (P) and of his [or her] environment (E)” (Lewin [1946] 1951, 239). Interdependence is viewed as an important conceptual component of the field or the life space. When explaining his formula, Lewin ([1946] 1951) contends that the person (P) and the environment (E) need to be examined as coexisting and mutually dependent

variables. He specifies that, in order to understand behaviour, “the person and his environment have to be considered as *one* [emphasis in original] constellation of interdependent factors. We call the totality of these factors the life space (LSp) [or a field] of that individual” (Lewin [1946] 1951, 239). Based on the statement, the scholar extrapolates the mathematical formula further: $B = F(P, E) = F(LSp)$ (Lewin [1946] 1951). In Lewin’s approach, beside interdependence, two other components are vital in determining the field as an empirical entity: they are objective relations (Lewin [1942] 1951) and contemporaneity or the properties of a field at a given time (Lewin [1943] 1951). When describing the basic characteristics of the field, the scholar insists that the totality of the factors that exerts influence on a person should not be reported in “objective physicalistic” (Lewin [1942] 1951, 62) terms, i.e., it should not be constructed through the objective position of an observer (Lewin [1942] 1951, Burnes and Cooke 2013). Instead, in order to observe objective relations, the researcher needs to consider the multitude of interrelated factors and “of only those factors which make up the field of that [particular] individual” (Lewin [1942] 1951, 62) within a specific timeframe. The principles of objective relations and contemporaneity imply that the field (or any given life space) is a result of historical modifications, and the comparative analysis of longitudinal observations and measurements, performed to examine the totality of mutually interdependent factors of a given life space at a given time, enable the researcher to determine the major forces leading to the change within a field over time.

Influence of Lewin’s field theoretical approach, applied in his topological and vector psychology, is evident in the seminal treatises of Pierre Bourdieu. The notion of field (*champ*) is one of the principal analytical and organising concepts in Bourdieu’s

sociology²³ and, as Martin (2003) suggests, it is particularly Bourdieu's theoretical framework of analysing a specific social space that is most widely used as a conceptual template in social sciences. If Lewin's field refers to social-psychological topology of a person or a group, Bourdieu's field can be characterised in terms of social network topology (Bourdieu 1985). Relational causality is one of the most important characteristics in Lewin's field theoretical approach. He explains it through constructive method and dynamic approach (Lewin [1942] 1951). Strictly opposing classificatory method, according to which a group of elements is categorised based on similarities, developing general rules and concepts and abstracting away from specific differences, Lewin argued that, instead, the constructive method "groups [elements] according to the way they can be derived from each other" (Lewin [1942] 1951, 61), implying relational approach that is based on empirical observations when examining dynamic behavioural environment (life space) of an individual or a group at a given time. Relational approach was also essential for Pierre Bourdieu²⁴ ([1966] 1969, 1983, [1984] 1993, 1985, 1993, 1996; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Burnes and Cooke 2013; Martin 2003; Grenfell and Hardy 2007) who emphasised that "to think in terms of field is to *think relationally* [emphasis in original]" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 96). Throughout his oeuvre, Bourdieu (1983, [1984] 1993, [1987] 1993, 1987a,b, 1991, 1993, 1996) has extensively analysed various types of social fields, including artistic (visual arts), literary, academic, juridical, and political. One of his earliest definitions of the field conception clearly reveals the importance of the relational thinking over the substantialist or, as Lewin has described it, classificatory approach to analysis of social groups. The definition of the

²³ The notions of habitus and capital are other two core conceptions in Bourdieu's work.

intellectual field included below could be applied as a principal template to any other field. It also reveals the early influence of Lewin's work in applying field theoretical approach to analysis of social groups. Bourdieu ([1966] 1969, 89) argues,

[t]he ... field, which cannot be reduced to a simple aggregate of isolated agents or to the sum of elements merely juxtaposed, is, like a magnetic field, made up of a system of power lines. In other words, the constituting agents or systems of agents may be described as so many forces which by their existence, opposition or combination, determine its specific structure at a given moment in time. In return, each of these is defined by its particular position within this field from which it derives *positional properties* [emphasis in original], which cannot be assimilated to intrinsic properties.

Both authors, when conceptualising the field theoretical approach and the importance of the relational causality, are explicitly basing their arguments on two influential treatises of Ernst Alfred Cassirer, *Substance and Function* ([1910] 1923 and *Einstein's Theory of Relativity* ([1921] 1923) respectively, as the primary sources of influence. Following Cassirer's argumentation, Lewin ([1942], [1943], [1946], [1947] 1951) and Bourdieu ([1966] 1969, 1985, [1984] 1993, 1996; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) move away from the Aristotelian concept of substance that entails the notion of fundamental elements, "which run through the whole field of perception ...," and "... these absolute elements alone, existing for themselves, constitute the real kernel of what is given and "real"" (Cassirer [1910] 1923, 10). Cassirer's philosophical analysis of fundamental conceptions within the system of knowledge in physical and mathematical sciences can be characterized as a gradual shift from the concept of thing to the concept of relation (Cassirer [1910] 1923, [1921] 1923). He projects the relational concept, entailing dynamic reciprocal interconnection between phenomena, as a vital rule of understanding in modern science (Cassirer [1921] 1923, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Cassirer ([1910] 1923, 231) contends that

...[t]he essential object of scientific consideration is the "structural relations," along with the laws of causal dependence. These structural relations are finally reduced to definite numbers ... and the attempt is made to understand these numbers as an ordered sequence. Theory considers and defines the possible forms of serial connection in general, while experience shows the definite place, taken by an empirical "real" being or an empirically real process in this connection. In the developed scientific conception of the world, the two elements are inseparably united.

According to Lewin (1947) and Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), the field concept entails structural properties (or should be characterised by structural properties), which are determined through objective relations between the various actors and not by some essential intrinsic properties of actors themselves.

As mentioned earlier, the field should be conceived as an empirical construct that is subject to change over time. Martin (2003) argues that historically²⁵ one of the major claims of the field theoretical approach is to explain change in positions of the elements within the field. Lewin ([1942] 1951) applies the concept of *dynamis* or force to interpret the change in the behavioural field of a person or a group, indicating also that the notion of force is one of the principal characteristics in the field approach to analysis. The psychologist maintains, "all changes are due certain [psychological] forces²⁶ (directed entities)" (Lewin [1942] 1951, 83). Also, as specified in Bourdieu's body of work, the principal causes that sustain the operability and ignite the transformation of a field are attributed to the particular forces that are present in the field. The author argues that "[t]he principle of the dynamics of a field lies in the form of its structure and, in particular, in

²⁵ The historical reference relates to the earlier developments of the field concept within physical science.

²⁶ Lewin ([1946] 1951) describes two types of forces, i.e., driving and restraining, that can cause movement and hence structural change of positions of the elements within a behavioural field.

the distance, the gaps, the asymmetries between the various specific forces that confront one another. The forces that are active in the field ... are those which define the specific capital” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 101). Bourdieu (1986) concedes that there are three fundamental forms of capital, i.e., economic, cultural, and social, although he also distinguishes between symbolic, juridical, political, and educational capitals²⁷ (Bourdieu 1983, 1984, 1987a, 1991, 1996). Depending on a field under study, the presence and the dominance of each of the capitals varies, hence it is a task of the researcher to empirically establish, which guise of the capital is the most relevant and would cause the most pertinent differences within that specific field. A strong interconnectedness between the conceptions of a field and that of a specific capital is particularly emphasised. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 98 and 101) argues, [i]n empirical work, it is one and the same thing to determine what the field is, where its limits lie ... and to determine what species of capital are active in it, within what limits, and so on,” and he continues, claiming that “[a] capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.” The configuration of how the capital is distributed determines the positional structure of the actors within the field, hence influencing the specific behaviour of each.

Causality within the field is not structured based on conventional understanding that an actor (or object) A directly affects an actor (or object) B. Instead, the field itself “is a patterned system of objective forces (much in the manner of a magnetic fields), a *relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity* [emphasis in original] which it imposes on all the objects and agents which enter in it” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992,

²⁷ The different types of capitals are discussed in more detail in the following chapter (Chapter II) when determining the specific resources that are most relevant and cause most pertinent differences within the field of contemporary visual art in Latvia.

17). As indicated above, the causal relationships cannot be reduced to the intrinsic properties of single actors (or objects), directly impacting one another, but “the potential for force is in the field” (Martin 2003, 7) itself, hence explaining the “field effect” and underlining the vital interrelatedness between the notion of a field and that of a specific capital. The positional movement and the differences of the actors within a field are thus structured by existence of specific forces (capitals), most pertinent at the time of the empirical study. The capitals that are fundamental in structurally shaping the field of contemporary visual art in Latvia are discussed in more detail within the framework of Research Design chapter (Chapter Two).

1.4.3 The Field: From Institution as a Consequence to Institution as a Process

The short historical ontology of the field concept is particularly important when discussed within the framework of new institutionalism in organisational analysis. As indicated earlier, for DiMaggio (1983, 1986, 1987c, 1988a,b, 1991a) and DiMaggio and Powel (1983, 1991b) the societal level of analysis and the conception of the field were foundational when formulating the theoretical demands of the new institutionalism. There is a considerable affinity between Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of the field and the major theoretical components of neo-institutionalism. When formulating their analytical approach, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991b) applied Bourdieu’s ideas of a field as a blueprint, focusing on relational and cultural aspects when defining the totality of relevant actors, operating within a particular environment. One of their latest definitions articulates that “an organisational field is a community of organisations [similar and dissimilar],

including producers, consumers, overseers, and advisors, that engage in common activities, subject to similar reputational, [funding], and regulatory pressures” (Powell and Colyvas 2008). Important in this regard is to reiterate the most recurrently used notion of an institution as a social pattern that reveals regularised conduct (Martin 2003) and “a particular reproduction process” (Jepperson 1991, Kindle Location 2927), i.e., institutionalisation. Martin (2003, 40) argues, “institutions are best studied in terms of observable regularities” and scholars representing new institutionalism (particularly Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991; Scott [1995] 2014; DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991a,b; DiMaggio 1983, 1986, 1991a) maintain that the field represents the most fitting level to study these observable regularities. Vital in this regard, however, is the question of institutional determinants. Martin (2003, 42) argues that “organisational fields connect and align organisations, and in so doing, can *induce* [emphasis added] shared subjectivities, or “culture.”” This claim is in line with the earlier theoretical developments of the new institutionalism (Meyer and Rowan 1977; 1978; DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Scott and Meyer 1983), which represents top-down or homogenous approach to institution building process. Scott (2008, 428) admits that the “early work carried with it some unfortunate intellectual baggage that has been difficult to discard. It has taken a good many years to reformulate some of the arguments and revise some of the assumptions embedded in the founding studies.” The early discussions implied rather general and uniform interpretation of the institutional environment in which “a monolithic framework” (Scott 2008, 430) of institutions is imposed and acts as powerful rationalised, ritualised, and constitutive myths, which organisations adopt as taken for granted rules, becoming “a passive “audience” for institutional knowledge” (Zucker 1987, 450). In their

seminal paper, Meyer and Rowan (1977, 340) argue “[i]nstitutional rules [emphasis added] function as myths which organisations incorporate, gaining legitimacy, resources, stability, and enhanced survival prospects.” The founding studies of the new institutionalism (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Scott and Meyer 1983) were void of interest and agency and hence change, which is one of the central components of my research. In his later work DiMaggio (1988, 7) expresses criticism that in their early body of work, scholars associated with the theoretical development of new institutionalism,²⁸ have created “an explanatory apparatus that is genuinely interest-free.”

The concept of isomorphism²⁹ was central in order to demonstrate the homogenising institutional effects on organisations. Meyer and Rowan’s (1977, 346) well-known argumentation in relation to the concept was that “organisations are structured by phenomena in their environments and tend to become isomorphic with them.” A few years later, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991b) and Scott and Meyer (1983, 1991) applied the concept to the organisational field and societal sector level analysis. DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 148) claimed that “[o]nce a field becomes well established, ... there is an inexorable push towards homogenization” of organisational forms. The authors are credited with introducing more refined version of the process, describing three mechanisms of institutional isomorphic change that takes place within settled organisational fields, i.e., coercive, mimetic, and normative (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b). As scholars (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991b) themselves have recognised, the analysis is focussed on the internal institutional dynamics, taking place within already

²⁸ This criticism could also be applied to DiMaggio’s own research that was published during the early 1980s.

²⁹ DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 149) define isomorphism as a “process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions.”

constituted fields, and this reveals a rather field-centric approach in which the influence of the external fields is not factored in as a vital component of the analysis (Fligstein and McAdam 2012), as well as the socio-historical processes that cause the emergence of a field are not examined (Martin 2003). Suchman (1995b, 39) suggests that “at the core of this debate lies disagreement over whether governance structures [institutions, including regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars]³⁰ ... rise up from the active planning, strategy, and negotiation of those who will be subject to them, or precipitate down from exogenous authoritative models lodged in the larger cultural environment.” The conceptual dissonance between the top-down and bottom-up models of institution building reveal two different notions of what the term institutionalisation implies (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powel 1983; Scott and Meyer 1983; DiMaggio 1988a; DiMaggio 1991a; Scott and Christensen 1995a,b; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). There is a divide between institutionalisation as an outcome or consequence within already established field, implying stability, legitimacy, better survival and reproduction chances, and institutionalisation as a process. DiMaggio’s article that was published in 1988 illustrates an important shift within the theoretical approach of new institutionalism in regard to the question of institutional determinants. DiMaggio (1988a, 12) argues that “institutional theory tells us relatively little about “institutionalisation” as an unfinished process (as opposed to an achieved state), about where institutions come from ...” and about how they are constructed and maintain stability and legitimacy. The earlier research within the scholarship of new institutionalism in organisational analysis more emphasised the ground or the environment within which the organisation functions, but de-focalised

³⁰ Please refer to the TABLE 1.2.

the importance of the agency, i.e., organisation and the individual actors, and their role in the institution building process (DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a; Scott [1995] 2014; Fligstein and McAdam 2012; Suchman 1995b). Following the later theoretical developments (and very much in accord with Bourdieu's field genesis concept (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 1987b; Scott ([1995] 2014, 58) summarises that "although institutions function to provide stability and order, they themselves undergo change, both incremental and revolutionary. Thus, our subject must include not only institutions as a property or state of an existing social order, but also institutions as process, including the processes of institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation."

1.4.4 Collapse of the Central Bank of Symbolic Capital³¹ and Emergence of a New Field

This thesis draws on the core idea of the new institutionalism that "organisations are deeply embedded in social and political environments ... [and] that organisational practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment" (Powel and Colyvas 2008, 976). Following the later developments within the theoretical approach, however, my analysis firmly rests on the bottom-up perspective, in which agency and interest play a vital part in institution-construction. Within this framework, organisations and individual actors of the field are penetrated by the institutional environment, but they also are capable of responding to and

³¹ The term derives from Bourdieu's (1987) work to describe the collapse of the Soviet Union, which caused extensive systemic changes within the existing apparatus of cultural production and which also triggered the structuring process of new fields, indicating a critical or qualitative break away from the previous dominant institutional framework.

initiating a change in that environment (DiMaggio and Powell 1991a, DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a; Scott [1995] 2014, 1995, 1998, 2008; Scott and Christensen 1995a,b; Suchman 1995b). Institutions are applied not as an outcome in an already constituted field, but as a process, allowing examining the emergence and institutionalisation of new fields. DiMaggio (1988a, 3) contends that “there is much about the processes by which institutions emerge, are reproduced, and erode that *cannot* [emphasis in original] be explained without reference to interest and group conflict.”

As stated earlier, the research of the institutional isomorphic change, taking place in an already settled institutional framework of a field, has been central particularly during the early developments of the new institutionalism in organisational analysis. This approach has avoided an examination of a vital process, which empirically occurs prior the homogenising institutional effects (institutional isomorphism) in an organisation (DiMaggio 1991a; Scott 2008). Recognising the prominence of the field-centric research, DiMaggio (1988a, 1991a) re-examined his previous studies and claimed that in order to analyse institutional effects (institution as consequence) and to “understand the institutionalisation [and homogenisation] of organisational forms, we must first understand the institutionalisation and structuring of organisational fields” (DiMaggio 1991a, Kindle Location 5301), implying that researcher’s focus first should be on the emergence process of a field. Important is the acknowledgement that that there is different causal dynamics involved in the process of structuration than it is in the process of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a). Correlated with the emergence of a new field is the presence of agency and interest in institution building, which are more evident and amenable to empirical observation during the genesis stage of a new

organisational field (Bourdieu [1984] 1993, [1987] 1993, 1987b, 1996; DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a; Scott and Christensen 1995a,b; Suchman 1995b; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Regardless of the emphasis on institutions as either regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive systems (TABLE 1.2.), it would be rather irrational to presume that institutions “just grow” (Scott and Christensen 1995b, 303). Scott and Christensen (1995b, 303), firmly supporting the role of the agency or bottom-up approach in institution forming, highlight that “[t]hey must be constructed and maintained as well as adapted and changed.” This raises fundamental questions about how this is accomplished, namely, by what agency and interest and through what kind of processes?

It is commonly agreed upon that institutions manifest stabilizing and meaning-making properties. These meaning-making properties of the system of mutually reinforcing institutions³² – rules, laws, policies, norms, cultural values and beliefs – do not exist in a vacuum, i.e., they are not ahistorical, but, rather on the contrary, are both contested and shaped by the historical narrative of social, political, and economic development. The field concept, which is determined by the boundaries of a certain institutional framework that comprises a shared logic of action, consequently, is not time-free (Bourdieu 1983, [1984] 1993, [1987] 1993, 1987b, 1996; DiMaggio 1983, 1991a; Scott 1983c). All the components of the field – actors, pertinent capitals, institutions, and relations – should be regarded as “having a time subscript” and, “knowing *when* [emphasis in original] some element developed, may provide important clues as to [field’s]

³² The system of mutually related and reinforcing institutions refers to the “dense” definition of institutions, emphasising “the multiplex nature of institutional reality” (Scott [1995] 2014, 84), and all three pillars (TABLE 1.2.) are considered as interconnected. In my study, when discussing the construction of institutional environment as a shared logic of action in an emerging field, I am applying the inter-pillar interpretation of institutions (please see Chapter 1.4.).

characteristics and behaviour” (Scott 1983c, 169). Historical context is essential when examining the emergence of a new field, particularly in times when societal economic, political, and social structures go through fundamental changes. When referring to the historical moments that feature social disorganisation and change, DiMaggio (1997, 280) emphasises that “[a] particular challenge is to understand cognitive aspects of major collective events in which large numbers of persons rapidly adopt orientations that might have appeared culturally alien to the majority of them a short time before.” This challenge implies the existence of a critical moment within the previously dominant institutional framework, which eventually manifests itself as a qualitative break from the previously shared institutional logic of action, indicating the emergence of formerly unrecognised and unorganised social space – a new field (Bourdieu [1987] 1993; McAdam 2007; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Historical factors set the stage, and they are pertinent past conditions that help understanding the prevalent interests, representing agency, during the formation process of the field. Scott (1983c) contends that a particular condition of the larger societal economic, political, and social structures at a specific time (especially when undergoing fundamental systemic changes) significantly influence the structuring and institutionalisation processes of a new field.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union that started in 1991 can be viewed as a demanding case, epitomising widespread social, political, and economic disorganisation in the countries that were part of this systemic collapse, including Latvia. In the CEEC, the 1990s was a decade of transition and during this time the country underwent a tremendous shock (OECD 2000; Kolodko 2000; Åslund and Dombrovskis 2011) that can be characterised as multidimensional crisis, penetrating all areas of life. Most often the

post-Soviet transition process is described in terms of economic restructuring and democratisation processes, emphasising the advancement of market economy³³ and democracy³⁴ indexes as particularly vital for country's stability. The effects of transition on the field of culture, entailing production, promotion, and distribution processes, were profound. As Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Regional Economic Assessment Report, concentrating on the Baltic States, underlines, transition was a package, comprising interdependent reforms (OECD 2001). The transformation pace and strategic approaches to the reconstruction, however, were not equally consistent in all sectors. The government's overall approach towards the transition followed the "shock therapy strategy" (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; OECD 2000; Kolodko 2000; Åslund and Dombrovskis 2011) and can be characterised as economically radical and politically pragmatic in Latvia. During the first decade of transition, however, in the field of culture no significant systemic changes were implemented within the inherited centralised and mammoth cultural production apparatus. In 1998, the examiners of the Council of Europe³⁵ (CoE) in their report on cultural policy development in Latvia have concluded that the "authorities have, within generally declining resources, tried to keep as much of the cultural infrastructure intact as possible" (LR Ministry of Culture

³³ The classification system of economic transition indicators comprises privatisation (small and large scale), governance and enterprise restructuring policies, price liberalisation, competition policy, banking reform, securities markets and non-bank financial institutions. This is a simplified economic transition index system developed by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's (EBRD) Office of the Chief Economist (EBRD 1999) and it is applied in the institution's *Transition Report 1999*.

³⁴ Democracy index is developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit (2016) and comprises the following categories according to which countries are evaluated: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties.

³⁵ Latvia joined the Cultural Policy Review Programme in 1997. The Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe launched the programme in 1986. As a result, two important reports were produced in 1998, i.e., a national report, Cultural Policy in Latvia, created by an independent research team, and an evaluation report, written by the examiners of the Council of Europe. 30 national cultural policy reviews have been published since the inception of the programme (Council of Europe 2017).

1998, 197). In regard to policies, the ministry and the local authorities also followed the status quo tactics – at the national level there were no apparent methodical and coherent attempts to recognise key priorities. Consequently, urgent strategic choices were not made when required. The status quo and the preservation approach that the authorities pursued during the 1990s clearly indicated that the heavy hand of the history (Ikenberry 1994) was at work, leaving “behind ingrained intellectual and administrative heritage that ha[d] been difficult to transform into liberal and democratic models” (CoE/ERICarts 2006, 3). Even though Latvia was officially accepted as a member of the European Union on 1 May 2004 and, from economic and political standpoint, had successfully completed the transition process, Tjarve (2013) argues that the cultural systems in Latvia are still in the transformation phase and the field of culture, even after the first decade of the 2000s, is still in the process of extended transition.

The persistence of institutional funding and the centre oriented cultural authority revealed an acute administrative dilemma that the policy makers faced during the transition of the 1990s, i.e., dilemma between safeguarding of the infrastructure and promotion of the creative processes (Matarasso and Landry 1999). The foresight that “culture is living, changing and developing, and [that] the role of cultural policy is to ensure that it remains so” (Matarasso and Landry 1999, 38) was not present within the political discourse of the time, indicating to the persistence of dichotomy between heritage and contemporary, which, according to Matarasso and Landry (1999), represents yet another set of the social development dilemmas that challenged policy makers of the time. Both sets of the dilemmas are inherently related, revealing that the centralized and hierarchical institutional legacy and the status quo approach to its administration and

funding was one of the principal endogenous factors that determined the major trends of the structuring and institutionalisation processes of the new field of contemporary visual arts, representing non-traditional art initiatives. Matarasso and Landry (1999, 38) contend that “the policy challenge is to ensure that the whole cultural chain is thriving because the consequences of neglecting one link will be felt across the whole.”

The government behaviour towards the field of cultural production can also be used to explain the opposite tendency that took place during the 1990s. The registration dynamics of non-profit organisations indicate (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences 2011; Lursoft 2017) that, in parallel to the inflexible state institutional network, a slow, but steady increase in development of non-profit organisations was apparent (FIGURES 3.1. and 3.2.) during the 1990s, starting to fill the gaps of post-command cultural landscape and offering cultural products in fields, which were not institutionally represented during the Soviet period and which were not yet included in the programming of state cultural institutions during the 1990s. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) remind that creation of sufficient institutional vehicles in order to launch and sustain innovative content and action is essential if the process of field formation is to happen, hence the role of the emerging third sector in the formation of contemporary visual art field during the 1990s should not be underestimated. The new institutional framework, comprising contemporary visual art, did not originate within the established state infrastructure, but developed outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture, Artists’ Union, and Academy of Art. The three authorities represented major legitimising bodies that exercised “the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 250) prior the dissolution of the Soviet Union. They were the “monopoly holder[s] of the legitimate

definition of art and the artist, of the *nomos* [emphasis in original], principle of legitimate vision and division permitting the separation between art and non-art, between the “true” artists, worthy of being publicly and officially exhibited, and the others, condemned to oblivion by the rejection of the jury” (Bourdieu 1996, 230). Lacking systemic support and recognition from the “official” actors of the field of cultural production, the new organisations displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor. This “additional part of the cultural infrastructure” (Klaic 2007, 24) was referred to as alternative, independent, or informal (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Klaic 2007; Astahovska 2010; Auziņa 2010; Mazika 2008, 2010; Šmite and Šmits 2010) and featured a rather polarised institutional co-existence during the first decade of the transition.

The sharp polarisation between the institutions of the establishment, i.e., state organisations – museums, exhibition halls, art schools, and the emerging independent sector during the 1990s can be described in terms of “bipolar chaos of cultural infrastructures” (Auziņa 2010, 310), hence distinguishing the transition period as a demanding case for study, particularly when focusing on the endogenous and exogenous factors that triggered the rupture from the existing artistic *nomos* and the processes that initiated and facilitated the emergence of “[a] new prototype or cultural schema ... as the acceptable way of doing things to meet local needs/goals” (Johnson, Dowd, Ridgeway 2006, 60). The very beginning of the post-Soviet transition epitomises the critical moment when the qualitative break from the previous logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails took place. It also illustrates the persisting “challenge of articulating new routines with pre-existing institutions and with the definitional systems

that give those institutions meaning” (Suchman 1995b, 40).

1.4.5 Social Construction of Previously Unorganised Space: Components

Recognising that the transition period presents a demanding case for study that comprises complex endogenous and exogenous factors and different processes that brought about fast development of a vibrant network of actors who during the 1990s started to claim a “previously unorganised social space” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91) within the field of cultural production, the purpose of this study is to examine the emergence, development, and maturation of Latvian contemporary visual art as a distinct organisational field between the 1990s and 2010s. The focal theoretical concept of this thesis is embedded in the argument that varying levels, i.e., endogenous and exogenous, of social and political environments and actors and their interests are essential during the formation, development, and maturation processes of a new field. The study particularly focuses on the growing influence of the non-governmental sector and the changing behaviour of state actors in the formation of cultural policy trends in Latvia in the aftermath of the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union. In order to develop the theoretical framework for the analysis of autonomisation and structuration processes, whereby the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia came to be organized and institutionally recognized in the 1990s and 2010s, I strongly draw on new institutionalism in organisational analysis and Bourdieu’ s conceptual template for analysing a specific social space – the field. I particularly draw on the latest developments within the new institutionalism in organisational analysis that emphasise the importance of the bottom-

up approach of the institution-construction process, in which agency and interest assume an important role in building a common framework of meanings (rules, laws, policies, norms, cultural values and beliefs) in order “to resolve pressing practical problems” (Suchman 1995b, 39). When referring to institutions or the system of mutually related and reinforcing institutions within a field, I apply the “dense” definition, which emphasises “the multiplex nature of institutional reality” (Scott [1995] 2014, 84), comprising all three formative elements of institutions, including regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars (see TABLE 1.2.). Correlated with the bottom-up model is the importance that is assigned to the emergence of a new field. In this respect, common is argument that the presence of agency and interest are more evident and amenable to empirical observation particularly during the genesis stage of a new organisational field (Bourdieu [1984] 1993, [1987] 1993, 1987b, 1996; DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a; Scott and Christensen 1995a,b; Suchman 1995b; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). DiMaggio (1991a, Kindle Location 5308) emphasises, [t]he neglect by researchers of structuration processes provides a one-sided vision of institutional change that emphasises taken-for-granted, non-directed, non-conflictual evolution at the expense of intentional, directive, and conflict-laden processes that define fields and set them upon trajectories that eventually appear as “natural” developments to participants and observers alike.” When examining the construction of a previously unorganised social space, including actors, pertinent capital, shared logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails, fundamental are questions of how this is accomplished: by what agency and interest and through what kind of processes?

There are several key components that I am going to examine and that will allow me to measure and indicate the emergence, development, and settlement stages of a new field in a longitudinal study, which comprises nearly three decades, commencing in 1991 and continuing up to 2016. The key components that are going to be examined entail autonomisation and structuration processes, actors (agency and interest), internal and external relational systems (pertinent capital and embeddedness), and institutional logic (locus of institutionalisation and organising principles).

1.4.5.1 The Autonomisation Process of an Emerging Field

Commonly embraced notion by all institutional perspectives is that institutions are “enduring entities that cannot be changed instantaneously or easily” (Mahoney 2000, 512).³⁶ This acknowledgement brings the concept of path-dependence to the fore, particularly when analysing the major development trends of the field of cultural production that was represented by the monolith state apparatus during the transition of the 1990s. The status quo approach was dominant in cultural policy development, governance, and administration. Noteworthy is Ikenberry’s (1994,16) argument that “[p]olitics do evolve, but ... the basic organisation logic gets established at certain critical moments – and subsequent changes tend to be variations or extensions on that logic.” Mahoney (2000, 507), in this regard, contends that “path dependence characterises specifically those historical sequences in which contingent events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties.” The path

³⁶ Similar discussion about institutions as resistant to change could be found in works of Powell and DiMaggio (1991), Ikenberry (1994), Hall and Taylor (1996), Thelen (1999).

dependence factor features a strong top-down effect of institutional reproduction in an already established field, not giving much space for the agency and interest. This is contrary to the bottom-up approach that my study firmly represents. It is important to remind, however, that the two institution building processes can co-exist within one social system and, as Suchman (1995b, 44 and 41) argues “there is no single “necessary” locus of institutionalisation.” He goes on to explain that “the relative importance of top-down versus bottom-up effects is likely to depend on how high in the system the initial locus of institutionalisation lies.” This is especially important when considering the historical context of the transition and also the emergence of the independent sector, particularly contemporary visual art non-profit organisations, which epitomises the critical moment of rupture. In the context of post-soviet cultural transition of the 1990s, the term emergence should be defined as a qualitative break from the dominant existing logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails (McAdam 2007). As indicated earlier, the emergence of the innovative art organisations and initiatives also represent the opposite tendency of quite radical institutional change, developing next to the preservation approach of the state cultural sector.

Suchman (1995b, 44) argues that “problems generally do not arise with equal frequency in all parts of a social system, the likelihood that a given entity will [cognise and] theorise a given set of problems and solutions depends on the extent of that entity’s relevant experience, direct and vicarious.” In Latvia, the new institutional framework, comprising contemporary visual art, did not originate within the established state infrastructure, but developed outside the direct influence of the dominant and legitimate producers of art and the artists of the time. The artists, representing innovative projects,

and the new art organisations that got established lacked a systemic support from the authorities that exercised the “monopoly of *nomination* [emphasis in original]” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 250); hence they displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor. The locality where the emerging problem was cognised and theorised did not represent a national level (top-down) but was peripheral and narrowly professional (bottom-up).

Bourdieu (1987b, 204) describes the emergence of a new field in terms of autonomisation process, “within which and through which the agents (artists, critics, historians, curators, etc.) and the techniques, categories, and concepts (genre, mannerisms, periods, styles, etc.) which are characteristic of this universe [field] are invented.” According to the author, the autonomisation process implies a morphological change, as well as a “correlative transformation of the relation between the world of art and the political world” (Bourdieu 1996, 55). Even though Bourdieu does not provide a detailed description about how the particular process is sequenced, his essay on “Some Properties of Fields” ([1984] 1993) outlines four universal mechanisms or invariant laws that explain the internal dynamics and functioning of the field. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) interpret these laws as social understandings that always have to be present for a field to emerge and undergo the structuration process. Based on Bourdieu’s invariant laws, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) have developed a dynamic sequence that defines the qualitative break and the very initial formation of a previously unorganised social space. This dynamic sequence conceptualises the autonomisation process in more detailed way, benchmarking the process of internal dynamics in an emerging field.

McAdam and Fligstein (2012, 86-87) define an emerging field as

...a socially constructed arena occupied by two or more groups whose actions are oriented to each other but who have yet to develop a stable order that effectively routinises field relations. One can conceive of emerging fields as social space where rules do not yet exist but where actors, by virtue of emerging, dependent interests and worldviews, are being forced increasingly to take one another into account in their actions.

To conceptualise the qualitative break, which characterises the onset of a new socially constructed field, two interrelated terms should be explained, i.e., a critical juncture³⁷ and innovation. As Ikenberry (1994, 16) argues, a critical juncture entails a specific historical founding moment “that fix into place basic political orientations and institutions.” In the framework of wide-ranging post-Soviet transition, including social, political, and economic facets, critical juncture is essential in determining subsequent pathways of institutional development, and innovation, in this regard, is applied to characterise the new prototype of institutional patterns (rules, norms, procedures, values, beliefs) that are constructed with a goal to address specific needs and accomplish particular tasks (Johnson, Dowd, Ridgeway 2006) – they imply new ways of thinking and organising.

The impetus for the critical juncture and innovation is usually external (Bourdieu 1996; McAdam and Fligstein 2012), implying that endogenous dynamics of the field always depend on the external relational dynamics among the fields. I am going to examine the importance of the exogenous shock later in my work when describing the embeddedness concept of the field. Conceptually the exogenous change is also interrelated with critical juncture and innovation and, in connection to the emergent field,

³⁷ Critical juncture also can be expressed through other similar terms, e.g., critical moment (Ikenberry 1994), critical situation and rupture (Bourdieu [1987] 1993). All four of them are going to be used in my study interchangeably.

it presents a significant opportunity of the actors for constructing a new, shared framework of meaning.

Following the later theoretical developments in new institutionalism in organisational analysis, I examine institutionalisation as a work in progress or as an unfinished process and not as an achieved state or consequence (DiMaggio 1988a; McAdam and Fligstein 2012; Scott ([1995] 2014)). This approach is particularly important when analysing the emergence and further development (or settlement) of a new field. DiMaggio (1988a, 13) argues, “although society wide constitutive understandings ... are often highly institutionalised [stable], most sector-specific institutional understandings about organisational forms, programs, and procedures are relatively unstable. Institutions must be reproduced continuously, and their reproduction is often problematic.” In the field framework, the possibility of deinstitutionalisation should always be considered. The reproduction or deinstitutionalisation processes in the bottom-up model of institution building exhibit a strong correlation with the agency and interest. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) characterise organisational fields as being in a constant state of flux where negotiations among actors are continuously evolving. The scholars even go as far as to claim that “fields are constructed on a situational basis, as shifting collections of actors come to define new issues and concerns as salient. ... [T]he process of contention is ongoing and the threats to an order always present to some degree” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 10 and 12).

Firmly relying on institution as process approach, including institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation as a part of the process, the hypothesis of the study is that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual art field is divided into three

distinctive stages where each one of them is ignited by some founding moment (caused by an exogenous shock) that leads to the episode of crisis and contention and that is principal in shaping the ensuing phase of field development. To better characterise each developmental pathway, I apply the concepts of *innovation*, *local validation*, and *diffusion*. Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway (2006) have used the concepts to analyse how new socially constructed frameworks of meaning (rules, norms, beliefs and values) get created and how they gradually become legitimised through bottom-up institution building process. To this thesis, they are judged to be empirically valuable and practically useful – they provide a general characterisation of the institutional logic that is prevalent in each one of the stages, hence allowing to empirically capture the change. Institutional logic is defined as “a set of material practices and symbolic constructions, which constitutes its organising principles and which is available to organisations and individuals to elaborate” (Friedland and Alford 1991, Kindle Location 5008). The three proposed stages are as follows:

1. autonomisation and innovation: 1991-1999;
2. local validation: 2000-2009; and
3. diffusion: 2010-ongoing.

The dynamic sequence charts included bellow represent the internal dynamics of the field during each developmental pathway, and in my study they are represented through qualitative analysis. As defined above, the dynamic sequence, taking place within autonomisation and innovation phase, entails the very initial emergence and formation of the new field.

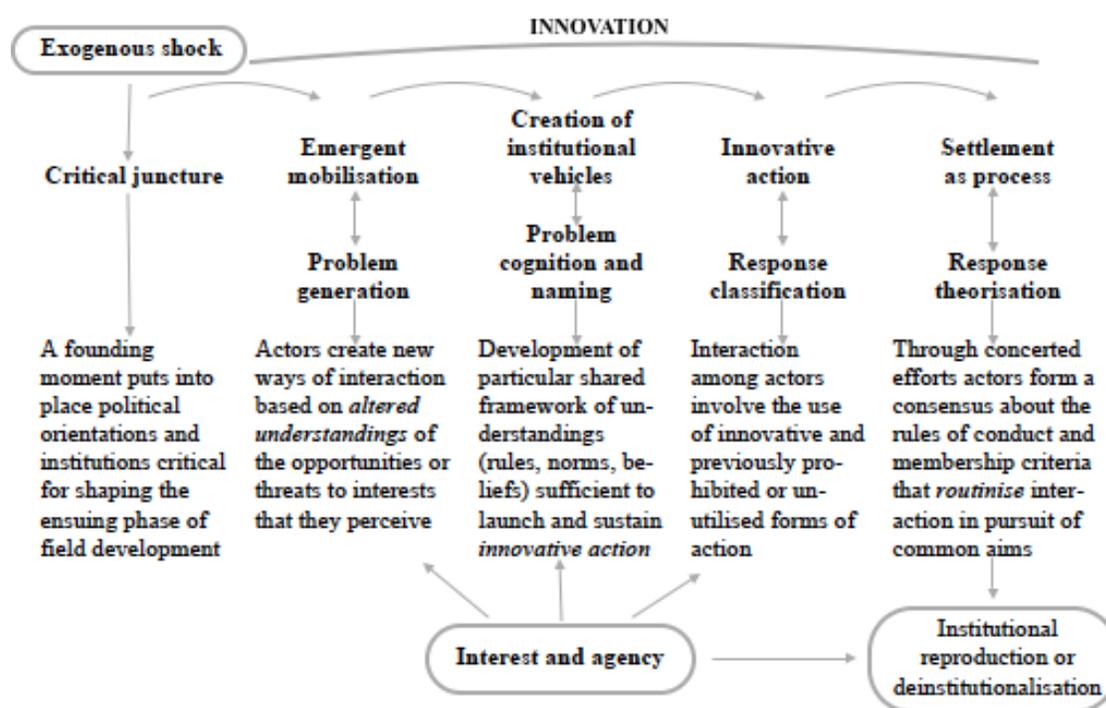


FIGURE 1.4. Autonomisation process: dynamic sequence of field emergence and formation. *Innovation* stage (1991-1999).

Sources: Bourdieu [1987] 1993; DiMaggio 1988; Ikenberry 1994; Suchman 1995b; Johnson, Dowd, Ridgeway 2006; Fligstein and McAdam 2012, visual image prepared by Demir 2019.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that the settlement or sustained interaction, which indicates that a field has emerged, is only possible after the actors of the field reach a consensus on the functioning of the invariant laws that determine the internal dynamics and shape the common framework of meaning of the field. The innovation occurs in rather peripheral and narrowly professional locus of action.

The dynamic sequence during the *local validation* phase implies that a certain settlement and stabilisation has been reached and that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, beliefs and values) have gradually become a part of a broader institutional locus, e.g., national cultural policy. “As a result of being successfully justified or implicitly

accepted, the innovation acquires local validation” (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006, 60).

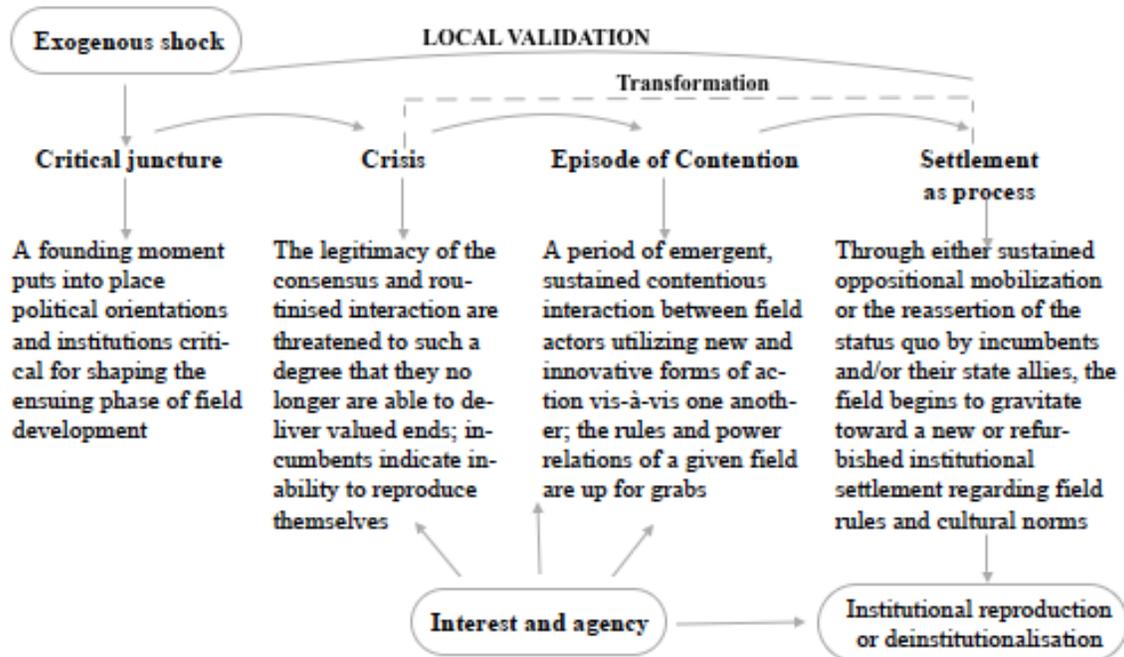


FIGURE 1.5. Dynamic sequence of field development: *local validation* stage (2000-2008)

Sources: DiMaggio 1988; Ikenberry 1994; Johnson, Dowd, Ridgeway 2006; Fligstein and McAdam 2012, visual image prepared by Demir 2019.

The dynamic sequence during the *diffusion* stage implies that a maturation and stability of a field has been reached, i.e., the actors of the field (organisations and individuals) are able to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period (DiMaggio 1988a; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). During this stage the new prototype of institutional patterns (rules, norms, procedures, values, beliefs) get “diffused into other new, local situations” and “[b]ecause the innovation has been construed as a valid social fact, it is now adopted more readily by actors in other local contexts as mere fact” (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006, 60). The dynamic sequence of the *diffusion* phase

is similar to that of the local validation, but it involves even broader institutional locus and pool of actors, as well as more dynamic presence of the external relational systems (described in the sub-sequent chapter).

1.4.5.2 The Process of Structuration

The autonomisation process defines the onset of a new field, i.e., the very initial emergence and formation, and the dynamic sequence processes during each developmental pathway of the three stages (innovation, local validation, diffusion) feature the internal dynamics of the field. The structuration process is essential to identify visible and quantitative changes in an emerging field, and it is going to be examined and measured through quantitative research, applying social network analysis (SNA) (closer discussed in the Research Design Chapter). Structuration implies “the numerical effect,” which “culminates in the development of a critical situation within the institution which tends to favour a critical break with the institution itself and, above all, to the successful institutionalisation of this break” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 252). DiMaggio has first applied the structuration process in his empirical study of 1983, “State Expansion and Organisational Fields,” in which he examined the correlation between the increased state funding (or any centralized control over resources) after the establishment of the National Endowment for Arts (NEA) in 1965 and the structuration process, whereby the performing arts field in the United States came to be institutionally organized and defined. In the seminal research article of the same year, “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organisational Fields,” DiMaggio and Powel

(1983) explain the structuration as the process of institutional definition, arguing that “[f]ields only exist to the extent that they are institutionally defined” (DiMaggio and Powel 1983, 148). They contend that the organisational field and the relational network structure that it entails cannot be established “a priori, but must be defined on the basis of empirical investigation” (DiMaggio and Powel 1983, 184). According to DiMaggio (1983, 1991a) and DiMaggio and Powel (1983), there are four³⁸ components or indices that are foundational in order to trace the institutional development of a field:

1. an increase in the level of interaction among organisations in a field;
2. an increase in the load of information on organisations in a field;
3. the emergence of a structure of domination and a pattern of coalition; and
4. the development, at the cultural level, of an ideology of the field.

The benefit of the structuration is that not only the process implies the field as a space of position-takings (Bourdieu 1983), featuring the presence of inter-organisational network structure, but, instead, it indicates how the position-takings occur and how this network structure can be quantitatively analysed. In order to measure structuration, I apply SNA – the method, which, I believe, is particularly compatible with the theoretical demands of this thesis, examining an emerging field. The structuration of the field can be described as “a result of patterns of relations” (Martin 2003, 27), and SNA provides a visual

³⁸ In his empirical research, in which DiMaggio (1983) has defined the structuration process for the first time, the author has proposed five parts of the structuration process, however, in the co-authored paper with Powel (1983) the original components number three and four are combined into one and hence are listed together as the component number three, indicating the emergence of a structure of domination and a pattern of coalition. In my thesis, when listing the foundational parts of the field development process, I have followed the original wording of DiMaggio’s 1983 article, but I have numbered the components according DiMaggio and Powell (1983) and DiMaggio’s (1991) articles that examine the process.

characterisation of the structure of the inter-organisational relations during the three proposed stages of the field development.

DiMaggio's article, "Professional Project: U.S. Art Museums, 1920-1940" (1991a), is particularly relevant to my research because of the importance that the author assigns to the structuration process as occurring prior the institutional isomorphic change and because of the primacy that he designates to the bottom-up institution building process. In this empirical study DiMaggio (1991a, Kindle Location 5298) describes the structuration process of a field as an "emergence of a collective definition of a set of organisations as an "industry," of formal and informal networks linking such organisations, and of organisations committed to supporting, policing, or setting policy toward the "industry." In relation to this definition, it is possible to interpret structuration as process, which in a given period of time determines existence of a certain institutional environment, a totality of regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive elements, which constitutes and is constituted by certain actors (organisations and individuals) occupying the field at the time. Structuration process as an institutional determinant of a field strongly complies with the institution as a process approach. When applying the term, DiMaggio (1983) followed Giddens' Structuration Theory (Giddens 1984), emphasising continuity and reflexivity features of structuration – actors of the field continually should enact it through reciprocal action among themselves. According to Giddens (1984, 2), "the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered *across* [emphasis added] space and time." Giddens has defined the structuration process quite broadly, describing continuous recursivity of agency and social structures. The scholar (Giddens 1979, 1984) argues that

agency and structure constitute a duality, within which the two cannot be interpreted apart from each other: “by the duality of structure I mean that the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems” (Giddens 1979, 69). DiMaggio has conceptualised structuration more narrowly, applying it to a field level in order to describe the emergence and continuous constitution (institutionalisation³⁹) of the field through reciprocal interaction of actors. Important, in this relation, is DiMaggio’s (1988a, 13) argument that “most sector specific institutional understandings about organisational forms, programs, and procedures are relatively unstable [and] must be reproduced continuously.”

As outlined above, each one of the proposed development stages of Latvian contemporary visual art signifies a different structuration dynamic within the field and is going to be measured according to DiMaggio’s (1983, 1988a, 1991a) four indices of institutionalisation, characterising the change in intensity of interaction among the actors; (change in) professional information generation and availability; (change in) dominance hierarchy among actors; and (change in) policies towards the field, endorsing collective definition and ideology of the field.⁴⁰

TABLE 1.3. Three field stages and four indices of institutional definition

TIME FRAME	FIELD STAGES	INDICES OF INSTITUTIONAL DEFINITION	PROCESSES
1991 – 1999	Innovation	An increase in the level of interaction among organisations in a field	Constituency building
2000 – 2008	Local validation	An increase in the load of information on organisations in a field	Information generating Legitimation

³⁹ As described above, deinstitutionalisation can also be part of the process.

⁴⁰ It is important to note that in his article, “Some Properties of Fields,” Bourdieu ([1984] 1993) also have listed three indices of a constitution of a field and they are conceptually and procedurally compatible with DiMaggio’s indices of institutional definition of a field.

2009 – 2018	Diffusion	The emergence of a structure of domination and a pattern of coalition The development, at the cultural level, of an ideology of the field	Professionalisation
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Sources: DiMaggio 1983, 1991a; DiMaggio and Powell 1983.

1.4.5.3 Agency and Interest: Major Actors

The tension between the constraining qualities of the structure (top-down) and the ability of agency (individual actors and organisations) to construct the new prototype of institutional patterns (rules, norms, procedures, values, beliefs) in order to make change and resolve practical problems is obvious in institutional theory (Giddens 1984; DiMaggio 1988a, Scott and Christensen 1995a; Fligstein and McAdam (2012), and it features “the ancient antinomy between freedom and control” (Scott [1995] 2014, 92). When referring to the foundational works of the new institutionalism in organisational analysis, DiMaggio (1988a) has criticised the insufficient attention that this theoretical approach has dedicated to the importance of agency. He argues that “without more explicit attention to interest and agency ... , institutional theorists will be unable to develop predictive and persuasive accounts of the origins, reproduction, and erosion of institutional practices and organisational forms” (DiMaggio 1988a, 11). In a more recent work, DiMaggio (1991a) reiterates that the agency and interest are particularly essential when examining the emergence and structuration process of a new field. As indicated above, the scholar applied Giddens’ concept of structuration to analyse the institutional evolvement of a field, and the importance of agency is strongly implied in it. Giddens explains that “[a]gency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their *capability of doing those things* [emphasis added] in the first place. ... Agency concerns events of

which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently” (Giddens 1984, 9). In this connotation agency comprises power, which, as discussed above, is a fundamental component that is present during the emergence and, subsequently, during the structuration process of a field (DiMaggio 1983; Bourdieu [1984] 1993; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). In this regard, it is important to refer to Giddens’ (1979, 1984) duality of structure, discussed in relation to the structuration process. As noted above, institutions do not just grow and organisational fields do not exist in a vacuum. In my study, the importance of the actor (individual or organised group) has been emphasised as a vital component in constructing new frameworks of institutional reality and in autonomisation and structuration processes of a new field. This, however, raises the question of who has the capability “of doing those things” (Giddens 1984, 9) or, more specifically, who has the capability to act as agents? Scott and Christensen (1995b, 303) suggest, “having the capacity to take action is not a natural state, but is socially determined. Who has the power and the right to make choices and to take action is itself institutionally defined,” hence the emergence of a new field and the role of the agency and interest cannot be examined apart from a larger external field reality, i.e., the analysis should not be exclusively field-centric and isolated from the external fields, as well as actors from these fields that have certain relationship with the field in question. The qualitative break from the previous logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entailed often comprises considerable challenge because the new routines need to be articulated in parallel with the pre-existing institutional reality and definitional apparatus.

DiMaggio argues that “[c]reating new institutions is expensive and require high levels of both interest and resources. New institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources see in them an opportunity to realise interests that they value highly” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14). He defines these specific actors as “institutional entrepreneurs” who, beside their access to pertinent capital, possess a strong social skill that enables them to mobilise and link other actors “based on appeals to common interests and identities” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 17). The role of institutional entrepreneurs is particularly important during the emergence process of the field and also during the episodes of contentions in the field when institutional reproduction is in question and deinstitutionalisation is a possibility. The institutional entrepreneurs represent the capability of agency to either create shared institutional frameworks (rules, norms, beliefs) and initiate the emergence of a new field or considerably transform the pre-existing institutional frameworks in an already established field. Bourdieu (1996) defines this kind of actor as *nomothète*, implying a role of a founding hero or a revolutionary. The institutionalisation project is carried out by “core constituencies” (DiMaggio 1988a, 15) or internal actors, which, beside the institutional entrepreneurs, can be divided into two major groups – challengers and incumbents (established dominant actors) (Bourdieu [1984] 1993, 1996; DiMaggio 1988a; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). The established dominant actors are characterized by the preservationist strategies (even in a newly established field) – orthodoxy (Bourdieu [1984] 1993), embracing “a frame of reference that encapsulates their self-serving view of the field” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 11). The challengers represent the oppositional actors who are least endowed with the pertinent capital in a specific field (Bourdieu [1984] 1993; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Important

in facilitating the institutionalisation project is also the role of external actors, with whom the incumbents and challengers must bargain for support (DiMaggio 1988a).

Considering the reality of sharp polarisation trends between the institutions of the establishment, i.e., state organisations – museums, exhibition halls, art schools, and the emerging independent sector during the 1990s, the parallel co-existence of bipolar cultural infrastructures was obvious. Because of the growing influence of the non-governmental sector and the changing behaviour of the state in the formation of cultural policy trends in Latvia in the aftermath of the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union, in this research, a particular importance is designated to the contemporary visual art non-governmental organisations (including associations of organisations, unions, foundations) as one kind of actors and ministries, state agencies and public bodies established by government as another kind of actors. DiMaggio (1988a, 1991a) emphasises that the power and interests of the involved actors determine the very initial emergence process of the field, as well as shape any subsequent changes taking place in the field. The scholar (DiMaggio 1988a, 13) argues that “institutionalisation is a product of the political efforts of actors to accomplish their ends and that the success of an institutionalisation project and the form that the resulting institution takes depend on relative power of the actors who support, oppose, or otherwise strive to influence it.” In addition to non-governmental and state actors, it is important to include individuals (goal-oriented art professionals, artists, curators, art-historians, politicians, and intelligentsia) as fundamental actors in a field’s development. Within the context of post-Soviet transition, it is also vital to factor in the Western financial support that was made available as part of the transition to democracy package (Salamon et al. 1999). At the very beginning of the 1990s, Western countries,

particularly the US and the EU, and private philanthropic organisations mobilised their assistance to the CEECs. The philanthropic investment assistance of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme, Baltic-American Partnership Fund, Soros Foundation, Norwegian Financial Instrument, and European Union PHARE programme, to mention just a few more prominent investors, played a particularly important role in facilitating the development of the third sector in Latvia, including independent⁴¹ art organisations. Not all of them exerted equally prominent influence in the emergence and development of the new contemporary visual art field in Latvia. In my thesis, as vitally important in the field evolution are analysed the impacts of such supranational and international actors as the Soros Foundation Latvia, the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, and the European Union, particularly Culture 2000, Culture, and Creative Europe programmes.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 97) argue that “the field is always in some form of flux,” enforcing the institutionalisation as process concept that is emphasised in my research. The institutional entrepreneurs, incumbents, and challengers are constantly making adjustments and negotiating within the field. Following the hypothesis of the study that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual art field is divided into three distinctive stages where each is initiated by some founding moment or critical juncture (as exogenous shock) that is principal in shaping the ensuing stage of the field development (FIGURES 1.4. and 1.5.), the underlying premise is that each one of the proposed periods signifies a different structuration dynamic, hence empirically capturing the change that occurs within the field during the time frame of nearly thirty years. An

⁴¹ In this connotation, the notion “independent” is used as an opposition to the state art organisation.

important factor of the change is the impact of various actors that have the interest and power (capability) to shape the institutional logic that is prevalent in each one of the stages. The recognition and examination of the major involved actors (non-governmental, governmental, individual, international, and supranational) is essential in order to analyse the change in persisting institutional primacy and support (either regulative, normative, or cognitive), field constituency (state actors, non-governmental organisations, professionals), basis of legitimacy, and routines. The change patterns that characterise the constant flux of the field will help determining the dominant actors undertaking the institutionalisation project during each period of development.

1.4.5.4 External and Internal Relational Systems

As indicated earlier, organisational fields do not exist in a social vacuum and embeddedness concept should be considered in order to examine the structuration process and change that occur through the various stages of field development. Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 59) emphasise that fields “have relations with other ... fields and these relations powerfully shape the developmental history of the field.” Inter-field relations can significantly affect the stability and instability factors of proximate, interdependent, and dependent fields (TABLE 1.4.), hence fields should be examined as an empirical entity existing within a complex relational reality of multiplicity of fields, avoiding exclusive field-centrism that predominantly focuses on internal actors and their interconnectedness within one selected field. Without undermining the importance of the internal relational dynamics, which does not exclude conflict among the actors in the field, I am going to apply the conceptual approach that accentuates the dominance of the

external relational dynamics between the fields as an impetus of change and that can be analysed closely with the moment of critical juncture, which is essential in determining the subsequent pathway of institutional framework of the examined field. This approach is prevalent in the works of Bourdieu (1983, 1996) and Fligstein and McAdam (2012). In their conceptualisation of dynamic action fields, Fligstein and McAdam have particularly relied on Bourdieu's awareness of the external field connectedness and they have assigned a crucial importance to exogenous shock in order to explain foundational changes within a field. Instead of focusing on internal struggles among the incumbents and challengers in the space of position-takings (Bourdieu 1983) to either preserve the power or transform the field, Fligstein and Macadam (2012) emphasise the exogenous shock as the most likely impetus of change in relation to the field formation (emergence) and further development (settlement). They maintain, "the stability of any given field is largely a function of its relations to other fields. While fields can devolve into conflict as a result of internal processes, it is far more common for an "episode of contention" to develop as a result of change pressures emanating from proximate ... fields" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 19). In this relation, the question of autonomy and independence becomes rather relative. As I have argued above, during the autonomisation process the new contemporary visual arts field in Latvia displayed a trend of autonomous development from the state influence, evolving under the auspices of a non-state actor. Bourdieu confirms this relativity, arguing that "[m]ore generally, although largely independent of them in principle, the *internal struggles* always depend, in outcome, on the correspondence that they maintain with the *external struggles* [emphasis added] – whether struggles at the core of the field of power or at the core of the social field as a whole" (Bourdieu 1996, 127). When examining a

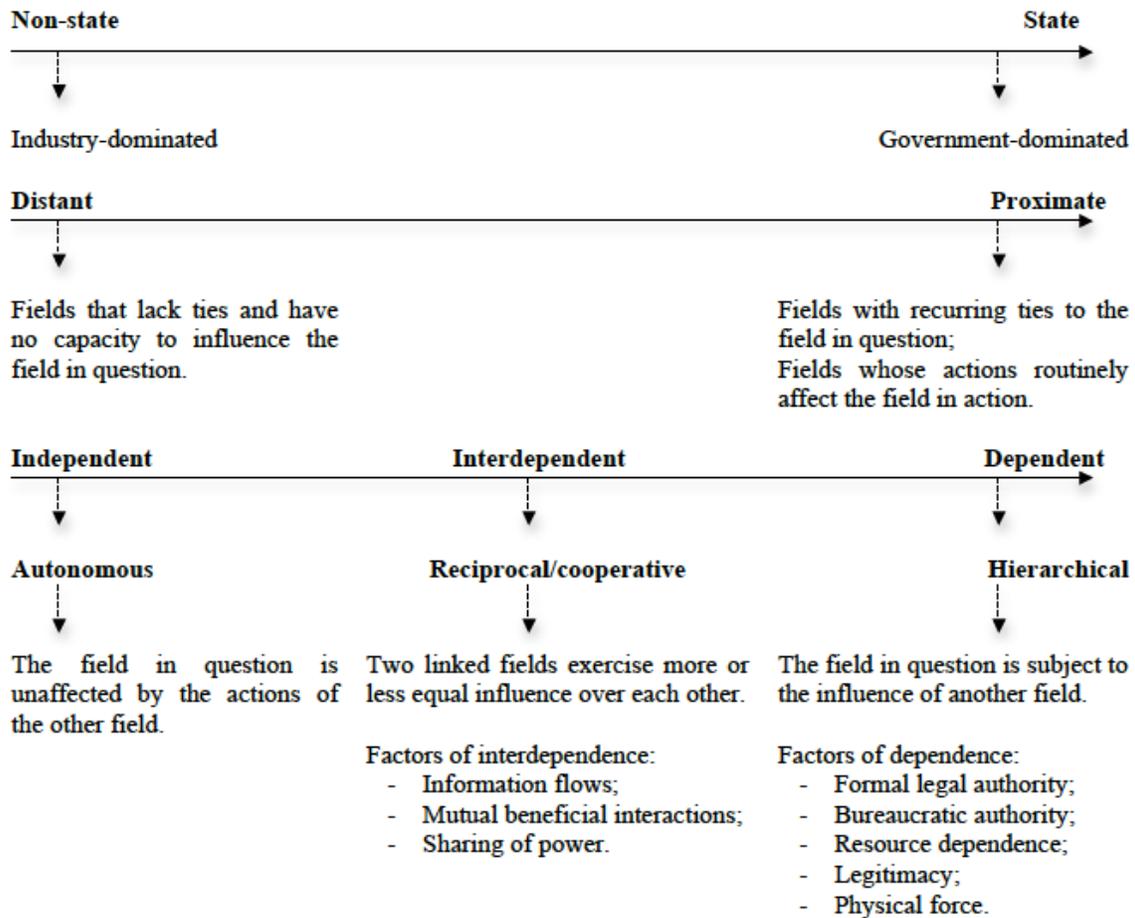
given field in a certain period of time, it is, therefore, important to establish, which one of the external fields occupy the role of the field of power, governing the pertinent forms of capital and hence the roles and positions of the involved actors. Identification of the field of power also helps to recognize the dominant external constituencies or dominant external actors that can considerably influence the relations between the fields. Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 32) emphasise, “to truly understand a field and its dynamics, we must begin by systematically situating it in the complex network of “external” fields – state and non-state – to which it is tied”

As shown in the TABLE 1.4., the fields can be divided into two broad groups, i.e., non-state fields and state fields. I have indicated earlier that the emergence of the innovative art organisations and initiatives during the early 1990s represented the trend of quite radical institutional change, evolving next to the status quo approach of the state cultural sector. The very initial formation of the new field indicated an autonomous development tendency in relation to the state. Regardless of this observation, however, the state field and the state actors should be seriously considered when examining the constitution of a new field and its further development. Considering the central role of the Ministry of culture in developing, instituting, and implementing cultural policy during the transition and post-transition periods in Latvia, the state field and the state actors should be recognised as an important component of the analysis of the contemporary visual arts field. It would be also misleading to describe the state as representing one monolith field. Similarly to other professional non-state fields, it is possible to recognise a multitude of state fields (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 72) are strongly convinced that “it is almost impossible to talk about action in a ... field without reference

to its relationship to one or, indeed often, multiple state fields. This is because the stability (and instability!) of any non-state ... field depends to some degree either indirectly or directly on its linkages to the state.” The state’s role can be determinant during the emergence, constitution, and reproduction or deinstitutionalisation processes of a field, and legitimacy is an important factor that bonds the two together. Very relevant to both, post-Soviet transition period and post-transition phase, is the acknowledgement that the “state actors alone have the formal authority to intervene in, set rules for, and generally pronounce on the legitimacy and viability of most non-state fields” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 19).

There are various factors that define the relational structure between the fields (TABLE 1.4.), implying the examined field’s independence from, interdependence with or dependence on the other external fields. Here, again, the notion of relativity should be taken into account because “whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field[s] which encompass[s] it ...” (Bourdieu 1983, 320). It is crucial to understand the multiple bonding external links between the fields in order to perform a valid assessment of the internal relational structure of the field. Important, in this regard, is question of where are the locations of the pertinent capital (cultural, political, economic, educational, etc.), i.e., inside or outside the examined field?

TABLE 1.4. Categories of observable external field relations: binary distinctions



Sources: Bourdieu 1983, 1996; DiMaggio 1983, 1988a, 1991a; Hoffman 2001; Fligstein and McAdam 2012, visual image prepared by Demir 2019.

The dominant organising principle or the *dynamis* of the underlying *internal relational structure* of the field, determining the prevalence of either collaboration among or hierarchy of the acting agents, is the distribution of the pertinent capitals among the actors within the field at a given time (Lewin ([1942] 1951; DiMaggio 1983, 1988a; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). A strong correlation between the field and a specific capital is particularly emphasised. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 101) argues that “[a] capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.” The initial configuration of how the relevant capitals are distributed

during the autonomisation process determines the positional structure of the actors within the field. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) also emphasise the significance of the capital in relation to the internal structure of the field. The scholars contain that they “would expect the same ... field in two different places to have a radically different underlying structure depending on the initial resource endowments of the participants” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91). This argument is particularly important when applied to a longitudinal study – it allows to examine change within the relational structure of the field that occurs as a result of modifications in power relations, determined by pertinent capitals, during different development stages of the field: “... change in the space of ... artistic possibles is the result of change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions” (Bourdieu 1983, 314). It is especially viable during the episodes of critical juncture (see FIGURE 1.5.) that I have marked as benchmarks for each new development stage of the contemporary visual arts field, implying a change in the underlying relational structure.

Bourdieu (1986) concedes that there are three fundamental forms of capital – economic, cultural, and social. In his writings, he also distinguishes between symbolic, juridical, political, and educational capitals⁴² (Bourdieu 1983, 1984, 1987a, 1991, 1996). Depending on a field under study, the presence and the dominance of each of the capitals varies, hence it is necessary to empirically establish, which guise of the capital is the most relevant and would cause the most pertinent differences within a specific field. The table below (TABLE 1.5.) distinguishes among the kinds of capitals that are pertinent to the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. The relevant capitals are also discussed in the

⁴² The different types of capitals are discussed in more detail in the following chapter (Chapter Two) when determining the specific resources that are most relevant and cause most pertinent differences within the field of contemporary visual art in Latvia.

following chapter in close relation to the social network analysis (SNA). In the SNA, each link between the two actors represents an exchange of a certain capital, hence indicating a particular relational transaction between the pair of actors. The exchange of a certain capital also helps determining the dominant factors that establish the relational structure between the fields (e.g., independent, interdependent, dependent) and it identifies the formation of either collaborative or hierarchal trends within the field.

TABLE 1.5. Types of pertinent capital in the proposed field (contemporary visual art)

Guise of capital	Form of capital	Institutionalised form
Economic (EcC)	Material wealth: money, stocks, shares, property	Property rights
Cultural (CCe, CCo, CCi)	<u>Embodied state</u> : long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (knowledge and skills) <u>Objectified state</u> : material objects and media (paintings, writings, monuments, instruments, etc.)	Academic/educational/professional qualifications
Social (SoC)	Social obligations (connections) Network of relationships (linked to membership in a group)	Certain form of title
Symbolic (SyC)	Accumulated prestige or honour (earned on an individual basis)	Award, honour, prize, professional recognition, legitimisation
Political (PCe, PCo)	<u>Embodied state</u> : credit founded on credence or belief and recognition; credit founded on the innumerable operations of credit by which agents confer on a person (or on an object) the very powers that they recognise in him/her/it <u>Objectified state</u> : law, the army, regulations, police, public finances	State, government, political party, etc.

Sources: Bourdieu 1983, 1986, 1991.

1.4.5.5 Institutional logic

The very beginning of the post-Soviet transition epitomises the critical moment when the qualitative break from the previous logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails took place. Concurrently, it implies a social construction of new institutional frameworks – norms, rules, and beliefs. Friedland and Alford (1991, Kindle Location 5014) argue that the central logic of a field (as a socially constructed space) is “symbolically grounded, organisationally structured, politically defined, and technically and materially constrained, and hence have specific historical limits.” The institutional logic defines the prevailing functional template of the field, comprising all the components discussed above. It can be interpreted as an applied form of shared institutional action or reality that results from a complex interconnection and interrelation between the agents (state and non-state organisations and individuals) in a certain field. In my thesis, it is essential to establish the prevalent institutional logic of the field during each development state, i.e., during autonomisation and innovation, local validation, and diffusion. In order to do that, it is imperative, first of all, to recognise all previous components of the field. The identification of the exogenous shock and the critical juncture as an impetus of the emergence of a new field or major change in an existing field and the recognition of institutional entrepreneurs, incumbents, and challengers, as well as the internal and external relational systems that bond the actors in negotiating either a new or a refurbished institutional arrangement, will enable me to trace the major shifts in the functional template of the field through the three proposed development stages. The major indicators that are employed in order to determine and demonstrate the change in the field institutional logics are the patterns of funding, cultural

policy development, and professional discourse development. The summary of such analysis is featured in the table below (TABLE 1.6.).

TABLE 1.6. Indicators of institutional logics and change during three development stages of the field⁴³

Indicator	Innovation 1991-1999	Local validation 2000-2008	Diffusion 2009-2016
Exogenous shock/ critical juncture	TBD	TBD	TBD
Organisational field/locus of institution building	Industry Government Combination of both	Industry Government Combination of both	Industry Government Combination of both
Type of field	Non-state State	Non-state State	Non-state State
External field of power	State field(s) Other non-state field(s)	State field(s) Other non-state field(s)	State field(s) Other non-state field(s)
External field relations	Autonomous Interdependent Dependent	Autonomous Interdependent Dependent	Autonomous Interdependent Dependent
Factors defining external relational structure	<u>Autonomy:</u> The field in question is unaffected by the actions of the other field. <u>Cooperation:</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power <u>Hierarchy:</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy - Physical force	<u>Autonomy:</u> The field in question is unaffected by the actions of the other field. <u>Cooperation:</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power <u>Hierarchy:</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy - Physical force	<u>Autonomy:</u> The field in question is unaffected by the actions of the other field. <u>Cooperation:</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power <u>Hierarchy:</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy - Physical force
Internal field constituency:	- Institutional entrepreneur(s);	- Institutional entrepreneur(s);	- Institutional entrepreneur(s);

⁴³ The current table reflects all possible options that characterise institutional logics of a field. Only the corresponding indicators are going to be featured at the conclusion stage of the analysis, allowing to trace the change in the institutional logics of the field during the three decades of development.

- Institutional entrepreneur(s); - Incumbents - Challengers	- Incumbents - Challengers	- Incumbents - Challengers	- Incumbents - Challengers
Key external actors	NGOs State (bodies and agencies) Individuals (state or non-state affiliation)	NGOs State (bodies and agencies) Individuals (state or non-state affiliation)	NGOs State (bodies and agencies) Individuals (state or non-state affiliation)
Institutional primacy	Regulative Normative Cultural-cognitive	Regulative Normative Cultural-cognitive	Regulative Normative Cultural-cognitive
Basis of legitimacy	Legally sanctioned Morally governed Culturally supported	Legally sanctioned Morally governed Culturally supported	Legally sanctioned Morally governed Culturally supported
Central institutional logic of the field	Instrumentality or legal obligation Appropriateness or social obligation Orthodoxy or shared professional understandings	Instrumentality or legal obligation Appropriateness or social obligation Orthodoxy or shared professional understandings	Instrumentality or legal obligation Appropriateness or social obligation Orthodoxy or shared professional understandings

Sources: Scott [1995] 2014; Hoffman 2001; Johnson, Dowd, Ridgeway 2006; Fligstein and McAdam 2012.

1.5 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I draw on the core idea of the new institutionalism that “organisations are deeply embedded in social and political environments ... [and] that organisational practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment” (Powel and Colyvas 2008, 976). Remaining within the theoretical framework, I emphasise the duality of structure (Giddens 1979, 1984) concept or bottom-up approach of institution building, which maintains that organisations and individual actors of the field are penetrated by the institutional environment, but they are also capable of responding to and initiating a change in that environment (DiMaggio and Powell 1991a, DiMaggio 1988a, 1991a; Scott [1995] 2014,

1995, 1998, 2008; Scott and Christensen 1995a,b; Suchman 1995b). The presence of the agency and interest is particularly highlighted in the emergence and structuration processes of a new field, the examination of which comprises the core purpose of this study. Two scholars, DiMaggio and Powel, formulated the concept of the organisational field in the new institutionalism of organisational analysis in the early 1980s, introducing meso-level analysis of relational structure of organisations in a defined environment. The prevalent argument of the scholars representing the theoretical approach of the new institutionalism was that the field level of analysis provides the best lens to observe the formation of “socially constructed frameworks of beliefs, rules, and norms, ... involving the participation of various types of actors with varying levels of understanding and influence, and always under the watchful eye and, sometimes, the active intervention of the state” (Scott [1985] 2014, 269).

The sharp polarisation between the institutions of the establishment, comprising art organisations of the state, and the emerging independent sector characterised a distinctly bipolar institutional reality during the 1990s in Latvia. The post-Soviet transition represents a particularly demanding case for study, especially when focusing on the endogenous and exogenous factors that triggered the rupture from the existing artistic *nomos* and the processes that initiated and facilitated the emergence of a new socially constructed frameworks of meaning (rules, norms, beliefs and values) that initially unfolded from peripheral and narrowly professional locus of action, gradually becoming legitimised through bottom-up institution building process. Emphasising the cultural-cognitive elements (in connection with regulative and normative components) as deeper and underlying foundations of institutional environment, Scott (1995) characterises the

institutional complexity of transition phase as being trivialised by the mobilised assistance of the Western philanthropy that stepped in to support and ease the transit to the free-market economy and democracy in the CEECs during the 1990s. He argues,

“[t]he Soviet Union has been dismantled and its former parts and appendages are struggling to create a new order. Consultants and advisers rush in with blueprints of market-based organisations, only to discover that stable enterprises cannot be constructed in the absence of wider social structures supporting social institutions and that markets themselves are not entities but must be socially constructed.” (Scott 1995, xi)

In this connection, the emergence of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia at the very beginning of the 1990s epitomised a critical moment in the existing field of cultural production when the qualitative break from the previous logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entailed took place. This qualitative break comprised a considerable challenge because the new institutional templates and routines needed to be articulated in parallel with the pre-existing institutional reality and definitional apparatus.

The table below (TABLE 1.7.) summarises the overarching theoretical framework that my empirical research is based on.

TABLE 1.7. Conceptual summary of the applied theoretical framework

Indicator	Application
Organisation and environment	<u>Open system approach</u> : organisation is conceptualised as open to and dependent on wider environment (technical and institutional interdependence)
Theoretical approach	<u>New institutionalism in organisation analysis</u> : the body of empirical research in organisational studies that started to surge during the late 1970s indicate the presence of the analytical shift in theoretical approach to conceptualisation of the environment and the environmental determinants. The new theoretical

	approach accentuates the shift from technical interdependence to institutional interdependence.
Conceptualisation of the environmental determinants	<p><u>Primacy assigned to institutional environment</u>: in contrast to previous materialist interpretations of the environment (technical interdependence), determined by resources, technology, and exchange markets, the new institutionalism emphasises the causal relationship between the ideational (political, social, cultural) elements of the environment and the organisation.</p> <p>Technical and institutional environments are approached as variables and not as dichotomies. Technical environments are determined by institutional factors and forces.</p>
Definition of institution	The institution is defined, using Scott's ([1995] 2014) "dense" formulation of the term, which emphasises the multiplex nature of institutional reality and comprises all three formative elements of institutions: regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive.
Level of analysis	In 1983, four authors introduced organisational field (DiMaggio and Powel 1983, 1991b) and societal sector ⁴⁴ (Scott and Meyer 1983, 1991) as new levels of analysis. The major argument is that the field and sector represent the best empirical lens to study institutional processes.
Organisation of the causal relationships	The application of a field level of analysis indicates a move to a more systemic level of analysis. Attention shifts away from the causal relationships of an organisation (as a unit) with the environment to the structural organisation of the environment itself. Importance is assigned to the totality of relevant actors and their relational structure, defined by the pertinent capital, within a specific field.
Model of institution building	<u>Bottom-up approach</u> : importance assigned to agency and interest in institution construction process, which implies a shift away from the previous conceptualisation of institutions as a monolithic framework (top-down approach) that is imposed and acts as powerful rationalised, ritualised, and constitutive myths, which organisations adopt as taken for granted rules.
Conceptualisation of institution and institutionalisation	Institution and institutionalisation is viewed as a process (not as an achieved state), including reproduction and deinstitutionalisation processes. This approach is particularly important in a field setting (sector-specific) where institutional understandings about organisational forms, programs, and procedures are relatively unstable (as opposed to society wide

⁴⁴ The similarities of the organisational field and societal sector are discussed in more detail in sub-chapter 1.5.1.

	constitutive understandings) and should be reproduced continuously.
Field development	A particular importance is assigned to the emergence of a new field. In this relation, important argument is that, in order to examine institutional isomorphism in an already established field, it is imperative to first focus on the emergence process of a new field, which implies different causal dynamics than the process of institutional isomorphism.
The processes that determine the emergence of a field	<u>The autonomisation process</u> defines the onset of a new field, i.e., the very initial emergence and formation, and the dynamic sequence processes during each developmental pathway of the three stages (innovation, local validation, diffusion) feature the internal dynamics of the field.
Institutional definition of the field	<u>The structuration process</u> is applied to determine the institutional definition of the field. Structuration is essential to identify visible and quantitative changes in an emerging field, and it comprises four indices that are foundational in order to trace the institutional development of a field. Structuration is measured through quantitative research, applying social network analysis.

Source: Dace Demir 2019.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 MIXED METHODS RESEARCH DESIGN

The most fruitful results are achieved when qualitative, more standardised methods, used to describe network structures, as well as quantitative methods are employed in concert.

—Betina Hollstein, *Social Network Analysis. Qualitative Approaches, 2011*

The research of this thesis was conducted using sequential mixed methods design with a second quantitative phase building on an initial – qualitative phase. When planning the mixed methods research design, four essential facets were taken into consideration, i.e., timing of qualitative and quantitative data collection, weighting, mixing, and theorising (Creswell 2009). The four aspects performed a practical role and, during the planning stages, helped answering significant questions like: in what way the qualitative and quantitative research phases are going to be sequenced; what priority is given to either of the data sets; how the data sets are going to be mixed during the study; how the research design relates to and is consistent with the overarching theoretical demands of the study?

The timing of the research was organised into two major phases. During the first phase, the qualitative interviews were conducted, following with a second quantitative phase, during which the quantitative data got collected and assessed. The rationale for such sequencing was, first, “to explore the topic with participants at sites” (Creswell 2009, 206) and, second, to acquire deeper understanding about the internal relational dynamics within the examined field of the study. The second phase, involving data collection for

and application of the social network analysis (SNA), helped me to expand the understanding of the examined field and enabled me to construct a dense relational structure of the participating actors beyond the scale of the qualitative interviews. The second phase also fulfils an important supportive role to the qualitative data, however, it would be misleading, to assign priority to either of the research methods utilised in this thesis – their weight is equally important in the analysis of the examined subject and in supporting the theoretical demands.

Creswell (2009, 207) explains that “[m]ixing means either that the qualitative and quantitative data are actually merged on one end of the continuum, kept separate on the other end of the continuum, or combined in some way between these two extremes.” The two data sets (qualitative and quantitative) that were collected during the research time frame of this thesis can be characterised as “separate but connected” (Creswell 2009, 207). In the applied two-phase planning of data collection, the analysis of the qualitative data set (interviews, primary and secondary sources, archival research) helped identifying important actors for the inclusion in the follow-up SNA phase of data collection. Following this sequence, the “mixing of the quantitative and qualitative research are connected between a data analysis of the first phase of research and the data collection of the second phase of research” (Creswell 2009, 208).

Relational and structural processes and outcomes substantially define the theoretical framework of this thesis and the application of SNA is particularly consistent with the theoretical demands of the study. The structuration process (discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.5.2) is essential to identify visible and quantitative changes in an emerging and developing field and it implies “the numerical effect” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 252).

The organisational field and the relational network structure that it entails cannot be established “a priori, but must be defined on the basis of empirical investigation” (DiMaggio and Powel 1983, 184), and the four indices of the structuration process that are foundational in order to trace the institutional development of a field are going to be examined and measured through quantitative research, applying SNA. The structuration of the field can be described as “a result of patterns of relations” (Martin 2003, 27), and SNA provides a visual characterisation of the structure of the inter-organisational relations during the three proposed stages of the field development. Through the lens of the SNA, the field can be expressed as patterns or regularities in relationships among interacting units, allowing investigating the constraining and enabling dimensions of these patterned relationships between the actors within the field.

2.1.1 Qualitative Research in Mixed Methods Research Design

The first phase, qualitative research, comprises the planning, designing, conducting, and analysing of preliminary and in-depth interviews. Integral to this first phase of data collection were archival research, primary and secondary source analysis and interpretation. As stated above, the weight of both data sets (qualitative and quantitative) is equally important in the analysis of the examined subject and in supporting the theoretical demands of the study. Hollstein (2011, 406) argues that “detailed knowledge of the field under study is an important precondition for research to yield rich results.” Comprehensive preliminary studies, comprising qualitative research, hence are the integral first step to a more in-depth examination of the field as patterns of relations. Hollstein (2011) suggests that there are six areas that indicate the essential contribution of

the qualitative approach in further interpretation of SNA. The six areas are as follows: exploration of networks, network practices, network orientations and assessments, network effects, network dynamics, and the validation of network data (Hollstein 2011). The exploration of networks, network practices, network dynamics, and the validation of network data were the four areas that were particularly suitable for application of the qualitative research before the data collection and analysis of the second phase of research, comprising SNA.

The exploration of networks through in-depth qualitative interviews is particularly essential when the field under examination has not yet been studied in detail and the network structure, patterns, and practices need to be established. This stage usually involves the pre-examination or preparatory studies that later lead to the main research of the subject matter. In this thesis, the exploration of networks was an integral component of the preliminary qualitative interviews that were performed at the very initial stage of the research.

Various pertinent capitals that are exchanged between the actors may determine the interaction in and the boundaries of a certain field. The relevant capitals of the proposed field are listed in TABLE 1.5. The examination of network practices, comprising “[t]he concrete acts, practices, interactions, and communication [exchange] patterns,” (Hollstein 2011, 406), are best explored through in-depth interviews and primary source analysis. After the preliminary interviews, the in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted and such primary sources as government documents, laws, official reports, declarations, budget allocations, agreements, annual reports, correspondence, and meeting minutes, to name but a few, were examined in order to better determine the network

practices of the proposed field. Archival research also comprised an important component in recognising the major network practices. A particularly important question, in this relation, was to establish the dominant types of exchange patterns that represent the network ties or links between the actors in the field.

The area, representing network dynamics, was of utmost importance during the first phase of data collection, and it comprises complex matters that are closely associated with the formative conditions – autonomisation and emergence – and further change in the field relational structure during the three proposed stages of development, entailing structuration process. Qualitative research provides a rich arsenal of means to examine the change in the relational structure of the field. In-depth interviews with the experts in the field were conducted, and primary and secondary source analysis and interpretation were essential in establishing the network dynamics, comprising formation and settlement of the field, as well as major changes that took place during the three development stages of the field.

The first phase of data collection has been an indispensable source for the network data interpretation and validation, and the role of in-depth interviews should be particularly emphasised. As Hollstein (2011, 409) argues the “open-ended questions aiming at *respondent’s systems of relevance and meaning* [emphasis added] may be more appropriate for capturing the multidimensional nature of these networks. ... [T]he “soft” approach employed by qualitative interviewing sometimes may be the best (or only) way of obtaining information from certain populations.” As mentioned earlier, through the lens of the SNA, the field can be expressed as patterns or regularities in relationships among interacting units, but it also may comprise a risk of a rather “flat” and structurally technical

interpretation of the examined field. Network studies, regardless of the advancement of the algorithm and the application that generates the final visualisation of the relational network structure, are limited by “assessing only a few contact and relationship variables” (Hollstein 2011, 409), comprising mathematically defined network measures like centrality, density, modularity, community detection, etc. (all the measures are discussed in the following chapter) that are invaluable in revealing system level patterns. They lack, however, the deeper socio-historical, political, and cultural dimension, which is provided by qualitative research that enables the examination of the deeper social content and interpretation and validation of the constraining and enabling dimensions of the patterned relationships between the actors in the field.

2.1.1.1 Preliminary and In-depth Interviews: Chronology, Procedure, and Limitations

As a vital component of the qualitative research (first phase of data collection) a total of sixty-nine face-to-face interviews were conducted, including pilot interviews and in-depth interviews. The process of administering interviews was divided into two parts: (1) preliminary interviews and (2) in-depth interviews. All pilot interviews were conducted in Latvia during the months of March, April, May and June of 2014. The second phase of in-depth interviews was performed during the months of August, September, October and November of 2014. The goal of the preparatory stage of the first phase of data collection was the mapping of the field under examination. It comprised research of the core infrastructure, identification of the dominant actors (non-governmental organisations, professionals, state bodies, and agencies) participating in the field of

contemporary visual arts. The central part of this pre-examination study was the conducting of the pilot interviews and performing the preliminary data analysis. In total thirty-seven interviews were administered out of forty-five planned interviews. Three interviews got cancelled and were not available for rescheduling. Five prospective interviewees did not respond to the invitation to take part in the study. Information about all of the respondents who participated in the preliminary examination is provided in the Appendix Two, excluding the professionals and politicians with whom the interviews were planned, but were not administered.

After the preliminary data analysis, the second part of interviews was conducted, followed by data analysis. In total thirty-two interviews were performed, lasting for one hour.⁴⁵ All interviews were semi-structured face-to-face interviews based on open-ended question design. The interview guide, comprising several blocks of subjects, is available for viewing in the Appendix Seven. All communication between the researcher of this thesis and the respondents took place in Latvian, and the research guide, provided in the appendix, is an English translation. The chosen respondents of the qualitative in-depth interviews represented following sample groups: state and municipal administration; quasi-autonomous or arm's lengths agencies; non-governmental organisations and foundations in Riga and regions; higher art education institutions; private investors and collectors, individual curators, critics and artists working in the field of contemporary art. In order to ensure that the respondents had an extensive experience within the field of study, the purposive sampling method or expert sampling was selected. The expert sampling is particularly vital in relation to SNA interpretation and validation. Hollstein

⁴⁵ The average planned length of all the interviews was one hour, however, depending on each interviewee, the conversations could run from thirty minutes up to two hours.

(2011, 411) argues that “persons who occupy central positions in networks are more knowledgeable about network events compared to the persons on the fringes. The greater the proximity between persons the more accurate are their statements concerning the other.” Taking into consideration that each one of the interviewees represents a unique position within the field of contemporary visual art, the questions from the interview guide were selected according each respondent’s professional expertise and standing. Information about all of the participants who took part in the in-depth interviews is provided in the Appendix Three.

All communication between the researcher and the respondents followed a standard procedure. Firstly, the Letter of Invitation was e-mailed to prospective participants of both preliminary and in-depth interviews. The content of the letter introduced the potential interviewees with the researcher, institution, and the subject matter under exploration. Secondly, all respondents who participated in the interview process were provided with the Informed Consent Form, which entails two parts: the Information Sheet and the Certificate of Consent. Electronic copies of Information Sheet, Certificate of Consent, and Interview Questions were e-mailed to each participant at least five days prior to the scheduled interview, giving a chance to the respondents to go through the provided information, containing all the involved procedures, ethical and legal concerns pertaining to the data collection and interpretation process, familiarize themselves with the study, and to clarify any uncertain questions before the meeting. The researcher and the participants signed the hard copy of the informed consent form before the scheduled face-to-face interview. Sieber (2009, 110-111) emphasises that “[t]he consent form is a formal agreement about the conditions of the research participation,”

and Creswell (2009, 89), in the same vein, reminds that “[t]his form acknowledges that participants’ rights will be protected during data collection.” Informed consent is an integral component, comprising ethical and legal procedures and implications, that should be taken into consideration during the planning process of research design and while conducting the research. Three mutually dependent principles – voluntary action, informed decision, and explicit agreement – define the implementation of informed consent. Voluntary action describes participation that is undertaken based entirely on the free will of the interviewee. Informed decision is shaped by clear explanation of why the study is being conducted (the research purpose), the type of research intervention, participant selection, procedures, risks, benefits, and confidentiality. Within the form, it is essential to clarify who the researcher is and within what institutional framework the research is being carried out. Lastly, an explicit agreement represents participant’s consent to take part in the interview process. Sieber (2009, 106-107) reminds that planning and conducting an ethically responsible research

is about creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which important and useful knowledge is sought, participants are pleased to respond candidly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive. This requires more than goodwill or adherence to laws governing research. It requires investigation into the perspectives and cultures of the participants and their community early in the process of research design, so that their needs and interests are understood and served.

The preparation of informed consent, in connection with the point previously mentioned, was critical because it helped to anticipate and address the potential ethical issues that might surface during the research process. The original of the Informed Consent Form was prepared in English and it was commensurate with the principles of the *Research Code of Practice of the University of Warwick* (University of Warwick 2019). The form,

along with the *Application for Approval of Research Project Involving Human (Non-NHS) Participants*, was submitted for the approval to the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Sub-committee. After the official authorisation was granted, the form was translated into Latvian. The English version of the Consent Form is included in the Appendices Five and Six. All in-depth interviews were audio recorded, upon the approval of the interviewee.

Creswell (2009, 194) argues that “[t]he intent of qualitative research is to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction. It is largely an investigative process where the researcher gradually makes sense of a social phenomenon by contrasting, comparing, replicating, cataloguing and classifying the object of study.” In-depth interviews, apart from documents, observations, and audio-visual materials, represent one category of data within the qualitative research framework, and the ethical considerations are central when planning and implementing this particular data collection method. Interviews essentially entail data gathering “from people, about people” and they are “increasingly being seen as a moral inquiry” (Creswell 2009, 87 and 90), hence professional conduct during interview process is imperative in order not to compromise the integrity and validity of the study. Creswell strongly maintains that, while conducting research that involves human participants, researchers frequently encounter sensitive information and emotionally stressful situations; for this reason, “[f]irst and foremost, the researcher has an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of the informant” (Creswell 2009, 197-198). To ensure adequate conduct and to prevent the distortion and misrepresentation of the research data during the planning, collection, and analysis stages I strongly abided by the *Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the*

Protection of Human Subjects of Research that were set forth in *The Belmont Report*: (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1979). The three fundamental principles that are detailed in the report, governing human research, are as follows:

1. *Respect for persons*: the principle describes moral obligation of the researcher (1) to respect the autonomy of the involved participants and their opinions and choices and (2) to recognise the individuals who lack autonomy (the immature and the incapacitated) by providing appropriate protection.
2. *Beneficence*: the principle describes research as a beneficent action, which aims (1) to maximise possible valued outcomes for the specific field of study, the involved participants, the science in general and (2) minimise avoidable harm and unwarranted risk.
3. *Justice*: the principle describes moral responsibility of the researcher to perform equally just treatment of all involved participants by employing fair, considerate, and appropriate procedures (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1979).

According to Sieber (2009, 109-110),

Operationalising these principles means employing valid research designs and procedures, having researchers capable of carrying out those procedures validly, assessing risks and benefits and adjusting procedures to minimise risk and maximise benefit, selecting the appropriate kind and number of subjects, obtaining voluntary informed consent, and compensating subjects for injury or at least informing them whether compensation will be available.

Considering the professional, political, and personal contentions among the selected participants, the major ethical considerations of this research were anticipated concerning three interconnected issues – privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity. As

Sieber (2009, 117) encapsulates, “Privacy is about people. Confidentiality is about data. Anonymity means no identifiers.” Participant’s perceptions of the three aspects within a research setting can be rather idiosyncratic, however. Some people are more protective but others, on the contrary, feel more unconcerned and relaxed about the information they share with the researcher. Considering these differences, I followed a strict procedure and, prior to the beginning of every interview, I thoroughly went through the informed consent form, discussing with the participant any possible risks to privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity. Every interviewee, regardless of his or her position on the matter, was provided with the confidentiality statement, asserting that the information about the participants would not be shared with anyone outside of this research and that the collected data would be kept private. Sieber (2009, 123), in this regard, makes a compelling argument:

Participants tend not to share highly personal information with a researcher unless they believe that their data will be kept from falling into the wrong hands However, people tend to *overestimate* [emphasis added] the risk of confidentiality breaches. Assurances of confidentiality by the researcher have little direct effect on willingness to participate in research and may also sensitise subjects so much to possible risks that they have an effect opposite to that intended by the researcher.

This aspect presents a serious impediment to credibility of the data that is collected through interviews; however, the confidentiality question should not be ignored or taken too lightly either. As a responsible researcher, I had to convey a firm and clear position that I would respect the need for confidentiality, that I was open to any particular suggestions the participants might have, and that the research was conducted in an ethically responsible manner, considering the well-being of every single participant. Creswell (2009, 198) contends that “the informant’s rights, interests and wishes [should]

be considered first when choices are made regarding reporting the data, and the final decision regarding informant anonymity [should] rest with the informant.” In cases when sensitive personal or confidential information was shared, some of the participants requested not to be quoted in the research regarding the specific subject matter while others asked to turn off the recorder to ascertain the prevention of the confidentiality breach. All these wishes were respected and granted, and the specified information was considered and analysed within the research framework, but it was not disclosed in the thesis.

In order to protect the privacy, all respondents were given an option to remain anonymous in the reported findings, however, very few of the selected professionals preferred this choice. Creswell (2009, 90) maintains that “some participants may not want to have their identity remain confidential. By permitting this, the researcher allows the participants to retain ownership of their voices and exert their independence in making decisions.” By doing this, however, I had to inform the participants about the potential risks of non-confidentiality, like inclusion and disclosure of their names in the final draft of this thesis. The names and the represented organisations of all the participants who decided to “retain ownership of their voices” (Creswell 2009, 90) are revealed. In cases where the participants expressed their wish to protect their identities and to remain anonymous, aliases for names and organisations were created and used instead.

It is critical to remain objective and neutral while conducting research, but it is also important to recognise that all methods of inquiry have their inherent limitations (Creswell 2009). Because of interpretive and subjective nature, qualitative research is being criticised as more bias-laden inquiry. During the interviews and observations, the

researcher is “typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants. This introduces a range of strategic, ethical, and personal issues into the qualitative research process” (Creswell 2009, 177). For this reason, during the planning, execution, and analysis stages of the interviews, different researcher and participant biases need to be acknowledged. “Bias refers to a predisposition or partiality” (Ogden 2008, 61) that influences decision making and produces fallacies in reasoning. In qualitative research, bias presents serious impediments to ethical data collection, analysis, and interpretation and can be extremely detrimental, not only compromising integrity and validity of the research, but also distorting reality.

To mitigate the negative effects of researcher and participant biases, I strove to establish neutrality as an imperative value of my research. Diebel (2008, 555) contains that “the term *neutrality* implies that an inquiry is free of bias or is separated from the researcher's perspectives, background, position, or conditioning circumstances.” It is imperative to mention, however, that the notion of neutrality could be rather contested and complex when considered in different research contexts, particularly in social sciences, in which the “knowledge [often] is viewed as constructed rather than seen as some unchanging reality” (Diebel 2008, 555). In this regard, the understanding of an objective worldview that is tied to this never changing reality becomes invalid. Diebel (2008, 555) argues that “researchers using qualitative approaches in social science inquiries recognise that the objects of their study cannot be fully understood in an objective and unbiased way; they are too complex and changing.”

During the interview planning process, I recognised that confirmation bias could potentially create the greatest risk of data contamination in my research. Confirmation

bias is one of the most common biases that occurs in research, and it has been recognised by scholars long time ago when discussing challenges of research methodology. The first edition of Francis Bacon's *The New Organon* was published in 1620. In the book, the well-known philosopher had provided a rather clear early definition of the confirmation bias:

Once a man's understanding has settled on something (either because it is an accepted belief or because it pleases him), it draws everything else also to support and agree with it. And if it encounters a larger number of more powerful countervailing examples, it either fails to notice them, or disregards them, or makes fine distinctions to dismiss and reject them, and all this with much dangerous prejudice, to preserve the authority of its first conceptions. (Bacon [1620] 2000, Kindle Location 1308).

Consequently, while conducting the interviews, I had to be conscientious about the possible risk and practice reflexive inquiry – a process that is “rooted in self-awareness, situational understanding, personal filters, and social location” (IGI Global 2019). Exercising reflexivity enabled me to critically evaluate my actions and decisions and to provide more objective interpretation of data, in which “the researcher keeps a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue” (Creswell 2009, 175), even though it may contradict the meaning that the researcher has about the subject matter under examination.

Purposive or expert sampling was chosen as an integral component of the research design of this thesis, potentially implying selection bias. This participant selection strategy has been criticised for being judgemental and subjective, as well as for not representing a proper randomisation. It should be noted, however, that the choice of purposive sampling is very common in qualitative research. Palys (2008, 697) argues that “there is no one best sampling strategy because which is best will depend on the context in which researchers

are working and the nature of their research objective(s).” During the planning stages, I evaluated that expert sampling would be the most beneficial method for choosing participants for the interviews. Among different purposive sampling approaches I chose to employ *maximum variation* sampling strategy, which implied that during the preliminary stage of this study, I had to identify “individuals who cover[ed] the spectrum of positions and perspectives in relation to the phenomenon” (Palys 2008, 697) that I was examining. Considering the rather polarised professional and political environment of the Latvian contemporary visual arts domain, it was imperative to gather a wide range of diverse opinions from professionals who were directly involved in the constitution process, i.e., emergence, development, and maturation, of this field, including important institutional entrepreneurs, incumbents, and challengers who assumed the most central positions within the structural and relational configuration of it. On the subject of the previously mentioned criticism, it is noteworthy to take into account that “research participants are not always created equal – one well-placed articulate [interviewee] will often advance the research far better than any randomly chosen sample of 50” (Palys 2008, 697).

One of the concerns, raised by several of the participants before the interview process started, was the institutional framework, supporting this particular inquiry. In this case, the concept of neutrality was particularly relevant in my attempts to maximise the objectivity and validity of the collected data and the success of this thesis. It was my professional responsibility, prior to the meetings with the selected participants, to establish a relationship of mutual trust and understanding and to communicate that, as a researcher, I represent institutionally neutral position that is not influenced by any of the institutional

entrepreneurs, incumbents, or challengers working within the field. The goal of the study is to better understand the major problem areas that the field faced during its emergence, development, and maturation phases and to use the findings for further policy development and improvement. As the participant bias can potentially produce a significant amount of error in data, it was critical for me to be aware of, to control, and to minimise the detrimental effect of this kind of bias as much as possible already at the very beginning of the interview process. In connection with the point previously mentioned, sponsorship bias presented the highest risk of data corruption. The sponsorship bias implies the distortion of research agenda, including the planning, procedures, and reporting. Industry representatives have the potential to influence the course of the research by defining its purpose and by framing the questions. Taking into account the very polarised field environment, I had to prevent possible erroneous assumptions made about the institutional framework of this study by the participants. I had to clearly convey the message that “the political, organisational, economic, social context of the research have the integrity and resources needed to manage the study responsibly” (Sieber 2009, 129). To mitigate the sponsor bias, important was the introduction and thorough examination of the Informed Consent Form (discussed above) prior to the beginning of every interview. During the interview process, I followed the same procedure with each involved participant, maintaining a neutral posture and tone. The wording of the questions was carefully prepared, using neutral phrases and words, i.e., “nondirectional language” (Creswell 2009, 113), and avoiding any indications of desired or preferred responses.

An integral component of the qualitative research phase also was analysis of such primary sources as relevant laws, regulating cultural production in Latvia, and public

documents released by the Saeima, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Finance, the Cabinet of Ministers, the State Culture Capital Foundation, data issued by the Central Statistical Bureau, and official and unofficial documents of the major non-profit organisations representing the field. The archival research that was conducted at the National Archives of Latvia, at the exhibition documentation archives of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Research Centre, and at Noass' Video Art Archive and Video Art Data Base provided me with invaluable primary sources. In qualitative research, data triangulation or multi-method approach involves “the practice of using multiple sources of data or multiple approaches to analysing data” (Salkind 2010), and it fulfilled two important purposes in this thesis: first, the method enriched the understanding of the subject matter under examination and, second, it enhanced data credibility and validity of findings. Salkind (2010, 1538) contends that “triangulation aligns multiple perspectives and leads to a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of interest.” Another perspective, highlighting the importance of triangulation, maintains that all research methods have their inherent limitations and that the application of multi-method approach to data collection and analysis could potentially “neutralize or cancel the biases of other methods” (Creswell 2009, 14). In the framework of this study, the practice was critical in “establishing corroborating evidence” (Salkind 2010, 1538) and augmenting the internal validity.

Triangulation is particularly relevant in the framework of mixed-methods research design that is employed in this thesis, denoting that qualitative and quantitative data are combined to generate either “one large database or the results [are] used side by side to reinforce each other (e.g., qualitative quotes support statistical results) (Creswell 2009,

14). As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, sequential mixed methods design was applied, aiming “to elaborate on [and] expand on the findings of one method with another method” (Creswell 2009, 14).

2.1.2 Social Network Analysis in Mixed Methods Research Design

In one of his most recent works, “Cultural Networks,” DiMaggio (2011, 286) has argued that it is possible to divide social-scientific research on culture into three central analytical streams, exploring (1) “formally organised systems that produce and distribute cultural products; (2) expressive symbols that facilitate the production of individual and group identities and intergroup boundaries; (3) the symbolic organisation of meaning.” The research undertaken in this thesis corresponds to the first suggested analytical focus, in which relational and structural processes and outcomes substantially define the theoretical framework. Martin (2003, 27) contends that the structuration of the field can be described as “a result of patterns of relations.” An empirical examination of structuration process (discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.5.2) is foundational in order to trace the evolution of the institutional definition of the field and in order to identify visible and quantitative changes in an emerging and developing field. It is not an easy task to measure structuration, however. In their seminal article of 1983, DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 156) suggest that the process “might be tapped crudely with the use of such measures as concentration ratios, reputational interview studies, or data on network characteristics.” In two of his articles, particularly exploring the structuration process of a certain field, DiMaggio (1983, 1991a) applies archival research and in-depth interviews as primary sources of investigation. As previously mentioned, interviews and archival research are

integral part of this study. They are indispensable sources for interpretation and validation of the social network data. In 1986, DiMaggio published, “Structural Analysis of Organisational Fields: a Blockmodel Approach,” which was the very first attempt to apply SNA to examine organisational field level, representing one particular institutional sector – regional professional theatres in the US. DiMaggio claimed that SNA “is particularly suited to the theoretical and substantive demands of a structural approach to organisational fields”⁴⁶ (DiMaggio 1986, 347).

An earlier research, particularly focusing on cultural production systems, has strongly implied the presence and significance of a relational network (Danto 1964, 1973, 1974; Dickie 1974, 1984; Becker 1974, 1982; Bourdieu [1965] 1990, 1983, [1987] 1993, 1987b, 1996), however, this reference is mostly conceptual, and it is not supported by specific network data collection and analysis methods. Important, in this connection, is Georg Simmel’s ([1908] 1971) persuasion that

[a] collection of human beings does not become a society because each of them has an objectively determined or subjectively impelling life-content. It becomes a society only when the vitality of these contents attains the form of reciprocal influence; only when one individual can affect, immediate or mediate, upon another, is mere spatial aggregation or temporal succession transformed into society. If, therefore, there is to be a science whose subject matter is society and nothing else, it must exclusively investigate these interactions, these kinds and forms of sociation.

Determining the field as a smaller and more compact social unit, which can be described as a totality of relevant actors and their reciprocal interconnection within a particular

⁴⁶ In his study, DiMaggio applied structural equivalence analysis, which was “pioneered in the 1970s to describe structure through the identification of structurally equivalent positions (and the sets of actors occupying them) within populations of human actors” (DiMaggio 1986, 336). Structural equivalence analysis represents a specific network data collection technique, which allows to detect blocks or cliques of actors within a relational structure of a field; it permits an identification of structural equivalence of actors in a field; it allows an identification of a structure of domination, revealing a hierarchy of a field.

environment, I find the application of SNA, which implies such investigation of relationship reciprocity, to be the most compatible “natural methodological framework” (DiMaggio 2011, 286) for the second data collection phase. Simmel’s statement indeed describes a very early idea of patterned interaction that underlies the later developments of SNA.

As Newman (2010, 1) explains, “[a] network is, in its simplest form, a collection of points joined together in pairs by lines. In the jargon of the field the points are referred to as *vertices* or *nodes* and the lines are referred to as *edges* [emphasis in original].” Often, terms – link, tie, relation – are used to describe the connecting line between the nodes. All above-mentioned expressions are used interchangeably further in my study. Freeman (2004, 3) emphasises four central principles that underlie modern SNA, and I have included them below:

1. SNA is motivated by a structural intuition based on ties linking social actors.
2. It is grounded in systematic empirical data.
3. It draws heavily on graphic imagery.
4. It relies on the use of mathematical and/or computational models.

In order to better support the relational character of the first principle, the interdependence of actors and their connection should be emphasised. The relational links, edges, or ties between the actors imply a certain interaction or describe a flow of capital – material or non-material (e.g., economic, cultural, social, symbolic, political). Applying a broad description, SNA is the study of pairs/sets of relations among actors that constitute social structure. The organisational field represents a meso-level analysis, hence, within the

framework of this thesis, SNA is defined as the examination of relational configuration among the totality of relevant actors integral to the structuration process, determining institutional definition of formerly unrecognised and unorganised social space. As stated earlier, the positional movement and the spatial differences of the actors within a field are structured by existence of specific forces (capitals), most pertinent at the time of the empirical study. The relevant forms of capital that are analysed as important in relation to the emergence and development process of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia are described in TABLE 1.5.

The network visualisations or sociograms that are presented within this research are generated by *Gephi*, which is an open-source network exploration, analysis, and manipulation software (Bastian, Heymann, Jacomy 2009, 1). All input data collection, preparation, and coding was exclusively performed by the author of this research. DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 148) argue that “the structure of an organisational field cannot be determined a priori but must be defined on the basis of empirical investigation,” hence the principal objective in applying the visual network analysis is twofold: firstly, to quantitatively support the theoretical framework of the new institutionalism in organisation analysis and the institutionalisation process of the new field and, secondly, to create a visually explaining and easy to understand graphical representation of complex processes that are involved in different institutionalisation stages of the field. Newman (2010, 8) emphasises that “visualisation can be an extraordinary useful tool in the analysis of network data, allowing one to see instantly important structural features of a network that would otherwise be difficult to pick out of the raw data. The human eye is enormously gifted at picking out patterns, and visualisations allow us to put this gift to work on our

network problems.” Two force-directed layout algorithms, Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) and ForceAtlas 2 (Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann, Bastian 2014), are applied in order to set the shape of the networks and to represent the mutual relationships of the actors, facilitating the analysis of field development trends, structuration patterns, and change.

2.1.2.1 Network Concepts

A network is a map of relationships that is composed of two components – a set of nodes and a set of relations or edges, describing the interaction between the nodes. As Newman (2010, 1) points out, “there are many systems of interest to scientists that are composed of individual parts or components linked together in some way,” hence these systems can be represented in various kinds of networks. Some of the most studied and well known are technological, social, biological, and information networks, to name but a few. The visualised graphs that are included in this research are representations of a social network, “in which the vertices are people [actors], or sometimes groups of people, and the edges represent some form of social interaction between them” (Newman 2010, 36). The conceptual origin of the field of sociometry, which today is known as social network analysis (SNA), reaches back to the 1920s. In 1923, psychosociologist Jacob Levy Moreno published his book *Das Stegreiftheater*, which, as Moreno (1953, xiv) himself points out, contained “the seeds of many of the ideas which later brought sociometry to fame.” A decade later, his seminal work, *Who Shall Survive*, was published, establishing the official methodological foundation of sociometry. Moreno (1934, 11)

defines it as a method of inquiry “into the evolution and organisation of groups and the position of individuals within them.” During the 127th annual meeting of the Medical Society of the State of New York that took place in April 1933, Moreno exhibited a few dozen hand-drawn sociometric graphs (Moreno 1953; *New York Times* 1933) that were based on three of his early explorations, i.e., study of 500 girls in the New York Training School for Girls in Hudson, 2000 pupils in Public School No. 181, Brooklyn, and 250 boys at the Riverside Country Day School. Moreno (1953, xiii) describes the event as “the closest approximation to an official start of the sociometric movement.” These very first social network studies depicted attraction and repulsion patterns among schoolchildren within each grade (kindergarten through eighth grade) and among teenage girls in the reformatory school within each cottage and outside. Moreno (1953, 95-96) referred to his graphs as sociograms, arguing that the sociogram entails

...more than merely a method of presentation. It is first of all a method of exploration. It makes possible the exploration of sociometric facts. The proper placement of every individual and of all interrelations of individuals can be shown on a sociogram. It ... makes *structural* [emphasis in original] analysis of a community possible, ... [and] portrays the pattern of the social structure as a whole and the position of every individual in it.

During the time of the annual convention, his graphs became a showpiece and “a large number of physicians, neurologists, psychiatrists and sociologists stopped in to see them and to read in the criss-cross of red, black and blue lines the unveiling of the societal forces which dominate mankind” (Moreno 1953, xiii). The exhibited sociograms drew wide attention not only from the academic and medical circles, but also from the largest newspapers of the country. Sociometry was labelled as “the new science” (*New York Times* 1933, 17) and “the crystal ball” (Moreno 1953, xiii), providing a methodology to

analyse structural patterns and dynamic of a community. Moreno (1953, lvi) argues that “before the advent of sociometry no one knew what the interpersonal structure of a group “precisely” looked like. ... In the pre-sociometric period all interpretations were based on hunches and intuitive speculations.” The early hand-drawn network visualisations (sociograms) formed an essential part of his book, which was published soon after the convention, and they are reproduced in FIGURES 2.1. and 2.2.

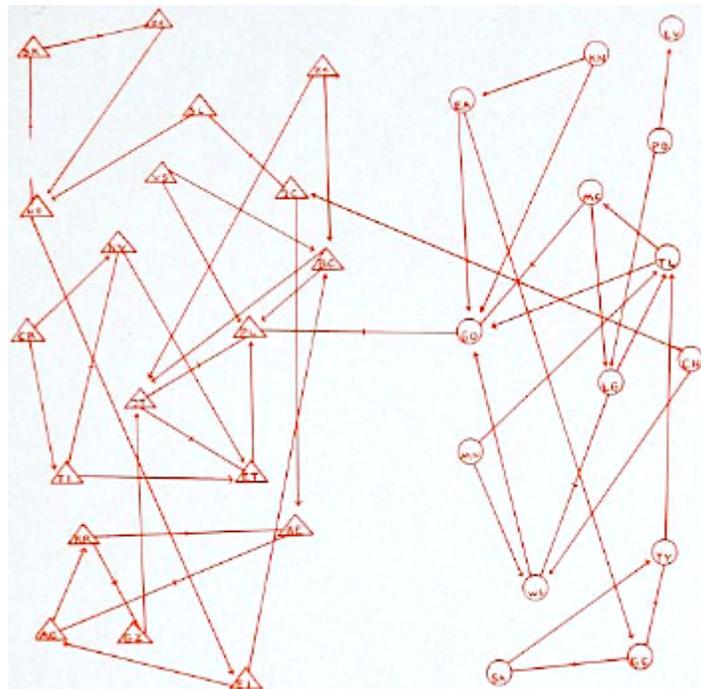


FIGURE 2.1. Reproduction of the hand-drawn sociogram of Moreno’s early studies of schoolchildren in the 1930s, depicting attraction patterns between boys (triangles) and girls (circles).

Source: Moreno 1934, 37. Digital photo of the hand-drawn sociogram.

Notes: The included example shows the structure of third grade of the public school No. 181, Brooklyn, New York City.

precipitous in the discipline of sociology. When appraising the major achievements and setbacks in sociology over past fifty years, among one of the most promising developments within the discipline Homans (1986, xxvi) emphasises the SNA, arguing that “it can add an important dimension to our understanding of social structures.” As the publication data of articles related to the SNA indicate, the development and application of the method has also experienced a steady increase in other disciplines, i.e., medicine, psychology, and information sciences (Otte and Rousseau 2002), to mention but a few.⁴⁷ The principal reason behind the rapid growth of the field can be directly tied to the institutionalisation of SNA (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Otte and Rousseau 2002; INSNA 2017). In 1977, Barry Wellman established International Network for Social Network Analysis (INSNA), a professional association for researchers who are interested in the notion of a social network and the method and application of the social network analysis. The organisation played an important role in disseminating professional and academic information and services. Its major functions included the publication of a bulletin *Connections*, containing news, scholarly articles, technical columns, abstracts and book reviews; sponsoring the annual conference; maintaining electronic services; publishing a peer reviewed journal *Social Networks* (INSNA 2017). Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994, 1411) claimed the SNA to be “one of the most promising currents in sociological research. This mode of inquiry ... has achieved a high degree of technical sophistication and has proven extremely useful in a strikingly wide range of substantive applications.” When commenting on the increased attention to the method within social

⁴⁷ Evelien Otte and Ronald Rousseau’s (2002) publication provides more specific quantitative information about the development of the SNA field from 1963 to 2000.

and behavioural science community during the 1980s and the 1990s, Wasserman and Faust (1994, 3) argue,

...much of this interest can be attributed to the appealing focus of social network analysis on *relationships* among social entities, and on the *patterns* and *implications* [emphasis added] of these relationships. Many researchers have realized that the network perspective allows new leverage for answering standard social and behavioural science research questions by giving precise formal definition to aspects of the political, economic, or social structural environment.

As noted in the previous chapter, DiMaggio (1983; 1991a) and DiMaggio and Powel (1983; 1991b) define structuration process, whereby a field becomes organised and institutionally recognised, as consisting of five stages and hence involving certain structural and relational outcomes. In their analyses, the scholars (DiMaggio 1983, 1991a; DiMaggio and Powel 1983, 1991b) rely on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of a field, which is defined as

...a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential *situation (situs) in the structure* [emphasis added] of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their *objective relation* to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 97)

In this connection, SNA is a compatible and efficient method to evaluate the collected network data and to support and validate the chosen theoretical framework, which is substantially defined by relational and structural processes. As Wasserman and Faust (1994, 3) suggest, "from the view of social network analysis, the social environment [or the field] can be expressed as patterns or regularities in relationships among interacting units." The examined time period that the research concentrates on spans through nearly

three decades of field development, hence expanding SNA application longitudinally and examining the process of change within structural and relational patterns of the field. After the completion of his research, in which DiMaggio (1986, 355), for the very first time, applied SNA to examine a specific *organisational field* as a patterned interaction, reflecting the structural configuration of reciprocal influence of actors upon each other, the scholar concluded that the “sensitivity to historical particularities” is an essential quality of SNA that should be particularly accentuated. This virtue is especially important when detecting smaller communities and when examining the structural partitioning of relationally denser groups, clusters, and sub-networks within the relational pattern of a field as a whole. Following the hypothesis of this thesis, each decade represents a separate stage of field development and, within the framework of SNA, each decade is examined as a separate time frame, which consequently is represented by a historically distinct data set. Three separate SNA data sets enable the analysis, through which it is possible to detect the modifications of relational and structural trends, dominating each field development stage, and through which the researcher can observe the change that has occurred in the structural partitioning of relationally denser groups within a field.

SNA is not a “general,” “formal,” or “unitary” theory in sociology representing clear-cut laws or propositions (Burt 1980; Homans 1986; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Otte and Rousseau 2002), but it is rather, as Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994, 1414) suggest, “a broad strategy for investigating social structure.” Burt (1980, 79) has referred to it as “a loose federation of approaches, progressing on many fronts,” indicating the applicability of SNA to many fields. In this regard, it is important to recognise that SNA is truly an interdisciplinary undertaking and its early roots comprise various disciplines,

such as social psychology (sociometry), sociology, mathematics, statistics, and computational science. DiMaggio argues that within these disciplines the very broadly and abstractly defined concept of culture⁴⁸ was perceived “as a fog obscuring social reality, rather than as a legitimate analytic category” (DiMaggio 2011, 286). On the other hand, an enduring disinclination to implement formal methods, such as SNA, within studies of culture, both “in the social sciences as well as humanities” (DiMaggio 2011, 296), did not facilitate an earlier encounter of the two fields.

One of the leading scholars in the development of SNA, Harrison White ([1965] 2008, 2), in his early research had suggested that it is necessary to introduce “cultural elements in our very definitions of the elementary terms of social structure.” Within the historical time frame, this assertion is expressed very close to the cultural-cognitive turn that I have discussed earlier (sub-chapter 1.1.2.2) in relation to the development of new institutionalism in organisational analysis. White ([1965] 2008) argues that cultural-cognitive elements are vital in constituting a common framework of meanings (e.g., values, beliefs, virtues, scripts, classifications, etc.) that help determining the scope of a certain network and provide better interpretation of the pertinent relations within that network:

its [network’s] structure is essentially local, a matter of pair relations. Yet there must be a common culture to define a type of relation sharply and clearly, if there is to be a net defined by the presence or absence of that relation between pairs of persons. The implication of a common culture and the implication that a net is defined over some set of persons both lead one to define the population over which the net is perceived. Population is essentially a categorical concept; so the concept of net is not in fact independent of the concept of cat [category].

⁴⁸ Here DiMaggio refers to the classic definition of culture, comprising broad ethnographic, in the literature also referred to as anthropological, sense of the term, which was introduced by Edward Burnett Tylor in 1871. The abstract characterisation of culture, as described by DiMaggio, targets Parsonian sociologists.

In retrospective, White's article⁴⁹ ([1965] 2008), "Notes on the Constituents of Social Structure," implied a very clear and comprehensive vision that it is impossible to explore structure without considering cultural-cognitive elements (values, meaning systems, practices, schemata) as part of the social network analysis. In this early writing, the scholar (White 1965) coined a new concept, *catnet*, by bonding two foundational notions – that of a network (abbreviated as net) and a category (abbreviated as cat). In formal/mathematical expression, the network is "a collection of points in which some pairs are connected by lines" (White [1965] 2008, 1). White ([1965] 2008), however, insisted that a social network comprised more than that. In this connection, the category (or cat) "is the respect in which persons may be grouped as similar – a "box" into which people do or do not fall" (White [1965] 2008, 4). From observer's point of view, the people in the "box" are a representation of a certain social group that is sharing common culture. Catnet hence can be described as a set or extended sets of dyadic interrelations that are determined by shared culture. White ([1965] 2008) also introduced the concept of "frame" as a cultural definition of a catnet. The reproduction of the pertinent relations and institutionalisation of new kinds of relations significantly affect the development trajectory of a certain frame. The scholar argues that "[p]eople develop culture in part to meet their needs to visualize, operate in and modify the social structure to which they belong. Some nets persist for a very long time. The pair relation on which the net is

⁴⁹ White's article, "Notes on the Constituents of Social Structure," were fully published in its original form in 2008, and it represents the lecture notes of the undergraduate course, Social Relations 10, that the author taught at Harvard College in 1965. His graduate assistant at the time, Michael Schwartz, compiled the notes in a written text that never got fully published until 2008.

based remains stable and clearly defined. New persons are added to and leave the net, but according to clear-cut rules” (White [1965] 2008, 11).

The lecture notes of the course, “Social Relations 10,” that White taught in 1965 at Harvard College never got officially published, however, the ideas of this influential text were circulated and existed as a part of the grey literature within the field of SNA (Freeman 2008; White 2008; Santoro 2008). The importance of White’s research in relation to this thesis is marked by its theoretical proximity to the new institutionalism in organisational analysis and to the field concept (Chapter two). The implication of duality, consisting of cultural-cognitive elements and structure as co-constitutional in shaping the frame [or field], is particularly relevant. The contribution of this research during the early development stages of the SNA was the author’s attempt to link culture as a valid analytic category with more formal quantitative methods, as well as its clear acknowledgement that “through agency culture could be generative of social structure, and not simply an epiphenomenon of it nor a simple (structural) effect” (Santoro 2008, 17).

Within the research framework that is particularly focusing on a field level cultural production systems, the application of SNA as an investigative method and an integral part of analysis materialised rather late. DiMaggio’s (1986) study of the regional professional theatres in the US was the first attempt to apply structural equivalence analysis (a specific network data collection technique) on a field level, and it was the earliest effort to provide a “concrete expression to relational theories of culture” (DiMaggio 2011, 296). In 1976, Kadushin’s article, “Networks and Circles in the Production of Culture,” identified distinctive features and relational structure of intellectual, scientific, and artistic circles (Kadushin 1976). In his research, the scholar

employed SNA-specific terminology to describe the distinct properties of the culture production systems like boundary detection, indirect interaction, centrality, structural partitioning of relationally denser groups and clusters. At the time of the research, however, Kadushin (1974, 773) himself acknowledged that “the investigation of cultural circles is in its infancy,⁵⁰ much of what I shall say about them in declarative form must be taken as tentative propositions, poorly grounded in data.” Most of the peer-reviewed body of work, representing data-supported SNA integration in the analysis of relational theories of culture,⁵¹ came to fruition in the twenty-first century (Anheier and Gerhards 1991; Anheier et al. 1995; de Nooy 2002, 2003; Kirschbaum, 2006; Staber 2008).

During the past decade SNA has been successfully implemented as novel tool within cultural policy analysis for assessing cultural projects, programmes, and organisations and their social and economic impact on local development (Oehler and Sheppard 2010; Sacone 2014; Dīvāne et al. 2014; Lee 2015). This strand of research represents another approach to SNA’s application within the analytical framework of cultural production systems. Saccone (2014, 5) argues that “applying network analysis to cultural projects aiming to promote local development is an innovative approach to map and check their potential or real sustainability in the creation of networks as a fecund field.” Network analysis approach enables systematic structuring of cultural processes, and it has been increasingly applied as a powerful complementary tool, along with the traditional monitoring and assessment methods,⁵² facilitating the examination of the

⁵⁰ Kadushin refers to the application of SNA as a quantitative data analysis method in research of specific cultural production fields or circles.

⁵¹ I am particularly referring to the body of work that is focussing on Bourdieu’s field concept and the application of SNA to study the relational structure of the field.

⁵² Performance indicators, cost benefit and cost effectiveness analysis, impact evaluation.

structural and relational features of a project, as well as “the *constraining* and *enabling* [emphasis in original] dimensions of patterned relationships” (Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994, 1418) among the involved actors within a project. Saccone (2014) emphasises that

[c]ultural economics is indeed looking for new methods of investigation ..., enabling the mapping and measurement of cultural networks. In fact, the existing evaluation methods assess the impact of a cultural project promoting local development in a given period of time, usually coinciding with the duration of the project, but are not able to quantify the sustainability of cultural projects over time. In other words, they do not quantitatively estimate if the economic and social benefits created by a project can survive after its end.

When applied longitudinally, adding follow-up data, the method allows to quantitatively evaluate the development trend of the network and the sustainability of a project.

In one of her recent studies, Lee (2015, 139) claims that “a growing number of theoretical and empirical studies have raised issues about the role of creative industries in urban development and relevant policy actions to enhance their positive effects. Central to this is to develop a network-friendly environment which stimulates knowledge transfer and interactive learning.” In order to evaluate the “city-level effort to promote networks in creative industries” (Lee 2015, 148) in Seoul, Lee applies SNA as an attempt to establish an analytical framework for examining the structure and cohesiveness of the network of entrepreneurs in creative industries and for measuring the network’s connectivity (density) and efficacy in transmitting knowledge. In a study that Oehler and Sheppard carried out in 2010, the authors applied SNA to examine two case studies with a goal to assess social engagement and economic impact of the two analysed art organisations on the local communities.

Historically SNA evolved as a truly interdisciplinary undertaking and the expansion of its application during the 1980s to a wide range of disciplines, including

cultural studies, only validates SNA's principal virtue – versatility. Wasserman and Faust (1994, 16-17), in this connection, maintain that SNA “is far more than an intuitively appealing vocabulary, metaphor, or set of images for discussing social, behavioural, political, or economic relationships. Social network analysis provides a precise way to define important social concepts, a theoretical alternative to the assumption of independent social actors, and a framework for testing theories about structured social relationships.”

2.1.2.2 Network Components

All graph visualisations that are represented in this thesis are generated by open-source network exploration, analysis, and manipulation software, *Gephi* (Bastian, Heymann, Jacomy 2009, 1). The vertices in this particular program are referred to as nodes, but in literature, examining social networks, nodes are also referred to as actors. Both terms are used interchangeably further in the text when examining the components and essential metrics of three different phases of the network. As stated earlier, SNA is the study of pairs of relations among actors that constitute social structure, but, within the framework of this thesis, SNA is defined as the examination of relational configuration among the totality of relevant actors that are integral to the structuration process, determining institutional definition of formerly unrecognised and unorganised social space.

When introducing the basic concepts of a network, first, the form and content components require closer observation. Both morphological⁵³ and content factors of the network are analysed in order to trace the emergence, structuration trends, and change of the field. One of the earliest distinctions between the form and the content of a relation during some kind of interaction can be found in Simmel ([1908] 1971, 23-24):

I designate as the content – the materials – of sociation everything that is present in individuals – drive, interest, purpose, inclination, psychic state, movement – everything that is present in them in such a way as to engender or mediate effects upon others or to receive such effects. ... They are factors in sociation only when they transform the mere aggregation of isolated individuals into specific forms of being with and for one another, forms that are subsumed under the general concept of interaction.

In network analysis, the formal factors denote the pattern of the edges, but content or interactional factors represent the relational property or properties of the edges in the network (or the property of the relationship that the edge represents within a network) (Mitchell 1974). There are many different definitions of edges that are introduced in studies of social networks (Newman 2010) and the content specifics depend on the questions that the researcher intends to answer. In an earlier study on social networks, Mitchell (1974) discusses a developing terminology that is applied in network analysis and suggests three broad, but distinct, content categories of interaction:

1. *Communication*, representing passage of information between actors.
2. *Exchange* or transaction, representing various transactions or exchanges between actors.

⁵³ Terms morphological, formal, structural are used synonymously in the text when referring to the features of the network.

3. *Normative* content, representing “the actor’s construction of the meaning of that relationship to him in terms of his understanding of the other person’s [actor’s] expectation of his behaviour” (Mitchel 1974, 294).

In this study, the content category of interaction between two actors of the network is defined as an exchange of a certain capital or resource. In order to define a specific content of the resource involved in the interaction, it is necessary to return to the definition of an organisational field. For this purpose, I am referring to one of the earliest definitions that DiMaggio (1983, 148-149) has applied in his research, describing organisational field as “sets of organisations that together accomplish some task in which a researcher is interested. A field consists not only of organisations that produce “outputs” (whether these are automobiles, social services, or spiritual salvation), but also organisations that supply resources, effect constraints, or pose contingencies. The extent to which a field constitutes a network is always an empirical question.” It is important to emphasise the last part of the definition because it implies the factors of structural and interactional change that takes place in a field. DiMaggio (1983, 149) points out, “the degree of interaction (and the nature of inter-organisational structure) vary within organisational fields over time,” implying that the analysis of structural and relational change should be historically sensitive. Following the proposed hypothesis of the study, which states that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual art field is divided into three consecutive, but distinctive phases where each one of them is ignited by some founding moment (caused by an exogenous shock)⁵⁴ that leads to the episode of crisis and contention and that is principal in shaping the ensuing phase of the field development

⁵⁴ Discussed in more detail in Chapter One.

(FIGURES 1.4. and 1.5.), the underlying premise is that each one of the proposed phases signifies a different structuration dynamic and empirically captures the change occurring within the field during the time frame of nearly thirty years. Within the theoretical framework of this study, an important factor of change is the impact of agency that is fulfilled by either organised or individual actors who have the interest and power (capability) to shape the institutional logic that is prevalent in each one of the stages. The recognition of the major involved actors (governmental, non-governmental, individual, international, and supranational) is essential in order to analyse the change. Consequently, the state and municipal administration, the arm's lengths agencies, the non-governmental organisations and foundations in Riga, regions, and abroad, the higher art education institutions, the media, the private enterprises, investors and collectors, the individual politicians, curators, art historians, theorists, critics, artists, as well as the creative output of their relationship, i.e., exhibitions, projects, biennials, triennials, festivals, seminars, symposia, workshops and conferences, annual competitions and prizes, to mention but a few, all are defined as nodes in the visualised network graphs, creating “the totality of relevant actors” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 148) within a field.

The creative output node (e.g., exhibition) represents the most central and connected actor within the *creative output micro-network*,⁵⁵ which comprises all actors that are affiliated with a particular event at a specific time, forming but one small unit of the totality of the field as an empirical entity that is subject to change, depending on a

⁵⁵ Creative output micro-network is a term that the author of this thesis has introduced to describe a network and all the involved actors of one specific event, e.g., exhibition, taking place at a specific historical time. All creative output nodes and corresponding actor nodes are recorded in the Gephi data sets based on a year when the event took place, geographical location (longitude and latitude coordinates), and attribute description (creative output, non-profit organisation, curator, artist, jury, funding or legislative agency).

specific time of measurement and assessment. When examined in the interactive graph preview mode in Gephi,⁵⁶ the creative output node, when selected, indicates all affiliated actors that are involved in creation of a specific project. Newman (2010, 53) describes that in *an affiliation network* “actors are connected via co-membership of some kind.” In the graphs, the co-membership is defined by the creative output that comes to fruition as a result of exchange of a certain capital between the involved actors. Newman (2010, 53) also specifies that “the most complete representation of an affiliation network is a network with two types of vertexes (nodes) representing the actors and the groups, with edges connecting actors to the groups to which they belong.” This kind of network is typified as *bipartite* or *two-mode* network, and the node and edge configuration within it determines that edges link actors (e.g., artists) only to the group they belong (FIGURE 2.3).

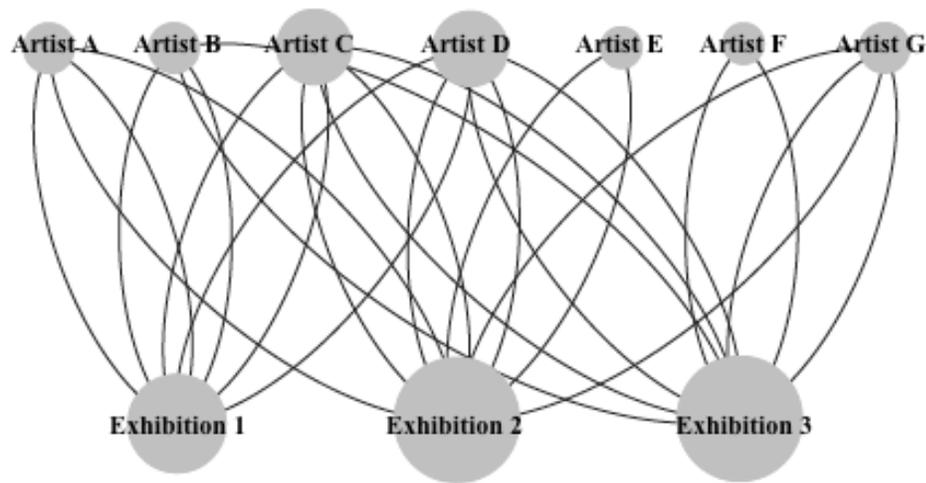


FIGURE 2.3. Visual representation of bipartite network, in which edges link each node (artist) to the groups (exhibitions) in which he/she has participated

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

⁵⁶ In the interactive graph preview mode of Gephi, after the two data sets, comprising edges and nodes, are imported, the exhibition node (or any other node representing creative output) indicates a complete set of actors that are involved in the particular micro-network.

There are no links between either actors themselves or groups – there is *connection* between the two types of nodes (actors and groups). The complete representation of an affiliation network, however, excludes *interconnection* among the actors representing either of the sets, i.e., interconnection among artists and interconnection among groups (exhibitions).

As illustrated above, the bipartite matrix represents a rather limited spectrum of relations that are comprised within a field characterised by the “totality” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) of involved actors. Borgatti and Halgin (2011) suggest that it is imperative to define the exact purpose of collecting relational data that involve affiliation, and, consequently, it is necessary to select a valid matrix of social relations within a unit that is under the examination. The authors maintain that “[i]n some cases, the purpose of collecting affiliation data is not to understand the pattern of ties between the two sets but to understand the pattern of ties within one of the sets. It would seem perverse, in that case to collect affiliation data, since, by definition, affiliation data do not include ties among members of either set” (Borgatti and Halgin 2011, 420). In this connection, it is essential to define the creative output and specify the relationship matrix and valid conditions that could be applied when programming a creative output micro-network. Within the scope of this thesis, the creative output, which manifests itself as a result of intense and complex interrelatedness among actors, is going to be defined in terms of creative collaboration. Tartas and Giglio (2016, 420) argue that “[c]ollaboration is linked with creativity. Creative collaboration describes a relationship between two or more persons with a common purpose of creating new objects through certain ideas and shared understandings of something new and a common goal.” Following this definition, the creative output

micro-network cannot be interpreted merely within the confines of a two-mode network matrix of relations. Borgatti and Halgin (2011) have introduced *co-affiliation* network matrix, in which actors are still connected via co-membership (e.g., exhibition), but there is a possibility to construct a direct link among the actors themselves. Such a modification allows relationally characterising and graphically depicting the creative output micro-network not only as a product of affiliation, but rather as an expression of a complex creative collaboration. Within the framework of each creative output micro-network “co-affiliation can be viewed as an observable [and valid] manifestation of a social relation” (Borgatti and Halgin 2011, 421).

In this study, each extended network, representing one development phase of the field, is developed as a totality or a sum of many co-affiliation networks or, as previously described, a sum of creative output micro-networks. The common denominator of the affiliation in a micro-network is an exhibition or any other form of creative output.⁵⁷ The annual exhibition of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art–Riga (SCCA-Riga) is the common denominator of the micro-network indicated in FIGURES 2.4. and 2.8. All actors within this small social network are affiliated with this particular creative output. This simple visualisation consists of eight actors and thirty-six edges, and it provides an illustrative example of the methodological matrix that is used as a base for coding a single creative output micro-network.⁵⁸ The triad that is comprised of three actors – SCCA-Riga,

⁵⁷ The most common and frequently occurring types of creative outputs within represented network graphs comprise exhibitions, art projects, biennials, triennials, festivals, symposia, workshops and conferences, annual competitions and prizes, to mention but a few. The list is provided as an example and it does not exclude other forms of creative outputs that are possible as an interaction result among organisations and individual actors within the network.

⁵⁸ The size of a node depends on its centrality degree, which denotes node’s number of connections in the network.

curator and venue – represents the very core of this small social network (FIGURE 2.5.).

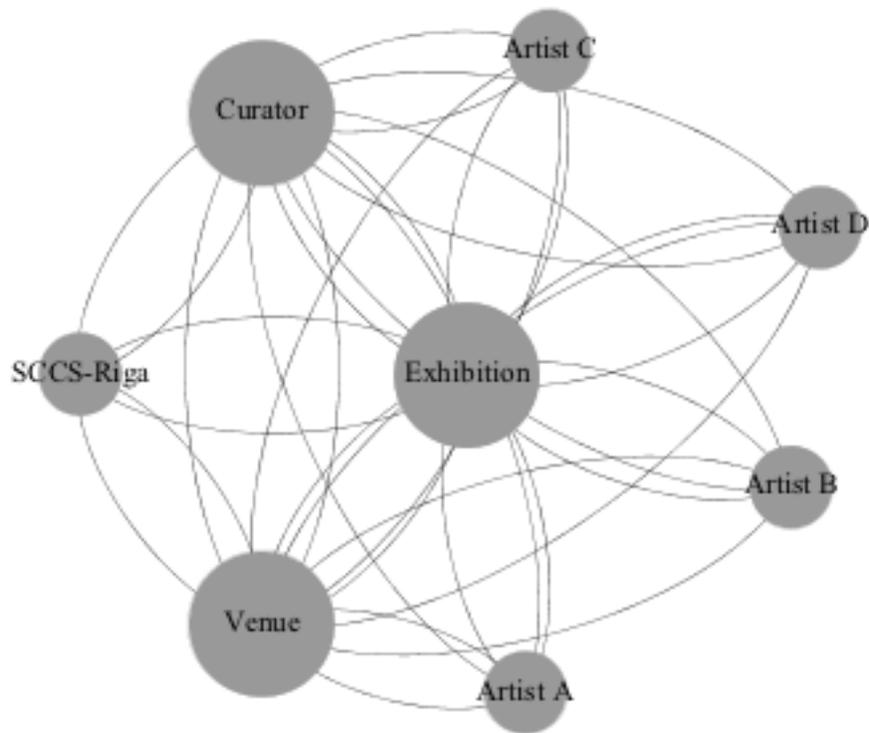


FIGURE 2.4. Creative output micro-network example of the SCCA-Riga annual exhibition

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The social network comprises eight nodes and thirty-six directed edges. Density: 0.64 out of 1 (64%). The graph is prepared applying Fruchterman-Reingold (1991) layout algorithm.

Kadushin (2012, 16 and 22) reminds that the triad is “the building block of more complex relations” and “network analysis really begins with triads.” The author maintains that a true social system is reflected in a triad, and the relationship matrix within it can be configured in sixteen different ways (Kadushin 2012). Analysis of all sixteen

configurations goes beyond the scope of this study,⁵⁹ however, within the confines of the proposed relational matrix of the co-affiliation micro-network, two configurations are represented⁶⁰ (FIGURES 2.5. and 2.6.). FIGURE 2.5. depicts reciprocal relationship between three actors. Furthermore, the creative output of this relationship is an exhibition (FIGURE 2.7.), which is realised with involvement of additional four actors – artists A, B, C, and D (FIGURES 2.4. and 2.8.).

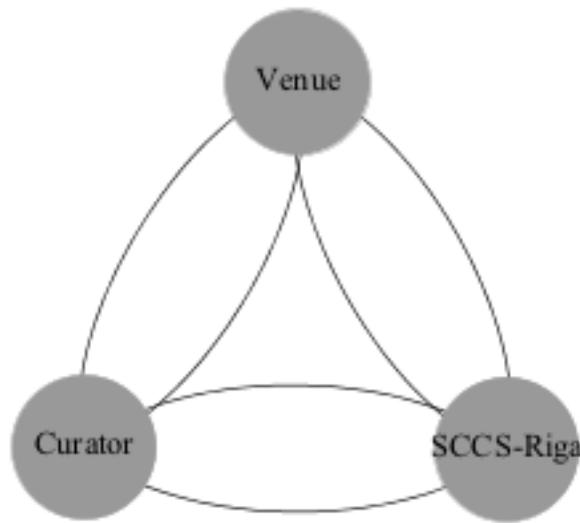


FIGURE 2.5. Mutual or reciprocal co-operation between three actors: SCCA-Riga, curator, and venue.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The triad comprises three actors and six directed edges. Density: 1 or 100% (complete network).

⁵⁹ More information about the relational configurations in a triad could be found in Kadushin (2012).

⁶⁰ They are categorised as 16-300 (FIGURE 2.5.) and 11-201 (Figure 2.6) (Kadushin 2012).

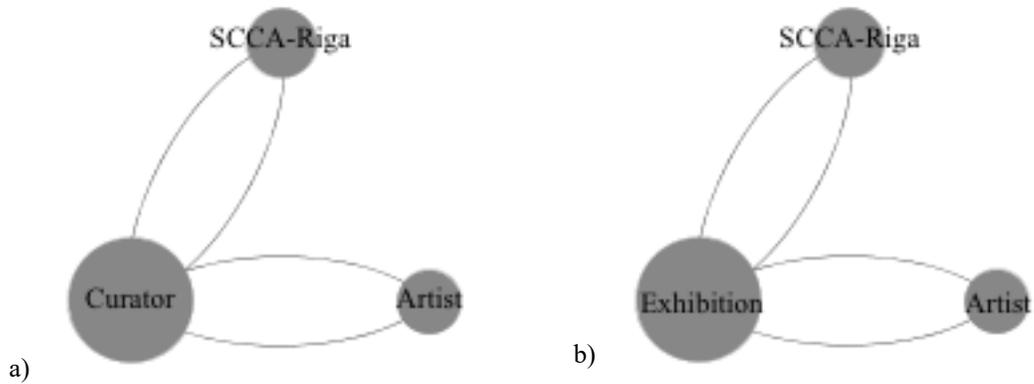


FIGURE 2.6. Mutual or reciprocal co-operation between three actors: a) artist, curator, and SCCA-Riga, and b) artist, exhibition, and SCCA-Riga.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

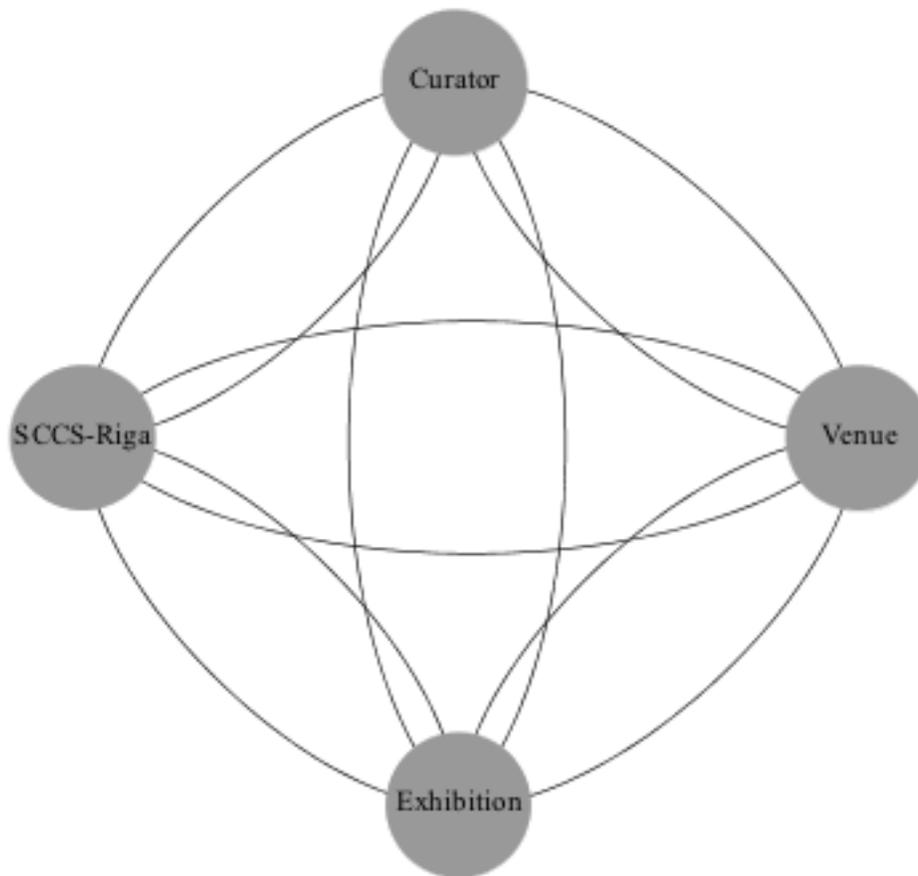


FIGURE 2.7. Mutual or reciprocal co-operation between four actors: SCCA-Riga, curator, venue and exhibition

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The network comprises four nodes and twelve directed edges. Density: 1 or 100% (complete network).

In this particular micro-network, represented in FIGURES 2.4. and 2.8., curator, venue, SCCA-Riga, and exhibition have close direct reciprocal relationships. The artists (A, B,

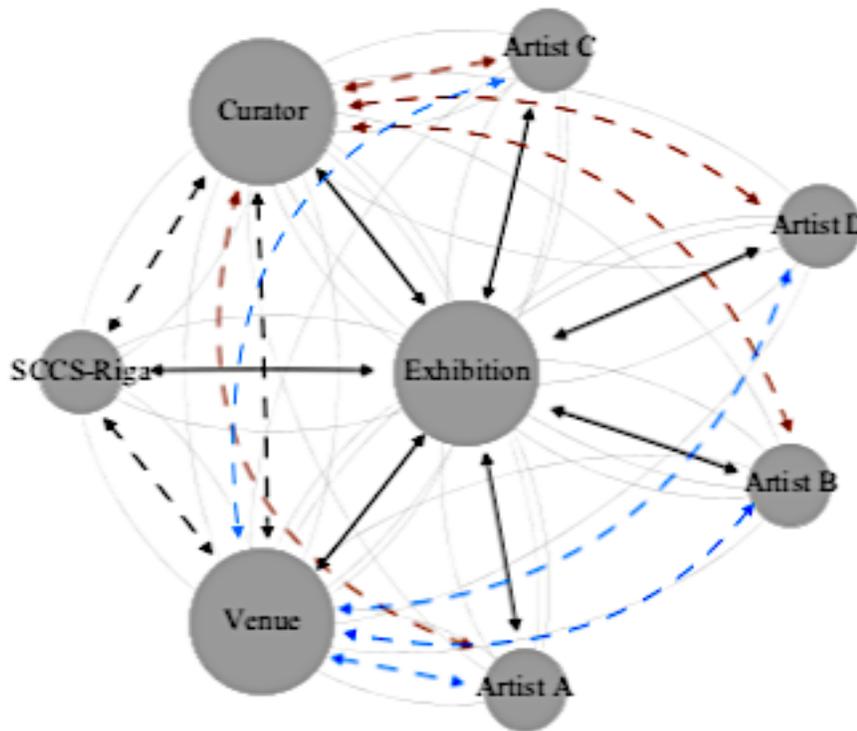


FIGURE 2.8. Creative output micro-network example of the SCCA-Riga annual exhibition.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The social network comprises eight nodes and thirty-six directed reciprocal edges. The black and the colourful arrows indicate the reciprocity within the network. Density: 64%.

C, D) are mutually connected to the curator, venue, and exhibition. There is no reciprocal relationship, unless the graph comprises an artist collective working on the same artwork,

among artists (A, B, C, D) themselves, and there is also no directed mutual connection between the artists (A, B, C, D) and SCCA-Riga. The lack of direct connection does not imply that the particular actors are not connected within the network. In this case, all artists (A, B, C, D) are connected to the SCCA-Riga and to each other through three intermediary actors – curator, venue, exhibition.⁶¹ The sixty-four per cent density measure characterises this small social network as rather densely connected – there are thirty-six existing direct reciprocal links out of fifty-six total possible direct mutual connections (36:56). FIGURE 2.9a. provides a comparative example of the same network, indicating hundred per cent

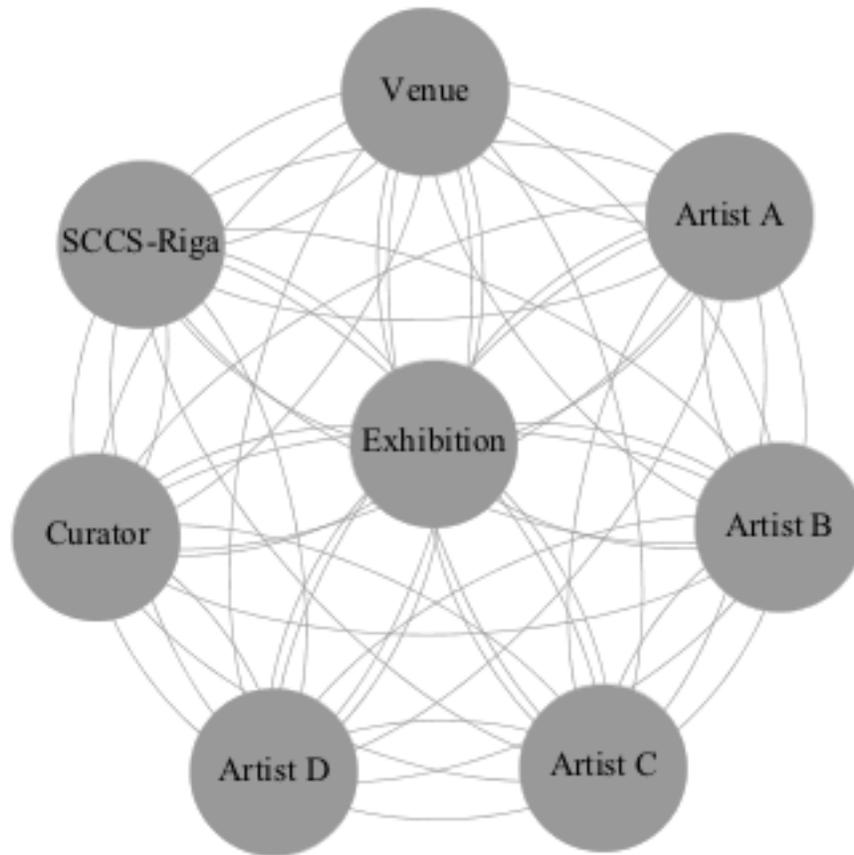


FIGURE 2.9a. Creative output micro-network example of the SCCA-Riga annual

⁶¹ FIGURE 2.6. provides an example of two intermediaries, i.e., curator and exhibition. The graphic expression of venue and artist interconnection is identical.

exhibition.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The social network comprises eight nodes and fifty-six directed reciprocal edges. Density: 100%

density measure. In this example, all eight actors (nodes) are reciprocally connected to one another, creating a symmetrical and complete network with the density measure of 1 or 100%.

If analysed separately, i.e., artist – curator, artist – venue, artist – exhibition, the relationship model of these particular sets of actors fits well within the matrix of the affiliation network. However, in the confines of the creative output micro-network where the exhibition node (or any other form of creative output) represents the common denominator and in which a close collaboration, expressed via reciprocal links, defines interconnectedness among the rest of the actors, i.e., curator, SCCA-Riga, venue, exhibition, the micro-network represents an obvious example of a co-affiliation matrix. Also, the formal properties, indicating the pattern of the edges in a network, reveal clear differences between the two matrices. They are graphically illustrated in FIGURES 2.3., 2.4., and 2.8..

In order to determine the structural or formal matrix of the relationships within the micro-network, I have provided a step-by-step explanation of the fundamental elements that form the basis of the three phase networks that I have presented in the thesis. As previously indicated, the content or interactional factors denote the property or properties of a certain relationship or relationships that the edge represents within a network (Mitchell 1974). Since both – structural and content – factors of the network are analysed in order to trace the emergence, structuration trends, and change of the contemporary

visual art field in Latvia, it is important to provide an explanation of the content components that are integral in performing a comprehensive analysis of the networks that represent the three phases of field development.

A dyad or a pair of two nodes represents the simplest network, and there are three types of edges possible in between the nodes of a dyad, determining their relationship – undirected or simple, directed, mutual or reciprocal. The sociogram depicted in FIGURE 2.9b. comprises all three of the above-mentioned relationships. In FIGURE 2.10., the

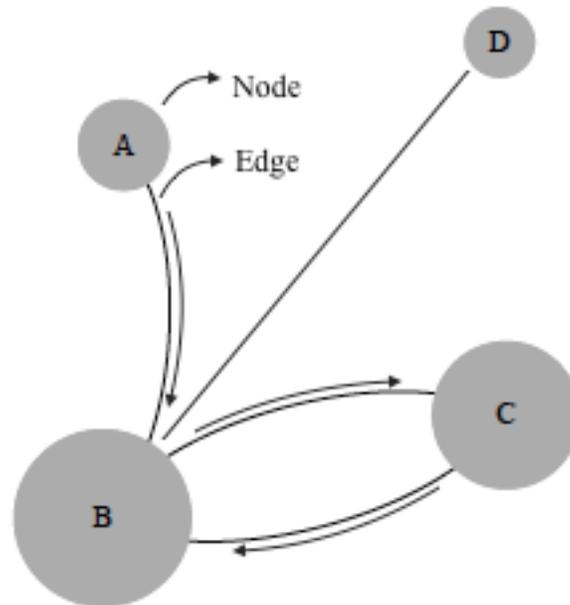


FIGURE 2.9b. A network graph of simple (non-directed) relationship (B and D), one way directed relationship (A to B), and reciprocal relationship (B to C and C to B)

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

nodes A and B represent two visitors who have come to the same gallery and the relationship that connects the two is simply the attendance of the same exhibition. The relationship, in this case, is non-directional – if the visitor A attends the same show as the visitor B, then the visitor B attends the same show as the visitor A. An important

assumption regarding this case is that both visitors do not know each other personally and there is no directional relationship towards or exchange of capital involved between the two.

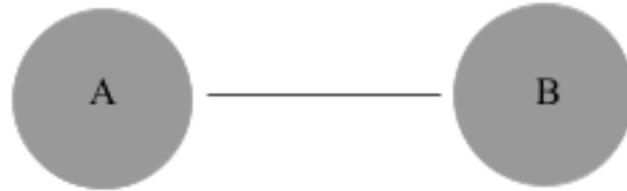


FIGURE 2.10. Non-directional or simple relationship between the visitor A and the visitor B

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

All networks that are analysed in this thesis are representations of a *digraph* or a directed graph, which determines that each tie or link, connecting a pair of actors, has a certain direction (Newman 2010). A directional relationship in the dyad comprises the source node and the target node and the flow (or valence) of certain content between them. As indicated earlier, the content category of interaction between two actors of the network in this study is defined as an exchange of certain capital or resource (TABLE 1.5.). FIGURE 2.11. represents the flow of economic capital (or money) between the foundation C (source) and organisation D (target) in order to realise an exhibition (creative output). In a directional relationship, a curved edge, used as a pictorial convention, indicates the direction of the relationship, always moving clockwise from the source node to the target node.

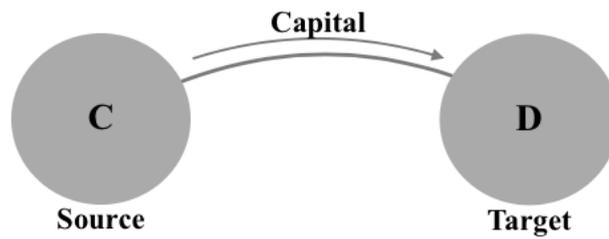


FIGURE 2.11. Directed relationship between the foundation C and the organisation D, moving from source C to target D

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

The relationship is characterised as reciprocal in case when mutual exchange takes place between the actors of the dyad. The process of reciprocity, however, can be rather precarious and it may not be immediately apparent. Kadushin (2012, 25) reminds that “[t]he concept of mutuality implies, first, that relations are reciprocal, that is, they involve a give and take between the two parties; and second, that power or asymmetry in the relationship is of little or no consequence. Mutuality is strongly affected by the social and cultural structure within which the dyads are embedded.” Kadushin’s reference to the existing common framework of meaning as vital in shaping the social and cultural structure of a certain inter-organisational network or field is significant. As indicated earlier, the creative output, which comes to fruition as a collaborative effort, assumes an important place within a single micro-network⁶² due to its mutual connectivity to the rest of the actors participating in this network. Each phase of a field under examination represents a sum total of such micro-networks, implying that high reciprocity should be

⁶² All actors of a single micro-network are mutually connected to the creative output node.

accounted important when examining cultural production systems; hence mutuality principle was seriously considered and applied during the coding process of the relational structure of the field⁶³ as a whole. An important facet, which conceptually complicates reciprocity, making it less obvious, in this particular study, is the different guises or transubstantiation of the capital involved in shaping a mutual relationship between two actors of a dyad. Bourdieu (1986, 242) argues that through transubstantiation “most material types of capital – those which are economic in the restricted sense – can present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa.”⁶⁴

FIGURE 2.12. exemplifies a relationship between a curator and an artist, which represents only but one reciprocal relationship set (dyad) within a creative output micro-network. The collaboration of an artist and a curator, within the framework of an exhibition, comprises an exchange of two guises of cultural capital (CC) and symbolic capital (SyC). In this particular example, the artist A is providing an objectified cultural capital (CCo). His or her association with the curator B in participating in an exhibition (exhibition node is not represented in this particular transaction) secures or enhances consecration or institutionalised value of artists’ work (CCi). In perspective, the participation in a certain show and the association with a particular curator and venue also increases the market value of an artwork (economic capital). The potential presence of the economic capital (EC) is not represented in the given graph. The artist’s interconnection with the curator may enhance his or her professional reputation (SyC), as well as it can broaden artistic contacts and future networking (social capital (SoC)) possibilities. Depending on the

⁶³ Please refer to FIGURES 2.4. and 2.8. as the basic structural example of the network.

⁶⁴ In my thesis, in addition to cultural and social capitals, I am also focussing on symbolic and political capitals as different guises of immaterial form of capital, which Bourdieu (1983, 1984, 1986, 1987a, 1991, 1996) has discussed in his body of work.

professional status of the artist, the enhancement of reputation (SyC) may also travel from the artist A to the curator B. Based on the interviews and the archival research, analysis of similar exchange transactions and transubstantiations (in order to determine the presence and content of reciprocity in each dyad of actors) was applied during the coding process of every single micro-network. Bourdieu (1986, 242), in this regard, reminds that “[i]t is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form⁶⁵ recognised by economic theory.”

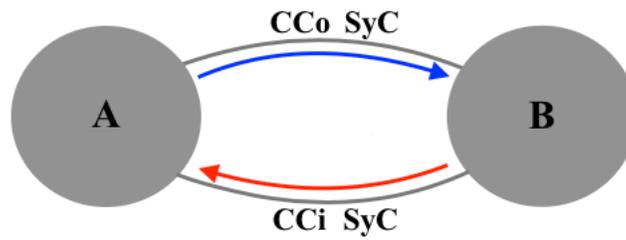


FIGURE 2.12. Directed reciprocal or mutual relationship between the curator A and the artist B and between the artist B and the curator A

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

TABLE 1.5. (discussed in Chapter One) comprises five pertinent guises of capital and TABLE 2.1. includes explanations of the represented focus groups of actors (nodes) and the relevant exchange content (edges) of each group of the actors within the examined field.

TABLE 2.1. Types of nodes and content of edges in the examined network of the field

Network	Node (actor)	Edge (exchange)
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⁶⁵ Here Bourdieu (1986) refers to the economic or material form of capital.

		content)⁶⁶
Contemporary visual arts field	Art organisation (consecrated) (non-profit organisation, gallery, museum, art collective, art centre, etc.)	CCi, SyC, SoC, EC
	Creative output (exhibitions, art projects, biennials, festivals, conferences, prizes, etc.)	CCi, SyC, EC
	Curator	CCi, SyC, SoC
	Artist	CCo, SyC
	Governmental bodies (ministries, city municipalities, agencies, etc.)	PCo, EC, SyC
	Arm's length agency (SCCF)	EC, PCo, SyC
	Higher art education institution	CCe, CCi, SyC
	Private foundation (non-governmental, non-profit organisation, or charitable trust)	EC, SyC, SoC
	Private entrepreneurs	EC, SyC, SoC

Source: Demir 2019.

As illustrated in TABLES 1.5. and 2.1., the specificity of cultural production system in relation to capital implies the presence of various pertinent guises of capital within a field. FIGURE 2.12. indicates that mutuality in a dyad, representing a curator and an artist, is shaped by exchange of different guises of capital travelling from A to B and from B to A. The complexity to analyse a field of cultural production is also caused by

⁶⁶ The pertinent exchange content (capital) is analysed and assigned to each directed transaction between two actors in a dyad based on a previous qualitative data analysis (interviews, archival research, primary source analysis, etc.).

the factor that not only two kinds of capitals are involved in the transaction of a pair of actors (as demonstrated in FIGURE 2.12.), but also that each directed edge going from the source to the target⁶⁷ (from A to B and from B to A) may represent more than one relationship or more than one exchange. In the particular example the directed edge, going from the artist A to the curator B, represents two guises of capital – objectified cultural capital and symbolic capital, but the directed edge, moving from the curator B to the artist A, indicates the exchange of institutionalised cultural capital and symbolic capital, respectively. The presence of multiple contents that are exchanged between the two nodes in a dyad characterises multiplex relationship and qualifies the network of each phase to be examined as a multiplex structure. Coding a multiplex network, which would comprise various levels of one network, goes beyond the scope of this thesis; however, the multiplex character of an edge is taken into consideration during the network analysis. As stated earlier, depending on a field under study, the presence and the dominance of each of the capitals varies, hence it is a task of the researcher to empirically establish, which guise of the capital is the most relevant and would cause the most pertinent difference within an interaction between two actors in a dyad. In-depth interviews, analysis of primary sources (relevant laws, regulating cultural production in Latvia, and public documents released by the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Finance, the Cabinet of Ministers, the State Culture Capital Foundation, data issued by the Central Statistical Bureau, and official and unofficial documents of the major non-profit organisations representing the field) and the archival research that was conducted at the National Archives of Latvia, at the exhibition documentation archives of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Research Centre, and

⁶⁷ In reciprocal directed representation, the source and target relationship is determined by incoming and outgoing edges, moving in clockwise direction: from source A to target B and from source B to target A.

at Noass' Video Art Archive and Video Art Data Base all were integral in determining, coding, and analysing the reciprocity and the pertinent capitals involved in the mutually directed transaction of each represented dyad of actors.

The lack of direct connection between two actors in a creative output micro-network does not imply that the particular actors are not connected. FIGURE 2.13. represents a transitive relationship, in which actor A is related or connected to actor C through actor B. The transitive relationship model is particularly applied when coding the first development phase of the emerging field and it mostly characterises the relationship between the artists and the SCCA-Riga. The increasing importance of the role of a curator as an institutional imperative that developed during the 1990s defined artist's relationship to the SCCA-Riga – particularly within an annual exhibition framework.

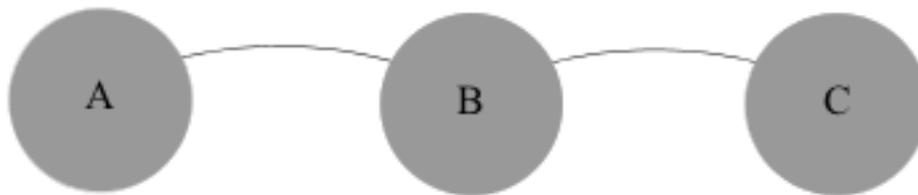


FIGURE 2.13. Directed transitive relationship through an intermediary node

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

Considering the dominant role of the SCCA-Riga during the 1990s, when coding the phase I network, the directed relationship matrix that is graphically depicted in FIGURES 2.4. and 2.8. was consistently applied to each creative output network. In this thesis, the end of the 1990s is characterised as an episode of contention (FIGURES 1.4. and 1.5.) when the financial and administrative role of the SCCA-Riga ceased and other

new actors emerged in the field, indicating a structural change and that “[t]he rules that hold field together and the resources that help groups maintain their positions are up for grabs” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 84-85). The transitive relationships within the creative output micro-network setting during the phase II and the phase III, involving different administrative and funding sources (actors),⁶⁸ were analysed and coded based on each separate case; however, in the grand majority of occasions the same directed relationship model (as in the case of the phase I) (FIGURES 2.4. and 2.6) was applied, ensuring the structural consistency of the network development as a whole (FIGURE 2.16.).

Apart from the creative output network (e.g., annual exhibition), the relational modifications of interaction were present and they were determined during the coding process, based on each individual case of relationships within the dyad of actors. One such modification, when artist’s relationship would be depicted and analysed as mutual or reciprocal with the SCCA-Riga as the major financial and administrative supporter of the emerging field, was in cases involving artist’s direct inclusion in the visual arts database and artist’s successful application for the grant program of the organisation. This modification also implies that all individual interactions during which an artist (including other individual actors) of the field had a successful exchange with a funding providing organisation (e.g., SCCF, ministry, EU programme for culture, private foundation, etc.) are coded and depicted as directed mutual relationship (FIGURE 2.14.) and not as directed transitive relationship (FIGURES 2.6 and 2.13.) through all three development phases.

⁶⁸ During the first phase (1991-1999), the major administrative and funding source was the SCCA-Riga, however, during the course of the phase II the situation changed and different actors (e.g., the Ministry of Culture, SCCF, EU programmes for culture, etc.) assumed the leading administrative and funding roles within a field.

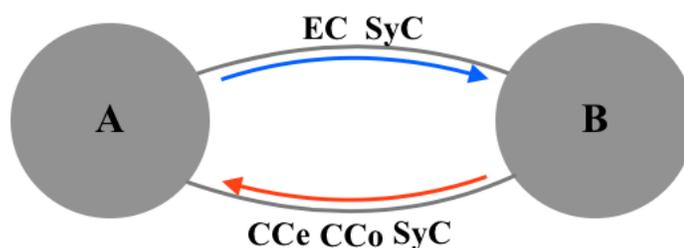


FIGURE 2.14. Directed reciprocal or mutual relationship between the funding source (e.g., SCCF, ministry, private foundation, etc.) A and the artist B and between the artist B and the funding source A

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

The preliminary and in-depth interviews, annual budgets, grant reports, annual reports, board meeting transcripts, and the annual exhibition documentation of the SCCA-Riga, as well as exhibition documentation archive of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LCCA) were the principal sources used in preparing the social network data set of the first phase of field development, representing the 1990s. In order to better illustrate the central role that the SCCA-Riga acquired and the networking capacity (locally and abroad) that the organisation facilitated during the transition, a separate data set was created. The social network graph, representing the organisation’s data set, is included in the empirical analysis part of this study and it is analysed in more detail in Chapter three. The data set is also integrated within the social network graph, depicting the first development phase of the field.

The second phase, representing the first decade of the 2000s, indicates a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and exhibits changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. During this phase, the emerging field, for the first time, appears as a political category within the strategic state cultural

policy planning documents, and the government starts playing an increasingly more prominent role in the constitution project of the field. Until 1998, the functioning of the SCCA-Riga represented the administrative and fiscal core of the field. The organisation was the only source of support for contemporary art (Boiko 2010; Borgs 2004, 2015, 2016ab; Demakova 1996b, 2010a, 2014; Krese 2006a, 2014ab; Umblija 2015b) and it represented the central actor, undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14). By the end of the 1990s, major state actors, particularly the Ministry of Culture, started exhibiting signs of interest and hitherto inconsistent involvement in the active development and support, however, by the mid 2000s the state actors had already claimed the place among the major institutional entrepreneurs, considerably influencing the process of field constitution. As noted earlier, the institutional entrepreneurs represent the capability of agency to either create shared institutional frameworks (rules, norms, beliefs) and initiate the emergence of a new field or considerably transform the pre-existing institutional frameworks in an already established field during the episodes of contentions when institutional reproduction is in question and deinstitutionalisation is a possibility. The state role, in this regard, was particularly crucial in securing the institutional reproduction of the field during this first episode of contention (discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four). Also, taking into account the central role of the Ministry of culture in developing, instituting, and implementing cultural policy during the transition and post-transition periods in Latvia, the state field and the state actors (representing the field of cultural production) were recognised as an integral component during the coding process and further examination of the SNA. It is impossible to exclude state actors and different state fields from the relationship with the field under study

because its stability, as well as instability is determined by this field's connection, either direct or indirect, to the state (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). The state's role often is determinant during the emergence, constitution, and reproduction or deinstitutionalisation processes of a field, and legitimacy is an important factor that bonds the two together. Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 22) emphasize, "indeed, the imposition of a settlement by state actors is a common, if not always stable, method for resolving an episode of contention. Very often the advantages – material, cultural, political – enjoyed by incumbents may be enough to overcome crisis and restore order."

The gradually mounting authority of the state within the field during the phase II was one of the foremost factors that influenced the occurring change and fortified the formation of a rather definite core of constituency (DiMaggio 1988a), which assumed the institutionalisation project. The state involvement in the field materialised through objectified political capital like laws, regulations, declarations, policies, and funding, denoting the existence of empirical indicators of developing normative and regulative institutions that were crucial in shaping the field during the first decade of the 2000s. The establishment of the State Culture Capital Foundation (LR Saeima 1997), undoubtedly the most influential and recognised arm's length body in the field of cultural production, in 1998, and introduction of legislative changes, ensuring funding, regulating and facilitating cooperation between non-governmental sector and the state (Kultūrkapitāla fonds 2002a; LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a; LR Saeima 2002a, 2003a, 2006; LR Ministru kabinets 2004c, 2005b,c,f,g; Karliņa 2017, September 18, e-mail message to author; Vērpe 2006), were critical factors that ascertained a tight link between the two fields during the second phase. The partnership agreements (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2005b, 2006d, 2007b,c,d,

2008b,c,d,e; LR Ministru kabinets 2004c) that were signed between the Ministry of Culture and four organisations within the field, delegating specific tasks, facilitated development of the core constituencies and more clearly defined the boundaries of the emerging field.

Applicable laws, regulations, declarations, agreements, policy documents, annual reports of the Ministry of Culture, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Saeima, and the grant reports of the SCCF were used as empirical indicators to establish and validate the growing presence of state actors in the creative output micro-network. Preliminary and in-depth interviews, financial statements, and exhibition documentation archive of LCCA were also among the principal sources used in preparing the social network data set of the second phase of field development. The symbolic and political recognition, comprising financial advantages, of LCCA, Culture and Arts project NOASS, RIXC Centre for New Media Culture, and Kim? Contemporary Art Centre that materialised through the partnership agreements with the ministry (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2005b, 2006d, 2007b,c,d, 2008b,c,d,e; LR Ministru kabinets 2004c) indicated that the formation of a rather definite core of constituencies, assuming the institutionalisation project, was in progress. The exhibition archive and financial statement analysis of the four mentioned organisations was particularly significant during the preparation process (data input and programming) of the social network, representing phase II. Analysis of additional information (financial statements, annual reports, exhibition documentation, etc.) from other organisations active in the field should not be underestimated. Skaņu mežs (festival for adventurous music), Pedvāle Open-Air Art Museum, the Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE, Cēsis Art Festival, the Purvītis Prize, Audio-visual Communication Department

of the Art Academy of Latvia, Art Research Laboratory of Liepāja University, Art Management and Information Centre, Culture Project Agency INDIE, to name but a few, provided a substantive documentation in order to ensure an objective reflection of the field development.

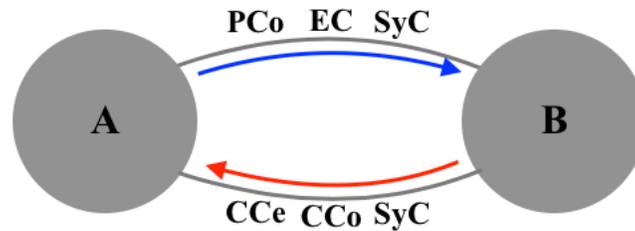


FIGURE 2.15. Example of a directed reciprocal or mutual relationship between the governmental body (e.g., ministry, city municipality, agency, etc.) A, and the art organisation (or artist⁶⁹) B and between the art organisation (or artist) B and the governmental body A

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

The EU and its support programmes for culture (European Parliament 2000, 2002, 2006b, 2013; EU – Latvia Association Council 2001; LR Ministru kabinets 2000d, 2001b; LR Saeima 1995) and the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants – Norway Grants, Financial Mechanism (LR Ministru kabinets 2006c; LR Saeima 2007) cannot be denied their seminal external actor role and influence in shaping the field during the second phase. Accession to the EU was an important factor, facilitating the structuration process of the field. In order to evaluate the impact of the three major EU culture support programmes,

⁶⁹ As mentioned in the study, cases of individual actors (e.g., artists and curators) and their relationship with major financial and administrative actors were analysed and coded based on each separate case. If there was a strong evidence to believe that, within the confines of a creative micro-network, the particular artist’s or curator’s connection with a major financial and administrative actor could be validated as directed mutual relationship, it was programmed as such (FIGURE 2.15.). In most cases, however, the discussed relationship matrix was applied, in which individual actors like artists and curators would be related to the major administrative and funding actor through an intermediary node (FIGURE 2.16.).

Culture 2000 (2000-2006), Culture (2007-2013), and Creative Europe (2013-2020), and to illustrate the networking capacity that these particular programmes facilitated, three separate data sets were created and included in the empirical analysis part of this thesis. They are discussed in Chapter Four. The three separate networks, representing the EU culture support programmes, are also integrated within the three major social network graphs of each field development phase.

When compared to the operating matrix of the SCCA-Riga during the first phase, the major administrative and funding actors of the second phase were not as relationally embedded within the creative output micro-networks; hence the applied relationship matrix during the coding process was slightly modified in order to represent the second and third phase. Based on the existing model (FIGURE 2.4. and 2.8.) and the empirical data that characterise the ensuing phase (here I am referring to phase II), the additional funding organisations⁷⁰ were added to the matrix. Depending on each creative output micro-network, the number of funding actors can vary, and FIGURE 2.16. indicates only one example, comprising two funding actors, SCCF and EU programme Culture (2007-2013), respectively. The relationship of funding actors within each micro-network is characterised as having directed reciprocal relationship with the creative output of the network (e.g., exhibition, festival, etc.) and the organisation involved in the creation of the output. Other actors are reciprocally connected to the funding sources through intermediary nodes – exhibition and organisation. As stated earlier, cases of individual actors (e.g., artists and curators) and their relationship with major financial and administrative actors were analysed and coded based on each separate event. If there was

⁷⁰ Depending on each creative output micro-network, the number of funding actors can vary.

a strong evidence to believe that, within the confines of a creative micro-network, the particular artist's or curator's connection with the financial and administrative source can be validated as directed mutual relationship, it was programmed as such (FIGURE 2.14. and 2.15.). In most cases, however, the discussed relationship matrix was applied, in which individual actors like artists and curators would be related to the major administrative and funding actor through an intermediary node, ensuring the structural consistency of the network development as a whole.

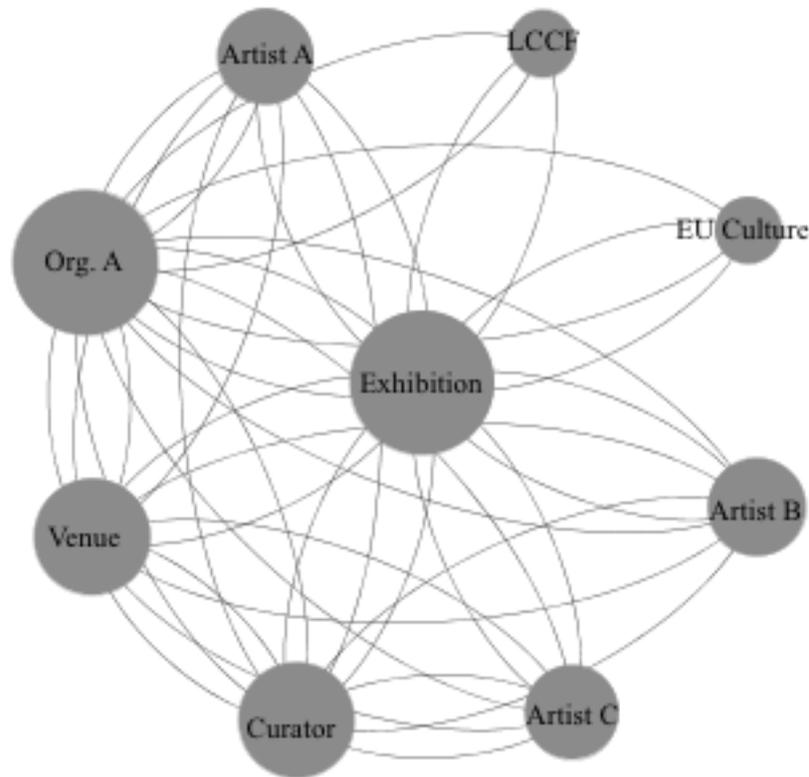


FIGURE 2.16. Example of the creative output micro-network matrix of phase II and III social network graphs, representing the field

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Notes: The social network comprises nine nodes and forty-four directed edges. Density: 0.611 out of 1 (61.1%). The graph is prepared applying Fruchterman-Reingold (1991) layout algorithm.

The global economic crisis, which struck the country particularly hard in 2009, marked the beginning of the third phase, introducing new corrections in the administrative and fiscal core of the field yet again. It is characterized by increased public-private partnerships and by emergence of strong local entrepreneurs and foundations furthering the institutionalisation project of Latvian visual contemporary arts. Interviews, financial statements of the examined organisations, annual reports of private foundations, cultural policy changes, government level partnership agreements, particularly earmarking the field of contemporary visual art, and exhibition documentation all signified a more apparent visibility of new powerful actors in the field. Through the next ten years the activities of the ABLV Charitable Foundation, Jānis Zuzāns, Foundation Art Needs Space, Purvītis Prize, and the Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation indicated a consistent trend of regular and comprehensive involvement in financially supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations. The modified relationship matrix that is represented in FIGURE 2.16 was also applied when programming phase III social network.

It is important to note that the ties in the digraphs are not weighed – there is no strength or value attribute applied to the edges. The value attribute is represented by a real number that is assigned to a tie in a dyad during the coding process, and it can indicate a certain volume of information or certain weight of symbolic, social, economic, and political capital exchanged in the set of nodes. Within the confines of each output micro-network, as well as the network as a totality of actors, not the importance or value of the

tie, but the establishment of the existence of incoming and outgoing exchange of certain resources among actors, forming a structural and relational pattern, was the main focus.

In one of the very first studies, in which SNA was applied in order to analyse the structural and relational properties of a cultural production field, Kadushin (1976, 770) argues that “[t]he degree to which networks are instituted or emergent ... defines networks of different kinds.” In this regard, the question of visibility and certain boundaries is important. “Ego-centric, socio-centric, and open-system networks” (Kadushin 2012, 17) are the three most apparent types of networks that are studied in social sciences. A single actor, representing either an individual or an organisation, is the focus of a study in an *ego-centric* network. In such a network, the relational arrangement and structural pattern of connections of one particular node to other involved nodes is important. The study of funding sources of one specific art organisation, the analysis of represented artists’ network, associated with one particular gallery or art centre, or an examination of major collaborators’ matrix during the realisation process of a certain creative output are just three related examples of an ego-centric network that could be studied in connection with the subject matter researched in this thesis. Each creative output micro-network, analysed in isolation from the larger field that is characterised by the totality of actors, also represents an ego-centric network. It corresponds to organisation set level of analysis (discussed in Chapter I) and, while focussing on a very narrow data set of actors that are connected to the focal node, this type of analysis offers a rather specialised and localised knowledge and excludes a larger existing network of relations within which that same focal node (e.g., creative output) represents only one of the many actors.

Kadushin (2012, 17) defines the *socio-centric* networks as “networks in a “box.”” They also could be referred to as closed system networks due to very clearly defined boundaries and actors that shape the network. An examination of structural and relational patterns among co-workers within a specific art organisation would classify as closed system network study. The very early social network research, performed by Jacob L. Moreno, depicting attraction and repulsion patterns among schoolchildren within each grade (kindergarten through eighth grade) and among teenage girls in the reformatory school within each cottage and outside,⁷¹ all represent studies that are carried out in a clearly defined environment with a definite set of actors (FIGURE 2.1. and 2.2.). The third type – an *open-system* network, “in which the boundaries are not necessarily clear” (Kadushin 2012, 17), best meets the theoretical demands of this study (discussed in Chapter One) and most accurately characterises organisational fields as being in a constant state of flux where negotiations among actors are continuously evolving (Fligstein and McAdam 2012). The field level of analysis best represents an open-system network, and Kadushin (1976) maintains that it particularly well characterises the structural properties of a cultural production field. A more recent study (Fligstein and McAdam 2012), however, argues that the fluid nature of boundaries is a part of any field evolution regardless of specialisation.

2.1.2.3 Measures of the Network

One of the most essential concepts in network analysis is *centrality* – it helps to

⁷¹ Jacob L. Moreno studied 500 girls in the New York Training School for Girls in Hudson, 2000 pupils in Public School No. 181, Brooklyn, and 250 boys at the Riverside Country Day School.

map the position of the node (actor) and to identify the most important or central nodes in the network. There are many centrality measures and they can be applied depending on the field, purpose of the study, and the research questions. Some of the most widely used are the *degree centrality* or simply the degree of a node, measuring the number of inbound and outbound edges that are connected to it, and *closeness centrality*, which determines “the mean distance from a vertex [node] to other vertices [nodes]” (Newman 2010, 181), i.e., its closeness to the whole network. In a single micro-network, the creative output node represents the highest number of incoming and outgoing edges, and it carries the highest degree among the actors that are involved in producing a particular event (FIGURE 2.16). *Betweenness centrality* is another essential measure and it calculates “the extent to which a vertex [node] lies on paths between other vertices” (Newman 2010, 185). *Eigenvector centrality* determines the node’s connection to important or central nodes, which means that the node’s significance is increased by having connections to other nodes that have high degree centrality measure within the network: “eigenvector centrality gives each vertex [node] a score proportional to the sum of the scores of its neighbours” (Newman 2010, 169).

As the collected qualitative and quantitative data of this thesis suggest, it is possible to distinguish among three different development trends of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the time period of 1991 and 2017 (for details regarding the timeline of the three phases, please refer to Chapter One). Bastian, Heymann, and Jacomy argue, “visualisations are useful to leverage the perceptual abilities of humans to find features in network structure and data” (2009, 1). Based on the three-phase division of the institutionalisation process, the network analysis is applied to each development

phase separately, i.e., each phase is represented by its own graph, visually illustrating major structuration trends that took place within each phase.

In directed networks it is possible to separately measure an in-degree (degree of incoming edges) and an out-degree (degree of outgoing edges) centrality of a node, however, in this analysis, I have chosen to apply the degree centrality or simply the degree of a node, measuring the total of the edges that are directed to and the total of the edges that are directed from a node as one of the most important measurements of the network. The more connected edges a particular node has, the higher is its degree centrality within the network. The degree is one of the simplest centrality measures, however, as Newman (2010, 169) points out, “it can be very illuminating. In a social network it seems reasonable to suppose that individuals who have connections to many others might have more influence, more access to information, or more prestige than those who have fewer connections.” Betweenness centrality measure is also applied in my analysis. Both centrality measures, i.e., degree and betweenness, are relevant to the discussion about and analysis of the process by which a field comes to be organized and institutionally recognized as defined by DiMaggio (1983, 1991), DiMaggio and Powel (1983, 1991).⁷² The two measures are particularly useful when analysing the increase in the level of interaction and the load of information among organisations and the emergence of a structure of domination in a field (DiMaggio 1983; DiMaggio and Powell 1991), covering the first two stages of the institutionalisation process. Betweenness centrality measure, in this regard, is especially important when examining the trends of power centralisation within the field during each phase of development. Newman (2010, 186) argues,

⁷² The five components of the process of institutionalisation or structuration are discussed in detail in Chapter I.

vertices [nodes] with high betweenness centrality may have considerable influence within a network by virtue of their control over information passing between others. The vertices [nodes] with highest betweenness ... are the ones through which the largest number of messages pass. ... The vertices [nodes] with highest betweenness are also the ones whose removal from the network will most disrupt communications between other vertices [nodes] because they lie on the largest number of paths [edges].

In Newman's example, information is described as a valuable resource flowing around from one node to another along the edges. In this research, the definition of an edge emphasises *interaction* during which an exchange of resources, i.e., symbolic, cultural, social, economic, and political, take place, and information is assumed as a default component of this exchange. Subsequently the eigenvector centrality is applied in order to examine the hierarchisation trend in the field during the second stage of institutionalisation process.

Along with centrality, *density* and *modularity* are two other measures employed to analyse the three phases of contemporary visual art field development. Density implies the notion of connection and connectivity. Kadushin (2012, 29) points out that it "is at the heart of community, social support, and high visibility. Density facilitates the transmission of ideas, rumours, and diseases. Other things being equal, the greater the density, the more likely is a network to be considered a cohesive community, a source of social support, and an effective transmitter." In the open-source graph and network analysis software Gephi (version 0.9.0), density measurement calculates how close the network is to complete, and a complete network is delineated as possessing all possible edges and density equal to 1. Density of a network is gauged "as the number of direct actual connections divided by the number of possible direct connections in a network" (Kadushin 2012, 29). A density number is determined for each visualised network graph, representing a different phase of

the field development, and it is particularly important when illustrating intensification trend of interaction in the network/field during the first decade of transition after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Community detection tool is employed to examine the developing and changing structure of the studied community in the network throughout the three phases of institutionalisation process. The term refers “to the division of the vertices [nodes] of a network into groups, clusters, or communities [sub-networks] according to the pattern of edges in the network. Most commonly ... the groups formed are tightly knit with many edges inside groups and only a few edges between groups” (Newman 2010, 354). In literature, *graph partitioning* is another term used to examine the division of the network into groups of nodes featured by dense connections of edges within the groups, however, in the latter the number and size of the groups are specified by the researcher, allowing to perform numerical calculations, whereas in community detection the number and size of the groups are unspecified. In my analysis, I have not fixed the number and size of the groups, and my objective in applying community detection as a tool is to “understand the structure of a network, to shed light on large-scale patterns of connections that may not be easily visible in the raw network typology” (Newman 2010, 358).

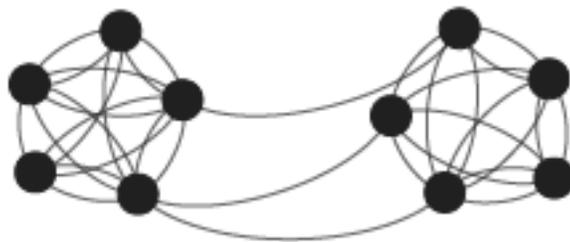


FIGURE 2.17. Example of a visual representation of two sub-networks in a small-scale network (10 nodes, 36 edges)

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm. No modularity measure applied.

Newman (2010) has proposed a measure termed *modularity* for this type of “collective proximity” (Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann, Bastian 2014) within the network where a group of nodes have more connections inside certain sub-network than they have outside. According to Newman (2010, 224), “*modularity* [emphasis in original] is a measure of the extent to which like is connected to like in a network.” Heymann (2015, para. 2) argues that modularity measure estimates “how well a network decomposes into modular communities. A high modularity score indicates sophisticated internal structure.” After applying modularity measure to the graphs, representing three development phases, each sub-community is depicted as a colour-coded area within the larger network, facilitating the analysis of the field structure of each phase.

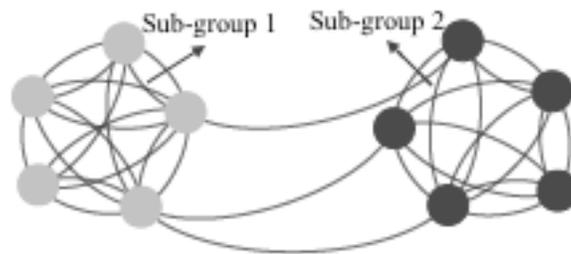


FIGURE 2.18. Example of a colour-coded visual representation of two sub-networks in a small-scale network (10 nodes, 36 edges) after applying modularity measure

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm and modularity measure.

Application of modularity is essential when examining the emergence, as well as changing patterns of coalitions within the field during the three-phase process of institutionalisation.

2.1.3 Force-directed Algorithms

Two force-directed layout algorithms, Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) and ForceAtlas 2 (Jacomy et al. 2014), are applied to set the shape of the network and to represent the structural map of relationships among actors within networks of each phase. The chosen layouts are created using force-directed algorithms that follow a simple principle: “nodes repulse each other like charged particles, while edges attract their nodes, like springs. These forces create a movement that converges to a balanced state” (Jacomy et al. 2014, 2), creating a stabilised graph. The final configuration of the layout, however, depends on the “energy model” (Jacomy et al. 2014, 2) or formulas that are applied to calculate the attraction force of the springs (edges) and the repulsion force of the nodes. This “spring-electric” (Eades 1984) layout is based on imitation of real-life forces – it applies “the repulsion formula of electrically charged particles ($F_r = k/d^2$) and the attraction formula of springs ($F_a = -k \cdot d$)” (Jacomy et al. 2014, 2) where d is geometric distance between two nodes and k is optimal distance between two nodes. The energy model that the “spring-electric” force-based algorithms rely on may be modified using custom forces that allow adjusting and regulating the positions of the nodes in a network and hence also modifying the final configuration of the layout. As Jacomy et al. (2014) indicate, non-realistic or “practical adjustments” (Eades 1984) are common in research of spatialisation algorithms and the customisation depends on the criteria that the method for drawing graphs should satisfy. In 1984, Peter Eades⁷³ pioneered the algorithm, in which a combination of adjusted attractive and repulsive forces were applied to edges and nodes

⁷³ The specifics of the pioneering algorithm developed by Peter Eades can be found in Eades (1984).

in order to produce network layouts with less than 50 actors. His two fundamental criteria for the layout algorithm were following: “all the edge lengths ought to be about the same, and the layout should display as much symmetry as possible” (Eades 1984, 149). It was important for Eades (1984) to create an algorithm that “assigns locations to vertices [nodes] in such a way that the resulting layout is in some sense aesthetically pleasing” (149). The notion of what is aesthetically pleasing is rather contested, however. We can argue that it is a subjective concept, but, as I will illustrate later, in network analysis, it should be associated more with the logical and functional quality of the network layout.

The choice of the layout algorithm in research depends on the topology elements that need to be explored. The goal of this study is to examine the emergence, development and maturation of contemporary visual art in Latvia as a distinct organisational field between the 1990s and 2010s. In addition to qualitative analysis of the social and political environments and the role that they played in the structuration patterns of the field, the principal function of network graphs is to empirically support the theoretical framework of the study and to provide a visual illustration of different institutionalisation stages of the examined field, emphasizing the *structural arrangement* and the *change of positional power relations* among different organisations and individual actors within the field during the three phases of institutionalisation process. Algorithm’s ability to identify and highlight clusters or sub-communities therefore is essential.

Mitchell (1974) and Scott (1983) argue that in network analysis predominantly the formal properties of inter-organisational field are emphasized, applying analytical measures that characterise different morphological components of the field. In this regard, Burt (1980) distinguishes between two analytical approaches, i.e., relational and

positional, in order to examine the inter-organisational field. As specified by Burt (1980, 80), “in a relational approach, network models describe the *intensity* [emphasis added] of relationship between pairs of actors. Network models within a “positional” approach describe the pattern of relations defining an actor’s *position* in a system of actors.” Although Burt (1980, 80) argues that the two approaches “differ in the frame of reference within which an actor is analysed,” the selected analytical variables, as discussed earlier, and the force-directed layout algorithms allow me to examine the inter-organisational field, defining both – the intensity of the relationship and the position of the actor within the network.

The morphological or formal features, however, represent only one facet of the inter-organisational relationship (Mitchell 1974; Burt 1980; Van de Ven and Ferry 1980; Scott 1983). As Scott (1983, 165) emphasises “content is as important as form in network analysis; indeed, form varies greatly with content. Yet content issues have received less attention” In the network, morphological features describe the intensity and pattern of the links (Mitchell 1974; Burt 1980) and consequently the placement and role of a node, however, content or “interactional” (Mitchell 1974, 288) features describe the *type of relation* that the edge between two nodes entails. In this regard, Mitchell (1974) and Scott (1983) make a fair point acknowledging that the notion of content in network analysis involves a difficult interpretation challenge. Although the graphical representation of a network has a strong visual appeal and potential to convey complex processes that are involved in different institutionalisation stages of the field, it is important to consider that, before coding and importing the data into a network exploration, analysis, and manipulation software, the researcher must assign some relationship property to the edges

or links that connect actors of the network. Mitchell (1974, 292) argues, “there is a distinct risk here that the diagram [network visualisation] may take on greater reality than it really merits. What is involved here is the way in which the full complexity of human relationships may be so abstracted and simplified as to be capable of being represented as a network diagram.” Considering the content category of interaction and the multiplex nature of the edges within the examined interorganisational field, my goal, along with analysing morphological features, is also to establish the dominating content trends of the field during the three institutionalisation phases. Based on the content properties, I look at what type of capital or resource is exchanged among different actors and how the pattern and intensity of this exchange determines “the space of the position-takings (*prises de position*)” (Bourdieu 1983, 312; emphasis in original) within each phase.

2.1.3.1 Two-step Spatialisation Procedure

As previously noted, two force-directed layout algorithms, Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) and ForceAtlas 2 (Jacomy et al. 2014), are applied in order to map out the institutional development process of the examined field. Both algorithms, however, represent different criteria that they emphasise in the final layout of the network, and they are developed based on slightly different energy models.⁷⁴ The rationale behind applying the two-step spatialisation procedure is simple – it ensures better initial untangling of the network after the coded data has been imported into the visualisation software, Gephi 0.9.0. It also illustrates the importance of aesthetic facet in

⁷⁴ More detailed information about the specific energy models of Fruchterman-Reingold and ForceAtlas2 layout algorithms can be found in Fruchterman and Reingold (1991) and Jacomy et al. (2014).

network layout, hence explaining the functional quality of the concept in research and development of spatialisation algorithms. As the random layout (FIGURE 2.19)⁷⁵ demonstrates, it is hard to read the structure of the network before applying spatialisation algorithm, which structurally sets the field into a legible map. In the random layout state, the network is depicted as a confused mass of tangled nodes and edges.

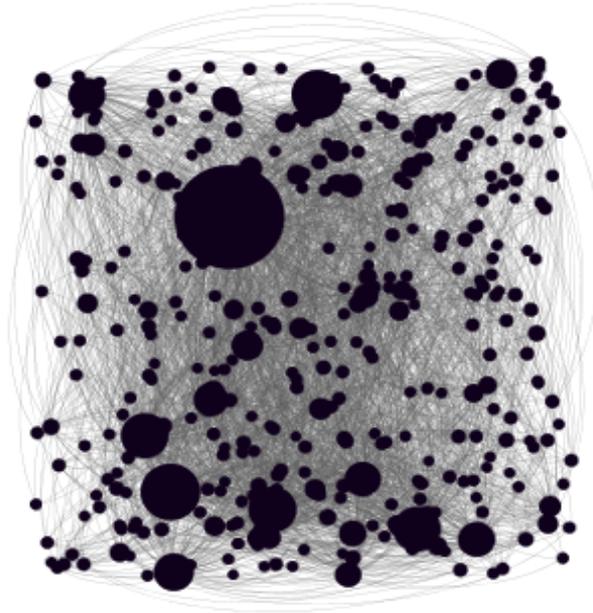


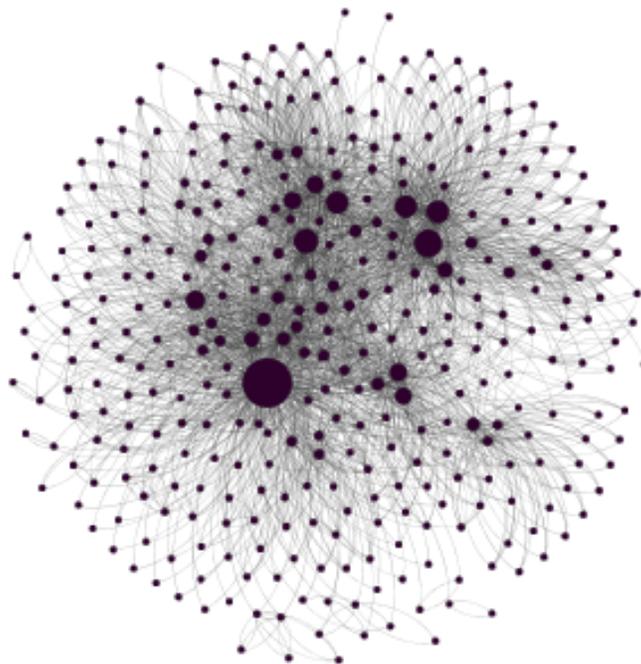
FIGURE 2.19. Random layout of the SCCA-Riga interaction network during 1994 and 1999 before applying force-directed layout algorithm

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. No force-directed layout algorithm applied.

In 1991, inspired by Peter Eades (1984), Fruchterman and Reingold (1991) developed a modification of the “spring-electric” force energy model. They introduced “an algorithm that attempted to produce aesthetically-pleasing, two-dimensional pictures of graphs by doing simplified simulations of physical systems” (Fruchterman and

⁷⁵ The random layout in figure 2.19. represents actual data of the SCCA-Riga interaction network between 1994 and 1999. The network statistics are presented in Table 2.2.

Reingold 1991, 1129). Their layout had to meet five major criteria, emphasising some generally accepted aesthetic principles, such as even distribution of nodes in the frame, minimal crossings of edges, uniform lengths of edges, reflection of inherent symmetry, and conformation to the frame (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991). After applying Fruchterman and Reingold layout algorithm, the nodes and edges are evenly distributed in the area, and the network starts indicating visual clusters (FIGURE 2.20).⁷⁶ A strong detection of structural densities is not the key feature of the energy model that this algorithm implies, but it provides an untangled and clear overview of the field and functions as “a first approximation to a layout” (Eades 1984, 151), which is the goal of the two step method in the process of network spatialisation. Fruchterman and Reingold (1991, 1129) have defined the algorithm as being “simple, elegant, conceptually intuitive, and efficient.”



⁷⁶ The graph visualisation in Figure 2.20. represents actual data of the SCCA-Riga interaction network between 1994 and 1999. The network statistics are presented in Table 2.1.

FIGURE 2.20. Visualisation of the SCCA-Riga interaction network during 1994 and 1999 after applying Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991) layout algorithm.

When compared to the latter, one of the main criteria of ForceAtlas 2 layout algorithm is its “ability to display the spatialisation process, aiming at transforming the network into a map” (Jacomy et al. 2014, 1). The modular facet of the network structure is principal in the final configuration of the layout, in which visual densities correspond to structural densities (FIGURE 2.21.):⁷⁷

...[t]he force-directed drawing has the specificity of placing each node depending on the other nodes. This process *depends only on the connections between* [emphasis added] nodes. [...] The position of a node cannot be interpreted on its own, it has to be compared to the others. Despite these issues, the technique has the advantage of allowing a visual interpretation of the structure. Its very essence is to turn structural proximities into visual proximities, facilitating the analysis and in particular the analysis of social networks. (Jacomy et al. 2014, 2)

⁷⁷ The graph visualisation in Figure 2.21. represents actual data of the SCCA-Riga interaction network between 1994 and 1999. The network statistics are presented in Table 2.2.

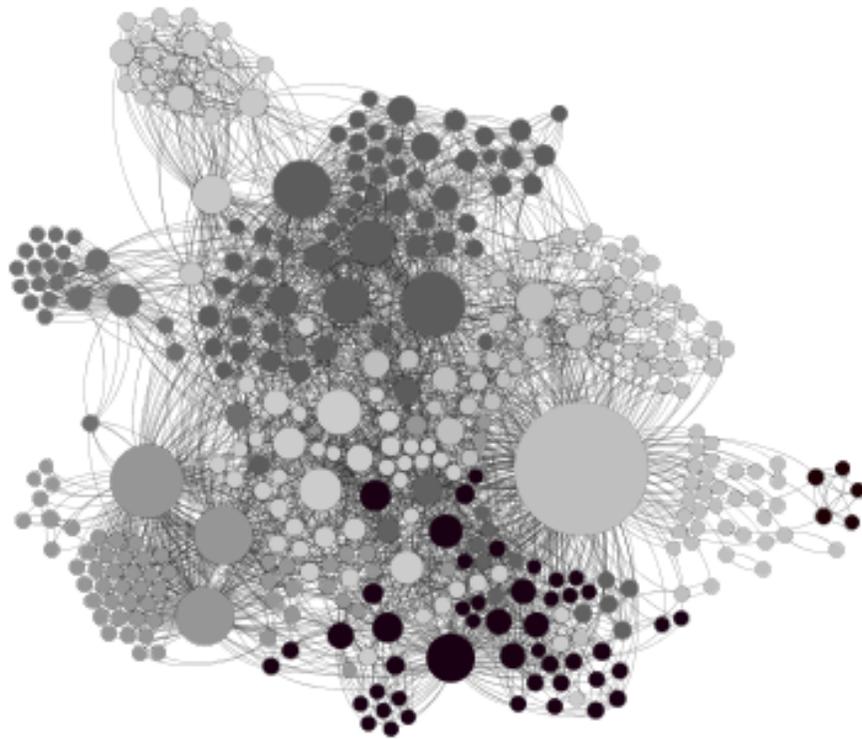


FIGURE 2.21. Visualisation of the SCCA-Riga interaction network during 1994 and 1999 after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm and modularity measure

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm and modularity measure.

As it is illustrated in FIGURE 2.21., after applying ForceAtlas 2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, the field obtains its final features, emphasizing the structural arrangement of and hierarchical power relations among different actors. The change of positional power relations among different organisations and individual actors that occurs within the field during the three-phase institutionalisation process is traced by three separate graphs, visually interpreting the corresponding quantitative data set of each structuration phase.

2.1.3.2 Summary: Data Sets

TABLE 2.2. summarises the basic properties of the networks that represent the three institutionalisation phases of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia.

TABLE 2.2. Basic statistics of the networks

Social network	Type	Nodes (total)	Edges (total)	Possible edges (total = 1) ⁷⁸	Density
SCCA-Riga	Directed Non-weighted	383	3,762	140,739	0.023 (2.3%)
PHASE I The field of contemporary visual arts	Directed Non-weighted	1,173	11,445	1,264,875	0.008 (0.8%)
EC “Culture 2000” network (2000-2006)	Directed Non-weighted	429	6,843	201,264	0.034 (3.4%)
Latvian Participation in Venice Biennale (1999-2019)	Directed Non-weighted	74	1,332	7,568	0.176 (17.6%)
PHASE II The field of contemporary visual arts	Directed Non-weighted	1,051	20,521	1,282,562	0.016 (1.6%)

⁷⁸ In the open-source graph and network analysis software Gephi (version 0.9.0) density measurement calculates how close the network is to complete. A complete network is formulated as possessing all possible edges and density that is equal to 1. Density of a network is gauged “as the number of direct actual connections divided by the number of possible direct connections in a network” (Kadushin 2012, 29).

EC “Culture” network	Directed Non-weighed	440	6,783	199,500	0.033 (3.4%)
PHASE III The field of contemporary visual arts	Directed Non-weighed	1,384	27,664	2,305,333	0,012 (1.2%)
Meta-nodes (total number of actors): 3,045					

Source: Demir 2019.

TABLE 2.3. Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics

Count of actors	Actor attribute	Percentage (field representation)
PHASE I: INNOVATION AND AUTONOMISATION (1991-1999) (n=1,173)		
271	Creative output	23%
86	Curators	8%
596	Artists	51%
27	Jury members	2%
14	Funders	1%
179	NGOs	15%
SCCA-RIGA (1993-1999) (n=386)		
70	Creative output	18%
23	Curators	6%
215	Artists	56%
8	Jury members	2%
10	Funders	3%
60	NGOs	15%
PHASE II: LOCAL VALIDATION (2000-2009) (n=1,051)		
135	Creative output	13%
63	Curators	6%
548	Artists	52%
41	Jury	4%
73	Funders	7%

191	NGOs	18%
VENICE BIENNALE (1999-2019) (n=75)		
12	Creative output	16%
18	Curators	24%
23	Artists	31%
3	Jury	3%
9	Funders	12%
10	NGOs	13%
EC “CULTURE 2000” (2000-2006) (n=429)		
32	Creative output	8%
26	Curators	6%
220	Artists	51%
1	Jury	0%
22	Funders	5%
128	NGOs	30%
PHASE III: DIFFUSION (2010-ongoing) (n=1,384)		
216	Creative output	16%
130	Curators	9%
716	Artists	52%
45	Jury	3%
77	Funders	6%
200	NGOs	14%
EC “CULTURE” (2007-2014) (n=440)		
30	Creative output	7%
57	Curators	13%
217	Artists	49%
6	Jury	1%
18	Funders	4%
112	NGOs	26%

Source: Demir 2019

All graphic representations that are included in this thesis and all statistical calculations, represented in the graphs, are prepared exclusively by the author.

2.2. TRANSLATIONS

Many of the primary sources – speeches, decrees, laws, memoirs, and interviews, particularly used in subchapter “Pivotal Precursors,” were originally written in Russian. American Library Association & Library of Congress (ALA-LC) romanisation table for Russian alphabet (updated 1997) in transliteration of Cyrillic for Russian names and words was used in this thesis. The British Museum transliteration system was applied in the British Library for publications in Russian that were printed and acquired by the library before 1975 (Pitman 2015, 78; British Library 2014). ALA-LC transliteration system has been used in North American libraries and in the British Library since 1975. If not otherwise specified, all translations from Russian to English were performed by the author of this research.

A considerable number of qualitative studies were either performed in Latvian, e.g., interviews, or the primary sources, like laws, regulations, agreements, reports, financial statements, etc., were originally written in Latvian. In cases of citing the originals, the author has included the English translation in the body of the study. All original citations in Latvian are compiled in Appendix 10, indicating the exact page of the translated original in the body of this thesis. The author performed all translations from Latvian to English.

CHAPTER THREE

INNOVATION AND AUTONOMISATION (1991-1999)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The global “agent” of Latvian contemporary art – the most influential power in the institutional and financial sense and in steering the processes within art, one that brought local art nearer to the international art world was the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art-Riga. It began and ceased operating in the nineties, thus marking both symbolically and in fact the role of the decade as a linking segment between *local seclusion* of the arts and their incorporation in the *global art* [emphasis added] scene.

—Ieva Astahovska, *Nineties. Contemporary Art in Latvia*, 2010

Empirical analysis of this chapter comprises the very first stage of the hypothetical periodisation proposed in the Introduction of this thesis. Historically it corresponds with the economic and political transition of the 1990s that Latvia, along with eleven other CEECs, went through. The concept of *innovation* (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006) is applied in order to better characterise the particular qualities of this critical epoch, which, in this study, implies a qualitative break from the previous institutional logic, guiding the field of cultural production, and which characterises the emergence of new socially constructed narratives and frameworks of meaning and their gradual legitimisation through bottom-up institution building process. Institutional logic, in this study, has been established following the definition of Friedland and Alford (1991, Kindle Location 5008) who describe it as “a set of material practices and symbolic constructions, which

constitutes its organising principles and which is available to organisations and individuals to elaborate.” To this thesis, the concept of innovation is judged to be empirically valuable and practically useful, since it provides a general characterisation of the prevalent institutional logic of the first examined stage of field structuration, implying the very initial emergence and formation of the new field, as well as morphological and relational change that took place with respect to the dominant existing logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails (McAdam 2007). Bourdieu (1996, 55) has described it in terms of “correlative transformation” that takes place between the emerging field and the field of power (both economic and political), indicating that internal and external relational systems within and among the fields cannot be ignored. As outlined earlier, organisational fields do not exist in a social vacuum and embeddedness concept should be considered in order to examine the structuration process and change that occurred through the various stages of field development. It is important to reiterate that fields “have relations with other ... fields and these relations powerfully shape the developmental history of the field” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 59). Inter-field relations can significantly affect the stability and instability factors of proximate, interdependent, and dependent fields (TABLE 1.4.), hence fields should be examined as an empirical entity existing within a complex relational reality of multiplicity of fields. With respect to the dominant existing logic of institutional routine, the role of the state and its various fields and actors (not merely the field of cultural production and the Ministry of culture as its major culprit) needs to be considered as a critical component of analysis; hence it is going to be examined in close conjunction with the innovation phase that marks the

emergence of the new field. The state and its embedded fields⁷⁹ and the non-state fields are bound by various links and can mutually influence each other, yet the state fields epitomise the field of power, particularly with respect to legitimisation and regulatory facets of institutionalisation process. Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 169) argue that “[i]n some cases, the nature of these linkages may blur the conventional internal/external distinction. For example, are government regulators in the field or outside of it?” The distinct polarisation between the institutions of the establishment, comprising state museums, exhibition halls, and art schools, and the slowly emerging non-profit (or independent) sector that occurred during the post-Soviet transition, in this regard, presents itself as a demanding case for study. When examining the innovation phase, through which a new cultural, normative, and regulative schema emerged, a complex mix of endogenous and exogenous factors and actors (both collective and individual; public, third sector, and private) need to be factored into the analysis.

The dynamic sequence that is represented in FIGURE 1.4. of Chapter One describes the internal dynamics of field’s autonomisation process (Bourdieu 1987b), occurring during the very emergence. It entails the generation, cognition, naming, classification, and theorisation (Suchman 1995b) of a new common framework of meanings in initially a rather narrow professional and academic locus of society and, consequently, indicates the construction of a “previously unorganised social space” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91) within the field of cultural production. In this chapter, the autonomisation process is represented through qualitative data analysis and interpretation. The structuration process, however, implies the numerical effect of the

⁷⁹ Fligstein and McAdam (2012) compare the embeddedness of the state fields to Russian matryoshka doll.

qualitative break (Bourdieu [1987] 1993; DiMaggio and Powel 1983; DiMaggio 1991a) and is essential to identify visible and quantitative changes in an emerging field. The structuration indices (DiMaggio 1983, 1991a; DiMaggio and Powel 1983) are going to be examined and measured through quantitative research, applying SNA (discussed in Chapter Two).

When examining the construction of a previously unorganised social space, including actors, pertinent capital, shared logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entails, fundamental are questions of how this is accomplished: by what agency and interest and through what kind of processes? In accord with the four essential components at the core of the major research questions, comprising factors, actors, salient institutional logic, and governance structures, the goal of this chapter is to answer the following questions:

1. What were the exogenous and endogenous factors that ignited the emergence of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the post-Soviet transition of the 1990s?
2. Who were the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) that undertook and guided the institutionalisation project of the emerging field?

Considering the dominant institutional framework of the field of cultural production, represented by the monolith state apparatus during the transition, the concept of path-dependence needs to be taken into account. Mulcahy (2000) and, to some extent, Ikenberry (1994) maintain that the various expressions of salient institutional logic (laws, policies, funding, regulations, professional discourse, beliefs, etc.), guiding the field of cultural production, cannot be detached from the socio-historical experiences of a country. In this

regard, Mulcahy (2000, 139) argues that “a nations political structures and public policies reflect the historical experiences and value systems that have characterised its societal development.” In this relation, it is critical to remember that the path dependence factor features a strong top-down effect of institutional reproduction in an already established field (discussed in Chapter One), and it does not allow much space for the agency and interest, which runs contrary to the bottom-up approach that this thesis firmly represents. Recalling Suchman’s (1995b, 40 and 41) argument that institutionalisation as a process does not “necessarily occur uniformly across all levels” and that “there is no single “necessary” locus of institutionalisation,” it is, therefore, possible to observe the co-existence of the two opposite institution building trajectories, taking place at two fields that represent different localities (national level and professional enclave) within one social space. Different institutional entrepreneurs, either “a *bureaucratic* or a *professional sovereign* [emphasis in original]” (Scott 1983c, 167) direct the institutionalisation project in each locality, moving either top-down or bottom-up. Notwithstanding that the emergence of a new shared narrative within the existing dominant institutional routine of cultural production signified a qualitative break, it is impossible, as previously stated, to entirely detach the development processes of the new field from the state fields and actors, as well as it is impossible to detach it from the influence of the socio-historical reality of the day. In relation to the emerging fields, Scott (1983c, 169) maintains that “[a]ll system elements – nodes, relations, beliefs – should be thought of as having a time subscript. And knowing *when* [emphasis in original] some elements developed may provide important clues as to its characteristics and behaviours.” The autonomisation process whereby the field of contemporary visual arts came into the existence and the further relations between

the new field and the state fields and actors were defined by the path-dependence as a factor. Three essential facets – ideology, politics, and economics – shape the relationship between the government and the arts in Latvia. Regarding this relationship, the sub-questions of importance during the innovation phase are:

- 2.1. What was the role of the state actors during the founding episode of the field?
- 2.2. What had been state's ideological basis for its actions towards the contemporary visual arts?
- 2.3. To what extent and in what way had the contemporary visual arts been supported financially?
- 2.4. What kind of governance structure had been established?
3. What were the qualitative break and the alternative perception that the institutional entrepreneurs (founding actors) cognised and theorised during the autonomisation process of the innovation stage?
4. What resources (economic, political, symbolic, cultural, social) did the founding actors bring to the formation process of the new field?
5. What were the major terms of power (economic, political, symbolic, cultural, social) among the actors and what was the prevalent power structure during the formation phase of the field (e.g., centralisation or decentralisation, coalition or hierarchy)?

3.2 PRESERVING *STATUS QUO* AND THE DOMINANT LOGIC OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTION

As mentioned earlier in this study, an emergent field is not a time-free concept, and it is impossible to analyse it detached from a certain “time subscript” (Scott 1983c, 169). Historical factors set the stage, and they are pertinent past conditions that help understanding the prevalent interests, representing agency, during the formation process of the field. The presence of a historical narrative needs to be regarded as an essential reference point that helps establishing the dominant institutional framework and its logic and that facilitates the evaluation of the qualitative break and the impetus of the autonomisation process whereby a new field comes into existence. In this connection, critical is recognition “that even when we observe a [particular social] system at one point in time, we are seeing a cross section of elements that are the residues of diverse past processes” (Scott 1983c, 169). The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the ensuing social, political, and economic processes of transition hence are considered essential in shaping the “time subscript” of the innovation phase, which is analysed further in this chapter.

After the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact⁸⁰ and dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Latvia, along with other CEECs, rapidly ventured into the new territory of economic and political transition that was characterised by two interrelated factors – change from planned economy to free enterprise system and from totalitarianism to democracy. These fundamental socio-political and economic changes resulted in the introduction of democratic processes and institutions, economic liberalisation, new

⁸⁰ Warsaw Pact, officially known as the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, was signed on 14 May 1955 and it included: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the USSR. Eastern Bloc is another commonly used term in academic literature to describe the aforementioned countries. In my thesis, when referring to these countries as a territorial unit, I am going to use interchangeably both terms, i.e., Eastern Bloc and CEEC.

legislation and administrative reforms and stabilisation of the new political and economic institutions through privatisation. Esanu (2012, 12) argues that the dichotomous variables of transition were extensively exploited during this time, using Karl Popper's ([1945] 2013) concept of *open society*. The contrast between totalitarian and democratic political systems "was adopted by Western private and governmental agencies and deployed to deliver the message of transition." Offe (2004, 508-513) has referred to this process as "political project" that is carried out by the "reform elites," representing the interests of society, and that is based on "capitalism by design" principle. Following this concept, the transition is performed in line with a blueprint of politico-economic processes that has already been tested in Western countries throughout centuries long history. Offe (2004, 509-510) argues that "[t]he only circumstance under which the market economy and democracy can be simultaneously implanted and prosper is the one in which both are forced upon a society from the outside and guaranteed by international relations of dependency and supervision for a long period of time."

This capitalism and democratization by design principle or, as Offe (2004, 513) describes it, "capitalism without capitalists as active promoters of their class interests," is in accord with Scott's (1995) criticism of transition phase as being trivialised by the mobilised assistance of the Western philanthropy that stepped in to support and ease the transit to the free market economy and democracy in the CEECs during the 1990s. The major argument that is made in this regard (Scott 1995; CoE 1998; EBRD 1999; OECD 2000; Offe 2004) is that the reality of institutional complexity, particularly considering the deeper cultural-cognitive aspects of institutions that are less visible, yet not less significant, and that may require longer time to become routinised, was insufficiently

recognised and emphasised during the politico-economic transition processes that were in full swing during the 1990s. When evaluating the major accomplishments and the chief challenges of the ten years of transition, the EBRD *Transition Report* (1999) refers critically to the wide absence of the social structures or agency and interest that could support the “political project” (Offe 2004, 508) and the newly constructed social institutions. The report (EBRD 1999, 5) maintains, “[i]nstitutional arrangements which may appear sound from a formal or written perspective (for example, legislation) may be undermined by patterns or codes of behaviour which prevent them from functioning effectively. In this sense, behaviour is not only influenced by institutions but also provides a social foundation of institutions” (EBRD 1999, 5). When referring to the technical dimension of institutions (discussed in Chapter I), Scott (1995, xi) reminds that “markets themselves are not entities but must be socially constructed.” The struggle of the rapid transition efforts to create the new political and economic order hence is epitomised by this absence of the social foundation of institutions, particularly during the first half of the 1990s.

In connection with the democratisation and capitalism by design principle it is relevant to remind the multidimensional reality of institution’s definition, comprising three pillars (TABLE 1.2.) of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive facets and representing the relational model of embeddedness. The embeddedness concept indicates that “the regulative and normative levels of institutions are the product of political [and social] dynamics. Cognitive institutions are ideational, hence less defined. The former two are the products of direct human design. The latter is the product of “natural” development” (Hoffman 2001, 36). The elements of the regulative pillar are more visible,

but they are also “more fast-moving and easier to manipulate,” and “they can ... be more superficial, “thinner,” and less consequential than normative and cultural elements” (Scott 2008, 429). When characterising the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutional elements, Scott (2008, 429) emphasises that they “provide the *deeper foundations of institutional forms* [emphasis added]. In formulating the classificatory systems, assumptions, and premises that underlie institutional logics, [cultural-cognitive elements] provide infrastructure on which not only beliefs, but norms and rules rest.” In connection with the previously made argument, the analysis of the field of cultural production cannot be detached from the political and economic developments of the time, and, likewise, capitalism and democratisation by design principle was deployed in cultural sphere, which, however, did not entirely follow the rapid transition scenario of other fields, but still experienced a fair share of turbulence and chaos.

The very rapid introduction of free market reality in the field of cultural production, which for the last fifty years was solely dependent on the “*dirigiste*”⁸¹ (Miller and Yúdice 2002, 16) or *engineer*⁸² (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989) modus operandi of production, distribution, and promotion of cultural goods and services, created a considerable amount of confusion and backlash in Latvia. The pilot survey, examining the support frameworks and policies for the artists in seventeen European countries, provides a very succinct characterization of the situation in the Baltic states, including Latvia, during the post-Soviet transition of the 1990s: “[t]he five decades of Soviet

⁸¹ Toby Miller and George Yúdice use the term when describing cultural policy that is predominantly centralised and controlled by the government; it alternately is referred to as “cultural magistracy.”

⁸² In their research, Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire McCaughey (1989) distinguish among four types of cultural policy models: *engineer*, *architect*, *patron*, and *facilitator*. The *engineer* model of cultural policy represents fully centralised financial, administrative, and ideological control over the field of cultural production by the state. In their classification, the authors ascribe this type of cultural policy to the former Soviet Union.

occupation has left behind an ingrained intellectual and administrative heritage that has been difficult to transform into liberal and democratic mould” (ERICarts 2001, 51). Ramona Umblija, the former Minister of Culture (1997-1998), when referring to the transition period and the principal challenges that she had to encounter during her tenure, recalls:

In the 1990s, the process of socio-economic and political change advanced very rapidly. Executives in charge of cultural institutions were not professionally ready for the new circumstances. The new funding models remained “unreachable” and “incomprehensible” – even daunting for many professionals working in the field at the time. Compared with the centralised funding for culture, the new approach “imposed” a heavy burden of individual responsibility, and many heads of cultural institutions were not entirely ready for that. (Umblija 2015b)

The main economic indicators of Latvia in the 1990s clearly demonstrate that the country underwent “a tremendous transition shock” (OECD 2000, 151). The rapid socio-economic and political transition that swept through the post-Socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War caused severe multidimensional crisis, entailing administrative, financial, ideological, as well as social facets of the existing field of cultural production (Thoukina 2010). Ilczuk (2001, 9) points out that the research on major challenges, concerning cultural policies in CEECs, suggests that the countries in transition⁸³ were “witnessing a real “revolution,” in relation to the proceeding period, primarily with regard to a civil society and the funding and management of culture.” The European Panel of Examiners of the Council for Cultural Cooperation⁸⁴ in their report

⁸³ The term, countries in transition, is more commonly replaced by a term, transition economies, in academic literature. In my research, I am referring to the narrow context of its connotation, applying it to identify countries that emerged on the political and free market stage after the disbandment of the Warsaw Pact and dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, i.e., CEEC.

⁸⁴ Latvia joined the Cultural Policy Review Programme in 1997. The programme was launched in 1986 by the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe. As a result, two important reports were produced in 1998, i.e., a national report, *Cultural Policy in Latvia*, created by an independent research team,

(CoE 1998) on cultural policy development in Latvia have rather accurately described that for the majority of people in the region “the period of economic transformation constitutes not only a happy time of regained freedom of speech and initiative, but also an opportunity to construct a democratic political system. It is, however, also a tough time of painful adaptation to difficulties arising from the implementation of market economy rules” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 132). The euphoria of freedom and uncensored artistic expression rather quickly faced the reality of and, in countless occasions, incapability to cope with the dictate of the economic liberalisation. Dispossessed of the former privileges and the subsidies of the state and the party, artists were entirely “*free and naked* [emphasis added] in the jungles of the free market” (Borgs 2015).

The 1990s, particularly the first half of this seminal decade when Latvia underwent vast systemic overhaul, can be characterised as a period of re-evaluation and reorganisation. After the fall of the Iron Curtain two broad patterns or transition strategies emerged, denoting either rapid or slow trend of economic liberalisation and political reconstruction. The first development implied a quick action, but it also entailed a high risk of colossal sacrifices during the process of transition. The latter approach showed traits of more gradual attempts to liberalisation and reconstruction processes, consequently delaying the economic and political stabilisation (Ministry of Culture 1998; EBRD 1999). The regional patterns of reform (EBRD 1999) indicate that the Baltic states, including Latvia, followed the rapid track of the transition reforms. The pace of the transformation processes and strategic approaches to the reconstruction, however, were not equally consistent across all sectors. Even though the government’s move towards the

and an evaluation report, written by the examiners of the Council of Europe. 30 national cultural policy reviews have been published since the inception of the programme (CoE 2017).

transition followed the “shock therapy strategy” (Kolodko 2000) and can be characterised as economically radical and politically pragmatic in Latvia, “... regardless of the adopted approach, the sphere of social activity tended not to be given any priority, especially in the first stage of transformation of any centrally planned economy” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 132-133).

In 1994, the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs organised a seminar, *the Cultural Responsibility of the State – from the Point of View of the Baltic Sea States* (Arnestad 1995), and, in 1995, *Principal Guidelines of Cultural Policy in Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), were ratified by the Saeima.⁸⁵ Both events, the cultural policy reform that Latvia was seeking to institute⁸⁶ and the framework that the major policy document of the time embraced, were clear indications of resilient institutional and structural inertia. Ikenberry (1994, 11) argues that “[t]he institutional structures of polities emerge from distinct historical experiences. As a result, explanations must remain historically grounded and sufficiently contingent to allow for variations in institutional structures. ... Past historical circumstances weigh heavily on what is possible and what is perceived as desirable at specific moments.” When determining the cultural policy framework during the reconstruction, the state had chosen to follow the path of the *architect* model⁸⁷ (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989), in which the Ministry of

⁸⁵ The parliament of the Republic of Latvia is called *Saeima*, however, further in my text I will continue referring to this legislative body as the parliament.

⁸⁶ Discussed in Georg Arnestad’s report of the seminar.

⁸⁷ Canadian researchers Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire McCaughey distinguish among four “ideal” types of cultural policy models, i.e., Facilitator, Patron, Architect, and Engineer. Detailed analysis of the comparative cultural policy models can be found in Hillman-Chartrand, Harry and McCaughey, Claire. 1989. “The Arm’s Length Principle and the Arts: An International Perspective – Past, Present and Future.” In *Who’s to Pay for the Arts? The International Search for Models of Arts Support*, edited by Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and J. Mark Davidson Schuster. ACA Books, American Council for the Arts, New York: 1989), pp. 51 – 53.

Culture is the principal actor, assuming the central responsibility in both formulating and implementing cultural policy:

[a] dominant role in determining state cultural policy and in shaping the principles of subvention is played by the central administration of culture. The main organ of central administration for culture is the Ministry of Culture. It has a determining role in practically all stages of the formulation and implementation of the state's cultural policy. Virtually all the cultural institutions and organisations which are involved in professional creative activity are legally and financially dependent upon the Ministry. Furthermore, . . . the Ministry also has a key role in helping maintain the cultural infrastructure at the regional and local levels. (Ministry of Culture 1998, 146)⁸⁸

Considering the historical context, the transition from the command mode⁸⁹ of cultural production to the *architect* model could be interpreted as a logical and least detrimental alternative due to certain similarities that both policy types imply, i.e., the attribute of centrally governed and subsidised field of culture. Assigning the paramount importance and responsibility to the Ministry and aligning state power with culture, however, led to certain negative long-term consequences. Cultural analyst Dragan Klaić (2007, 23) argues, “in the years after the end of the Cold War, the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe abolished their formal and informal censorship, but did not radically alter the inherited cultural system, marked by many rather heavy and inflexible cultural institutions. In the ensuing rapid socio-economic and political changes many of those institutions became increasingly disoriented and passive.” The discordance between what is possible and what is perceived as desirable (Ikenberry 1994) – between the promoted economic and political projects of transition and lacking social foundation of

⁸⁸ Instead of including Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey's (1989) definition of the policy model, I have chosen to provide a descriptive evaluation of the situation in Latvia as observed by the examiners of the CoE. The description was included in the cultural policy report of Latvia and it succinctly characterises the main facets of the *architect* model.

⁸⁹ In their research, Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire McCaughey refer to it as *engineer* model.

institutions capable of supporting these projects – was particularly obvious in the field of cultural production at the time.

Another critical factor that needs to be considered in this regard is that the Ministry of Culture, even though the central actor most commonly blamed for all the mishandlings in the field, does not operate in isolation from other state actors and fields. On a state level, the ministry is not the only public body responsible for shaping cultural policy and ensuring cultural processes of a country. The cultural policy making process is closely tied to the full political apparatus of a state, and the involvement/role of the Saeima, the Cabinet of Ministers and other ministries needs to be seriously taken into account. As one of the former Ministers of Culture, Helēna Demakova (2014), reminds, it is not the bureaucrats, experts, or social media professionals who are passing the bills, but the politicians in power are. Political parties can introduce important changes in the political processes of a country, including changes in the existing cultural policy. The *Government Declaration* is a policy planning document of utmost importance in this regard. Each prospective incoming Cabinet of Ministers prepares and presents the declaration to the president and the Saeima. The document comprises policy guidelines of each Cabinet, indicating action priorities, as well as goals and specific results that each government will strive to achieve during its tenure. The political actions of the Cabinet are directed by the declaration, which is the principal policy trendsetter of the government. During the decade of the 1990s, eight consecutive governments and, consequently, six Ministers of Culture changed, indicating the persistence of the political volatility in the country at the time. In the context of the post-Soviet transition, cultural sector was not considered the top priority of the state (LR Ministru padome 1990; LR Ministru kabinets 1993, 1994b, 1995, 1997,

1998, 1999a, 2000a; LR Ministry of Culture 1998), hence the systemic reorganisation, including administrative and financial decentralisation, progressed at a rather slow pace within the field, and the chosen tactics of the ministry and the local authorities were aimed at preserving the status quo of the institutional logic, directing activities in the field. In 1998, upon completion of the review, the examiners of the CoE concluded that the “authorities have, within generally declining resources, tried to keep as much of the cultural infrastructure intact as possible” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 197), yet at national level there had not been methodical and coherent attempts to recognise specific key priorities; consequently, much required strategic planning, comprising action plan, implementation procedures, follow-up measures and performance progress evaluation, as well as adequate reporting process, was not accomplished. Apart from the institution of the State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF) in 1998, which hitherto had been the utmost achievement of the field, no significant systemic changes were implemented.

3.2.1 The Dominant Logic of Institutional Action: State Cultural Policy Framework and the Discord between the Rhetoric and Application (Legislative, Financial, and Administrative Governance)

In 1995 the Saeima ratified *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), comprising a medium term (five years) policy framework in the field of culture. At the time, the document was treated as a strategic development blueprint, leading the culture domain of the country. The guidelines were described as a mutual agreement between the state and the society that is ratified by the Saeima and that establishes the main principles, goals, and tasks as a major policy framework according

to which further develop national culture programmes and legislation (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d). The implication of the word “strategic” is contentious, however; particularly when attempt is made to identify key priorities within the field of culture in general and more specifically in the various subfields, i.e., performing arts, music, visual arts, museums, libraries, archives, and cultural industries.⁹⁰ Despite the CoE expert commission’s praise, recognising that during comparatively short period of time after the fall of the totalitarian regime “the authorities have been able to develop such an advanced document ... [where] the principles of cultural policy correspond so closely to modern democratic solutions” (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 138), the professionals (Briede 2006; Feldbergs 2006; Krese 2006a; Pētersons 2006; Vērpe 2006; Tjarve 2013) criticised the document as a mere collection of ideas and eloquently worded rhetoric that does not share much commonalities with the applied policy practice in the field and that is not harmonised with other regulatory acts of the country.

When analysed retrospectively, the *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d) do not comply with the content and structure requirements of policy planning documents that are defined by the *Rules of Procedure of the Cabinet of Ministers* (LR Ministru Kabinets 2001a, 2002b), which were introduced in order to improve the prevailing policy planning system and to ensure an adequate linkage between the policy and budget planning processes. According to the *Rules of Procedure* (LR Ministru kabinets 2002b), guidelines are a policy planning document that encompasses basic principles, development goals, and priorities of the government in one specific area. The guidelines get formulated when there is a recognised need for a new policy, when the

⁹⁰ The division is included based on the policy guidelines (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d).

established policy is not clearly defined or when it is subjected to significant changes. Important in relation to the cultural policy guidelines formulated in 1995, are the imposed content requirements of the *Rules of Procedure*, comprising policy priorities and goals and their necessity to be linked with the entire strategic planning process that includes: evaluation of the situation, formulation of the problem area that requires specific policy development, establishment of major policy principles and goals and a specific course of action to achieve them, formulation of an action plan, implementation procedures, follow-up measures, adequate performance progress evaluation and reporting processes (LR Ministru kabinets 2002b). For middle range guidelines, the assessment of economic feasibility of the specific policy and its impact on a state and local budget planning cycle, also was a necessary demand. The absence of the linkage between the policy priorities and the rest of the strategic and budget planning processes significantly compromised the credibility and efficacy of the *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), determining activities in the field. Even though the legislation regarding appropriate structure and content of four different types of policy planning documents (guidelines, programme, plan, conception (LR Ministru kabinets 2002b)) was not yet enacted, one of the main recommendations of the examiners of CoE in 1998 was specifically concerned with the recently ratified document, which was supposed to act as a strategic development blueprint, leading the culture domain of a country. In their report, the panel of examiners advised that “[i]t is extremely important to undertake actions aimed at increasing the “credibility” and effectiveness of the document” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 198). The establishment of follow-up measures, proper assessment of shortcomings in implementation process, and recognition and formulation of distinct priorities among

different fields of culture were emphasised as critical in order to improve the viability of the first cultural policy guidelines.

Considering that legal reform was still in the progress during the first half of the 1990s, the state's legislative system was not yet operating sufficiently. Also, significant priority was given to constitutional rights, public governance, and financial and economic affairs, hence the legislative process, regulating the field of culture, was slow moving, protracted, and convoluted (LR Ministru padome 1990; LR Ministru kabinetes 1993, 1994b, 1995; Zvaigzne 1997a; LR Ministry of Culture 1998). The lack of harmonisation across different regulatory acts was not uncommon during the time due to the speedy and often unscrupulous process, manipulated by political and economic interests in search of loopholes (Zvaigzne 1997a) and determined by the overall chaos of the turbulent times⁹¹ – social confusion, economic instability, and political volatility. After the ratification of the Declaration of Independence in 1990, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia started the process of change in legislative system, however, still for some time “many laws and state activities associated with the Soviet regime continued to function with certain adjustments. At present [1998], however, great attention is paid to working out new legislative norms. Laws must answer the requirements of the contradictory social reality associated with the period of transition, as well as the legal standards of a

⁹¹ The transition of the 1990s has acquired a special term in Latvian – *juku laiki* (lat.). The literal translation of the phrase is: *turbulent times*, implying the persistence of chaos in social, economic, and political domains. Latvian journalist, Arvo Jundze (2012, 1), has provided one of the best ironical, yet precise, descriptions of the notion: “when the Soviet Union collapsed, with it also collapsed the established moral system. What only we have not experienced and gone through in the reconstituted Latvia – certificates, privatisation, denationalization, financial pyramids, and political lies. We have outlived the import promoters, ignorant Western experts, and return of the previous owners; people robbing monetary reforms and bank crises. This seemingly harsh epoch, however, was ours. Since we have survived it, obviously, then it was the GRANDIOSE PROJECT [emphasis added] of the time.”

democratic society coordinated with requirements of the European Convention” (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 39). Regardless of how much praised or criticised, the first guidelines are a vivid legacy of these socially confused, economically instable, and politically volatile times, in which “old models, institutions, laws and regulations continue to exist, though they have ceased to function, whilst their replacements are still in the process – a slow, painful, cautious process – of creation ...” (Otakar Roubinek n.d., 7 quoted in Schuster 1997, 261) of the legal framework, governing the field of cultural production.

Legislature, funding, administrative governance structure, and information (public opinion making and circulation process) are four components, which are ascribed as the major implementation tools of the *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d). Bearing in mind the legal and practical shortcomings of the document, important question within the research confines of this thesis is how the field of contemporary visual arts is cognised, named, categorised, and theorised (formulated) across the legislative, financial, and administrative governance facets of the policy during the innovation phase (FIGURE 1.4.). The analysis of the three components will help establishing the institutionalisation locality of the emerging field. Recognising the discord between the rhetoric and application within the major policy framework of the time, the cognition and theorisation processes each may represent completely different localities. The theorisation implies the presence of a certain innovative action and the construction of new narratives, shaping a common framework of cultural values, beliefs, norms, policies, rules, and laws in the face of pressing problems.

3.2.1.1 Legal and Policy Provisions

The *Regulations on the Ministry of Culture* (LR Ministru kabinets 1994a) is the principal normative act that determines the functions, rights, structure, legitimate action, and administrative subordination of the ministry. According to the *Regulations* (LR Ministru kabinets 1994a), the ministry is the national regulatory authority in the field of culture, comprising areas of copyrights, cultural heritage protection, archives, architecture, design, folk art, theatre, music, museums, libraries, visual arts, literature, cinematography, and education in culture and creative industries.⁹² This normative act also defines that the ministry is responsible for establishing the legal framework of the field of cultural production through development of pertinent laws and policy planning documents. There were nine important laws that shaped the legislative framework of culture during the transition epoch, comprising: *Law on Archives* (LR Augstākā padome 1991a), *Law on National Library* (LR Augstākā padome 1992c), *Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments* (LR Augstākā padome 1992a), *Law on Social Organisations and their Associations* (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d), *Law on Copyrights and Related Rights* (LR Augstākā padome 1993a), *Law on Museums* (LR Saeima 1997c), *Law on Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 1997a),⁹³ *Law on Cultural Institutions* (LR Saeima 1998b), and *Law on Libraries* (LR Saeima 1998a), respectively. The field of visual arts

⁹² Within the empirical analysis of the first phase of the field structuration, I have referenced the very first available version of the *Regulations on the Ministry of Culture* (LR Ministru kabinets 1994a). This regulative act was amended numerous times from 1994 to 2017, and the various amended versions of it provide a vivid legacy of legislative changes within the dominant field of cultural production, characterising its evolving and changing relationship with the emerging field of contemporary visual arts field. Further in my study also different amended versions of the normative act will be referenced and examined.

⁹³ *Law on Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 1997a)⁹³ entered into force in 1998, and it represents a major shift within the field of cultural production in Latvia. The consequences of the law are examined in detail in Chapter four of the thesis.

did not have a corresponding legal document.

Analysis of the first policy document, *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d) and supporting empirical data (both quantitative and qualitative) indicate that during the first decade after the independence, on a national level, a strategically planned development program for visual arts was not present. In relation to the contemporary visual arts particularly, provisions supporting infrastructure development and support of creative innovation and experiment were the critical components examined within the existing legal and policy framework of the time in order to establish the emergence of a new field. The *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d) are very clear in acknowledging that a meaningful continuity of cultural processes of a country are secured by providing optimal balance (legislative, administrative, financial) in supporting both – the protection and maintenance of cultural heritage, as well as creativity and innovation. Also, when focusing on infrastructure development, dissemination of and access to culture, the document asserts state's responsibility to support the development of optimal infrastructure reality for culture throughout the territory. The *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d, 35) very specifically establish that it is in the sphere of state's competence “to take care about the material support and successful functioning, including reconstruction, restoration, or construction (e.g., National Opera, National Library, Contemporary Art Museum, etc.), of the cultural infrastructure.” The mentioning of Contemporary Art Museum as one of the examples seems almost accidental due to the fact that the contemporary visual arts as a conceptual classification are not referenced even once in the document. At the time when the *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d) were ratified, the National Opera was in

desperate need of renovation and the collection of National Library was scattered among different potentially compromised buildings and a new structure, corresponding to occupancy requirements and technological advancements of the time, was also a dire necessity. The two infrastructure projects at the time, however, had been extensively discussed about among the professionals and politicians alike. They were theorised (LR Ministru padome 1990; LR Ministru kabinets 1994b) already on a Cabinet level and had been included among cultural priorities in the *Declaration of the Intended Activities of the Cabinet of Ministers* (LR Ministru padome 1990; LR Ministru kabinets 1994b) of two incoming governments in 1990 and 1994 respectively. It would take another decade for the contemporary visual arts, as a conceptually and politically defined category, to be included among the cultural priorities in the *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinets 2004a,d) and *Action Plan* (LR Ministru Kabinets 2004b) of an incoming Cabinet. An important provision in the same infrastructure development section of the *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), in this regard, is the claim assigning responsibility to the state to be in charge of the cultural diversity by supporting the fields and cultural expressions that strive to survive within the free market reality. Considering that this claim very precisely describes the situation of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia at the time, the mentioning of the Contemporary Art Museum among the infrastructure projects, appears more deliberate.

As previously mentioned, however, the document lacks specificity – evaluation of the situation, recognition of distinct priorities among different fields of culture, and formulation of the problem area that requires specific policy development. Also, the absence of harmonisation of the *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d) with other

normative acts and budget planning process of the country compromises the inclusion of the said example as a deliberate act. With reference to the autonomisation process (FIGURE 1.4.), representing the first phase of the field development, the formulation of the problem area that requires specific policy development is imperative. Within the existing policy framework and the legal provisions, the contemporary visual arts, as a conceptual classification, was not present. There was no indication of specific problem generation, cognition, and naming (Suchman 1995b) on a state level in relation to the emerging field during the first half of the 1990s. As Suchman (1995b, 45) argues,

[p]roblems are unlikely to become visible within a given social unit [ministry level] until they have been cognised and named *by that unit* [emphasis in original], and they are unlikely to be cognised and named until they interfere with the operations of that unit or its constituent entities and, particularly, until they do so within the context of cognitive schema that make such disruptions appear interrelated and systematic.

For the very first time, the contemporary visual arts, as a separate category, were recognised and named in the *Report of European Panel of Examiners*⁹⁴ (CoE 1998) in a form of a recommendation, elevating the problem to a national level. The panel of experts recognized that “[c]ompared with the cultural policy in the field of national heritage, policy in the area of creativity is much less developed. In particular, little notice has been paid to the contemporary visual arts” (CoE 1998, 57). The way of naming the field and the “elaboration of an artistic language” (Bourdieu 1987b, 205) is not well defined within the document, yet the reference is rather apparent. The report underlines that “[a]bsence of State help is felt especially strongly in the area of alternative art, where practicing artists

⁹⁴ *The Report of European Panel of Examiners* assessed the cultural policy state of affairs in Latvia within the Cultural Policy Review Programme framework, which was launched in 1986 by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe.

have little hope of making a living on the marketplace. Experimental art and other such projects have to count mainly on support coming from the Soros Foundation Latvia” (CoE 1998, 57) and, starting from 1998, on assistance from the SCCF. The conclusion of the examiners is rather clear cut: “... if the Ministry of Culture is seriously interested in high quality and the development of non-commercial forms of visual arts, then its intervention in this area should be extended” (CoE 1998, 57). Also, the infrastructure development for contemporary visual arts as a specific cultural policy goal, recognized on a state level, had not been established within the existing policy framework of the 1990s. It would be highly speculative to assert otherwise, based on the content analysis of the major policy document of the time.

The reference to the Soros Foundation Latvia is essential, however, indicating that the expressions of contemporary visual arts did not have a representing institutional system (a network of beliefs, customs, and formal procedures, comprising funding and legal features) within the dominant field of cultural production that was centred around its incumbent actor – the ministry. The absence of a representing infrastructure and institutional base of the contemporary visual arts is particularly apparent when analysing the prevailing exhibition practices and acquisition policy of the Latvian Art Museum Association (LAMA) system of museums, comprising four major art museums of the country and an exhibition hall: State Art Museum (SAM),⁹⁵ Museum of Foreign Art

⁹⁵ In 2005, legal status reform of the state culture organisations was completed. The reform initiated the reorganisation of the State Art Museum, after which it acquired a new official title – Latvian National Museum of Art (LNMA) (LR Ministru kabinets 2005e).

(MFA),⁹⁶ Art Museum Arsenāls (AMA),⁹⁷ Museum of Decorative Applied Arts (MDAA),⁹⁸ Exhibition Hall Latvia (EHL),⁹⁹ respectively. The functioning of LAMA was a clear manifestation of the status quo policy of the state at the time, supporting a rather limited repertoire of expressions in visual arts. The LAMA was established on 1 January 1989 by the order No. 614 (ratified on 16 December 1988) of the Culture Committee of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on the basis of already existing state governance structure within the field of cultural production, the Associate Directorate of Art Museums and Exhibitions of the LSSR (ADAME-LSSR)¹⁰⁰ (Latvijas mākslas muzeju apvienība 1989). The analysis of LAMA is noteworthy as it represents the major lens of the time through which to assess the prevailing policy application, as well as the condition of the existing infrastructure and creative processes of the visual arts as part of the dominant field of cultural production operated by the state.

⁹⁶ In 2011, the collection of the Museum of Foreign Art was relocated to the renovated historical monument – Riga Bourse. After the move, the museum also acquired a new official title – Art Museum Riga Bourse (AMRB).

⁹⁷ Latvian Art Museum Association was liquidated in 2000 (LR Ministru kabinets 2000b,c) and the Art Museum Arsenāls was joined with the State Art Museum, continuing to function as Exhibition Hall Arsenāls (EHA). After the completion of the legal status reform of the state culture organisations in 2005, the EHA became the major exhibition hall of the LNMA.

⁹⁸ In 2005, legal status reform of the state culture organisations was completed. The reform initiated the reorganisation of the Museum of Decorative Applied Arts, after which it acquired a new official title – Museum of Decorative Arts and Design (MDAD) (LR Ministru kabinets 2005d).

⁹⁹ Exhibition Hall *Latvia* was built in 1976 as an integral part of a luxurious hotel complex *Latvia* at the very downtown of Riga. In 1998 the first phase of the reconstruction of the building was proposed. Major plot of the land, on which the very hotel tower rose, was privatised and the first phase of the reconstruction began in 1999. The exhibition hall closed its doors to visitors in 1998 and never reopened. On 2 September 2004, Riga City Municipality signed an agreement, privatising the adjacent complex that was surrounding the hotel tower. During the second phase of reconstruction (2004-2006), the adjacent structure – the spacious 1100 m² large exhibition hall – was demolished. In its place a new annex to the hotel was built, providing space for additional 210 hotel rooms and several conference halls.

¹⁰⁰ The ADAME-LSSR was established on 1 January 1963 by the order No. 650 of the Ministry of Culture of the LSSR, ratified on 7 December 1962. Based on the order, a joined governance system of art museums was established, comprising the LSSR Art Museum, LSSR State Foreign Art Museum and Exhibitions Division (Latvijas mākslas muzeju apvienība 1989).

The section five of the *Guidelines* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d, 29-33) articulates a specific policy stance in relation to cultural processes in the country, clearly acknowledging that a meaningful continuity of cultural processes are secured only by maintaining optimal balance between nurturing the tradition and heritage and encouraging the innovation, experimentation, and creativity. In the sphere of visual arts, however, the preservation trend gained the upper hand until the very late 1990s. Raimonds Pauls, the Minister of Culture from 1990 to 1993, in an interview that was conducted ten years after his tenure, clearly expressed the prevailing attitude that guided the decisions and actions of the authorities at the time: “[m]y term at the Ministry of Culture was the most discouraging one. To preserve the traditional and valuable was of *paramount importance* [emphasis added]” (Pauls 2003, paragraph 2). The question of maintaining an adequate balance between the two extremes of the cultural processes’ spectrum had been acute not only in the CEECs, including Latvia; it was also a common dilemma in Western Europe (Cummings and Katz 1987; CoE 1997; Matarasso and Landry 1999). The CoE report (1997) on culture and development in Europe, *In From the Margins*, upholds that “not all creativity goes on in institutions, even though many creative people end up working for them. If the intention is to leave a creative legacy for the future, governments would be wise to review the balance between resource allocations for cultural institutions and the infrastructure and that for non-institutional creativity.” Cummings and Katz (1987, 14), in this regard, argue, “it is in the nature of the arts that most new work will fail, at least if it is judged by the standards of the masterpieces of the past. On the other hand, a cultural life that allowed no room for development would be virtually a contradiction in terms. The balance struck depends on many factors.” The legal, fiscal, and administrative

governance practices observed in the culture domain in Latvia during the 1990s indicated the persistence of a disturbed balance on all counts, the consequence of which was a development of highly polarised organisational arrangement, forging a sharp divide between the state organisations, predominantly represented by centralized and inert institutional legacy of the Soviet era, and slowly, but steadily growing third sector (FIGURES 3.1. and 3.2.). This sharply defined organisational dichotomy between the establishment and the alternative, independent, or informal (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Klaic 2007; Astahovska 2010; Auziņa 2010; Mazika 2008, 2010; Šmite and Šmits 2010) initiatives in the visual arts was one of the central factors that prevented development of new cultural infrastructure and practices in Latvia, particularly in the field of contemporary visual art.

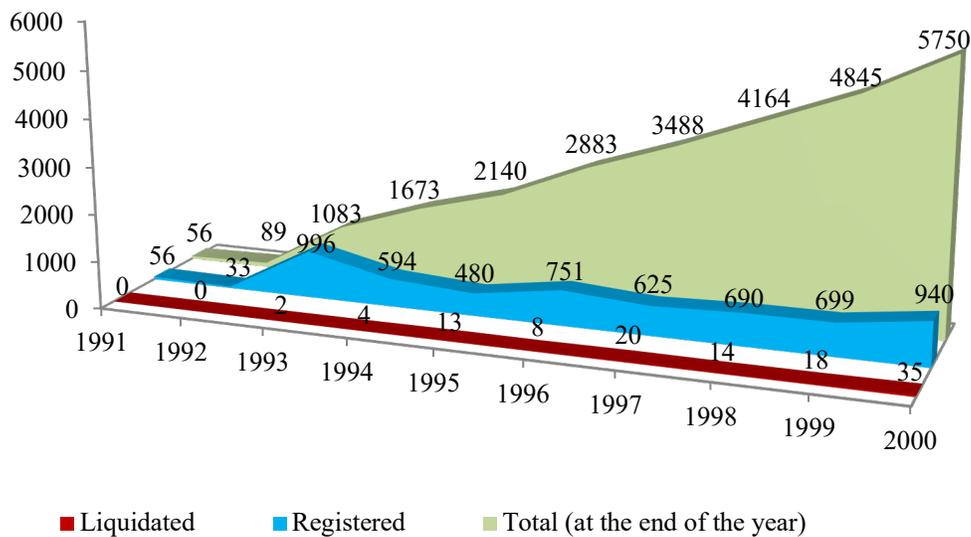


FIGURE 3.1. Annual registration and liquidation dynamic of non-governmental organisations in Latvia from 1991 to 2000

Sources: Lursoft 2017, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

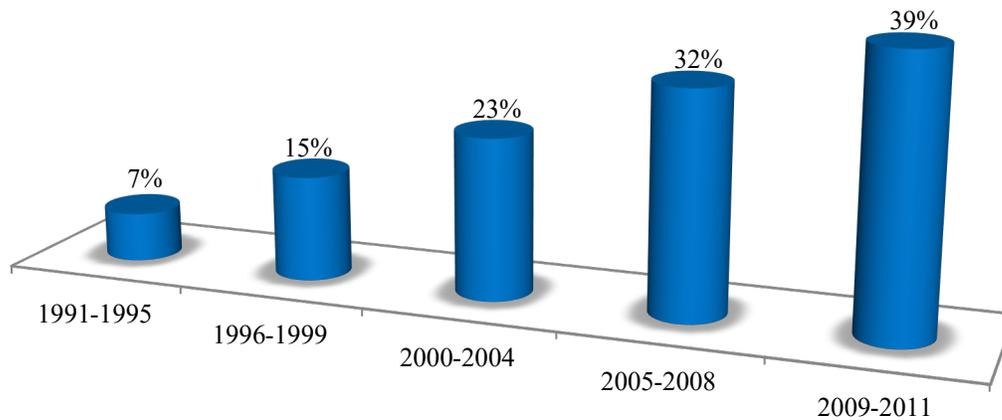


FIGURE 3.2. Sectoral distribution of non-governmental organisations in Latvia from 1991 to 2011: culture and recreation

Sources: Baltic Institute of Social Sciences 2011; Lursoft 2017, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

The provisions for the Ministry of Culture to financially support and cooperate with different types of cultural institutions in carrying out the state cultural policy were not completely absent from the legal and policy framework at the time. Relevant in this regard are: *Law on Social Organisations and their Associations* (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d), *Regulations on the Ministry of Culture* (LR Ministru kabinets 1994a), *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), *Law on Cultural Institutions* (LR Saeima 1998b), respectively. The major obstacle, preventing the implementation of the provisions, however, was that the relationship between the state (e.g., the Ministry of Culture) and the third sector was not sufficiently regulated – specific skills, legal criteria, and instruments were not yet in place, determining different kinds and levels of cooperation and support that the independent sector could employ. The major advancements in drafting, ratifying, and implementing normative acts that regulated

the involvement of the non-governmental organisations in policy making and application processes on a state level took place only at the very beginning of the 2000s (discussed in Chapter Four).

The report of the Non-governmental Organisation Centre (NGOC) (2002), providing the evaluation of the third sector in Latvia, states that during the second half of the 1990s merely eight per cent of the surveyed organisations had access to one or the other form of state subsidies.¹⁰¹ Regular access to resources and financial stability is one of the primary factors ensuring a successful and sustainable development of the independent sector. During the 1990s, the third sector in Latvia had formed and developed mainly due to the presence of the foreign investment (NGOC 2002; Quandt 2002; Müller 2005). The NGOC (2002) estimates that up to eighty per cent of the NGO income came from the foreign foundations and assistance programmes (e.g., the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme, EBRD, Baltic-American Partnership Fund, the Soros Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Charles H. Mott Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Norwegian Financial Instrument, and European Union PHARE programme, to name but a few). During the transition, no other foundation has had such a financial and institutional impact in Latvia as the complex network of organisations that was developed by the initiative of the Soros Foundations (Müller 2005; Quandt 2002). Until 2000, the NGOC¹⁰² was running the Soros

¹⁰¹ Analysis is based on the survey responses of 693 organisations, comprising 16.7% of the total (n=5750) non-governmental organisations working in 2000.

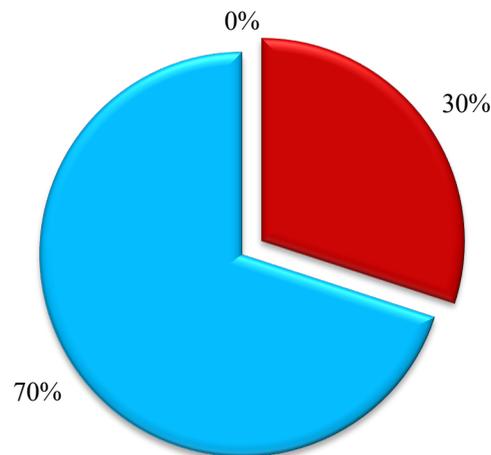
¹⁰² In 1996, in cooperation with the Soros Foundation Latvia and the United Nations Development Programme, the Danish government initiated the establishment of the Non-governmental Organisation Centre in Riga. The goal of the NGOC was to support independent initiatives of the citizens, to promote the development of the civil society, and to provide administrative and financial assistance to the third sector in Latvia. It was the first organisation of this kind, functioning as a resource centre for other NGOs, as well as different interest groups that were planning to organise into new NGOs.

Foundation financed dotation programme that covered administrative expenses of many NGOs and that supported, strengthened, and advanced the activities of a great number of newly established organisations.

During the first decade after the independence, the funding that the new non-governmental organisations, working in the field of contemporary visual arts, received from the state was chiefly project-based support, hence irregular and short-term (Demakova 1996b,c, 2010b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b; Cliche et al. 2002; Briede 2006; Demir 2006; Feldbergs 2006; Krese 2006a; Pētersons 2006; Vērpe 2006). Some of the professionals go so far as to claim that government assistance for contemporary art was practically non-existent before 2000 (Krese 2006a, 2010, 2014a; Demakova 1996b,c, 2010b). This lack of sufficient resources, unpredictability, and irregularity of funding (of all kinds) were the major factors, preventing a sustainable development of organisations that operated outside the confines of the dominant field of cultural production. Until the establishment of the SCCF in 1998, the budget income structure of the three very first NGOs representing the core of the field of contemporary art, Open-Air Art Museum at Pedvāle (1993), E-LAB – Electronic Art and Media Centre (1996), Culture and Art Project NOASS (1997), indicate that neither of the organisations received direct and planned state subsidies from the budget (Demir 2006), and the project-based allocations (discussed in more detail in the next sub-chapter), on average, comprised less than two per cent of the total budget income. In 1997, ninety-five per cent of the total budget income of E-LAB came from the local and international foundations, but the rest five per cent were generated by the organisation's own activities (e.g., membership fees and ticket sale) (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b). The institution of

the SCCF at the very end of the 1990s represents the very first initiative of the state towards introducing a regular funding source that was also available for the contemporary visual arts projects and organisations, working outside the confines of the dominant field.

The survey, *Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Visual Arts Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006*¹⁰³ (Demir 2006), clearly reveals the sporadic, short-term, and uncertain nature of the public allocations during the first decade of transition (FIGURES 3.3. and 3.4.). The large majority of the respondents evaluated the financial support of the Ministry of Culture as insufficient and irregular (seventy per cent), indicating a strong positive correlation with the overall slow and sporadic (sixty-five per cent) development process of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1992 to 1999.



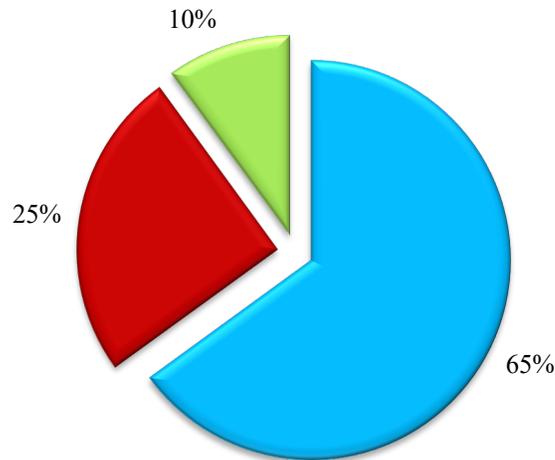
■ Regular and sufficient ■ Regular, but insufficient ■ Irregular and insufficient ■ Irregular, but sufficient

FIGURE: 3.3. Evaluation of the financial support allocated by the Ministry of Culture to the contemporary visual arts projects in time period from 1991 to 1999

¹⁰³ In order to carry out the survey, the purposive (or expert) sampling method was selected. Eighty practicing artists and administrators, representing the field of contemporary visual arts participated as respondents.

Source: Demir 2006, Survey: Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Visual Arts Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.

Notes: How would you evaluate the financial support that was allocated by the Ministry of Culture to the contemporary art projects in time period from 1991 to 1999? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The Financial support that was allocated by the Ministry of Culture to the contemporary visual arts projects in time period from 1991 to 1999 was: (1) regular and sufficient, (2) regular, but insufficient, (3) irregular, but sufficient, (4) irregular and insufficient.¹⁰⁴



■ Slow and sporadic ■ Slow, but planned, continuous, and regular ■ Overall fast, planned, and regular

FIGURE: 3.4. An overall evaluation of development processes of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1992 to 1999

Source: Demir 2006, survey: Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.

Notes: How would you evaluate the overall development processes of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1992 till 1999? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The overall development processes of contemporary visual art field in Latvia from 1992 till 1999 could be described as: (1) slow and sporadic, (2) slow, but planned, continuous, and regular, (3) overall fast, planned, and regular.

The Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project (Salamon et al. 1999)

provides a valuable comparative perspective of major global traits of non-governmental

¹⁰⁴ The survey was conducted within a framework of master's thesis, Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1989, The School of the Art Institute of Chicago.

sector during the 1990s. The study comprises a diverse group of countries that represents CEE (four countries), Western Europe (nine countries), Latin America (five countries), and a separate group of four other developed countries (FIGURE 3.7.). Even though significant variations are apparent among individual country profiles, as well as among sectoral representations regarding revenue sources that shape the budgets of organisations, the average calculation of the twenty-two countries indicates a general trend, revealing that the public sector provides a large forty per cent portion of the total budget income (FIGURE 3.6.) in non-governmental organisations world-wide.

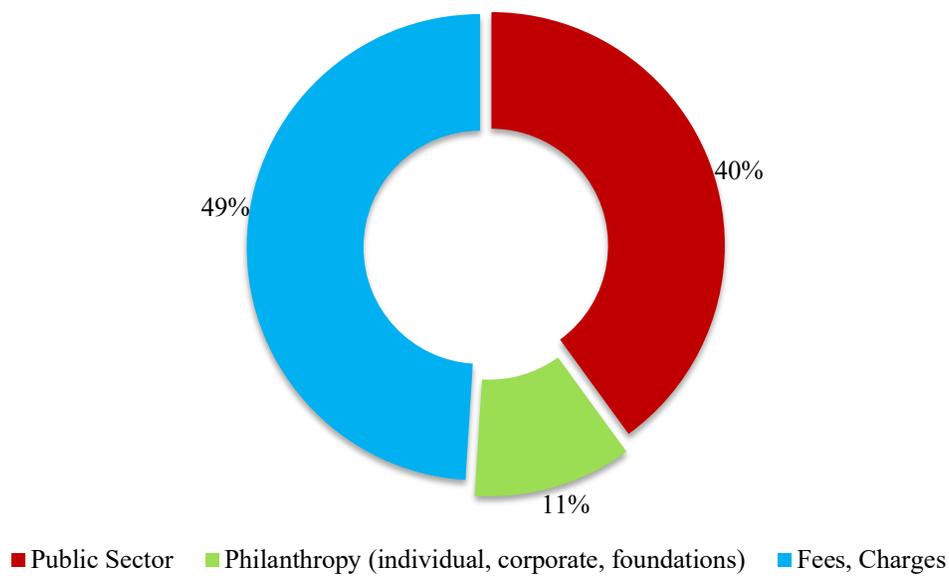


FIGURE: 3.6. Revenue sources of non-governmental organisations, 1995 (twenty-two country average in percentages)

Source: Salamon et al. 1999, *The Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project*, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

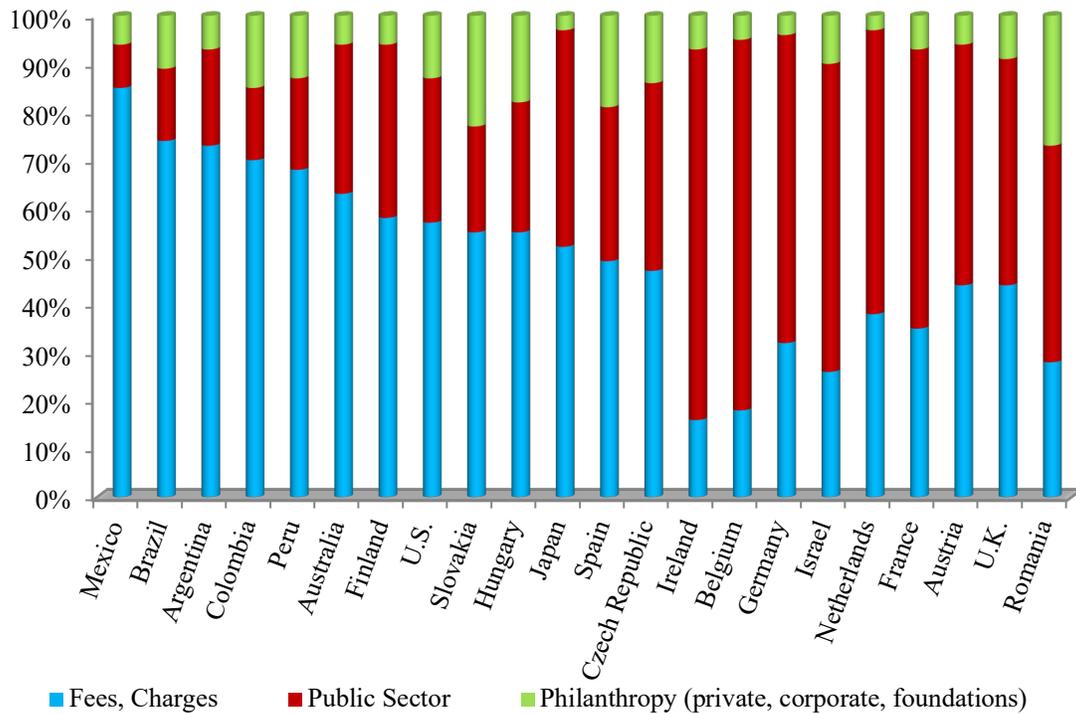


FIGURE: 3.7. Revenue sources of non-governmental organisations, 1995 (twenty-two countries)

Source: Salamon et al. 1999, *The Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project*, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

Within the framework of the study, the closest group of comparison to Latvia is formed by four CEECs, Slovakia, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Romania, respectively. The average calculation of the budget income distribution illustrates that also in this group the state support for the non-governmental sector is notable, comprising thirty-three per cent (FIGURE 3.8.). The comparative data provides a clear indication of the absence of legally regulated and streamlined process that would facilitate a stable state guaranteed support mechanism of non-governmental sector in Latvia during the 1990s, according to which an annual earmarked subsidy would be available for the independent sector to apply for in a regularly announced and transparent competition. Singh, Tucker and House (1986,

171), in this regard, argue, “the lack of institutional support experienced by young organisations is one important reason underlying the liability of newness in organisations. The authors consequently emphasise that “some organisations that do not acquire external legitimacy [via public authorities] may not overcome their liabilities of newness at all” (Singh, Tucker and House 1986, 186). The absence of systematic acknowledgement of the very active and productive fields of culture outside the direct influence of the state authorities (e.g., Ministry of Culture) and lack of co-operation between the public authorities and the third sector made the survival of the newly established non-profit organisations very difficult.

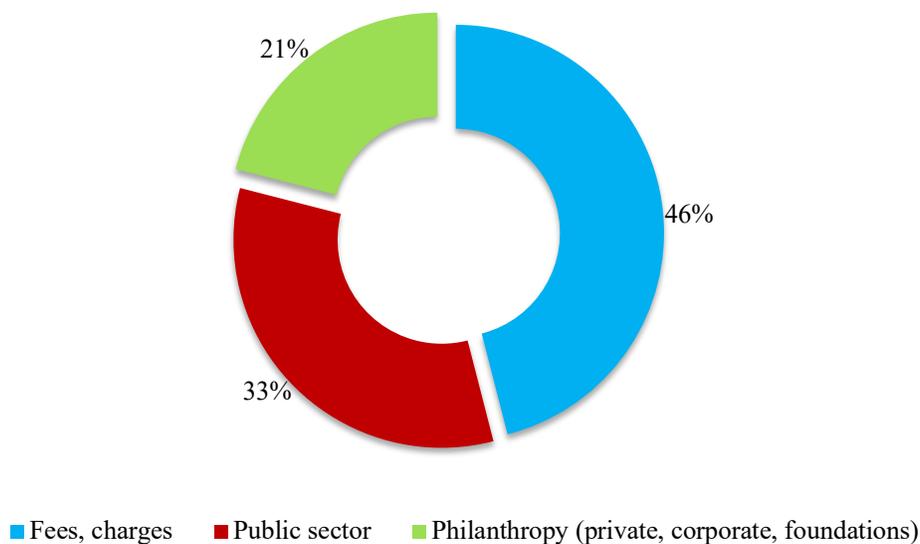


FIGURE: 3.8. Revenue sources of non-governmental organisations, 1995 (four CEE country average in percentages)

Source: Salamon et al. 1999, *The Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project*, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

In 1993, the European Council ratified the *Accession or Copenhagen Criteria*¹⁰⁵ (European Council 1993), defining the economic and political conditions that the candidate countries of the CEE must satisfy to become members of the EU. Two years later a *European Union Association Agreement* between the EU and Latvia (LR Saeima 1995c) was signed, implying that the country’s integration into the EU was underway. Considering this context, important is also the comparative data of the “old Europe”, comprising a group of nine countries. The average calculation demonstrates that the public sector input comprises a significant fifty-six per cent of the total revenue sources of non-governmental organisations in Western Europe (FIGURE 3.9.). In some countries, like Ireland and Belgium, the subsidy from the public sector covers up to seventy-seven per cent of the total revenue.

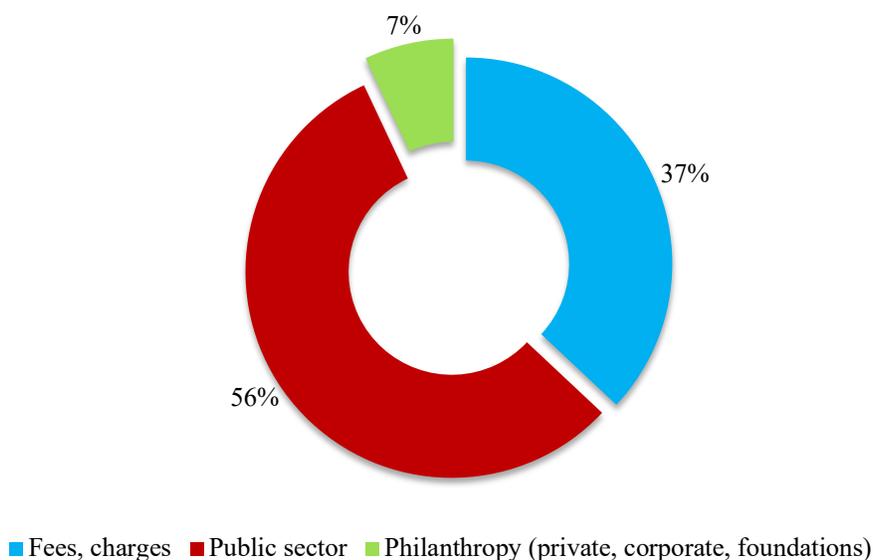


FIGURE: 3.9. Revenue sources of non-governmental organisations, 1995 (nine Western

¹⁰⁵ Accession Criteria, known also as Copenhagen Criteria, assert, “[t]he European Council today agreed that the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union. Accession will take place as soon as an associated country is able to assume the obligations of membership by satisfying the economic and political conditions required.”

country average in percentages)

Source: Salamon et al. 1999, *The Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project*, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

Consistent with the data above also is the study carried out by the European Commission in 1993 (European Commission 1997). It includes figures about the NGO sector in twelve EU countries¹⁰⁶ based on 2300 survey responses. Even though the final average is lower than in the previous indicated research (Salamon et al. 1999), the public subsidy input is consistently high, composing thirty-five per cent of the total revenue sources of non-governmental organisations (FIGURE 3.10). The timing and the message

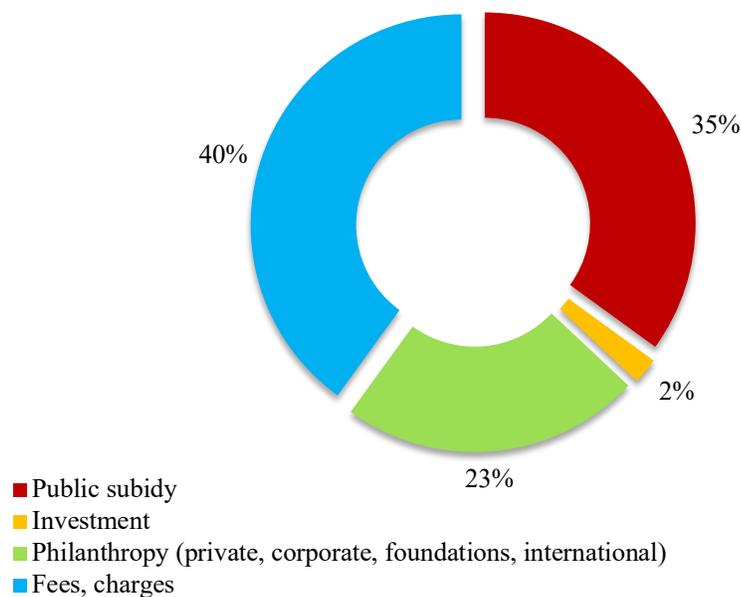


FIGURE: 3.10. Revenue sources of non-governmental organisations in EU, 1993

Source: European Commission 1997, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

Notes: The percentages represent averages of twelve EU member countries, Great Britain, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Denmark, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands, respectively.

¹⁰⁶ Counties included in the study: Great Britain, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Denmark, Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands, respectively.

of the study were particularly relevant to the integration process and the requirements that Latvia as a candidate country needed to comply with. The document strongly insisted on the practice that implied a strong stance of public authorities in supporting diverse developments of civil society: “[t]he competent authorities should examine what scope exists for clarifying and adjusting legal frameworks so that they are conducive to the voluntary sector fulfilling its full potential at national, regional, and local levels” (European Commission 1997, 12).

The Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d, 15) affirm that “the state budget is the principal source of funding in cultural policy implementation,” but, since a coherent legal framework that would sustain a regular partnership development between the public authorities and the independent sector was lacking, the very active and productive fields of culture outside the direct influence of the ministry were systematically excluded from participation in policy making and application processes on a state level. This created a situation where “[d]espite their increasing reliance on foundations and voluntary organisations to carry out a wide range of functions, public authorities [had] not on the whole acknowledged their responsibility to ensure that the sector [was] as well placed as possible to make its distinctive contribution to the public good. The result [was] that in ... [Latvia] the sector, as a sector, operated in what amounts, at least in strategic terms, to a policy vacuum” (European Commission 1997, 9). This very polarised organisational composition, prevalent during the 1990s, was a direct consequence of a persistent policy of exclusion, which prevented the third sector “from contributing, to the optimum extent possible, to the solution of the problems” (European Commission 1997, 9) that the dominant field of cultural production

faced. Regular access or rather regularly guaranteed public subsidy was a privilege of organisations subordinate to either state or municipal authorities, and that was secured by existing legal framework, regulating different areas of cultural production, e.g., museums, libraries, archives, cultural monuments (LR Augstākā padome 1991a, 1992a,c; LR Ministru kabinets 1994a; LR Saeima 1997c, 1998a). Because of the persistent “policy vacuum” (European Commission 1997) and lacking coherent legal framework that would regulate the relationship between the public authorities and the independent sector, the already lean state appropriation ended up exclusively in the purse of the public organisations. The *Law on Cultural Institutions* (LR Saeima 1998b) that was ratified in 1998 only re-enforced the already existing dichotomy, foreseeing that a regular subsidy from the state budget was guaranteed by law to the organisations subordinate to either a corresponding ministry (e.g., Ministry of Culture) or municipality. This provision fortified the state establishment as the sole criterion to qualify for a consistent public dotation. The distribution of the state budget allocations during the first decade reflected the pattern of planned economy where direct government funding for culture was not gauged by the performance outcomes. Cultural economist Bruno S. Frey (2003, 125) characterises such appropriation process as “the least advantageous support instrument.”

The CoE report (1997, 277) on culture and development in Europe, when describing the public sector’s relationship with the third sector, asserts that “voluntary associations and foundations have an important role to play as intermediaries between government and the cultural sector. Government encouragement of their development – through fiscal means and subsidy – would help to foster a thriving civil society and would be an acknowledgement that the voluntary sector can sometimes be a *more appropriate*

vector for cultural action [emphasis added] than governments themselves.” Important in this relation is the *Law on Social Organisations and their Associations* (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d), which was ratified in 1992. The law determined the establishment and structure of the new NGOs. According to the government regulation (LR Ministry of Culture 1998) also the previous creative unions, including Latvian Artists’ Union,¹⁰⁷ had to register as and re-organise into independent non-governmental bodies. In 1995, an important amendment – section XI – was added to the law, particularly focussing on the “Provisions for the Establishment, Registration, and Activities of Professional Creative Organisations” (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d, Section XI). The article, stipulating ancillary funding provisions (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d, Article 57, Paragraph 5), determined that professional creative organisations and associations of professional creative organisations, registered both with the Registry of Public Organisations and the Ministry of Culture, obtained rights to receive funding from the state budget for implementation of specific projects or programmes and for the execution of particular state functions or other objectives related to the state cultural policy. During the first decade after the ratification of the law and the amendment, however, the funding provisions were not applied in real life and the monetary support from the ministry to the third sector was minimal to say the least.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Latvian Artists’ union was officially established in 1941 by the decree that was ratified on 17 April 1941 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (CC CP LSSR) (Latvijas Mākslinieku savienība 1991). Local Cultural Section branch of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party was the central authority controlling three major institutions that were in charge of the cultural domain in Latvia during the Soviet occupation: LSSR Ministry of Culture, LSSR State Art Academy, LSSR Artists’ Union.

¹⁰⁸ Culture Project Contest (CPC), established in 1992 by the Ministry of culture (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a), was the only funding available for the creative projects and non-profit organisations working in the field of culture. For detailed analysis of this funding and the role it played in the development of the field of contemporary art, please refer to sub-chapter 3.2.1.3.

The article of this same law, determining the status of the “Associations of the Professional Creative Organisations” (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d, Article 57, Paragraph 3), specifies that the association, in which “more than a half of professional creative organisations, registered in accordance with the procedures specified by law, have been united, *may become a body governed by public law and carry out particular state functions* [emphasis added].” In compliance with the article, the Council of the Creative Unions of Latvia (CCUL)¹⁰⁹ was registered in 1995 as a parent organisation for the professional creative organisations (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d), comprising all the traditional, but re-registered creative unions, and also newly created cultural organisations, as well as individual members (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Latvijas Radošo savienību padome 2016). Even though the new amendment of the law included particular provisions, indicating that the independent professional creative organisations, can execute particular state functions and undertake the role of “a more appropriate vector for cultural action than governments themselves” (CoE 1997, 277), the law was not applied and neither the individual organisations nor the umbrella association received the public subsidy from the state budget during the 1990s. There were only two unions that received a designated and regular allotment from the budget – the Writer’s and Composers’ Unions (LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c), but even this subsidy, when compared with the overall annual budget distribution of the ministry from 1991 to 1998, was

¹⁰⁹ The CCUL was officially established in 1995 on the basis of previously existing roof organisation – Culture Council of the Creative Unions, which was created in 1988 during the Plenum of the Writers’ Union of LSSR (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Latvijas Radošo savienību padome 2016). It ceased to officially function in 1990 after the government’s decision, requiring all creative unions to re-organise and officially register as social organisations (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d).

insignificant, comprising mere 0.2 per cent average of the budget programme *Culture* allocations (FIGURE 3.28.) or 0.08 per cent average from the total budget of the Ministry of Culture (LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c). Corina Şuteu (2003) reminds, “[i]t is this legacy that made a new beginning so hard. The fact that all cultural infrastructures were subsidized and promoted by the state undermined all kinds of autonomous art or cultural initiatives Without understanding the past, one cannot understand the problems of transitions. All Communist governments had a strong cultural agenda based on large cultural state institutions.”

The occurrent lack of implementation of the law indicated that in the real field – outside of the paperbound rhetoric, the public authorities shied away from decisions supporting innovation, experimentation, and creativity, as well as they considerably undervalued the input and the critical role of the independent sector in ensuring meaningful continuity of cultural processes in the country. Māra Traumane, one of the leading young curators at the very beginning of the 2000s, rather accurately have characterised the activities of the very first contemporary visual art NGOs as “interventions” (Traumane 2006) in the established cultural policy. The description supports the argument of the distinct organisational dichotomy that featured the non-cooperative and exclusive nature of the relationships between the actors within dominant field of cultural production, orbiting around the principal incumbent – the ministry, and the independent professional art organisations, indicating the emergence of a new and autonomous field. Because of the prevailing institutional funding trend and inconsistent application of law, regulating the activity of non-governmental organisations, there was

hardly any public support for the third sector representing the non-traditional and innovative initiatives that were mostly carried out by small organisations, centres, labs, festivals, studios, and galleries.

Considering the context of persistent institutional dominance of the inherited cultural production apparatus and deficiency of coherent legal and policy framework, one of the factors that should be emphasized in particular when examining the principal cause of institutional fragility of the organisations that worked in the field of contemporary visual arts during the transition period was the absence of a specific institutional infrastructure that would facilitate and foster alternative artistic production, distribution, and promotion. Solvita Krese (2006a), the current director of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LCCA),¹¹⁰ emphasises that within the prevailing framework of “institutionalised art” of the time, representing more conservative and traditional expressions of art (both, in relation to content and medium), all the support, by default, was guided only in one direction – to support the conventional and academic visual arts practices. The contemporary visual arts expressions were not represented within the predominant institutional logic of the cultural establishment of the 1990s, and, on the policy level, no strategic planning of developing the infrastructure of the field was evident. Şuteu (2003, 8) argues that the inherited overweight infrastructures functioned as “genuine black holes,” swallowing the principal part of the state funding for culture and “any kind of effectiveness.”

¹¹⁰ After the establishment of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga (SCCA-Riga) in 1993 and until the closing of the organisation in 1999, Solvita Krese performed the duties of the Deputy Director. She stated her tenure as a Director of the LCCA in 1999 when, on the foundations of the SCCA-Riga, the latter was instituted.

The fact that the dominant institutions were oriented towards more “traditional” expressions of art is well reflected in the exhibition practices and collection policy of the LAMA – the major state institution representing visual arts in Latvia. The museums that composed this parent organisation received a regular annual subsidy from the state budget. The average total allocation comprised twenty per cent of the total public subsidy that was earmarked for the state museums (FIGURES 3.28. and 3.29.)¹¹¹ in the annual budget of the Ministry of Culture. The *Law on Museums* (LR Saeima 1997c, Article 16, Paragraph 1, Points 1-6) stipulates that the state guarantees funding from the budget, covering: the maintenance and renovation of the museum buildings; payments of rent, utilities, taxes, and the land lease; collection management (acquisitions, storage, preservation, conservation, restoration, artwork lease, security, research); personnel salaries; international exchange and co-operation. The public subsidy of LAMA museums on average covered seventy-five per cent of the total budget revenue in the time period from 1993 to 1997 (LR Ministry of Culture Museum State Administration¹¹² Statistics 1998). Twenty per cent of the total revenue, on average, came from the museums’ own income, like ticket sales and other commercial services) (FIGURE 3.11.). It is important to note that all of the LAMA museums resided in buildings that carried the status of architectural monuments, defined by the *Law on State Significance Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Objects and National Sport Centres* (LR Saeima 1995b). At the very beginning

¹¹¹ The exact allocation amounts in current prices (LVL) are available in Appendix 1.

¹¹² Museum State Administration was a subordinate agency to the Ministry of Culture (LR Ministru kabinets 1998b). It was liquidated in 2010 (LR Ministru kabinets 2009b,e) in accordance to severe emergency measures that were passed by the government, following the global economic crisis. The *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinets 2009a,d) of the incoming Valdis Dombrovskis’s Cabinet on 12 March 2009 stated that the government is going to utilize all necessary measures to decrease the administrative apparatus of the state, joining structures and their functions, hence securing more efficient spending of the state budget funds that are allocated for the organisational apparatus of the ministries.

of the 1990 most of these buildings were in a dire need of complete overhaul, and the assigned amounts of money were not enough for that. Considering also the economic instability that the country experienced during the transition years, particularly during the first half of the 1990s, allocated budgets for culture, when calculated based on consumer price index (CPI), were decreasing (FIGURES 3.18, 3.19, 3.20., and 3.22.). As the *National Report* (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 48) indicates, “financing for culture [was] applied to maintain cultural infrastructure and pay employee salaries.” FIGURE 3.12. clearly demonstrates this trend.

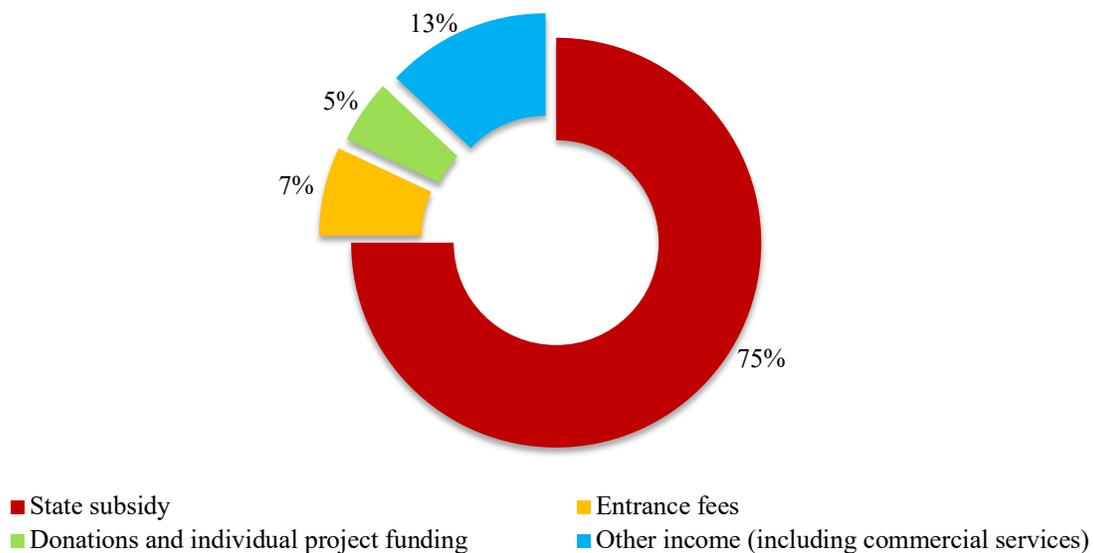


FIGURE 3.11. Income of the LAMA from 1993 to 1997¹¹³ (average in percentages)

Source: LR Ministry of Culture Museum State Administration¹¹⁴ Statistics 1998, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

¹¹³ The annual income of the LAMA from 1993 to 1997, representing amounts in LVL, is available in Appendix 1: Tables (Appendix 1.3).

¹¹⁴ Museum State Administration was a subordinate agency to the Ministry of Culture (LR Ministru kabinets 1998b). It was liquidated in 2010 (LR Ministru kabinets 2009b,e) in accordance to severe emergency measures that were passed by the government, following the global economic crisis. The *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinets 2009a,d) of the incoming Valdis Dombrovskis’s Cabinet on 12 March 2009 stated that the government is going to utilize all necessary measures to decrease the administrative apparatus of the state, joining structures and their functions, hence securing more efficient spending of the state budget funds that are allocated for the organisational apparatus of the ministries.

Regardless of the guaranteed annual budgetary allocation defined by the law (LR Saeima 1997c), the available resources were scarce (Lāce 2014a,b; Vanags 2015). As discussed later in the text and as illustrated in the FIGURES 3.11., 3.16., and 3.17., the private giving (individual, corporate, foundations) was still very limited due to the transition economy and overall instability. Also, the historical development of the private sector has been very short, and the tradition of philanthropic practice has not yet been institutionalised in the society. The revenue distribution of the LAMA indicates that the private giving comprised less than five per cent (FIGURE 3.11.). It is less than five per cent because the category comprises also individual project funding, which came from the Culture Project Contest (CPC), established in 1992 by the Ministry of culture (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a). The reports of the assigned allocations of the CPC indicate that the LAMA museums have received funding every year throughout the existence of this program from 1992 to 1997 (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b, 1994, 1995b, 1996c, 1997a,b). Ojārs Spārītis (2003), whose tenure as a Minister of Culture was from 1995 to 1996, recalls, “before the establishment of the State Culture Capital Foundation [in 1998], the ministry had certain financial resources that, by help of selected experts, were allocated to specific projects. The nominated experts of the Ministry of Culture, however, could not be absolutely neutral and these grants were not always assigned properly.” The questioning of the propriety and the neutrality of the assignments were related to the persistent trend of institutional funding yet again. The very lean funds of the CPC were the only support available for the non-state related creative projects and non-governmental organisations, working in the field of culture at the time; however, the dominant state culture organisations were not excluded from the competition. The portion of this already

very limited money ended up in the purses of the state institutions that already received a guaranteed annual subsidy from the budget.

The Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga (1998) (SCCA-Riga) report on the infrastructure situation of visual arts in Latvia during the 1990s, individual financial statements of the non-governmental organisations (Lursoft 2017) working in the field, and exhibition documentation (LCCA Exhibition Archive 2016) indicate that the major non-state monetary support for the visual arts organisations (both non-governmental and public) came predominantly from foreign sources. Among the most often mentioned donors were the Soros Foundation Latvia (including SCCA-Riga), Mondriaan Fund, the British Council, Goethe Institute, Nordic Culture Fund, Nordic Council of Ministers' Office, the Danish Cultural Institute, French Institute, the embassies of Austria, Finland, and the United States, respectively. In the LAMA case, the foreign support is indicated in FIGURE 3.11. as part of donations and individual project funding. This data strongly correlate with the NGOC (2002) report, emphasising the strong presence of the foreign assistance programs and investment during the 1990s in Latvia.

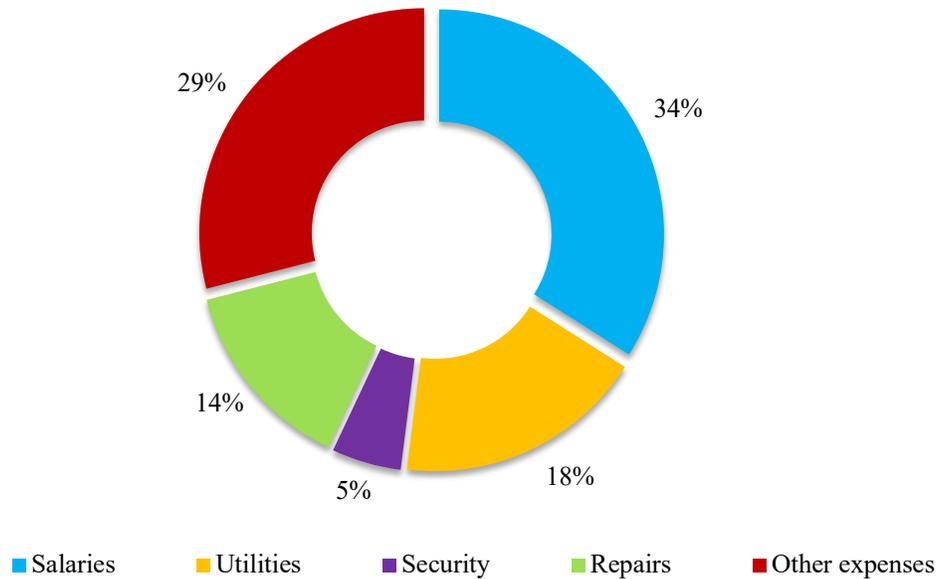


FIGURE 3.12. Budgetary allocations of the LAMA¹¹⁵ from 1993 to 1997 (average in percentages)

Sources: LR Ministry of Culture Museum State Administration Statistics 1998, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The LAMA annual exhibition count from 1993 to 1997 indicates that, on average, sixty-six exhibitions took place at four museums and one exhibition hall that composed the parent association (SAM, MFA, AMA, MDAA, EEHL) (FIGURE 3.13.). On average, annually three to four exhibitions that were organised within the system of the LAMA museums would qualify as contemporary art representations (LCCA Archive 2016), comprising a mere five per cent of the total annual share (FIGURE 3.14.). Important, in this regard, is the fact that all of these exhibitions were initiated from outside, providing already prepared projects and the necessary implementation funding, and they did not represent the existing collections of neither of the museums. Among the most active

¹¹⁵ The annual budgetary allocations of the LAMA from 1993 to 1997, representing current amounts in LVL, are available in Appendix 1: Tables (Appendix 1.4).

initiators of these outside exhibitions were SCCA-Riga, SCCA-Vilnius, and the British Council (Sorosa Mūsdienu mākslas centrs 1998). Indeed – the contemporary art classification was not present in any of the collections of the LAMA museums at the time. Only in 1999 the Ministry of Culture allocated a designated funding to the LAMA for the development of contemporary visual arts heritage (LR Kultūras ministrija 2000) at the AMA.

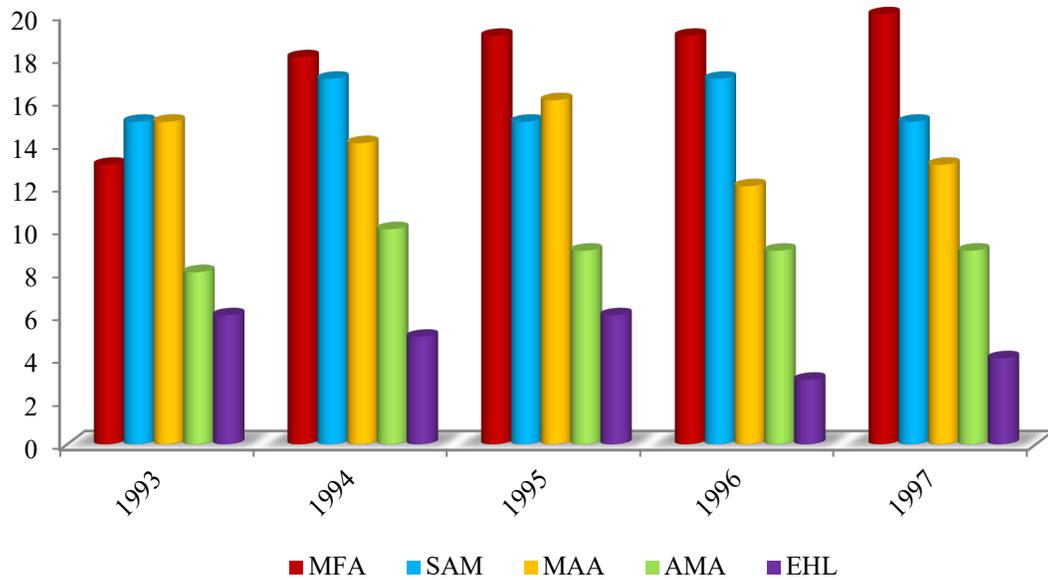


FIGURE 3.13. Number of exhibitions at the museums of the LAMA from 1993 to 1997

Sources: LR Ministry of Culture Museum State Administration Statistics 1998, graph prepared by Demir 2017.

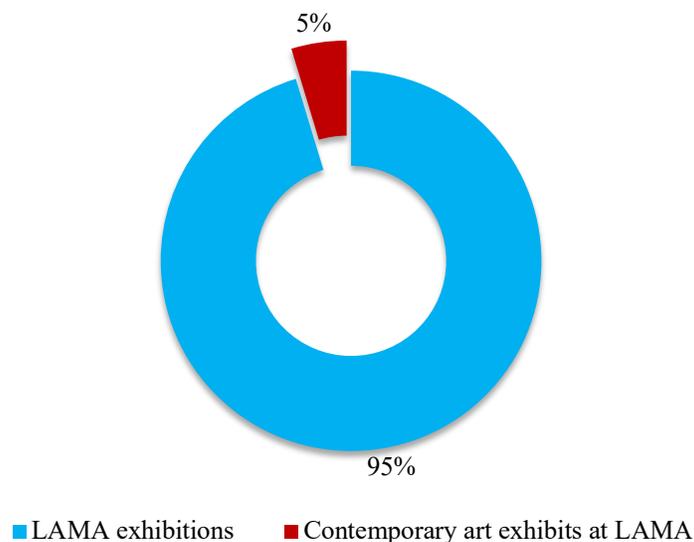


FIGURE 3.14. Annual share of contemporary visual art exhibitions at LAMA's museums from 1993 to 1998 (average in percentages)

Sources: LR Ministry of Culture Museum State Administration Statistics 1998; Sorosa Mūsdienų mākslas centrs-Rīga 1998, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The annual share of the contemporary visual arts exhibitions is a clear indication of the existing exhibition policy that was deeply rooted in the museum mandates at the time under consideration. The art historical research and the exhibitions that were realised based on the studies of the scholars, working at the museums' research departments, were the reflections of the existing collections of the LAMA, which were more oriented towards representations of the heritage of the past, featuring art before 1945. Even though the AMA's focus was on art after 1945, implementation of clearly defined and consistent acquisition practices were absent. Also, the fact that the classification of contemporary portion of the museum's collection was officially recognised so late – only in 1999 by the designated assignment of the ministry – was a clear indication that during the first decade after the restoration of sovereignty the contemporary visual arts were not a part of the recognised art museum mandate, working within the cultural production domain of the

official establishment, i.e., the state. In 1998, the works by such well-known and established practicing artists at the time as Olegs Tillbergs, Leonards Laganovskis, Sarmīte Māliņa, Ēriks Božis, Miķelis Fišers, Kristaps Ģelzis, Ojārs Pētersons, Inese Mailīte, and Ivars Mailītis,¹¹⁶ to mention but a few, were not represented within the collections of the LAMA even with one piece of art (Krese 2006a; Rogule 2013, 2014a; Vanags 2015; LCCA Exhibition Archive 2016; LCCA Digital Collection 2017). All of the above-mentioned artists had been regularly participating in solo and group exhibitions not only domestically, but also abroad. The SCCA-Riga (1998, 48) report, evaluating the overall infrastructure situation of visual arts in Latvia during the 1990s, highlights, “the acquisition practices of the LAMA [were] principally oriented towards traditional visual arts forms. The unfortunate conclusion is that the new forms of visual arts in Latvia [did] not get collected, documented, and preserved as valuable and museum-worthy artefacts.”

The data, reflecting the acquisition practices at the end of the 1990s, indicate a rather disturbing trend that correlates with the dramatic decrease of the state subsidies that were designated specifically for the development of museum collections (SCCA-Riga 1998, LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b). FIGURE 3.15. illustrates the classification of acquisitions at the LAMA from 1998 to 2000, making it obvious that the collection development chiefly relied on donations either from artists directly or from private collectors. Rental barter in exchange for art works (usually one art piece per exhibition) was also an applied practice that permitted museums to augment their collections. Even though the donations may materialise as valuable art assets, “the donation of a collection, or even of a few works of art ... should be accompanied by a cash contribution to the

¹¹⁶ The examples of the art works by the mentioned artists are included in Appendix 9.

museum’s operating funds for the care of the donated material. These funds will be expended on providing the storage areas, display space, security, conservation, documentation, research, and many other costs” (Lord and Lord 2009, 247-248) associated with the collection management. During the 1990s, the gift giving practice, however, was not accompanied by supplemental resources and created a mounting pressure on already lean operating budgets and limited storage space of the LAMA museums.

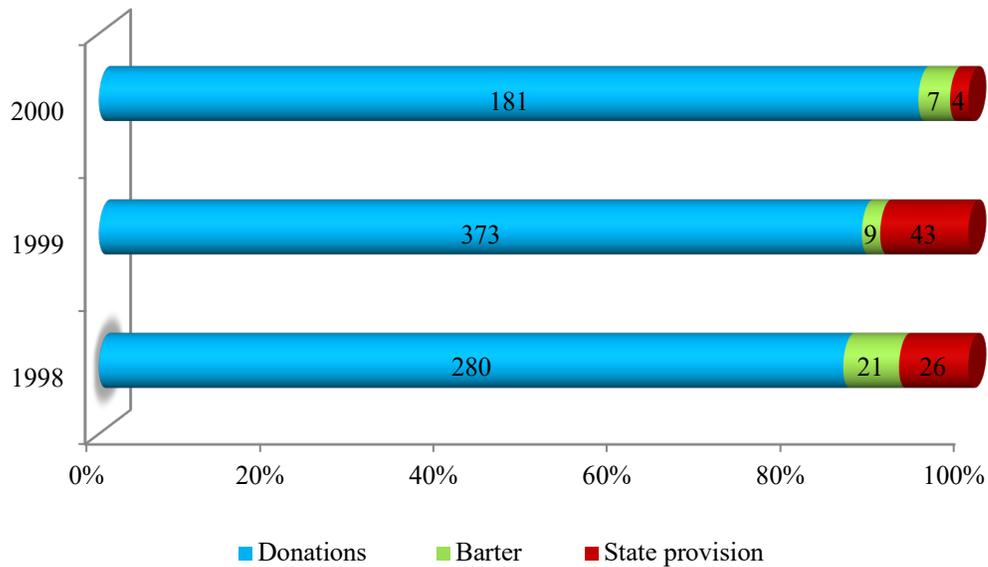


FIGURE 3.15. Classification of acquisitions at the LAMA from 1998 to 2000 (number of works annually by kind of acquisition)

Sources: SCCA-Riga 1998; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

3.2.1.2 Financial and Administrative Provisions

Since the ratification of the *Main Postulates of Cultural Policy in Latvia*, one of the fundamental objectives of the new cultural policy had been the promotion of decentralisation processes in cultural administration and in supervision and funding of

culture institutions, delineating responsibilities on all levels, i.e., state, municipal, social, and individual (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d). Due to the preservation approach (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b, 2006a; Klaic 2007; Müller 2005; Tjarve 2013) that dominated the cultural policy of the 1990s, the persistence of centralised cultural administration and funding were the key factors, undermining successful development of creative processes and non-governmental sector in cultural production. Until the completion of the institutional structure and management reform¹¹⁷ of the state culture organisations in 2005, the principal method that was applied to prepare the ministry's budget was based on planned needs of the state culture organisations, excluding the performance factor and the achievements of the organisations, representing independent sector. As indicated in the previous section, the provisions of funding that were included in the *Law on Public Organisations and their Associations* (LR Augstākā Padome 1992d, article 57, section 5) were not applied in practice during the first decade after the ratification of the law and the funding from the ministry to the third sector was limited and irregular, making the survival of the newly established non-governmental organisations challenging. The old-fashioned funding allocation principle, based on which the legal status – namely state institution – of the organisation was decisive, considerably undermined the access of more efficiently operating independent sector organisations to state financial support. The method of drafting the budget proposal and appropriations

¹¹⁷ In 2005, legal status reform of the state culture organisations was completed. All state organisations changed their legal status either to state agencies, state capital companies, or state capital shares. The *Law on Culture Institutions* (LR Saeima 1998) and the *Law on State and Local Government Capital Shares and Capital Companies* (LR Saeima 2002) regulate the legal functioning of this category of organisations. In compliance with the legal status reform of the state culture organisations, corresponding amendments were made to the *Law on Culture Institutions* on 17 November 2005. The goal of the reform was to foster the decentralisation process of the heavy system of the state culture institutions, which formerly had not been much affected by optimisation and coherent systemic change. In line with the reform, the organisations gained more independence and flexibility to attract and use funding.

was classical: “the Ministry of Culture summarised the expressed needs of [the state] cultural institutions” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 50) and prepared the annual consolidated budget proposal for the Ministry of Finance. The Ministry of Finance reviewed and analysed the funding requests and submitted them to the Cabinet of Ministers. The Cabinet of Ministers made a decision on appropriations for the next fiscal year, approved the State Budget Bill, and submitted it to the Saeima, which, consequently, reviewed the bill and had a right to amend any part of it during the two stages of readings (LR Finanšu ministrija 2012). As the *National Report of the Cultural Policy Review Programme* (LR Ministry of Culture 1998) indicated, the budget proposal and the actual appropriation amounts usually were not compatible. In 1995, sixty-nine per cent of the requested funding for culture was passed by the Saeima. Destabilising also was the annual budget amendment practice, which meant that during the course of a fiscal year already approved appropriations could be reduced (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996b). Albeit the Ministry of Culture was the paramount institution responsible for formulating and implementing national cultural policy, in matters of money the Ministry of Finance assumed the dominant position. The practice of budget alterations during the course of the fiscal year was unsettling and, as Ilczuk (2001) suggests, it weakened the competence of the Ministry of Culture. Bureaucrats who were not professionally related to the field of cultural production made the final decisions about the annual appropriations for culture. Noteworthy, in this regard, is the reminder that cultural policy making process is closely tied to the full political apparatus of a state, and the involvement of the Saeima, the Cabinet of Ministers and other ministries needs to be seriously taken into account. Şuteu (2005, 15) maintains, “[o]ne would still consider the Ministries of culture [as] THE [emphasis in original] guilty bodies

for everything lacking in the cultural sector (going from legislation to salaries and from institutional disorder to degree of funding). Very few cultural operators consider the finance ministry or the social affairs ministry responsible, or the lack of civil initiatives, or the incompetence of the cultural commissions in the parliament.”

Considering that during the first decade of transition, the inherited field of cultural production was heavily dependent on direct state subsidies as a principal source of revenue, it was evident that the public funding was the impetus to the realisation of cultural policy. FIGURES 3.16. and 3.17. illustrate that between 1993 and 1997 the average of ninety-four per cent of all support for culture, including state and municipal allocations, was coming from the public purse, and only the average of six per cent of funding can be ascribed to the support of local and international foundations (LR Augstākā Padome 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998, LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b).

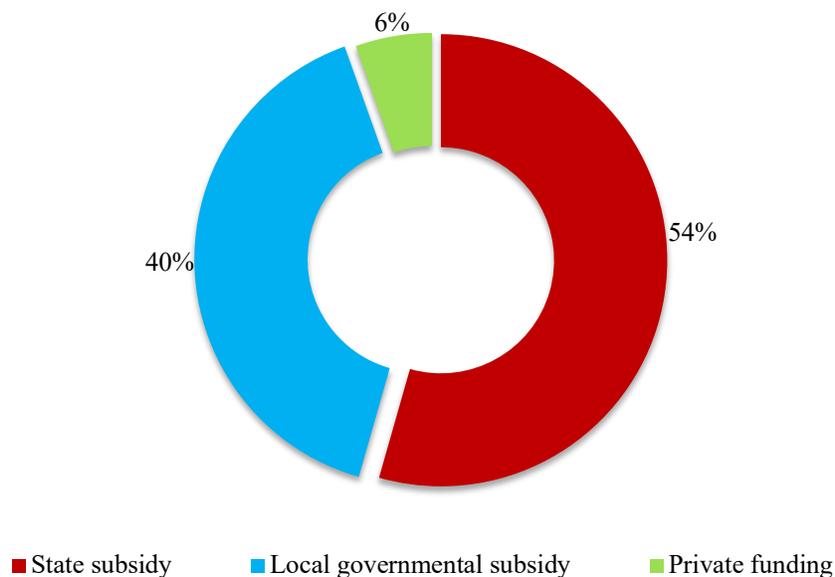


FIGURE 3.16. Funding of culture from various sources from 1993-1997 (average in

percentages)¹¹⁸

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

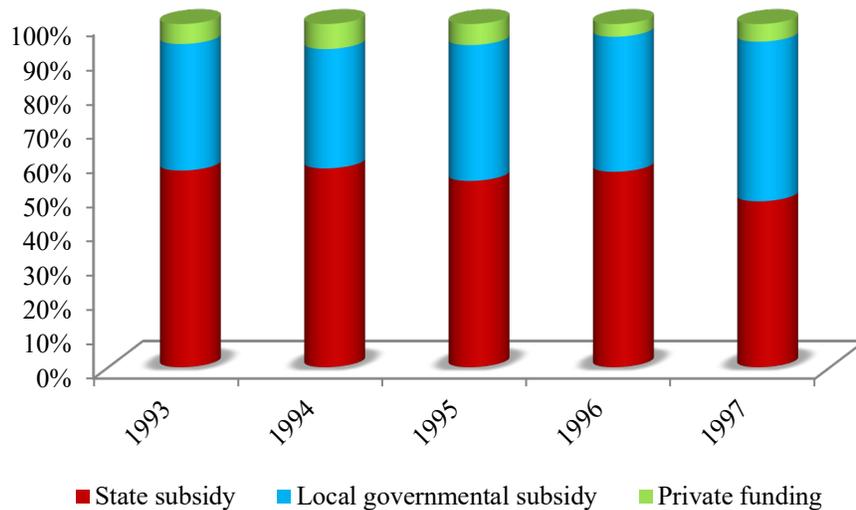


FIGURE 3.17. Funding of culture from various sources from 1993 to 1997 based on a year (in percentages)

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

As mentioned above, not only the scale of the public subsidy, but also the appropriations process was a persisting problem – “petrification of the old principles for determining financial needs of culture” (Ministry of Culture 1998, 161) and the way of how the resources were distributed through regular allocations from the state budget manifested itself primarily in the institutional funding, in which the legal institutional status of state culture organisation, not the performance factor of the supplied service, dominated. This has led to a situation where the state and municipal culture organisations

¹¹⁸ A table (Appendix 1.1.), representing allocations in current prices (LVL), is included in Appendix 1.

almost exclusively occupied the dominant actor role in the process of cultural policy implementation; however, non-governmental sector was left in a marginalised position. The unbalanced dependence of the state culture operators on direct subsidies was also a clear indicator that state budget supervising institutions exerted great influence (not always positive) on cultural policy execution in general.¹¹⁹

In the circumstances where the wellbeing of the field of cultural production is so heavily reliant on the overall health of the country's economic growth,¹²⁰ the effects of transition on cultural production, particularly during the very initial years of the overhaul when the economic "slump was horrendous" (Åslund and Dombrovskis 2011, 7), were severe. Latvia, along with Estonia, pursued shock therapy or radical transition approach to market economy (Åslund and Dombrovskis 2011; Kolodko 2000), and the economic policy reform package of systemic change emphasized the importance of liberalisation (prices and trade), macroeconomic stabilisation, and privatisation. As Kolodko (2000, 2) points out,

...the main argument in favour of [radical] transition was a desire to put the countries in question on the path of sustainable growth. It was assumed that the shift of property rights from the state to private hands, and the shift of the allocation mechanism from state to free market, would soon enhance saving rates and capital formation, as well as allocative efficiency, thus contributing high-quality growth. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, this has not occurred. In all transition economies, before any growth has occurred, there has been severe contraction

The regional economic assessments of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

¹¹⁹ The negative aspects of the influence that the state financial supervision institutions exert on the field of cultural production are discussed in sub-chapter 3.2.1.3.

¹²⁰ Direct funding of culture is tied to the central budget planning.

(UNECE) indicate that the country was experiencing a tremendous transition shock. The total fall in Latvia’s GDP from 1990 to 1993 was forty-nine per cent (OECD 2000; UNECE 2000), and people “suffered a dramatic loss of purchasing power during the initial transition years” (OECD 2000, 153). The drop in real total consumption expenditure from 1990 to 1993 amounted to fifty-four per cent, but the fall in real wages for the same period of time reached fifty-three per cent (FIGURE 3.18.).

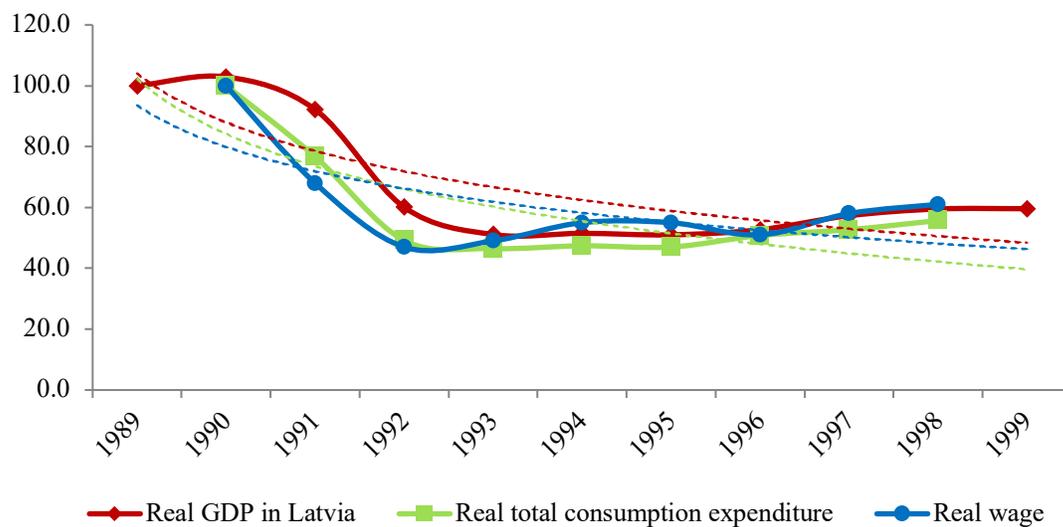


FIGURE 3.18. Real GDP, 1989-1999 (indices, 1989=100), real total consumption expenditure, 1990-1999 (indices, 1990=100), and real wages in Latvia (indices, 1990=100)

Sources: UNECE 2000; OECD 2000, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

In order to depict the prevailing trend of included data, I have used a logarithmic trend line (depicted as dashed line in the chart), which is most useful “best-fit curved line ... when the rate of change in the data increases or decreases quickly and then levels out” (Microsoft 2017).

In a very short time span – from 1990 to 1992 – price liberalisation, “combined with a lack of control of monetary aggregates” (OECD 2000, 33), caused hyperinflation,

and the consumer price index (CPI) increased up to nine hundred fifty-one per cent (FIGURE 3.19.). By the decree of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia (LR Augstākā Padome 1991b) the Monetary Reform Committee was established on 26 November 1991. The main task of the committee was to prepare and implement the monetary reform according to the set timetable (LR Augstākā Padome 1991b, article 3). The strict monetary policies, as well as the re-introduction¹²¹ of new currency, Latvian lat (LVL), enabled the country to bring the inflation down comparatively fast (OECD 2000).

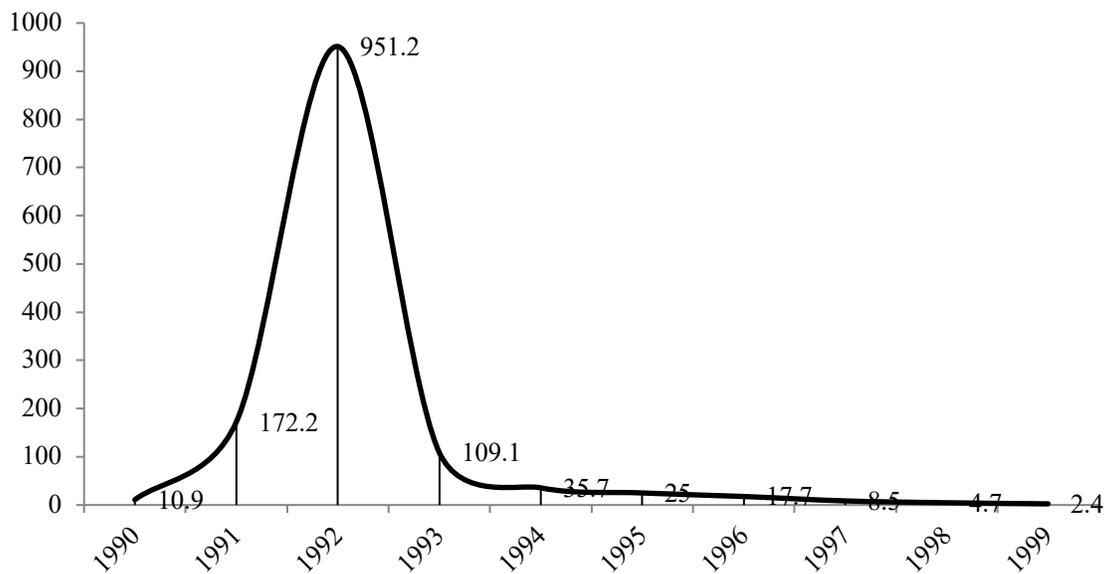


FIGURE 3.19. Consumer prices in Latvia, 1990-1999 (annual average, percentage change over preceding year)

Source: UNECE 2000, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

The recession chaos of the initial years of the economic transition stroke the country particularly hard, and slow stabilisation and recovery trend became apparent

¹²¹ Latvian lat (LVL) was introduced on 3 August 1992, and it was the national currency of the first independent Republic of Latvia. After the Soviet occupation on 17 June 1940, the Bank of Latvia was dissolved and the local branch of the Central Bank of the Soviet Union (Gosbank) replaced the major financial institution of Latvia. Consequently, the Soviet rouble was introduced on 25 November 1940.

starting from the end of the 1993 (FIGURE 3.19.). Consequently, the severe contraction of economy had a great impact on the field of cultural production. Although country's economy exhibited a decreasing inflation trend after 1993, the “macroeconomic stabilisation measures [had] not been sufficiently co-ordinated with economic reforms in order to decrease or “cushion” the social consequences of the transition period” (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 49). The field of culture experienced the consequences fully and the allocation trend of culture from the state budget demonstrates that particularly well (FIGURES 3.20. and 3.21.). Although the total appropriations (in current prices) for the Ministry of Culture from 1992 to 2000 indicate an increasing trend (FIGURE 3.21.), the funding tendency in real prices reveals a significant decrease after the application of CPI (FIGURE 3.20.). It is possible to talk about steady economic growth in general and funding increase for the culture in particular only after 1998 (FIGURES 3.18., 3.19., 3.20., and 3.22.).

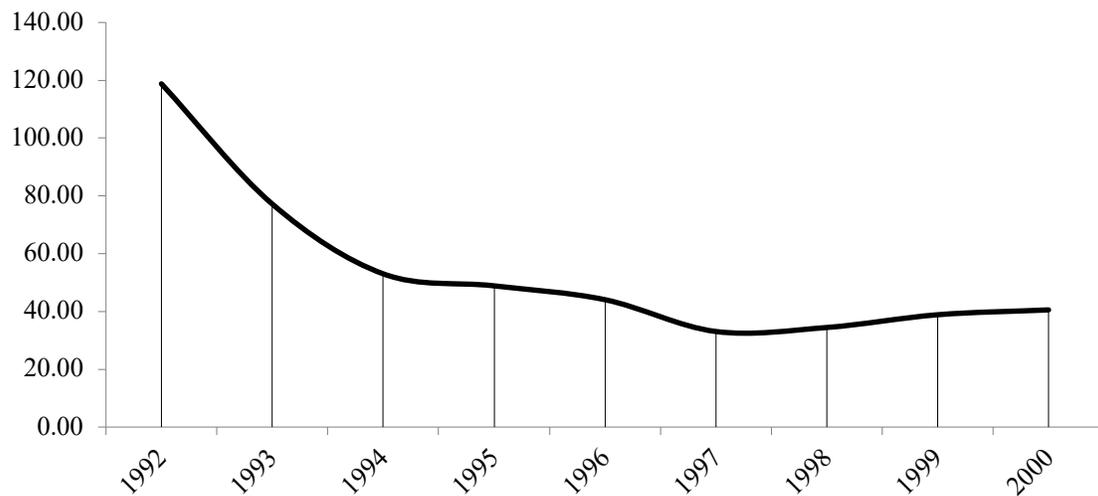


FIGURE 3.20. Budget of the Ministry of Culture, including the allocation for the SCCF (million LVL in real prices, CPI 2011=100)

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000; OECD 2017, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

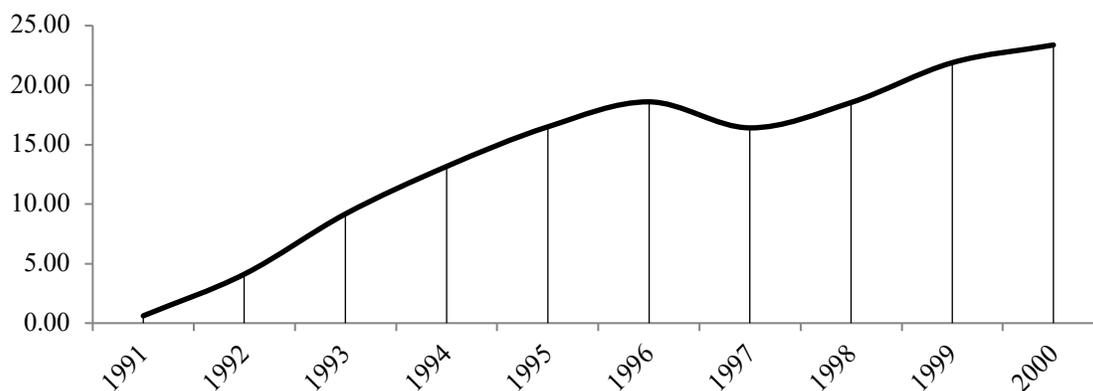


FIGURE 3.21. Budget of the Ministry of Culture, including the allocation for the SCCF (million LVL in current prices)

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

A similar trend (FIGURE 3.22.) can be observed when analysing the specific allocation for the budget programme *Culture*¹²² (calculated both in current and real prices), which was important in relation to CPC grants and funding for the visual arts projects that were realised outside the dominant institutional framework of the state (discussed in sub-chapter 3.2.1.3). Even though the allocation in real prices for the particular programme did not experience a sharp drop, the subsidy level remained constantly stagnant and limited.

¹²² The budget programme *Culture* indicates only one part the total budget of the Ministry of Culture from 1991 to 2000. Other budget programmes are indicated in Appendix 1, Table 1.2..

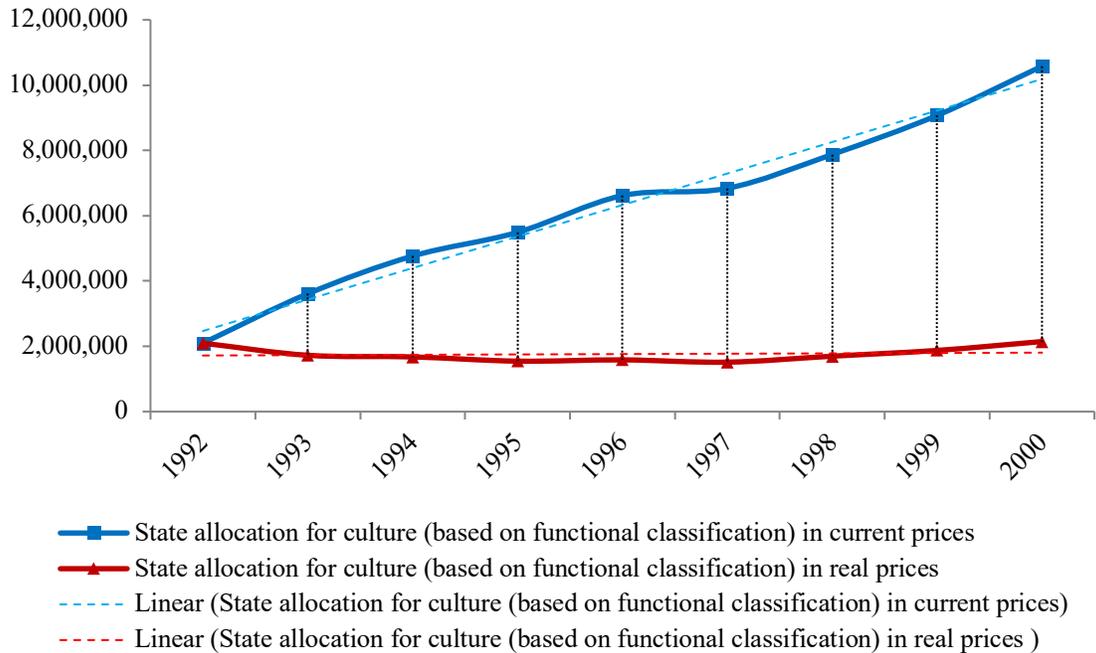


FIGURE 3.22. Comparison of the state allocation for the budget programme *Culture* (based on functional classification) in current and real prices (1992=100), LVL.

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The *National Report of the Cultural Policy Review Programme* (LR Ministry of Culture 1998) highlights that the above characterised transition introduced certain changes within the inherited field of cultural production: “[a]s state and municipal subsidies dramatically decreased, high prices and restitution of property led to the closure of many state managed cultural objects – libraries, cultural centres, etc.” (Ministry of Culture 1998, p. 37). Novotny (1995, 218) describes the situation as “[t]he march through the valley of death.” As the state subsidies declined significantly in a very short time span, the culture sector faced a serious crisis. Toepler (2010, 8) argues, “[b]ecause of the tremendous political, economic, and social challenges of the transition, a widespread privatisation of cultural assets, if not a complete abandonment of culture by the state, was the logical if

undesired outcome of the revolution after the immediate post-1989 euphoria had subsided.” Privatisation was an important economic factor of the transition, however, its application to the field of cultural production requires more focussed country-to-country approach. As the statistical comparison of data below indicates (FIGURES 3.23., 3.24, and 3.25.), it is obvious that during the 1990s the dominant or state-run field of cultural production experienced a considerable institutional inability to reproduce, hence decline. This deinstitutionalisation trend, however, did not occur equally across all areas of the field under examination.

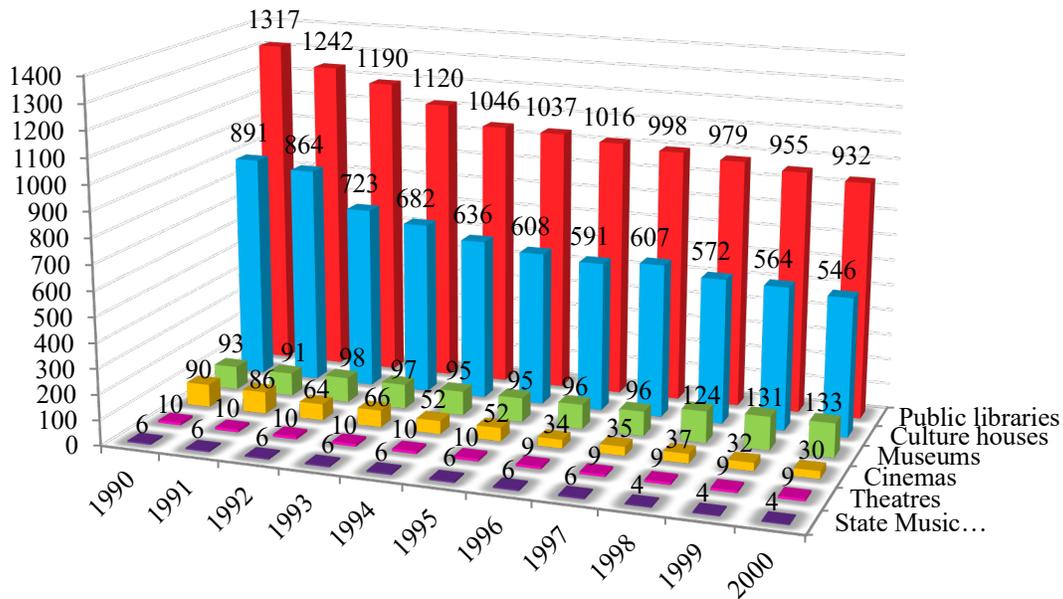


FIGURE 3.23. Development trends of the state culture infrastructure (libraries, culture houses, museums, cinemas, theatres, state music organisations) in Latvia from 1990 to 2000

Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (CSBL) 2017, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

FIGURE 3.23. indicates that the public libraries, culture houses, and cinemas experienced a particularly sharp decline, however, the number of the museums, theatres, and state

music organisations remained almost intact. Indeed, in the case of museums, due to the reorganisation of regional branches, the total number increased. Declining consumption expenditure and decreasing wages (FIGURE 3.18.) correlate with the consistently plummeting attendance rates that were present until 1998 (FIGURE 3.24). Except for the museums, the production output dynamic in theatres, music organisations, and cinemas faced a dramatic fall during the first half of the 1990s (FIGURE 3.25).

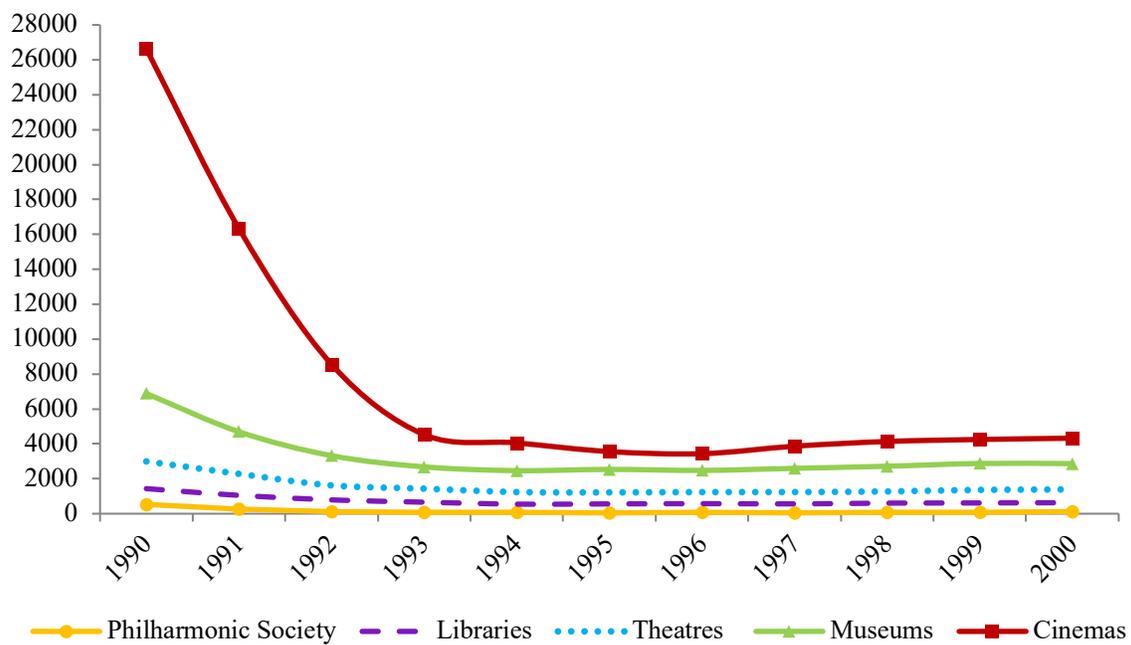


FIGURE 3.24. Attendance dynamic of state culture organisations (Philharmonic Society, libraries, theatres, museums, cinemas) in Latvia from 1990 to 2000

Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (CSBL) 2017, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

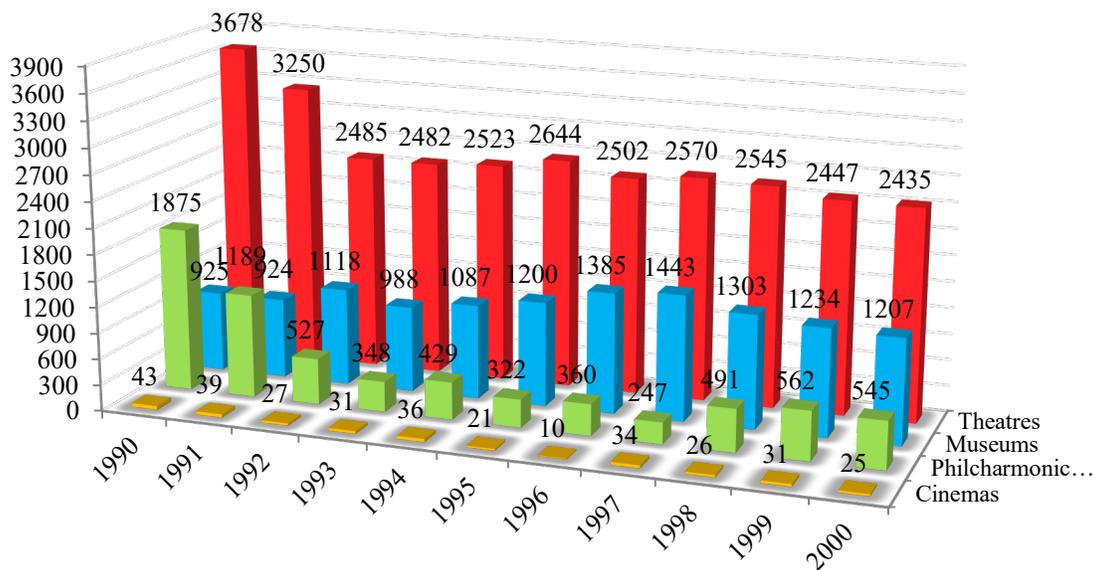


FIGURE 3.25. Production output dynamic (performances, exhibitions, concerts, films) in state theatres, museums, music organisations, cinemas in Latvia from 1990 to 2000

Source: Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia (CSBL) 2017, graph prepared by Demir 2019.

The sharp economic downturn, privatisation, and property restitution to the previous owners were the principal reasons of institutional decline within the state-dominated field of cultural production. The privatisation process in Latvia took place, following two timelines. The small-scale privatisation started in 1991 and continued until 1993, but the “comprehensive privatisation of medium and large-scale enterprises” (OECD 2000, 31) started only in 1994 after the ratification of the corresponding law (LR Saeima 1994b). Both privatisation programmes affected the state field of cultural production, however, in regard to specific areas, mainly publishing, film, and audio-visual industries were privatised. As previously illustrated, the grand majority of the professional state performing arts organisations (theatres, opera house, philharmonic society) and

museums did not experience a significant institutional decline. The state did not abandon its responsibility for culture in Latvia. On the contrary – with decreasing available financial resources “the Ministry of Culture and local authorities ... tried to keep as much of the cultural infrastructure intact as possible” (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 197). The legal framework was established by two laws, the *Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments* (LR Augstākā padome 1992a) and the *Law on State Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Establishments of Significant Value and National Sport Centres* (LR Saeima 1995b), which comprised the comprehensive list of the four categories of state organisations and defined the rules of operation in accordance with the *Land Reform Law in the Cities of the Republic of Latvia* (LR Augstākā Padome 1991c). Although privatisation was an important factor in deinstitutionalisation trend that took place within the dominant and state-run field of culture, most of the professional cultural sector still remained under the auspices of the ministry (LR Saeima 1995b, Article 4)¹²³ and continued to exert their dominance within the field of cultural production. In this regard, more acute were the questions of systemic change, i.e., administrative and fiscal decentralisation, as well as the development and implementation of a new legal framework, governing the large and inefficient institutional system.

3.2.1.3 Culture Project Contest of the Ministry of Culture

The *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* boldly state that the decentralisation of cultural administration and funding system is an integral part of a

¹²³ Fifty-one organisations were listed under the cultural establishments of significant value at the time of the ratification of the law.

democratic society (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d). As demonstrated in the previous sections of this thesis, however, the *status quo* or preservation tendency prevailed, and a systemic change was not implemented in order to make the administrative and fiscal decentralisation efforts a reality. The inherited and overweight apparatus of established state culture institutions, orbiting around the principal actor – the ministry, dominated the field of cultural production and distribution. Most of the government subsidies were swallowed in order to sustain the massive infrastructure and did not reach innovative and experimental projects of neither non-governmental organisations nor individual artists, consequently, preventing a healthy development of creativity. In visual arts, the established state art museum system (e.g., the LAMA) prioritised the preservation efforts of the heritage until 2000. The *National Report* (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 123-124) acknowledged, “[t]he present financial situation is an obstacle to striking a balance between support for creative processes and support for preservation of cultural heritage. This balance, which is a precondition for a successful development of the cultural process, is often violated by sporadic and inconsistent financing.”

In this connection, the examination of the state budget of culture and the major programmes that it comprises, based on functional classification, is necessary. The first cultural policy guidelines determined that the state guarantees support for culture from the annual budget appropriations, intending that the annual total allocation for cultural sector should be set at five per cent from the total annual government spending and should not decrease below two and five tenths (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d, 15). In reality the average total allocation from 1992 to 1998 comprised two and one tenth from the total

annual budget appropriations (LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c).

Between 1992 and 2000 the principal line items of ministry’s budget consisted of following programmes: culture, special budget, cultural education, cinema, scientific research, investments, and administrative expenses, respectively (FIGURES 3.26. and 3.27.). The budget programmes *Culture* and *Cultural Education* indicate the proportion of the total budget that was allocated for the existing cultural infrastructure at the time.

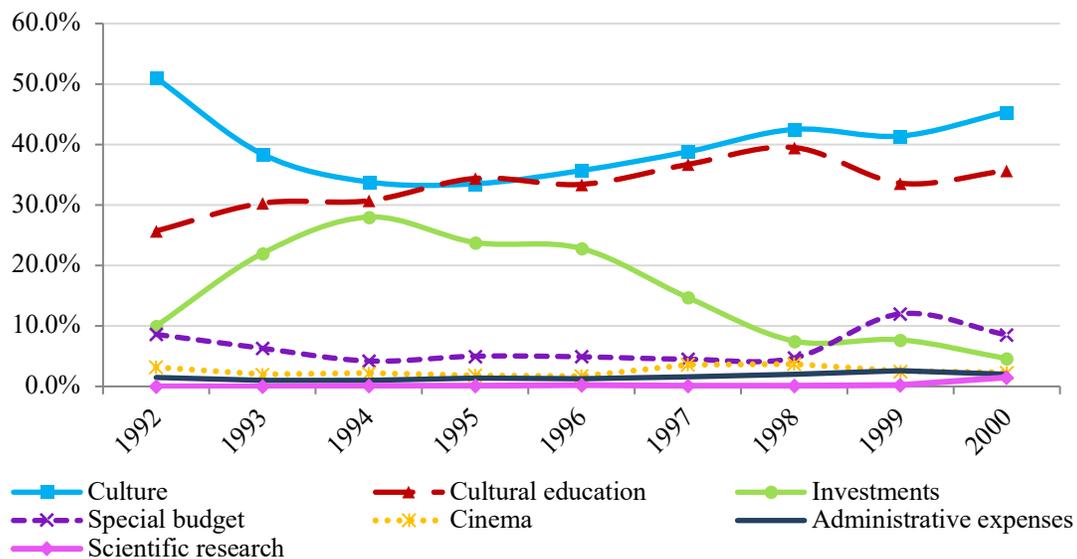


FIGURE 3.26. Functional classification breakdown of the state budget for culture from 1992 to 2000 (based on a year in percentages)¹²⁴

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

¹²⁴ A table (Appendix 1.2.), representing allocations in current prices (LVL), is included in Appendix 1.

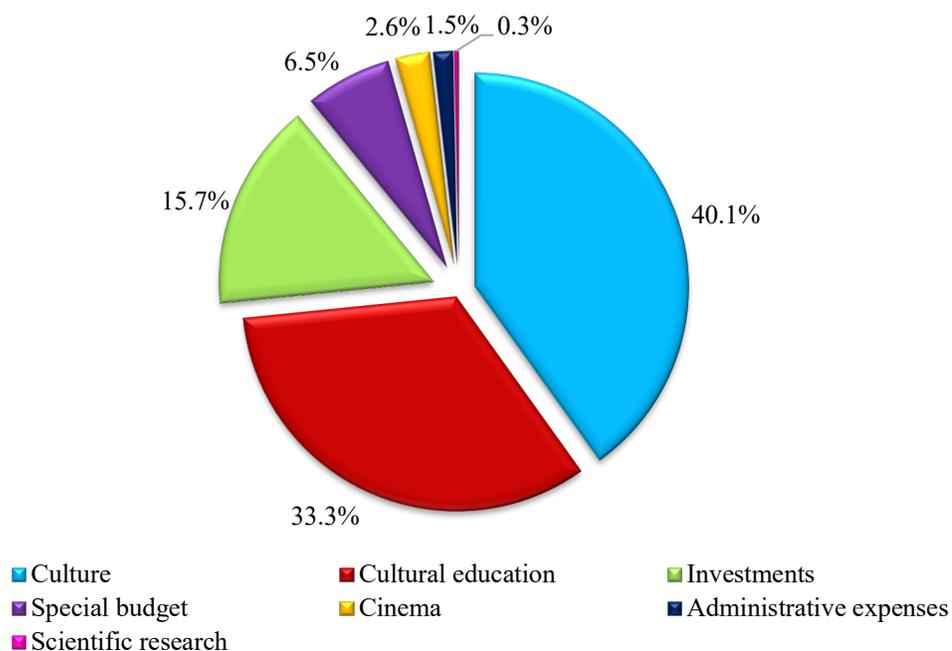


FIGURE 3.27. Breakdown of the state budget of culture from 1992 to 2000 based on functional classification (average in percentages)¹²⁵

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

Of particular importance is the budget programme *Culture*, which comprises the state allocations for the visual arts. The budget programme *Culture* subsequently is divided into twelve sub-programmes that are depicted in FIGURE 3.28.. Twenty per cent of the total allocation for the museums was assigned as a regular subsidy to the LAMA (discussed in sub-chapter 3.2.1.1). The allocations for visual arts were comprised within the programmes of *Other Art Events* and *Topical Cultural Events*, together amounting to eight per cent; however, from the available budgets of the ministry, is it not exactly clear what were the amounts assigned to visual arts projects from the above-mentioned sub-programmes. The calculations of the Ministry of Culture (1998) suggest that around

¹²⁵ A table (Appendix 1.2.), representing allocations in current amounts (LVL), is included in Appendix I.

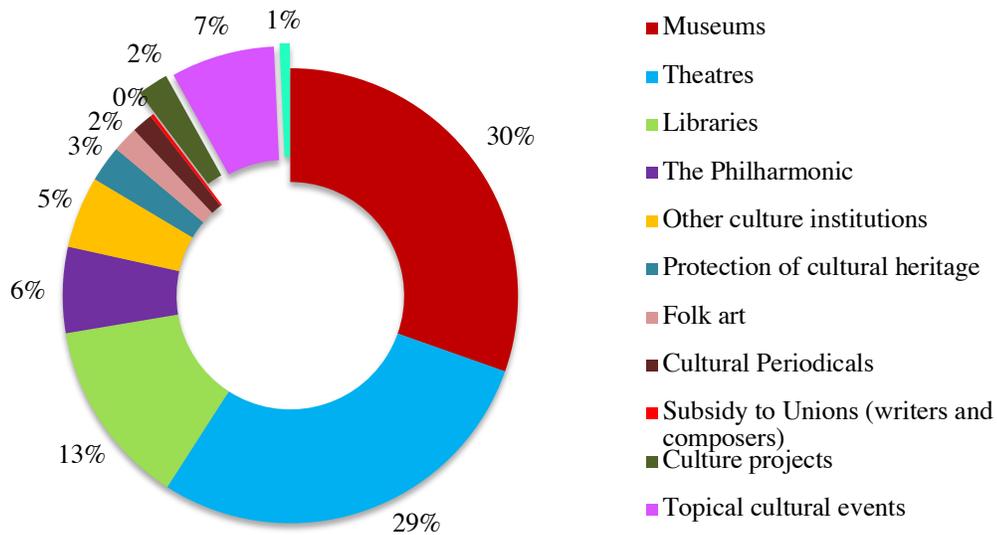


FIGURE 3.28. Breakdown of the budget programme *Culture* allocations (based on functional classification) from the total budget of the LR Ministry of Culture from 1994 to 1999 (average in percentages)¹²⁶

Sources: LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

12,000 to 15,000 LVL had been allotted to support visual arts, however, there is no mentioning what proportion of this amount would go to the contemporary arts projects. The suggested amount equals to scanty one tenth of the total budget of the ministry (FIGURE 3.29). The existing division of the ministry’s budget into specific programmes and sub-programmes reveals that during the 1990s for the visual art projects there was no clearly defined allotment, except for the subsidy of the LAMA. It is obvious, however, that the allocated amounts for this particular area of cultural production, not to mention the contemporary visual arts expressions, were limited and irregular (detailed annual allocation amounts of each sub-programme are included in Appendix 1).

¹²⁶ A table (Appendix 1.5.), representing allocations in current prices (LVL), is included in Appendix I.

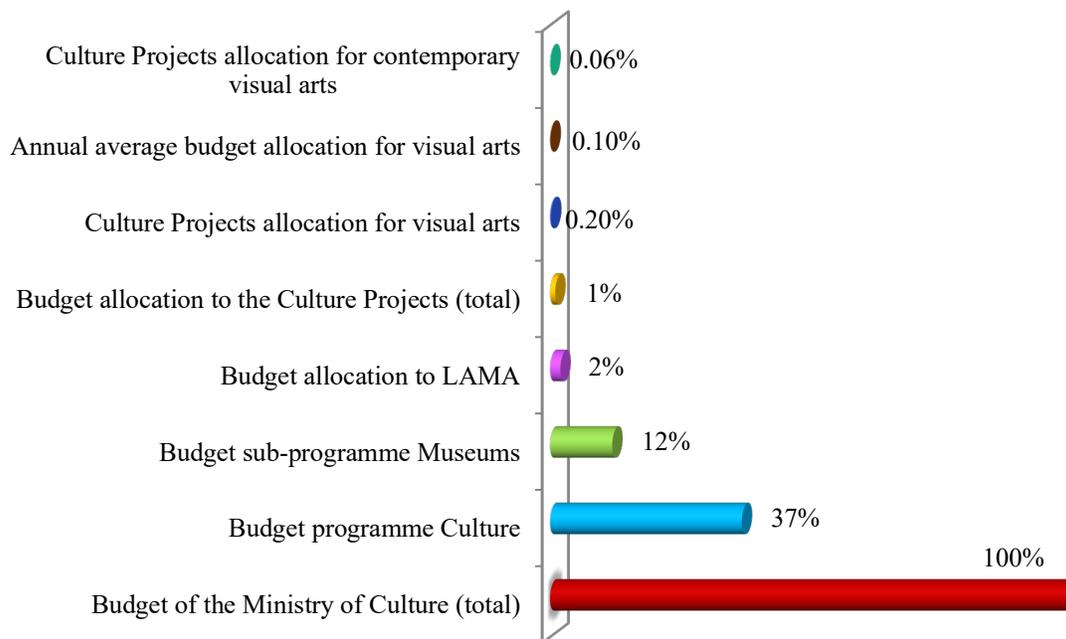


FIGURE 3.29. Comparison of the Ministry of Culture budget allocations to different budget programmes and sub-programmes from 1993 to 1997 (average in percentages)

Sources: LR Augstākā padome 1993b; LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b, 1994, 1995b, 1996c, 1997a, 2001b; LR Kultūras ministrijas Muzeju Valsts pārvaldes statistika 1998; LR Saeima 1994, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, graph prepared and calculations made by Dace Demir 2019.

Notes: Total budget amount of the Ministry of Culture is applied as a base (=100%).¹²⁷

Significant in relation to the budget programme *Culture* is the allocation to the Culture Project Contest (CPC), which was established in 1992 and, on average, comprised two per cent of the total budget subsidy for the programme *Culture* (FIGURE 3.28.) and one per cent of the total ministry's budget (FIGURE 3.29.). The CPC was created in 1992 by the regulation of the Ministry of Culture and the Prime Minister (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a) in attempt to mitigate the pressing concern of the prevalent institutional funding that considerably undermined the development of the third sector. The application regulations were very vague, however, encouraging projects related to the cultural

¹²⁷ A table (Appendix 1.6.), representing allocations in current prices (LVL), is included in Appendix 1.

heritage protection, the development of cultural environment, the strengthening of Latvian cultural identity, the advancement of wide spectrum of cultural activities, and the promotion of intercultural exchange internationally and domestically (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a). The CPC projects were evaluated by the expert committee, which was proposed to the Minister of Culture and the Prime Minister by the Culture Council of the Creative Unions. Eleven prospective experts were approved by the two authorities to undertake the responsibilities in the CPC committee¹²⁸ for two consecutive years. The budget was defined as an annual state budget subsidy within the budget programme *Culture* (FIGURE 3.28.).

The functioning of the CPC can be interpreted in terms of “a transition solution” (1996a), which by no means was a real answer to the acute institutional funding prevalence in the field of cultural production. The experts of the committee repeatedly indicated that the CPC initiative needed to be further developed into a proper culture support mechanism in a form of an arm’s lengths agency (Mackova 1992a; Rubenis 1994; LR Kultūras ministrija 1996a,b; Zvaigzne 1997a,b,c). Working within the confines of a very centralised administrative apparatus, the decision-making and funding capacity of the CPC was rather limited and its existence was financially and politically vulnerable. The subsidy amounts were minimal (FIGURE 3.30.) and regularity of the CPC allocation itself was constantly contested and compromised by the Cabinet of Ministers and the

¹²⁸ Expert Committees of Culture Projects of the Ministry of Culture: 1992 and 1994 (no funding was allocated to the Culture Projects in 1993 and the competition did not take place): Guntars Godiņš, Gunārs Janaitis, Juris Karlsons, Vilnis Kazāks, Ābrams Kļockins, Sandra Krastiņa, Jānis Lejnieks, Pauls Putniņš, Juris Rubenis, Augusts Sukuts, Andris Vilks (Muižniece 1994); 1995-1996: Andris Vilks, Verēna Bērziņa, Gunārs Janaitis, Artūrs Maskats, Egils Rozenbergs, Augusts Sukuts, Guntars Godiņš, Vilnis Kazāks, Gunārs Priede, Juris Rubenis, Edvīns Vecumnieks (LR Kultūras Ministrija 1996a, 16); 1997: Andris Vilks, Verēna Bērziņa, Gunārs Janaitis, Artūrs Maskats, Egils Rozenbergs, Augusts Sukuts, Pēteris Pētersons, Knuts Skujenieks, Vilnis Kazāks, Juris Rubenis, Edvīns Vecumnieks (Zvaigzne 1997b, 9-10).

Saeima (Mackova 1992a; LR Kultūras ministrija 1996b). In 1992,¹²⁹ the CPC was announced very late due to the prolonged annual budget appropriations debates. Consequently, there was only one month for the participants to apply for the grants (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a; Mackova 1992a, 1992b). In 1993, the CPC was not announced at all because of a lack of available resources (Muižniece 1994). In 1995, the previously ratified budget of the CPC was significantly reduced due to the alterations that were made in the annual state budget (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996b).

Although CPC operated with very restricted financial means and in constantly volatile political environment, conceptually it functioned as a precursor to the State Culture Capital Foundation, which was established in 1998. Juris Rubenis (1994), one of the experts of the CPC, emphasised that the project initiative exerted a corrective function in relation to the regular institutional subsidies of the annual budget of the ministry. Important was the fact that the nominations of the awards were vetted not by bureaucrats, but by professionals who represented different cultural spheres. During the five years of existence, the CPC proved its viability in partially providing essential support for development of culture and creative art processes. It was the only democratic tool of distribution of the state allocations for culture at the time.

Concerning the development of contemporary visual arts projects and infrastructure, the overall impact of the CPC was insignificant, however. It is mostly related to the very limited resources that the expert committee could annually operate

¹²⁹ In 1992, 10,000,000 Latvian Roubles (LVR) were allocated to the Culture Project Contest. Following the Decree of the Monetary Reform Committee of the Republic of Latvia No. 5, which was announced on 12 February 1993, Latvian historic currency, the Latvian lat (LVL), was re-introduced. The first series of five lat paper banknotes were launched on 5 March 1993. According to the decree (LR Monetary Reform Committee 1993), the currency exchange rate was set as: 1 LVL = 200 LVR. For consistency and comparative purposes, I have calculated the allocated amount of 1992 allocation into LVL.

with. FIGURES 3.29., 3.30., and 3.31. demonstrate the very sharp discrepancy between the total amounts that were requested and the amounts that were actually allocated within the framework of the CPC. It also indicates that, within the total budget of the ministry, the project initiative was represented by a proportionally very small fraction of funds.

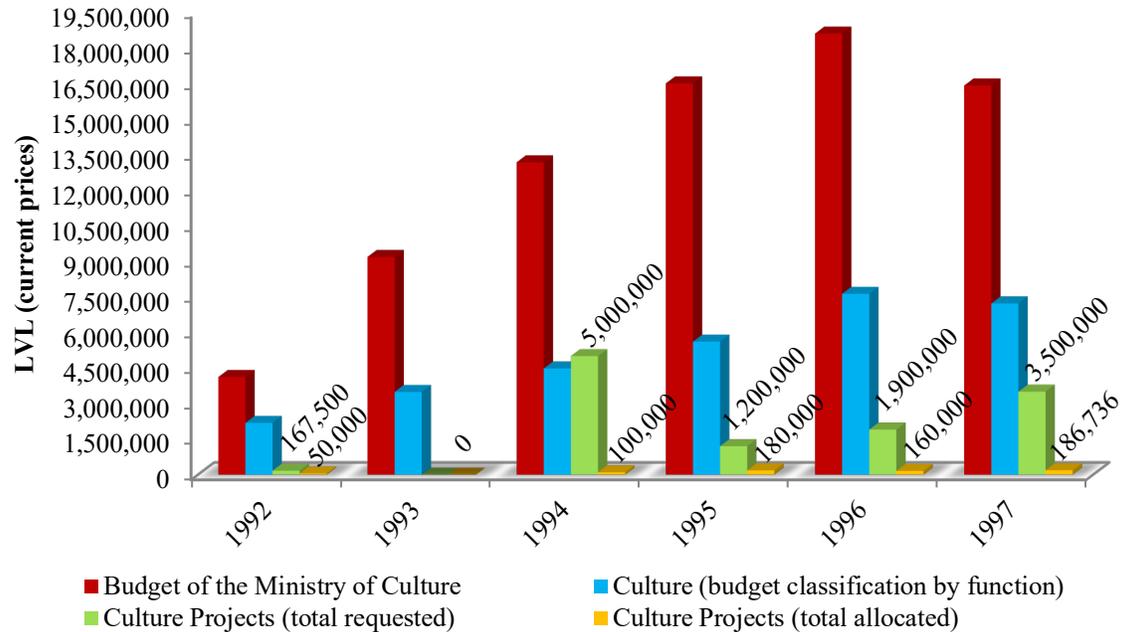


FIGURE 3.30. Comparison of institutional and creative development funding from the budget of the Ministry of Culture from 1992 to 1997

Sources: LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b, 1994, 1995a,b, 1996c, 1997a; LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

When statistically comparing the allocations for the visual arts in general and contemporary visual arts in particular, it is obvious that the funding mostly reached traditional expressions of art. The award reports indicate that there were only one or two contemporary art initiatives supported annually (FIGURES 3.31. and 3.32.).

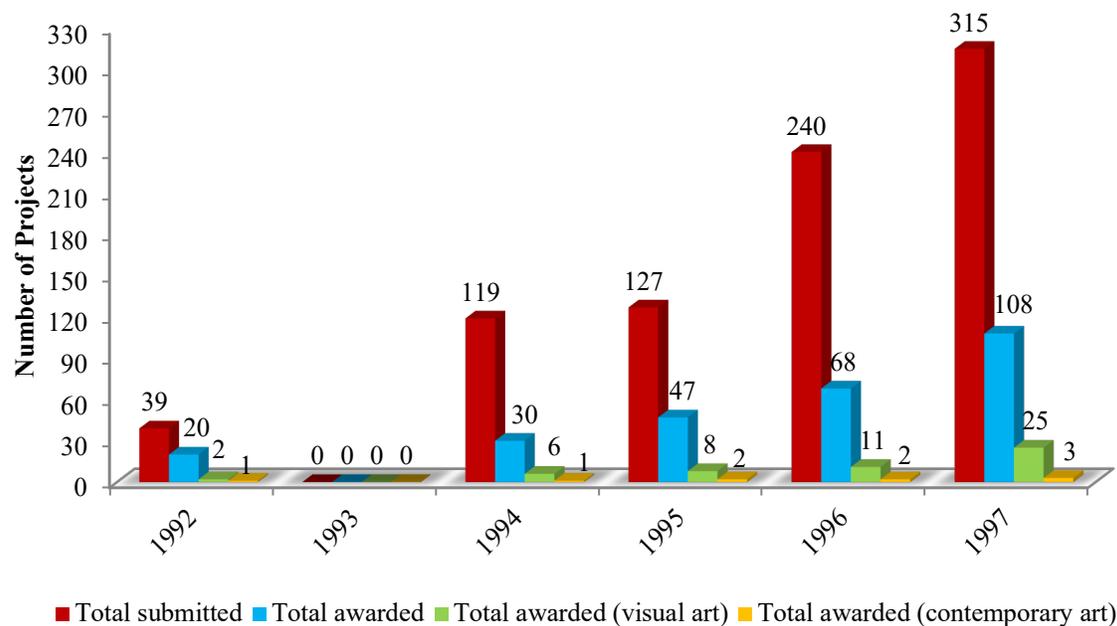


FIGURE 3.31. Statistical dynamics of Culture Project Contest submissions and allocations

Sources: LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b; LR Kultūras ministrija 1994; LR Kultūras ministrija 1995b; LR Kultūras ministrija 1996c; LR Kultūras ministrija 1997a, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

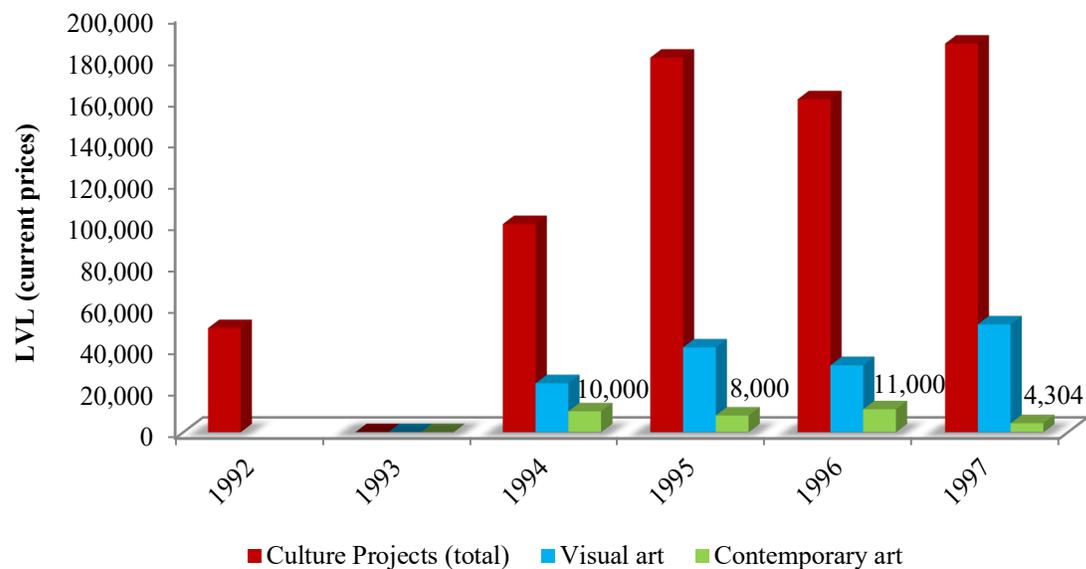


FIGURE 3.32. Culture Project Contest¹³⁰ allocation amounts to the field of visual arts and to the subfield of contemporary arts (comparative statistics)

Sources: LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b; Mackova 1992a; LR Kultūras ministrija 1994; LR Kultūras ministrija 1995b; LR Kultūras ministrija 1996c; LR Kultūras ministrija 1997a, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

When analysing the application trends and the final awarded projects, it is obvious that among the contestants were not only representatives from the independent sector with their creative projects, but also state institutions, often representing projects of national scope, which should be supported through different means. The six-year-long existence of the CPC revealed that the prevailing funding model of culture in Latvia lacked clear principles. Absent was a transparent and precisely defined distribution mechanism of financial resources between state budget subsidies, grants, investments, and projects. Also, there was no clear policy, determining support for culture between the state, the municipalities, and the non-governmental sector. Disproportional were the funding allotments for cultural heritage and innovative and creative processes. As a consequence, building maintenance projects and creative artistic projects competed against each other within the same funding category that was facilitated by the professional expert committee of the CPC. In relation to innovative and experimental initiatives, the role of the CPC can be characterised as insignificant and marginal – the provided funding was relatively regular, but absolutely inadequate in order to facilitate a “healthy” development of the independent sector and the new expressions in art.

¹³⁰ The report of 1992 shows the total amount allocated but it does not specify amount details to each particular project.

3.3 THE QUALITATIVE BREAK: DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PROFIT SECTOR AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY VISUAL ARTS FIELD

As discussed in the previous sections of this thesis, during the 1990s, the dominant or principally state-governed and financed field of cultural production experienced a trend of institutional decline due to the contracting economy, privatisation, and restitution processes. In parallel to this decline, however, another – growing – trend was apparent, indicating a dual dynamic of decrease and increase in infrastructure. Data show that after 1991, alongside state institution network, there was a constant increase in development of non-governmental organisations (FIGURES 3.1. and 3.2) (Lursoft 2017). The initiatives of the independent sector started to fill the gaps of the post-command cultural landscape (Briede 2006; Krese 2006a; Traumane 2006; Tjarve 2013; Mazika 2014; Vērpe 2014), offering cultural projects in fields, which were not developed during the Soviet period and were not included in the programming of cultural institutions that represented the official establishment of the 1990s. The new initiatives – projects and non-governmental organisations – focussing particularly on the contemporary visual arts, hence did not develop from the established institutional framework, but developed outside the direct field of power that was centred around the major incumbent – the Ministry of Culture. Lacking systemic support and professional recognition from the established actors of the state field of cultural production and distribution, the new initiatives (both individual and organisational) displayed a tendency of autonomous development under the roof of a major non-state actor. Toepler (2000) argues that conventional characterisation of institutional change in post-command fields of cultural production is attributed to two

major factors – privatisation and decentralisation. Tjarve (2013) in this relation asserts that that the dominant actor of change for institutional transformations in Latvia was state. This claim is partially valid when applied to the very first decade after the disintegration of the Soviet Union because it disregards “the emerging role of the non-profit sector in the arts and culture ... as an institutional alternative to either the state or the market” (Toepler 2000, 9). When analysing the emergence of the contemporary visual arts field, this observation is absolutely essential because during the first phase, i.e., autonomisation and innovation, the independent sector was the driving force of the development of the field.

Boorsma (1997, 9) argues that “ownership of cultural organisations is less crucial in this field than the issue of funding: cultural organisations are largely dependent on government subsidies, and their withdrawal can and does in many cases lead to such organisations being closed down entirely.” In the case of Latvia, this observation would be more applicable when analysing the development of the field during the second phase after the arm’s lengths agency, the State Culture Capital Foundation, was established in 1998; however, during the 1990s, public provision for contemporary visual arts non-governmental organisations from the public purse was very close to nil. The field’s existence predominantly depended on international and local foundations, as well as organisations’ own incomes. Important in this relation is Hall’s (1987, 3) argument that non-governmental “organisations exist under a particular combination of ideological, political social, and economic conditions that are, in turn, the products of a unique set of historical experiences.” As previously analysed, the institutional reality of the 1990s was very polarised between the state cantered and subsidised organisations that represented

the preservation and cultural heritage spectrum on the axis of cultural processes and the independent sector, which, almost exclusively, secured the creativity and innovation spectrum of cultural processes, very much undertaking the role of failing public cultural sector. Anheier and Seibel (1998, 183) argue that “some of the factors in the complex institutional chemistry of the non-profit sector reflect deep historical continuities,” and, during the transition era of the 1990s, the important factor was the persistence of the institutional funding, for which the non-governmental organisations did not qualify. Consequently, the independent sector suffered from serious financial shortages, and “newly founded non-profit organisations remained relatively small and resource-poor.”

Government behaviour in regard to contemporary visual arts was an important factor, indicating to “the existence of certain constraints” (Weisbrod 1974, 172) that Weisbrod describes as “government market failure.” The author goes on to argue that “development of a voluntary sector will then be posited as an adjustment to the restricted capabilities” of the state. According to Weisbrod’s (1974, 1977) public goods theory the third sector performs a gap-filling role in relation to the public sector. The non-governmental organisations fulfil a particular demand that previously was not provided by the state. Rooting his argument in Weisbrod’s (1974, 1977) public goods theory, Hansmann (1987, 29) states that “governmental programs tend to provide public goods only at the level that satisfies the median voter; consequently, there will be some residual unsatisfied demand for public goods among those individuals whose taste for such goods is greater than the median. Non-profit organisations arise to meet this residual demand” The survey that was conducted by the author in 2006, *Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Visual Arts Organisations in Latvia from 1992 to 2006* (Demir 2006),

indicate that the most occurrent tendencies in the development of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia supported the “gap-filling” and “government failure to provide” arguments. Seventy per cent of the respondents expressed their opinion, stating that the independent sector (representing contemporary visual arts) in Latvia performed a compensatory function, attempting to counterweight the lack of specific infrastructure and the existing institutional logic that was dominated by the government.

Hall (1987, 3) defines the non-profit organisation as “a body of individuals who associate for any of three purposes: (1) to perform public tasks that have been delegated to them by state; (2) to perform public tasks for which there is a demand that neither state nor for-profit organisations are willing to fulfil; or (3) to influence the direction of policy in the state, the for-profit sector, or other non-profit organisations.” During the early and to the mid-1990s, due to a rapid social change and advancement of new communication technologies, different kinds of youth subculture groups started to develop, i.e., independent, small scale artist initiatives and organisations, alternative and new media culture structures. This new institutional development fulfilled the second of the three proposed purposes of the NGOs in Latvia at the time. These organisations, like E-LAB (renamed as RIXC in 2000), Culture and Arts Project NOASS, Open, Open-Air Art Museum Pedvāle, were often very active and visible internationally and they played an important role within the local communities, however, they were unrecognised, both symbolically and economically, and were “invisible” within the official institutional setting of culture until the late 1990s. Although there was no systematic and guaranteed state support for the third sector, inspired by “universal idealism and maximalism” (Auziņa 2010, 311), a small group of these initiatives acquired their legal non-

governmental organisation status during this time. Such organisations as E-LAB, Open, Locomotive International, NOASS, Pedvāle Open-Air Art Museum and others shaped a significant, “creatively and culture-politically active local collaboration network of independent art and culture organisations that also actively participated in the international cultural political processes of media art (for instance, ECB or European Cultural Backbone, NICE – Network Interface for Cultural Exchange and others)” (Auziņa 2010, 311).

The SNA, which is an integral part of this thesis, provides a quantitative support of the development tendency described above (FIGURE 2.33.). It indicates the existence of a polarised organisational reality where new institutional templates and routines developed in parallel with the pre-existing institutional logic and definitional apparatus. The degree centrality indicators¹³¹ of the Ministry and the state culture organisations that dominated the inherited field of cultural domain remain very low within the emerging field that is represented in FIGURE 3.33., demonstrating that their networking or relational impact (either regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive), was limited, and the emergence and structuration process of the new field occurred rather autonomously from the existing field of cultural production. Although here, as Bourdieu ([1992] 1996, 1983) and Fligstein and McAdam (2012) remind, the concept of autonomy in relation to the field development is rather relative: “whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political

¹³¹ Centrality represents one of the most essential measurements in a network analysis – it helps to establish the position of the node (actor) and to identify the most important or central actors in the network. The degree centrality or simply the degree of a node denotes the number of incoming and outgoing connections (edges) of a specific actor (node), indicating its high or low level of connectivity to other actors (nodes) in the network. More detailed features of the degree centrality measure are discussed in sub-chapter 2.1.2.3..

[power]” (Bourdieu 1983, 320). In this connection, another actor, which, contrary to the Ministry of Culture, acquires a very high centrality degree within the SNA visualization (FIGURE 3.33), should be moved to the fore – the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga (SCCA-Riga). Anheier and Seibel suggest (1998) that non-profit organisations perform two functions: aggregate interest and provide services. In the early nineties, the establishment of the SCCA-Riga fulfilled both functions – addressed the under-satisfied demand and aggregated interest, hence demonstrating that “constraints of government action result in formation of other institutional mechanisms for providing collective goods” (Weisbrod 1977, 171). The Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga was the central actor undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of Latvian visual contemporary arts field during the 1990s. The operations of the centre marked the qualitative break and facilitated the formation of a new art historical narrative and a new framework of beliefs, meanings, values, rules, and norms. It is important to regard it as the central case in order to analyse the autonomisation and structuration processes of the new field.

The SNA visualisation that is illustrated in FIGURE 3.33., representing the major trends of the first phase of the field development, comprise a comprehensive examination of two hundred and seventy-one creative output micro-networks with a total involvement of one thousand, one hundred and seventy-three actors (TABLE 3.1.), but the SNA visualisation that is demonstrated in FIGURE 3.35. represents a separate network of SCCA-Riga, which includes a total of seventy creative output micro-networks with a total participation of three hundred and thirty-six actors (TABLE 3.1.). The archival research that was conducted at the National Archives of Latvia, at the exhibition documentation

archives of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Research Centre, and at Noass Video Art Archive and Video Art Data Base all were integral in preparing the data sets for the following SNA visualisations of phase I and the SCCA-Riga.

TABLE 3.1. Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics of phase I

Count of actors	Actor attribute	Percentage (field representation)
PHASE I: INNOVATION AND AUTONOMISATION (1991-1999) (n=1,173)		
271	Creative output	23%
86	Curators	8%
596	Artists	51%
27	Jury members	2%
14	Funders	1%
179	NGOs	15%
SCCA-RIGA (1993-1999) (n=386)		
70	Creative output	18%
23	Curators	6%
215	Artists	56%
8	Jury members	2%
10	Funders	3%
60	NGOs	15%

Source: Demir 2019.

FIGURE 3.33. represents nine distinct structural clusters within the phase I network. The clusters are determined by a specific community detection tool,¹³² which helps indicating “the division of the vertices [actors] of a network into groups, clusters, or communities [sub-networks] according to the pattern of edges [links or connections] in the network” (Newman 2010, 354). Newman (2010) has proposed a measure labelled

¹³² More in-depth analysis of specific community detection tools is included in methodology sub-chapter 2.1.2.3..

modularity in order to establish this type of “collective proximity” (Jacomy, Venturini, Heymann, Bastian 2014) within the network where a group of actors have more connections inside a certain sub-network than they have outside. According to Newman (2010, 224), “*modularity* [emphasis in original] is a measure of the extent to which like is connected to like in a network.” Heymann (2015, para. 2) argues that modularity measure estimates “how well a network decomposes into modular communities. A high modularity score indicates sophisticated internal structure.” After applying modularity measure to the graphs, each sub-community is depicted as a colour-coded area within the larger network, facilitating the analysis of the field structure of each phase. As indicated in the FIGURE 3.33., nine densely connected community clusters are detected by the modularity measure, defining the relational, as well as power structure of the network during the phase I. The label of each colour-coded cluster (included below the FIGURE 3.33.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. The most powerful actor of the network with the highest degree centrality, retaining significant economic, cultural, symbolic, and social capital, was the SCCA-Riga. During the phase I, it was closely interrelated with the other clusters of the network, which, considering the indices of institutional definition specified in TABLE 1.3., illustrates an increase in the level of interaction among organisations, an increase in the load of information on organisations, and the emergence of a structure of domination and a pattern of coalition in a field (DiMaggio 1983, 1991a; DiMaggio and Powel 1983). The nine distinct structural clusters that are illustrated in FIGURE 3.33. also clearly denote the development process of the very first non-governmental organisations, like French-Latvian Video-art Festival (1991), Pedvāle Open Air Museum (1991), Open (1995), E-LAB Electronic Arts and Media Centre (1996), and

Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997). All of these actors are represented with high degree centrality within the phase I network; they are closely inter-related, but in terms of their creative output micro-networks, denote separate clusters. During the 1990s, these formally non-governmental organisations developed into key incumbents, shaping the constitutive core of the emerging field and contributing to the advancement of the new art language. Such pivotal exhibitions and artistic performances as “Nature. Environment. Man” (1984), Art Days (1986-1988), and “Riga – Lettische Avantgarde” (1988) took place before the entrance of the SCCA-Riga, and they could not yet be characterised as representatives of routinised and regularly occurring art practices, however, the densely connected community clusters that they represent connoted the ideational maturity of the emerging field. The first conceptualist generation of artists that emerged on Latvian art scene by the mid-1980s was strongly represented in these pre-SCCA-Riga exhibitions, and, consequently, they all assumed high centrality (degree and eigenvector) within both – phase I and SCCA-Riga – relational networks. Epitomised as paradigm changing events, these exhibitions art historically were important sources of cultural (CCe, CCo, and CCi), symbolic, and social capital.

When compared with the centrality measures of other actors in the nine structural clusters, Culture Project Contest,¹³³ along with the Ministry of Culture and the state culture organisations that dominated the inherited field of cultural production during the 1990s, performed a rather insufficient role within the emerging field of the contemporary

¹³³ Culture Project Contest (CPC), established in 1992 by the Ministry of culture (LR Kultūras ministrija 1992a), was the only funding available for the creative projects and non-profit organisations working in the field of culture. For detailed analysis of this funding and the role it played in the development of the field of contemporary art, please refer to sub-chapter 3.2.1.3..

visual arts, indicating that their institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive, were limited at the time.

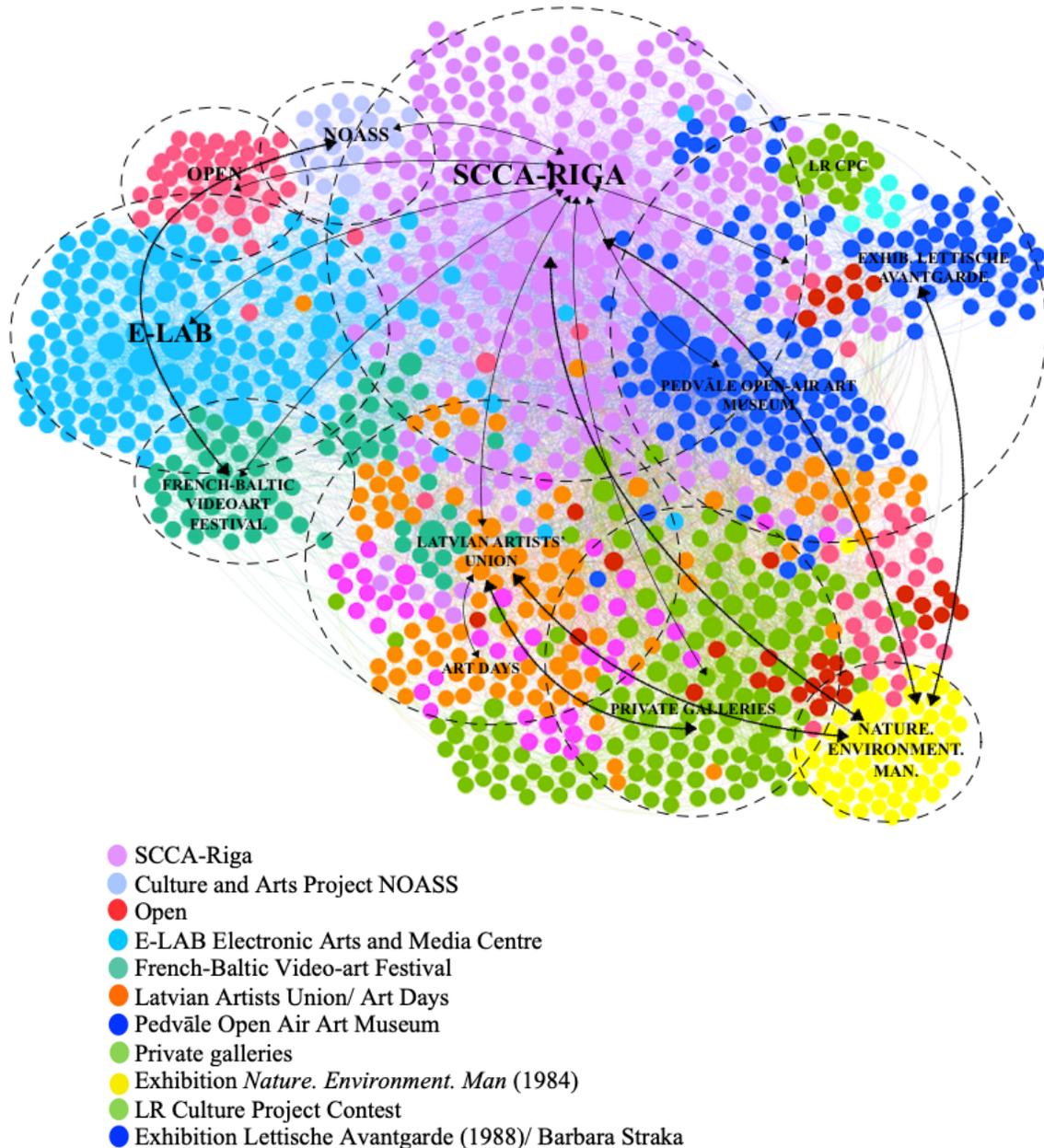


FIGURE 3.33. SNA visualisation of the contemporary visual arts field, phase I: 1991-1999

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total nodes: 1,173; total edges: 11,445; density 0.8%; 9 distinct structural clusters.

3.3.1 The Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga

...change in the space of ... artistic possibles is the result of change in the power relation which constitutes the space of positions. When a new ... artistic group makes its presence felt in the field of ... artistic production, the whole problem is transformed, since its coming into being, i.e., into difference, modifies and displaces the universe of possible options; the previously dominant productions may, for example, be pushed into the status of outmoded (*déclassé*) or classic works.

—Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production, or: the Economic World Reversed*, 1983

[I]t was the new reality of bipolar chaos of cultural infrastructures (with the “white cube” on one end of the spectrum and “punk” on the other) with Soros-financed contemporary art centres somewhere in the middle of this layout, which in the early 1990s yet again broke down and mixed up the reference points, boundaries and rules of the art environment in a number of former Eastern Bloc countries.

—Ieva Auziņa, *HTTP://RIXC.LV*, 2010

At the very beginning of the 1990s, Western countries, particularly the US and the EU, and private philanthropic organisations¹³⁴ mobilised their assistance to the CEEC in attempts to eliminate “the worst and most dangerous legacies of the previous regime” (Quandt 2002, 22). The philanthropic investment assistance of the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme, EBRD, Baltic-American Partnership Fund, the Soros Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Charles H. Mott Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Norwegian Financial Instrument, and European Union PHARE programme, to mention just a few more prominent investors, played a particularly important role in facilitating the development of the third sector in Latvia (discussed in sub-chapter 3.2.1.1), including the emergence

¹³⁴ On International Assistance Programs for CEECs, see Richard E. Quandt. 2002. *The Changing Landscape in Eastern Europe. A Personal Perspective on Philanthropy and Technology Transfer*. New York: Oxford University Press.

of new types of art institutions that “sustained and promoted “open” or “democratic” forms of artistic production, display, and distribution” (Esanu 2012, 8). Not all of them, however, exerted equally prominent influence in the emergence and development of the new contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. The philanthropic investment assistance of the Soros Foundation (SF) played a particularly important role in the CEEC. During the transition of the 1990s, no other foundation has had such a financial and institutional impact on the post-socialist countries as the complex network of organisations that was developed by the Soros Foundations (Müller 2005; Quandt 2002). It is estimated that the total expenditures of the Soros Foundations in the CEECs from 1994 to 1998 added up to 1,823,047,000 USD (Quandt 2002, 29). The budget of the national foundations typically included allocations to such programmes and activities as education, arts and culture, civil society, economic reform, public administration, health, law and criminal justice, information, and media (FIGURE 3.36.).

The Soros Foundation Latvia was inaugurated on 26 June 1992, and it quickly became one of the key catalysts of institutional change in the field of culture. The entrance of the foundation was more easily accepted and legitimised thanks to the highly volatile socio-political and economic climate in Latvia. Under the banner of democracy and open society the foundation succeeded in establishing “congruence between the social values associated with or implied by their [organisational] activities and the norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social system” of which it was becoming an integral part of (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975, 122). As Suchman (1995, 574) argues, “legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and

definitions.” It is therefore not surprising that the Soros Foundation was welcomed given the perceived overlap between its political and economic goals and visions for transition countries and the new norms, beliefs, values, and definitions faced by the society during the post-Soviet transition period. During the same year, i.e., 1992, a new initiative was launched, which retrospectively can be “credited with laying the *foundation* [emphasis added] of what is today presented as contemporary art in this region” (Esanu 2012, 9). The proposed undertaking envisioned a wide network development of contemporary art centres in the CEECs:

In the following twelve months the Soros Foundation will be establishing contemporary arts centers in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in those countries where an office of the Soros Foundation has already been established. The center will be affiliated with the Soros Foundation in each country, but will function as an independent center devoted to cultural activities. (SCCA-Riga Document Archive, 1992-1999b)

The very first Soros Center for Contemporary Arts was established in Budapest, Hungary in 1985, and it was presented as an operating model for the newly created organisations. The SF intended to open eleven centres by the beginning of 1993 and three more during the year¹³⁵ (SCCA-Riga Document Archive 1992-1999b). By 1999, the Foundation had managed to establish a complex network of twenty centres in eighteen CEE countries (including the Budapest office) (C3 2017).

The Soros Center for Contemporary Arts-Riga began operating in October 1992, but the official inauguration was celebrated on 23 March 1993. The allocated one-time implementation budget and three-month operating budget (remainder of 1992) consisted

¹³⁵ The listed cities included: Sofia, Bulgaria; Prague, Czech Republic; Bratislava, Slovak Republic; Tallinn, Estonia; Riga, Latvia; Vilnius, Lithuania; Warsaw, Poland; Bucharest, Romania; Moscow and St. Petersburg, Russia; Kiev, Ukraine; Tirana, Albania; Zagreb, Croatia; Ljubljana, Slovenia. The cities are presented in the exact order that they are laid out in the project proposal of the OSF (1992).

of thirty-five thousand and twenty-five thousand dollars (in current prices),¹³⁶ respectively. In order to interpret and map the institutional value of the SCCA-Riga in more accurate way during the transition period in Latvia, I shall revisit Esanu's (2012)

Intended establishment of office: 1st Oct, 1992

* Funds transferred to the Open Society Fund, Latvia from the Soros Foundations, New York in early October, 1992. These funds are to be made immediately available to the SCCA.

Implementation Budget	\$35,000
Operational Budget (remainder 1992)	\$25,000
<hr/>	
GRAND TOTAL	\$60,000

FIGURE 3.34. Planned implementation budget and operating budget of the Soros Center for Contemporary Arts–Riga, 1992 (all amounts are showed in current prices)

Source: SCCA-Riga Document Archive, 1992-1999a.

argument, which introduces rather homogenous understanding of the development of contemporary art in the CEECs. He has correctly pointed out that the network of the SCCA has been widely acknowledged as the founding institution of the contemporary art in the region, but he has not taken into account the two significant factors of the asynchronous historical development of *artistic practices* and the *art-institutional recognition* of these practices. In this regard, Bourdieu's (1987b, 202) argument about the emergence and constitution of a new art field is relevant:

What the ahistorical analysis of the work of art and of the aesthetic experience captures in reality is an institution, which, as such, enjoys a kind of twofold existence, *in things* and *in minds* [emphasis added]. In things it exists in the form

¹³⁶ The amounts in 2017 constant prices are \$60,579 and 43,271 (using US CPI), respectively.

of an artistic field, a relatively autonomous social universe, which is the product of a slow process of constitution. In minds, it exists in the form of dispositions which were invented by the same movement through which the field, to which they immediately adjusted themselves, was invented. When things and minds ... are immediately in accord ... then the field, with all the products that it offers, appears to the eye as immediately endowed with meaning and worth.

Bourdieu's argument is central when considered within the socio-historical environment of the 1990s in Latvia when the SCCA-Riga emerged as one of the principal operators in the field of culture, *facilitating* the accord to take place between "the cultured habitus and the artistic field," Bourdieu (1987b, 202) hence further endowing the existing ideational environment with value and meaning. Incongruence or discord between the two elements, considering the institutional experience of the field of culture before and during the Soviet era, shall be most certainly factored in when analysing the advancement of contemporary visual arts in Latvia and in the Baltic countries in general.

In attempts to survey the development processes of contemporary art practices in Latvia, art historians have introduced three distinctive conceptual art generations separating them by decades (Demakova 1994; 2004, 2010a, 2010b; Boiko 2010; Astahovska 2010a). Demakova (2011, 16) argues that the first conceptual art generation "had emerged in full by the mid-1980s, when the processes of relaxation of censorship and liberalisation began in the USSR," however, it is important to note that the first conceptual trends are already present in works of some artists at the beginning of the 1970s (Demakova 1994; Astahovska 2010b, 2015b). Demakova (1994, 9) argues that from the

...beginning of the 1970s one can speak about conceptual trends which differed from the language of the forms of classical modernism [A] certain experimental circle could be observed in works created under the cover of applied arts, however, their "avant-gardism" [was] rather formal. The practicing of "individual mythology," hyperrealism, and minimalism in the "flat" arts in the beginning of the 1980s was joined by performance, dramatized photography, and

installations.

When discussing the chronological framework of artistic practices that would fit within the theoretical discourse of contemporary visual arts in Latvia, artist and art critic, Jānis Borgs (2015, 2016), emphasizes the necessity to critically examine the historical and political circumstances that shaped the field of cultural production after Stalin's death in 1953,¹³⁷ hence moving the timeline further away for another decade. In 2008, the International Commission of Experts, established by the Ministry of Culture, approved the *Collection Management Policy of Latvian Museum of Contemporary Art* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2008a). Echoing the opinion of the latter, the authors of the document also recognised importance of the historical analysis of artistic processes that took place within specific ideological and socio-political contexts, reaching consensus about the 1960s as the earliest reference point of contemporary art practices in Latvia.¹³⁸ As Demakova (2011, 13) points out in this connection, “[t]here have been some great artists working here [in Latvia], ... and their art does not fit the narrow view that tends to prevail in the West, namely that throughout the former USSR the only form of expression was Socialist Realism.”

The construction of national identity historically has been a fundamental aim for cultural policy, “but what this means in practice depends on whether the country has a strong national tradition to defend or still feels the need to develop its own cultural identity” (Cummings and Katz 1987, 9-10). During the 1990s, Latvian society, grappling

¹³⁷ Emphasising the consequences of the Khrushchev's thaw and cultural policy that was adopted after the short-lived liberalisation trend of the thaw when conservative trends and neo-Zhdanovism took the upper hand again in 1963, marking a transition from “thaw” to “freeze” and a sharp turn in cultural policy of the time from “dynamic conformism” (Laqueur 1963, 11) to neo-Zhdanovism.

¹³⁸ The acquisition policy applies the same chronological timeline to the artworks of other Baltic states, i.e., Estonia and Lithuania.

with the pace of the rapid change that the collapse of the Soviet Union set off, was sorting through the new conditions of economic and political transition. It was also recuperating from the historical trauma of the Soviet occupation that often manifested itself as a symbolic process of identity reference legitimisation through decontamination, preservation, and maintenance efforts of the “data base of national memory” (Kruks 2009, 3). This micro-nationalism of transition evinced itself as a historical amnesia, creating a memory gap and ideologically biased historical perception of the past fifty years. The sociologist Michael Kennedy (1994, 3-4) has made an interesting observation regarding the identity transformation in transitional societies after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, describing the process as rather ironic:

Politicians, activists, and analysts emphasize the unprecedented fact of communism’s end. At the same time, however, its subjects insist that they want no more “experiments” – they only want what has been proven to succeed. They want to be *normal* [emphasis added]. They wish to be who they “really” are, or who they ought to be. In short, they want to be something inconsistent with the system they recently overturned and the social relations it produced. In this, identity is understood in the most non-social of terms: in “natural” terms.

Consequently, the defining process of “normalcy” in Latvia manifested as dissociation from and delegitimization of the Soviet past. Considering the non-social aspect of identity, Touraine (1988, 75) argues that “identity often involves an appeal to a non-social definition of the social actor. ... The appeal to identity relies upon a meta-social guarantor of social order, such as the essence of humanity or, more simply, one’s belonging to a community defined by certain values or by natural or historical attribute.” The models of identity reference legitimisation in Latvia were grounded in the past. The memory of the First Republic and independence is essential when trying to decipher the identity codes during the transition process. It is important to recall that all three Baltic states

...built their early post-communist political institutions based on the assumption that independence was being “restored” rather than “established” in 1991. Consequently, constitutions, electoral systems, judicial structures, and other key political institutions were initially renewed rather than constructed from scratch. ... [A]ll three states were initially inclined to ground themselves in the *foundation of the independent past* [emphasis added]. (Eglitis 2015, Kindle Locations 9973-9979).

With respect to the meta-social guarantor of social order entailing historical attribute as a mobilizing force, the notion of “normalcy” can be articulated in rather particular way: the process of identity transformation during the transition period can be described not as “a radical break with the past, but rather a return to the (pre-Soviet) past. ... Latvian society ... was powerfully affected by the belief that the Soviet system was both alien and unnatural, because it had been brutally imposed by an outside force and embraced political, social, and cultural traditions widely held to conflict with the national “way of life”” (Eglitis 2002, 11-12). During the 1990s, Latvians were negotiating their way to the European community, adjusting their political and economic conditions in accordance to Accession Criteria (European Council 1993) yet, at the same time, based on the identity reference models that were grounded in the past, they were claiming that culturally they had been part of Europe already for a long time. As Borgs (2004, 2010, 2015) recalls, a widespread sentiment was nurtured after the reinstatement of freedom in Latvia, implying that nothing of significant value had been created during the occupation regime and that the artistic creativity had been entirely dependent on ideological engagement and control, submitting to the aesthetic tenets of the Socialist Realism. Along with the notion of the “normalcy” that was grounded in the pre-Soviet past, increasingly prevalent was also the “illusion that everything positive – in the arts too – reached us [Latvian society] only in the 90s, after the restoration of independence” (Borgs 2004, 20). Without having a deeper

analysis of the “unnatural” period of history, the two prevailing trends of identity building, however, may lead to rather distorted assumptions of the development processes of the contemporary visual art practices in Latvia.

During the transition, the post-communist field of cultural production underwent a complex process of re-evaluation, reorganisation, and redefinition, and, in order to understand a comprehensive development of contemporary visual art field in Latvia, including both *artistic practices* and *institutional recognition* of these practices, it is important to fill the memory gap without getting lost in the thick ideological and nationalistic verbiage of the transition. Once again, we have to critically re-evaluate the prevailing stereotypes and categorical black-and-white approach when analysing artistic trends in Soviet times that developed in parallel to the academic and officially approved art forms and that cannot be “placed within the cliché panorama of the Socialist Realism of the “state dictated art” or the “craftsmanship” of the folk art” (Straka 1988, 74). Demakova (2011, 19) points out, this was a complex “period characterised not only by the regime, but also by living, creative people.”

When returning to Esanu (2012, 9), who credited the SCCA as an organisation that established “the *foundation* [emphasis added] of what is today presented as contemporary art in this region,” it is important to specify that the artistic practices of the first conceptual art generation that had emerged by the mid-1980s were not, however, defined by the complex socio-historical processes of the 1990s. This was rather the time when their maturity in art finally acquired official institutional recognition and definition through the presence of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga. Singh, Tucker, and House (1986, 171) claim, “the lack of institutional support experienced by young organisations

is one important reason underlying the liability of newness in organisations;” hence the endorsement and economic backing of such powerful agent of the time as the SF provided the SCCA-Riga with an important external legitimisation, which facilitated exchange relationships with the other network organisations and with the major art and culture organisations in Latvia, as well as allowed the centre to establish itself within the hierarchy of power. In her invitation letter of 16 March 1993 (SCCA-Riga Documents 1992-1999b), to the Minister of Culture at the time, Raimonds Pauls, the Director of the Soros Foundation Latvia, Vita Matīss, expressed her confidence that “the activities of the SCCA-Riga, without doubt, will be interrelated with all arts and culture organisations, institutes, and education institutions in Latvia. The SCCA-Riga and the Latvian Artists’ Union (LAU) already have established a fruitful collaboration. We believe that the Ministry of Culture of Latvia will also play a significant role in these aspirations.”

Dragan Klaić (2007, 35) has argued that “contemporary art constitutes the most fragile aspect of culture ... Most contemporary artists cannot survive through market transactions alone and need some sort of private or public support to work.” In this context, at the beginning of the 1990s, the support for and the institutionalisation of the field in Latvia developed in an unusual manner and the help from the state was not one of the avenues that could be pursued due to the persistent status quo policies that prevailed in the post-command field of culture. Director of the Latvian Center for Contemporary Art, Solvita Krese (2006a), explained that the assistance of the SCCA-Riga was critical for the development of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. In fact, it was the only institution consistently supporting contemporary visual arts activities until 2000. At the very beginning of the 1990s, the SCCA-Riga, being the principal agent and stakeholder,

marked the emergence of the field of visual contemporary arts, bringing the artistic practices into accord with the institutional representation of these practices. Indeed, it was the first organisation having a systematic approach to advancement of the contemporary visual arts field. Boosted by this private philanthropic intervention, contemporary visual arts finally were in the process of constructing their institutional legitimacy.

Although the institutional benchmark of the contemporary visual arts field in this thesis is set at the 1990s, it is imperative to take into account that there had been important “defining” events taking place already in the 1970s and, particularly, in the 1980s that nurtured and defined the pivotal generation of artists that entered the art scene during the 1980s. Borgs (2009, 2015) argues that Latvian avant-garde art or untraditional art was already mature by the time when the Soviet Union collapsed, and he even goes so far as to claim that it was a Soviet product.¹³⁹ The argument that the ideational environment was already mature is demonstrated through such pivotal exhibitions and artistic performances as “Nature. Environment. Man” (1984), “Post-traditionalism” (1988), Art Days (1986-1988), “Riga – Lettische Avantgarde” (1988), “Latvia – 20th Century Summersault” (1990), and “Tender Fluctuations” (1990). All of the exhibitions took place before the entrance of the SCCA-Riga and they cannot yet be characterised as representatives of a routinised and regularly occurring art practices, but they indicated the presence of the ideational maturity of the new art forms. All of the above-mentioned events can be characterised in terms of interaction between a mature and convincing new representation of a form and conceptual core. The only component that was lacking and that was not provided by the existing field of cultural production and distribution was an official

¹³⁹ More in Borgs 1988, 2003, 2004, 2010, 2011 and Demakova 2011.

platform, which emerged in 1993 by the entrance of the SF and the establishment of the SCCA-Riga. When comparing the occurring processes in Latvia during the very beginning of the 1990s with the international art context, Demakova (2000a) emphasises the importance of the emergence of this new actor by highlighting that the specific art operating system or organisational framework of contemporary art was non-existent – absent was the formal hierarchy of the “institutions of consecration” and the “legitimate producers” (Bourdieu [1987]1993, 251).

Curators and art historians emphasize (Borgs 2004, 2009, 2010, 2015; Krese 2006ab; Demakova 2010, 2014; Astahovska and Vējš 2011) that during the 1990s, the already rooted ideational environment, although expressed in a narrow professional artistic circle, did not change its course or decreased in scope. What changed was the entrance of a new actor, holding essential economic power and controlling the circulation of the resources – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic:

...the central management of the network thought that the sole and most important task of the Centres for Contemporary Arts was to support contemporary art, which would include only the work of avant-garde artists. This stemmed from the assumption that this movement of art was most oppressed in the circumstances of totalitarianism. No doubt, no one ever tried to disagree with this *problematic motivation* [emphasis added] in Latvia, as everyone had their own selfish interests and it was essential not to endanger the possibility of support in any way. Our avant-garde artists truly needed financial aid. Only the reasons were entirely different – the money available in Soviet times was gone... (Borgs 2010, 50)

All of the above-mentioned exhibitions are documented within the SNA visualisation network (FIGURE 3.33.) and they occupy highly central relational positions (degree centrality and eigenvector centrality measures applied) within the field development of the first phase, indicating their importance in shaping the ideational environment before the entrance of the SCCA-Riga. The dark blue, yellow, and orange modularity indicators

illustrate the relational and networking impact of these exhibitions. Important in this relation is the fact that the first conceptualist generation that emerged on Latvian art scene by the mid-1980s was strongly represented in these pre-SCCA-Riga exhibitions, and they all assumed high centrality (degree and eigenvector) within both – phase I and SCCA-Riga – relational networks. The works of the first generation of conceptualists were characterised “by large-scale imaginative installations, large format screen-prints and precisely organised processual art works” (Demakova 2010b, 37). Artists, like Ojārs Pētersons, Oļegs Tillbergs, Kristaps Ģelzis, Andris Breže, Ivars Putrāms, Inese Mailīte and Ivars Mailītis, acquire the highest degree centrality, representing the most dominant and influential artist-actors and exerting high relational and networking impact within the field at the time.

As a paradigm changing event that took place in 1984 was the exhibition “Nature. Environment. Man” (yellow modularity indicator in FIGURE 3.33.). It took place within the framework of Art Days 1984. This annual festival was established already in 1959 and during the Soviet times it was the first legitimate and democratic platform where artists could realise innovative art projects (installations and performances) that would not fit within the existing canon of the “white-box” of a museum or a gallery. From art historical perspective, the Art Day phenomenon was the initial occurrence that exposed the early contemporary art “buds” to the wider public all around the country. However, because of the carnivalesque atmosphere that the festival embraced, these new and innovative, sometimes politically critical, art expressions were not perceived seriously by the authorities and the public (Ģelzis 2014; Pētersons 2014a,b; Krastiņa 2014, 2016). Within the framework of the Art Days the new expressions were experienced and translated more

as festive and unusual decorations taking place within the city space. The exhibition “Nature. Environment. Man” was different in this regard because it brought the innovation (installations, environmental art, performances, etc.) inside the museum, legitimising the new forms of art and enhancing them with symbolic and cultural power. Baranovska (2004) argues that this was the most important and ambitious attempt to create a conceptual exhibition in Latvia during the Soviet era. Eighty-one artists participated in the exhibition. For many artists of the younger generation this was the very first significant – national scale – exhibition (e.g., Ojārs Pētersons, Andris Breže, Indulis Gailāns, Leonards Laganovskis, Ojārs Feldbergs, Inese Mailīte, Ivars Mailītis, Edgars Vērpe, Sandra Krastiņa, Jānis Mitrēvics, to mention but a few). All participants of the exhibition are represented within the SNA visualisation and thirty-four of them are indicated by a high centrality reading, denoting that these artists have been actively involved in other creative output networks of the field during the 1990s.

Barbara Straka was one of the very first art historians and curators who introduced Latvian contemporary artists to the West in the exhibition “Riga – Lettische Avantgarde” (dark blue modularity indicator in FIGURE 3.33.) that she curated in 1988. Her critical analysis about the art processes that took place during the Soviet times is essential with respect to this exhibition. Straka (1988) emphasises that the discourse on development process of art practices within different Soviet Republics among wider circles of art lovers in the West is mainly dominated by the lack of information and not so much by the lack of professionalism. Regarding the lack of information, the so-called “dry years” of cultural exchange with the Soviet Union also should not be held accountable as the only culprits. The root of the problem is rather entrenched within

...the prejudices and clichés about modern or avant-garde art in the socialist republics. The distorted and anachronistic judgments are also embedded within the arrogance and claims to authority of the Western art management. The professionals within this establishment evaluate modern art, direct the art market and, consequently, determine the development of art history. Omission is imperative in the way the Western art establishment operates in order to maintain the predominance of the existing professional views and quality norms. Straka (1988, 74).

“Riga – Lettische Avantgarde” was pivotal not only for the local art history, but also can be viewed as critical within the wider context of art historical development. Taking advantage of the opening trends within the Soviet art policy, this exhibition that took place in Staatlichen Kunsthalle Berlin provided a highly professional perspective on major art trends that developed in parallel to the academic and officially approved art forms and that could not be placed within the cliché panorama of social realism of the state dictated art or the craftsmanship of the folk art.

3.3.1.1 Qualitative Break: Transgression of Hierarchy and Emergence of a New Field

The SCCA-Riga was the “institutional entrepreneur” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) or, as Esanu (2002, 4) describes it, the major “instrument of transition to a new cultural model, a model formulated on a different understanding of society, of history and of truth.” Previously discussed dichotomous dynamics of institutional change (increase and decrease) indicated also the change of actors and their power relations within the field of cultural production. The new agents through the creation of “organisational vehicles sufficient to launch and sustain innovative collective action” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91) challenged and transgressed the existing institutional and symbolic hierarchies, and they cognised, theorised, and constructed new narratives that shaped a common

framework of cultural values, beliefs, norms, policies, rules, and laws, addressing the pressing problems that were ignored by the dominant institutional establishment of the cultural production of the time. DiMaggio (1988a, 15) claims that “new institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources ... see in them an opportunity to realise interests that they value highly.” The SCCA-Riga was not only the vehicle that sustained innovative and alternative art forms of the time, provided institutional routinisation, administration, and representation of content-mature works of non-traditional art, but also exerted significant economic power.

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, major consecrating art institutions were Art Academy, Artists’ Union, and the Ministry of Culture, which dictated and authorised “[t]he artistic *nomos* [emphasis in original],” ruling “the production of legitimate images (through the production of producers, legitimised to produce these representations)” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 250). Bourdieu describes the *nomos* as one of the fundamental principles of the field, determining the legitimate vision and division within it; it also could be described in terms of a shared system of mutually reinforcing institutions¹⁴⁰ – rules, laws, policies, norms, cultural values and beliefs. The establishment of the SCCA-Riga in 1993 introduced the rupture from this hierarchy of authority. Svede (2002a, 282) argues that “regular bankrolling of large-scale experimental projects became the mandate of the newly instituted Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga, which more or less assumed the role of state patron for artists willing to subscribe to the new aesthetic

¹⁴⁰ The system of mutually related and reinforcing institutions refers to the “dense” definition of institutions, emphasising “the multiplex nature of institutional reality” (Scott [1995] 2014, 84), and all three pillars (TABLE 1.2.) are considered as interconnected. In my study, when discussing the construction of institutional environment as a shared logic of action in an emerging field, I am applying the inter-pillar interpretation of institutions (please see Chapter 1.4.).

orthodoxy of neo-conceptualism.” The experiment and innovation under the SCCA-Riga acquired open acclaim, gained symbolic capital, and got canonised. Operationally it offered a new blueprint of formal structure of cultural production and distribution model that was based on free market rules of supply and demand. Instead of going through the long initiation process of the hierarchical and strictly structured fine arts system that required a higher education in one of the narrowly specialised disciplines offered by the Art Academy, a membership, first, in the Young Artists Union and later in the Latvian Artists’ Union, now the artists were free to apply for grants and for the participation in the annual exhibitions based on proposed projects regardless of their professional artistic specialisation and their previous exhibition experience. Before SCCA-Riga exhibition practices were introduced, the young artists who had not finished the official art education and had not participated in the exhibitions, organised within the framework of the Young Artists Union, could not be accepted as full members of the Artists’ Union and, even more so, they could not take part in the comprehensive annual exhibitions of the union (Ģelzis 2014; Pētersons 2014a,b; Krastiņa 2014, 2016; Vērpe 2014a), which was a significant source of symbolic power for any striving artist – it really was the measure of ones’ professionalism. The SCCA-Riga exhibition practice broke down the existing professional restrictions that were rooted in this strict hierarchy and that did not allow you to skip a systemically required step before you moved ahead.

Demakova (1994, 9) presents a concise description of the pivotal aspects that determined the institutional importance of the SCCA-Riga at the time:

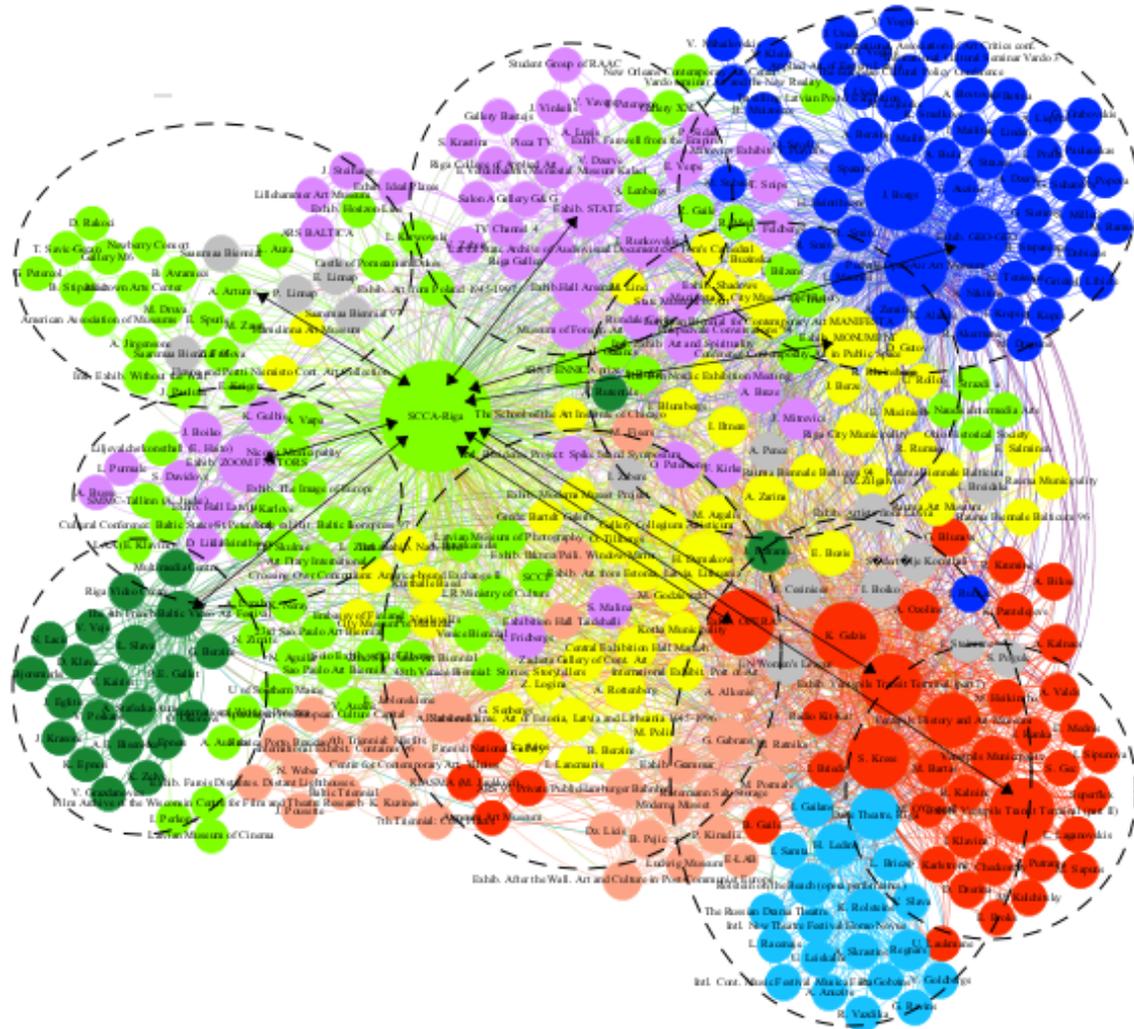
The supporters of contemporary art can now heave a sigh of relief: at last, it is for granted that at least *once a year* in Riga there will be a *carefully prepared, conceptually well-considered* and *well-founded wide-scale exhibition, accurately*

documented [emphasis added] by a catalogue. It will be granted not only by the talent of the artists and the author of the concept ..., but also by the money, which was generously allotted to this annual event by the American patron of art, George Soros.

This description comprises facets of regular and routinised representation of new art practices that are conceptually organised by curator, classification measures of the art language, and formal administrative and financial presence, denoting institutionalisation process that implies durability via pattern (regular repetition) and continuity, hence institutional reproduction. DiMaggio (1983, 148) argues that “government funding (or, more generally, any form of centralised control over resources)” intensifies and eventually stabilises the structuration process of the field and also changes the configuration within the field, indicating to the formation process from more atomistic to centralised relational structure around one stable economic power of influence. During the 1990s, the SCCA-Riga wielded such centralising influence as it is demonstrated in FIGURE 3.33, representing the field of phase I, and particularly in FIGURE 3.35, representing the relational network of the SCCA-Riga. In both SNA visualisations, the SCCA-Riga occupies the most central actor position with the highest degree centrality measure (purple modularity indicator in FIGURE 3.33. and light green modularity indicator in 3.35.), demonstrating the centre’s high relational and networking impact, as well as its importance in shaping the structural features of the field during the emergence and autonomisation process. Within the SCCA-Riga network, all participants have at least one relational connection with the central actor.

FIGURE 3.35. illustrates seven distinct structural clusters of the SCCA-Riga. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURE 3.35.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central

actors are defined by seven symbolically potent creative outputs and their micro-networks, which are represented by the annual exhibitions and regularly supported events of the centre: *French-Baltic Video-art Festival* (1993, 1994), *Zoom Factor* (1994), *State* (1994), *Monument* (1995), *Geo-Geo* (1996), *Opera* (1997), *Ventspils Transit Terminal* (exhibition in two phases, taking place in 1998 and 1999). All of the exhibitions also have a high degree centrality measure within the phase I structure (FIGURE 3.33.), indicating a high relational and networking impact within the field. The modularity measure in SCCA-Riga visualisation clearly indicates the entrance of the three generations of conceptualists who constituted the artistic core of the field during the 1990s. The two exhibitions that took place in 1994 and the exhibitions of 1997, 1998, and 1999 are represented by the same colour-coded modularity indicators (purple and red), signifying closely-knit and intersecting communities of artists, curators, and organisations that were involved in the conception and completion of these particular creative outputs. The institutional implications (regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive significance and impact) of the SCCA-Riga exhibitions are discussed in the further sub-chapters of this thesis.



- SCCA-Riga
- Exhibition *Zoom Factor* (1994) / Curator Juris Boiko
- Exhibition *State* (1994) / Curator Ivars Runkovskis
- Exhibition *Monument* (1995) / Curator Helēna Demakova
- Exhibition *Geo-Geo* (1996) / Curator Jānis Borgs
- Exhibition *Opera* (1997) / Solvita Krese
- Performance *Rolstein on the Beach* (1997) / Director Regnārs Vaivars
- Exhibition *Ventspils Transit Terminal I* (1998) / Curators Solvita Krese and Kristaps Ģelzis
- Exhibition *Ventspils Transit Terminal II* (1999) / Curators Solvita Krese and Kristaps Ģelzis
- French-Baltic Video-art Festival

FIGURE 3.35. Visualisation of the SCCA-Riga interaction network during 1994 and 1999 after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm and modularity measure

Source: Dace Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total actors: 383; total edges: 3,762; density: 2.3%; 7 distinct structural clusters.

Funding

When comparing the average annual budgets of the Ministry of Culture and the Soros Foundation Latvia (SFL) in time period from 1993 to 2000, it is obvious that the economic power of the SFL was a serious rival to that of the ministry. During the time period from 1993 to 2000, the average total amount of the organisation's budget corresponded to seventeen-and-a-half per cent of the ministry's total budget. The allocated amount for the arts and culture programs was equivalent to one-and-four-tenth per cent of the ministry's budget (SFL 1994; Open Society Institute 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000; SCCA-Riga Document Archive 1992–1999a; LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000). Consequently, the SFL was the second biggest economic power after the Ministry of Culture, providing support for arts and civil society initiatives in general (FIGURE 3.36.).

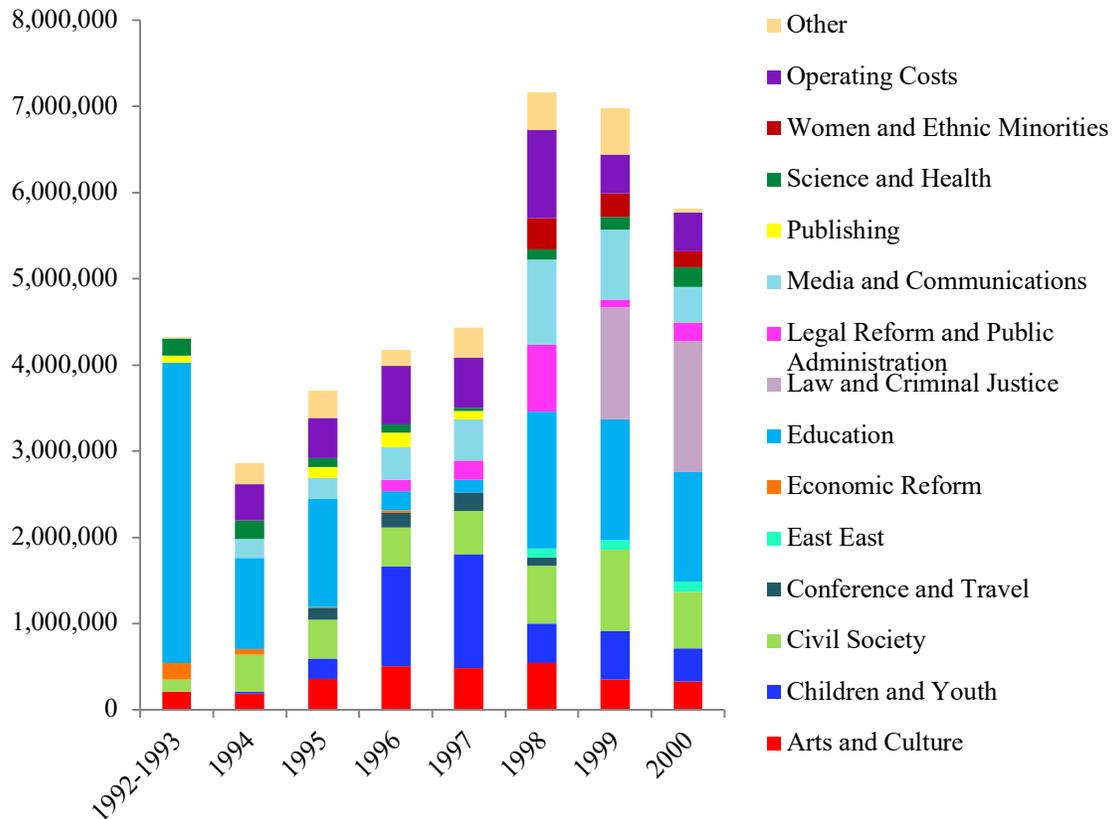


FIGURE: 3.36. Soros Foundation Latvia annual expenditures from 1992 to 2000 (USD, in current prices)

Sources: Soros Foundation Latvia 1994; Open Society Institute 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The administrative and financial significance of the SCCA-Riga is illustrated in FIGURE 3.37. (Demir 2006), in which fifty-five per cent of the respondents (artists, curators, art administrators, etc.) emphasise that that the operations of the organisation were extremely critical, but forty per cent highlight that they were very critical for the development of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia in time period from 1993 to 1999.

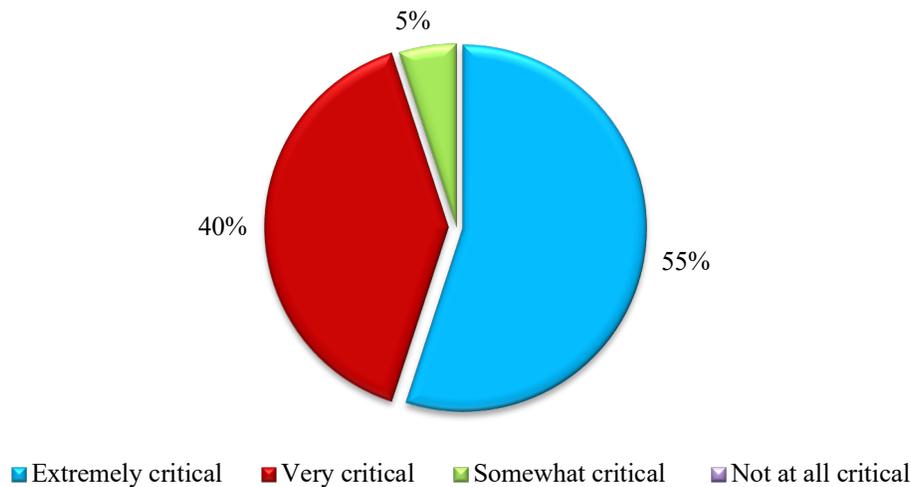


FIGURE: 3.37. Significance of the administrative and financial support of the SCCA-Riga in facilitating the development of contemporary visual arts field in time period from 1993 to 1999

Source: Demir 2006. Survey: Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Visual Arts Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.

Notes: How would you evaluate the significance of the financial support of the SCCA-Riga in facilitating development of the field of contemporary visual arts in time period from 1993 to 1999? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The financial support of the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999 was: (1) extremely critical, (2) very critical, (3) somewhat critical, (4) not at all critical in facilitating the development of contemporary art field in Latvia.

The major functions of the SCCA-Riga were to serve as a resource centre of contemporary visual arts of the country for the local and international general public, to promote contemporary visual arts through establishing contacts internationally, to maintain a database of the artists and professional exhibition documentation (SCCA-Riga Document Archive 1992–1999a,b). These functions were realised through six major programmes: annual exhibitions; coordination of international art events (exhibitions, workshops, conferences, etc.); SCCA Regional Projects (SRARP), promoting international cooperation and exchange among countries representing the SCCA network; international educational programme ArtsLink; development of a comprehensive visual

arts database about artists and their professional output after 1945; publishing of relevant art literature and catalogues; grant programme that was available for practicing individual artists and non-governmental organisations to realise, organise, and participate in non-commercial art projects, like exhibitions, workshops, conferences, and festivals (Soros Center for Contemporary Arts-Riga 2000). The annual statistical dynamic, representing the regularity of the programmes and the presence of consistent funding practices, is depicted in FIGURES 3.38. and 3.39..

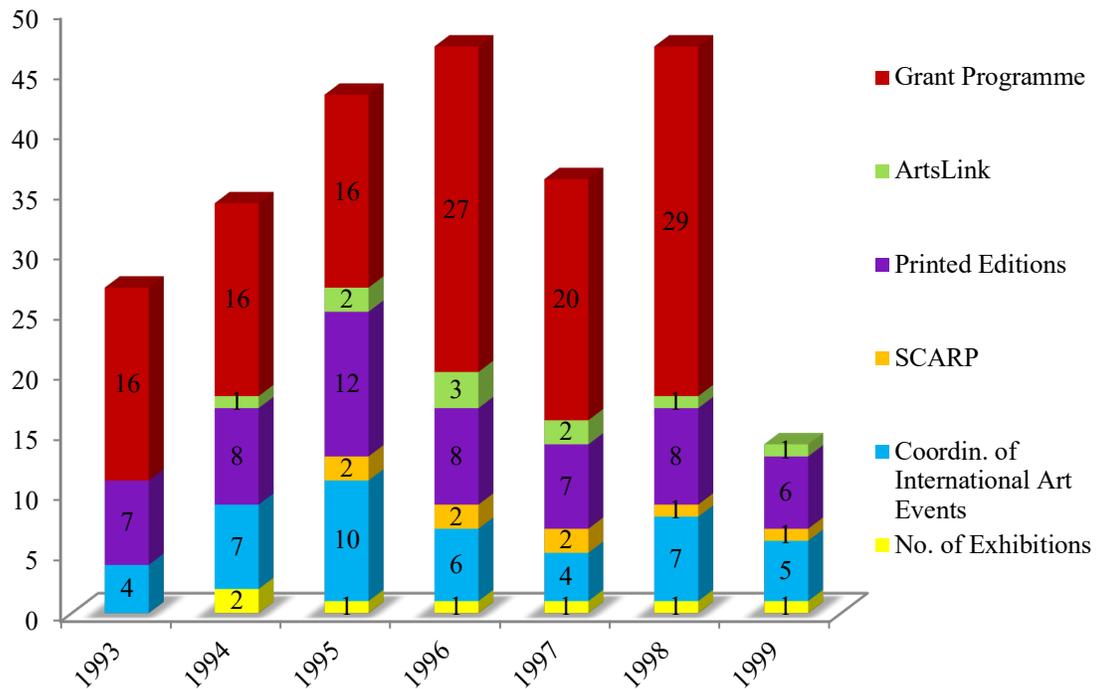


FIGURE 3.38. Categories of Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts–Riga annual allocations (number of projects in each category from 1993 to 1999)

Source: Soros Center for Contemporary Arts–Riga 2000, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

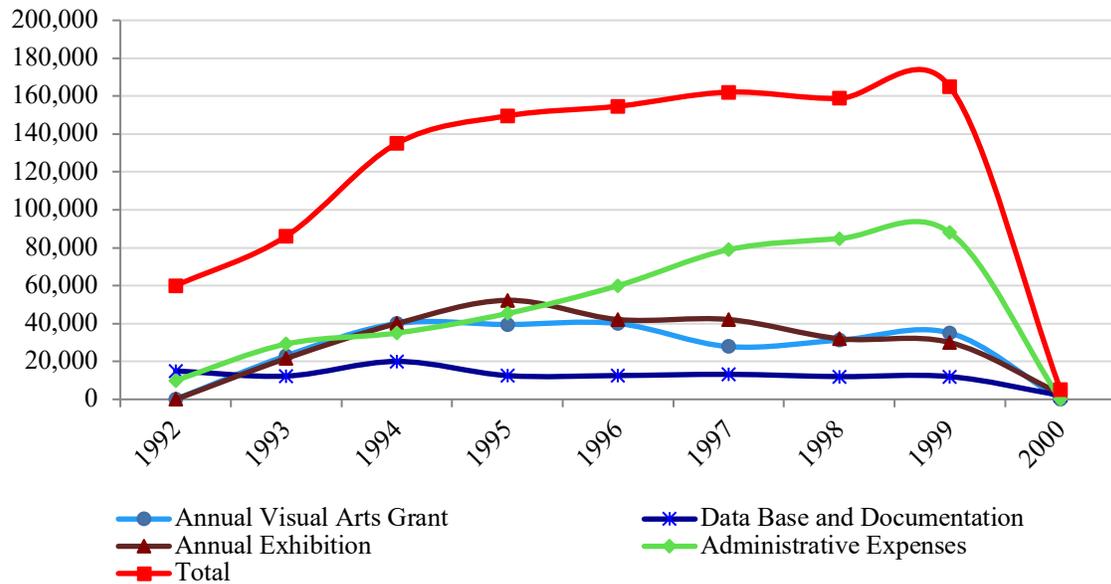


FIGURE: 3.39. Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts–Riga operating budget from 1993 to 1999 (USD¹⁴¹ in current prices)

Sources: Soros Foundation Latvia 1994; Soros Center for Contemporary Arts–Riga 2000; Soros Center for Contemporary Arts – Riga Document Archive 1992–1999a, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

When analysing the importance of the Ford Foundation in the United States in the late 1950s, Kreidler (2000, 151) contends that “the arts grant [popularised by the said foundation] was a vehicle for the long term advancement of individual non-profit arts organisations, as well as a means for the strategic development of the entire non-profit arts sector.” In relation to Latvia, the SF and particularly SCCA-Riga fulfilled a similar

¹⁴¹ Average Exchange for Historical Rates of Convertible Currencies and Gold Set by Latvijas Banka (lats per unit) for years 1993 through 2000:

1993 = 0.68 (01.01.1993 – 01.12.1993)

1994 = 0.56 (01.01.1994 – 01.12.1994)

1995 = 0.53 (01.01.1995 – 01.12.1995)

1996 = 0.55 (01.01. 1996 – 01.12.1996)

1997 = 0.58 (01.01.1997 – 01.12.1997)

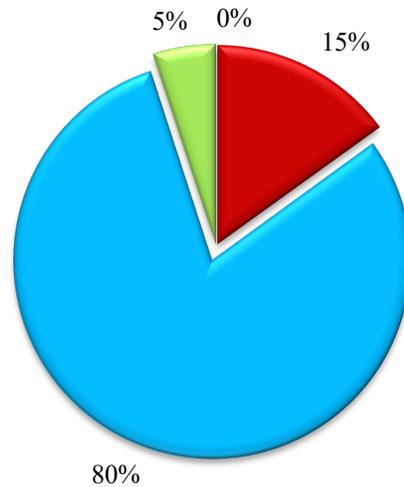
1998 = 0.57 (01.01.1998 – 01.12.1998)

1999 = 0.58 (01.01.1999 – 01.12.1999)

2000 = 0.62 (01.01.2000 – 01.12.2000)

Source: Latvijas Banka. 2017.

role. FIGURE 3.40. emphasises the importance of the regularity and consistency that the Centre represented in Latvia during the 1990s. Although the concern of insufficient available funding was present, the factor of certain stability is indicated in the responses of the professionals.



■ Regular and sufficient ■ Regular, but insufficient ■ Irregular and insufficient ■ Irregular, but sufficient

FIGURE: 3.40. Evaluation of the financial support allocated to the contemporary visual arts projects by the SCCA-Riga in time period from 1993 to 1999

Source: Demir 2006. Survey: Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.

Notes: How would you evaluate financial support that was allocated by the SCCA-Riga to the contemporary art projects in time period from 1993 to 1999? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The Financial support that was allocated by the SCCA-Riga to the contemporary art projects in time period from 1993 to 1999 was: (1) regular and sufficient, (2) regular, but insufficient, (3) irregular and sufficient, (3) irregular and insufficient.

Through the operations of the SCCA-Riga, the contemporary visual arts in Latvia acquired its official organisation that represented it institutionally, both locally and internationally. It was the first organisation having a systematic approach to advancement of the contemporary arts field, and it was an institution supporting art that was not promoted by the dominant state establishment of art production – the state art museums

and the Ministry of Culture. It entered as a heterodox player within the existing field of cultural production, but soon, backed by a significant economic power of the SF, the SCCA-Riga positioned itself as an institution of establishment and as a major formative and “normative force” (DiMaggio and Powel 1983) that intensified the structuration process of the emerging contemporary visual arts field in Latvia (FIGURES 3.33. and 3.35). The grant program that was provided by the SCCA-Riga, as well the international educational programme ArtsLink significantly contributed to the professionalisation of contemporary arts field. The relational development of the field that is represented in the SNA visualisations indicate that the introduction of the SCCA-Riga programmes significantly increased the awareness of the participating professionals and artists that they, on a cultural level, were part of a developing new framework of values, beliefs, and meanings. In this connection, important is Borgs’s (2010, 51) acknowledgement, stating that “for the first time Latvian avant-garde artists stepped into the big global stage.” The first participations of Latvian artists in such important contemporary art events as Sao Paulo Biennial in Brazil and Venice Biennale could take place only because of the SCCA-Riga support and interest. The Centre provided a fundamental support and networking platform that facilitated the internationalisation of Latvian contemporary visual art. SNA visualisation data confirm that thirty-six per cent of actors (comprising creative outputs, curators, artists, and organisations) in the phase I and thirty-seven per cent of actors in the SCCA-Riga network are international, indicating a high global networking presence among the actors in the field. Consequently, the data demonstrate that the prevalent international exchange was among the nine Baltic Sea countries and also among the CEECs.

Classification: Development of a New Artistic Language

When characterising the development of a new art field, Bourdieu (1987b, 205) accentuates that “among all the inventions which accompany the emergence of the field of production, one of the most significant is probably the elaboration of an artistic language. This involves first establishing a way of naming the painter, of speaking about him and about the nature of his work and also a way of speaking about painting itself, of pictorial techniques, using appropriate words ...” During the 1990s, the definition of contemporary visual arts was in constant making and the classification of the artistic language, which was associated with this particular ideational environment, developed rather autonomously from the dominant field of cultural production and distribution. The term of “contemporary art” itself got instituted rather slowly. Art historians, theoreticians, and curators of the day interchangeably used such descriptions as alternative, non-traditional, untraditional, avant-garde, neo-conceptualism. Only towards the end of the 1990s the term – contemporary – got established as the determinant word. DiMaggio (2000, 39) notes that the “systems of classification are shaped by changes in the organisation of cultural authority and in the mode of allocation of cultural goods.” Considering the centrality of the SCCA-Riga, the classification of the new art language was organised around the large-scale exhibitions that took place annually. The regular exhibition practices of the SCCA-Riga that were accompanied by profound print and public media intervention, education, and explanation work facilitated the creation of the “social conditions of possibility” (Bourdieu 1987b, 202) for the new language to take root and get categorised, theorised and further diffused (Suchman 1995b). Vējš (2010, 103-104) criticises that “it was the SCCA-Riga’s money allocation practice, which defined the

paradigm of the contemporary art” in Latvia during the 1990s. This paradigm was set through seven symbolically potent exhibitions, which in FIGURE 3.35. are clearly marked as densely connected structural clusters: *Zoom Factor* (1994), *State* (1994), *Monument* (1995), *Geo-Geo* (1996), *Opera* (1997), *Ventspils Transit Terminal* (exhibition in two phases, taking place in 1998 and 1999). All of the exhibitions also have a high degree centrality measure in the phase I configuration of the emerging field (FIGURE 3.33.), indicating a high relational and networking impact. The modularity measure in SCCA-Riga visualisation clearly indicates the entrance of the three generations of conceptualists who moulded the artistic core of the field during the 1990s. The first two exhibitions that took place in 1994 were centred around the names of the first-generation artists, also called installators (discussed previously). In parallel to this “first wave” (Demakova 2010b) of the artists, the next two exhibitions that were held in 1995 and 1996 introduced new names, hence the second generation of conceptualists, whose work, when compared with the previous generation, “had far greater ties in terms of format and content with similar phenomena in the West, especially with appropriation art. Deconstruction, irony, the combination of research of perception with the everyday, art and other contexts in one creative work has been far more visible in the works of these artists” (Demakova 2010b, 39). In the SNA visualisations of the phase I and SCCA-Riga (FIGURES 3.33. and 3.35.) the most central artists from this group are Gints Gabrāns, Anita Zabiļevska, Ēriks Božis, Andris Frīdbergs and Miķelis Fišers. The exhibitions of 1997, 1998, and 1999 indicate a strong entrance of the third generation of conceptualists whose names are closely related with the Department of Visual Communication (DVC), which was established in 1997 at the Latvian Art Academy. The language of the third wave reflects application of digital

technologies, new media, and interactive art installations. The art group *Famous Five*, comprising such artists as Līga Marcinkeviča, Ieva Rubeze, Mārtiņš Ratniks, Ervīns Broks, and Renārs Krūmiņš, acquire a very high centrality within the creative output networks of the last two exhibitions of the SCCA-Riga (FIGURE 3.35), as well as in the network of the phase I (FIGURE 3.33.).

Through the annual grants, the SCCA-Riga strongly encouraged the advancement of new cultural initiatives that developed in a form of small festivals, alternative projects (Šmite and Šmits 2010), creative associations (Traumane 2010), informal communities of contemporary art (Astahovska 2010), laboratories, and galleries. These formally non-governmental associations also contributed to the constitution of the new art language. Important in this regard are French-Latvian Video-art Festival (1991), E-LAB Electronic Arts and Media Centre (1996), Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997), and Open (1995). All of these organisations are represented with high centrality within the phase I network – they are closely inter-related, but in terms of their creative output micro-networks, denote separate clusters. Video-art Festival and NOASS were important because they promoted new film and video media and functioned as important platforms for creating and presenting experimental video art in Latvia during the 1990s. During the phase II, NOASS cemented itself as one of the core actors of the contemporary visual arts field. Through their media lab activities, the organisation E-Lab facilitated the entrance and development of electronic arts and media. During the phase II, E-Lab developed into one of the constitutive incumbents that shaped the professional core of the field. The SNA visualisation graph indicates that the creative output micro-networks of each organisational cluster overlap with the SCCA-Riga network, suggesting the emergence of

a close-knit professional network, in which each actor has at least one relational link with the central agent of the field.

In attempts to define contemporary art as an art historical category, Kļaviņš (2000, 3-4) suggests,

[i]t is not just the artist's self-expression through the use of previously unused or already mastered materials. As it strives for an interactive instead of passive reaction to the work and processes of art, it also provokes and encourages intellectual and aesthetic activity in society. While preserving its original aesthetic stimuli, contemporary visual art can relate to all the other forms of expression in the different branches of art and culture, science, philosophy, and the new technology, forming as yet unclassified borderlines which may, in time, become central to society's cultural awareness.

Without excluding more academic or "traditional" forms of art from the realm, the proposed definition of Kļaviņš connects the notion of contemporary with a specific *zeitgeist*, which is communicated through critical, innovative, and transgressing art language that circulates within a particular organisational framework. During the 1990s, the SCCA-Riga was the central actor in facilitating the development of this framework. The institution of curator's role in more Western context of art practices that was not related to the curatorial establishment of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, functioning as an ideological police, also was an important development within the field. Although the curatorial pool during the 1990s was rather limited, names of Helēna Demakova, Solvita Krese, Jānis Borgs, Juris Boiko, Inga Šteimane, Kaspars Vanags, Ilze Strazdiņa should be highlighted. All these curators acquire a high degree and betweenness centrality within the network of phase I, denoting a high relational and networking impact.

3.4 CONCLUSION

3.4.1 Innovation Phase: Development of the Field as Professional Responsibility

The legal, fiscal, and administrative governance practices that were prevalent in the culture domain in Latvia during the 1990s indicated the persistence of a disturbed balance on all these counts, the consequence of which was a development of highly polarised organisational arrangement, forging a sharp divide between the state organisations, predominantly represented by centralised and inert institutional legacy of the Soviet era, and slowly, but steadily growing third sector. This sharply defined organisational dichotomy between the establishment and the alternative, independent, or informal (LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Klaic 2007; Astahovska 2010; Auziņa 2010; Mazika 2008, 2010; Šmite and Šmits 2010) initiatives in the visual arts was one of the central factors that prevented development of new cultural infrastructure and practices in Latvia, particularly in the field of contemporary visual art.

The development of the SCCA-Riga in 1993 as a new “institutional entrepreneur” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of the contemporary visual arts challenged and transgressed the existing institutional and symbolic hierarchies and changed the arrangement of “position-takings” (Bourdieu 1983, 312) within the field of cultural production and distribution. Through the operations of the centre new cultural narratives were cognised, theorised, and constructed, hence shaping a common framework of cultural values, beliefs, norms, and rules and addressing the pressing problems that were ignored by the dominant institutional establishment of the cultural production of the time.

The institutional decline of the dominant and state-run field of production and the

structuration process that indicated institutional emergence of a novel field took place around two distinct central actors – the Ministry of Culture, representing the top-down processes of institutional development, and the SCCA-Riga, which represented bottom-up processes of institutional construction. The autonomisation and structuration processes of the emerging contemporary arts field thus did not occur across all levels – it was very local, exclusive, and professionally defined within a relatively narrow circle of artistic community. The contemporary art practices and development of infrastructure for such practices were not outlined as a cultural policy objective on a state level until 2000. Within the existing policy framework and the legal provisions, the contemporary visual arts, as a conceptual classification, was not present. There was no indication of specific problem generation, cognition, and naming (Sushman 1995b) on a state level in relation to the budding field during the first half of the 1990s. Consequently, the field emerged as a rather isolated enclave of professionals and academicians, depending on high levels of private funding.¹⁴² As illustrated in Chapter Three, financing practices for contemporary art projects and start-ups (Briede 2006; Demir 2006; Krese 2006a; Šmite and Šmits 2010) were not theorised on a state level and hence had a sporadic and peripheral trend. Contemporary art as a public good was not cognised on a national level and could be categorised as unimportant in regard to cultural policy. This trend was reflected in the prevalent institutional funding practices throughout the 1990s. In terms of regular presence and routinised engagement, the state support can be characterised as one-time and irregular commitment, providing a rather insignificant financial assistance.

¹⁴² Private funding comprises support not only from private for-profit organisations, but also from foundations, associations, and societies that represent the broad range of organisations that operate within the third sector, reflecting the presence of civil society dimension during the emergence phase of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia.

Cultural policy trend in Latvia after the restitution of independence in 1990 was heavily influenced by the fact that during the Soviet era country's borders were closed. Systematic information about the culture and art processes in the West was non-existent. Access to information about contemporary art was particularly difficult. Understanding about flexible, small-scale culture institutions, non-governmental sector, grant system, international exchange was considerably delayed due to these historical reasons (Demakova 2008, 222). After the independence the situation regarding the non-governmental fields did not improve significantly and cultural policy decisions often were made based on very poor information. One of the examples in this regard is the Venice International Art Biennale Exhibition. It took almost a decade for the ministry to finally cognise, classify, and, finally, theorise the national-level importance of this particular art institution.

As illustrated in the chapter above and supported in the final FIGURE 3.41. below, a complex set of socio-historical, political, and economic factors determined the localised – professionally narrow – and autonomous initial emergence of the new field of contemporary visual arts in Latvia during the 1990s.

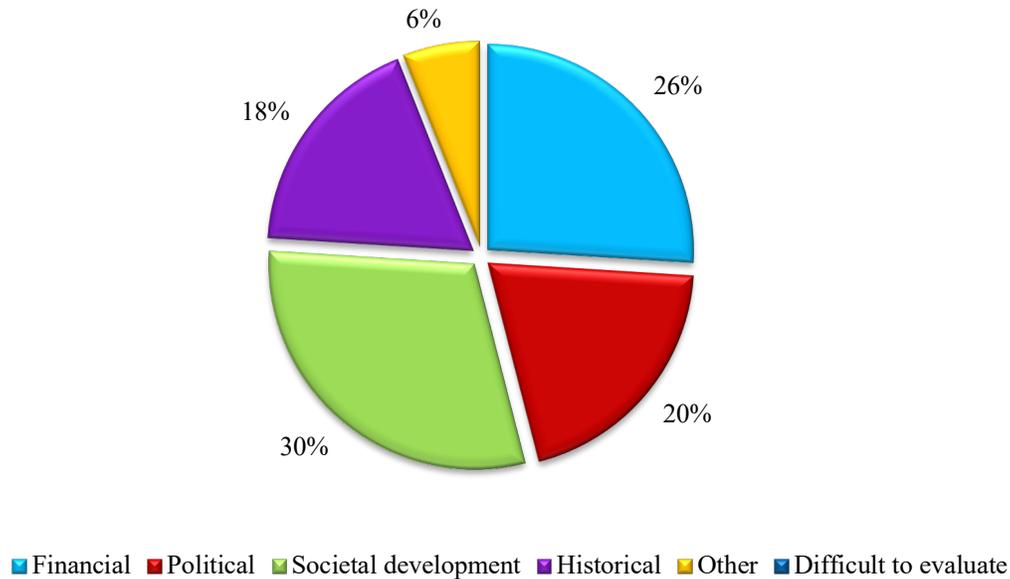


FIGURE: 3.41. Major factors that influenced the development dynamic of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the 1990s

Source: Demir 2006. Survey: Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.

Notes: Which one(s) of the conditions listed below, in your opinion, most directly has/have influenced the development dynamic of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the 1990s? Please select one or all those conditions from the list below that best describe the situation. If one of your selections is “other,” please specify the other condition that, in your opinion, has influenced the development dynamic of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the 1990s. In my opinion: (1) financial, (2) political, (3) societal development, (4) historical, (5) other (please specify) factor(s) most directly influenced the development dynamic of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia during the 1990s.

TABLE 3.2. Major institutionalisation indices of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. Innovation stage: 1991-1999

INDICATORS	
Exogenous shock/ critical juncture	<p>Disintegration of the Soviet Union and restoration of independence in 1991</p> <p>The 1990s indicated a highly polarised organisational arrangement, forging a sharp divide between the state organisations, predominantly represented by centralized and inert institutional legacy of the Soviet era, and slowly, but steadily growing third sector, represented by alternative, independent, or informal art initiatives.</p>
Organisational field constituency and locus of institution building	<p>Professional industry: narrow professional core of organisations (bottom-up interest and agency)</p>

	<div style="text-align: center;">  <p>Industry-focussed</p> <p>Field defined by narrow professional core of organisations</p> </div> <p>The autonomisation and structuration processes of the emerging contemporary arts field did not occur across all levels, but it was very local, and professionally defined within a relatively narrow circle of artistic community. The locality where the emerging problem was initially generated, cognised, classified, and theorised did not represent a national level (top-down) but was peripheral and narrowly professional, denoting a bottom-up approach in institution building.</p>
<p>Type of field</p>	<p>Non-state/ autonomous</p> <p>The persistence of polarised organisational reality during the 1990s indicated that the new institutional templates and routines developed in parallel with the pre-existing institutional logic and definitional apparatus. The Ministry of Culture and the state culture organisations that dominated the inherited field of cultural production and distribution undertook a rather insufficient role within the emerging field of the contemporary visual arts, illustrating that their institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive, were limited at the time.</p>
<p>External field of power</p>	<p>Western assistance programmes</p> <p>During the 1990s, the third sector in Latvia had formed and developed mainly due to the presence of the foreign investment. Up to eighty per cent of the NGO income came from the foreign foundations and assistance programmes, like the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme, EBRD, Baltic-American Partnership Fund, the Soros Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Charles H. Mott Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Norwegian Financial Instrument, and European Union PHARE programme, etc.. During the transition, no other foundation has had such a financial and institutional impact in Latvia as the complex network of organisations that was developed by the initiative of the Soros Foundation. Until 2000, the Soros Foundation's financed dotation programme supported, strengthened, and advanced the activities of a great number of newly established organisations.</p>
<p>Factors defining external relational structure (in connection with the field of power)</p>	<p>Dependence</p> <p>External relational structure is defined by hierarchical relationships. The field of power denotes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy <p>Signs of cooperation are present, indicating a significant increase in information flows and mutual professional interactions.</p>

<p>External field relations (in connection with the dominant state field of cultural production)</p>	<p>Autonomous/ independent</p> <p>The distinct organisational dichotomy that featured the non-cooperative and exclusive nature of the relationships between the actors within the dominant state field of cultural production, orbiting around the principal incumbent – the ministry, and the independent professional art organisations, indicated the emergence of a new and autonomous field.</p>
<p>Internal field constituency:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutional entrepreneur(s) - Incumbents - Challengers 	<p>Key institutional entrepreneur: the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga</p> <p>The SCCA-Riga, established under the auspices of the SF in 1993, was the central actor undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of Latvian contemporary visual arts during the 1990s.</p> <p>Incumbents of the field</p> <p>The nine distinct structural clusters, illustrated in the SNA graph of phase I, denote the development process of the very first non-governmental organisations, like French-Latvian Video-art Festival (1991), Pedvāle Open Air Museum (1991), Open (1995), E-LAB Electronic Arts and Media Centre (1996), and Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997). All of these actors are closely inter-related, but in terms of their creative output micro-networks, signify separate clusters. During the 1990s, these formally non-governmental organisations from challengers developed into incumbents, shaping the constitutive professional core of the emerging field and contributing to the advancement of the new art language.</p>
<p>Key external actors</p>	<p>Soros Foundation Network</p>
<p>Institutional primacy</p>	<p>Cultural-cognitive and normative</p> <p>During the early 1990s, the Soros Foundation Latvia quickly became one of the key catalysts of institutional change in the field of culture. The entrance of the foundation was accepted and legitimised thanks to the highly volatile socio-political and economic climate in Latvia. Within the framework of transition, implying systemic economic and political change, the Soros Foundation was welcomed given the perceived overlap between its political and economic goals and visions for transition countries and the new norms, beliefs, values, and definitions faced by the society during the post-Soviet transition period. The advancement of open civil society and democracy were deeply embedded ideas in foundation’s support for the arts. Particular focus was on cultural expressions that historically were excluded from the official cultural field of production by the totalitarian regime and that, during the transition period, were not yet included within the institutional funding routine of the state.</p> <p>The established SCCA-Riga represented the major “instrument of transition” (Esanu 2002, 4). As a key incumbent in an emerging field the centre challenged and transgressed the existing institutional and symbolic hierarchies and facilitated generation, cognition, classification, and theorisation of the new ideational narrative that shaped a common framework of cultural values, beliefs, assumptions, professional roles, habits, and norms, addressing the pressing problems ignored by the dominant institutional establishment of the cultural production of the time.</p>

<p>Basis of legitimacy</p>	<p>Culturally supported</p> <p>The new structures and new institutions, focusing on the contemporary visual arts, did not originate from the established infrastructure, but developed outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture. Lacking systematic support and recognition from the “official” actors of the field of cultural production, the new organisations displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor, SCCA-Riga.</p> <p>The nine distinct structural clusters of the SNA clearly denote the development process of the very first non-governmental organisations that, during the 1990s, matured into key incumbents, shaping the constitutive core of the emerging field and contributing to the advancement of new, but still narrowly defined cultural system.</p>
<p>Central institutional logic of the field</p>	<p>Advancement of contemporary visual arts as social obligation of transition: rehabilitation of free expression and development of shared professional understandings</p> <p>The persistence of sharply defined organisational dichotomy between the establishment and the independent initiatives in the contemporary visual arts illustrate the co-existence of two exclusive institutional logics during the transition of the 1990s. The contemporary art practices and development of infrastructure for such practices were not outlined as a cultural policy objective on a state level until 2000. The prevailing functional template of the emerging field – new institutional routines, templates, classifications, etc. – was defined by the major “institutional entrepreneur” – the SCCA-Riga and by the maturing key incumbents of the field. The institutional logic that shaped the activities in the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia was characterised by normative appropriateness and social obligation of transition (open society responsibility and rehabilitation of free expression) and by development of shared professional understandings within a relatively isolated enclave of artistic community (professionals and academicians).</p>
<p>Governance structure</p>	<p>Non-state actors – narrow professional group of incumbents hold essential economic power and control the circulation of resources – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic in the emerging field</p> <p>Lacking systematic support and recognition from the “official” actors of the field of cultural production, the emerging field displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor. The SCCA-Riga entered as a heterodox player within the existing field of cultural production and distribution, but soon, backed by a significant economic power of the SF, positioned itself as an institution of establishment and as a major formative and normative power that intensified the structuration process of the emerging contemporary visual arts field in Latvia.</p>

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD AS A POLITICAL CATEGORY

The tectonic plates underlying arts and cultural theory and practice are always in flux, but at times their movements can be felt more dramatically than at others, as witnessed when the operating principles surrounding models of worldwide arts and cultural patronage, policy, planning, and professional practice move in radically new directions.

—Ann M. Galligan, *Seismic Shifts in Cultural Policy, Planning, and Practice*

Cultural policy is a field in which continuous struggles over definitions and content take place, and power is, in part, attached to specific understanding of art and culture.

—Line Nyhagen Predelli and Bergljot Baklien, *Autonomy and Dependence in State Cultural Policy*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

During the last three decades, decentralisation process has proven to be one of the most important cultural policy objectives in Europe, correlating with general tendencies in politics as a whole and engaging both mature and emerging democracies (Cummings and Katz 1987; European Union 1992, Arnestad 1995; UNESCO 1995; Council of Europe 1997; Schuster 1997; Heiskanen 2001; Ilczuk 2001; Kawashima 1997, 2004; European Parliament 2006). Kawashima (2004, 4) describes decentralisation as somewhat fashionable concept, but Schuster (1997, 261) emphasises that, along with privatisation and devolution, decentralisation is one of the “tree ideas in good currency that have permeated the debate on cultural policy.” When applying a broad consensus, the notion

can be used to describe “the government relationship between the centre and the local, but it can also refer to the relationships between government and non-government” (Kawashima 2004, 4). The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) was ratified on 7 February 1992, resolving to comply with the principle of subsidiarity (European Union 1992, 4, Article 3b) that is pertinent also to cultural policies of the member states of the union. The seminal report, *In from the Margins*, which has been completed by the European Task Force on Culture and Development at the Council of Europe, conceptualises decentralisation as a guarantee of subsidiarity principle, determining that decisions need to be taken “as close as possible to those who will be affected by them” (Council of Europe 1997, 272). The European Panel of Examiners, working within the framework of the Cultural Policy Evaluation Programme that was commenced by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, argues that decentralisation “is an issue of fundamental importance for all countries, but particularly transforming a totalitarian system into a democratic one” (Council of Europe 1998, 145). During the 1990s, the transition countries of CEE faced the daunting task of applying the principle as a linchpin of their cultural policies, however, the process revealed a considerable inconsistency between the political rhetoric and policy implementation. Ilczuk (2001, 14) specifies that “the goals and principles [were] ... defined, but no doubt new democracies experience[d] more problems implementing cultural policies than with formulating them.”

Matarso and Landry (1999) have included centralisation and decentralisation dichotomy among twenty-one strategic dilemmas in cultural policy, arguing that “[a] tendency towards state centralism is much older than the present century, and to some extent a continuous adjustment between centre, regions, and localities is a natural part of

the political process” (Matarasso and Landry 1999, 47). In this regard, however, it is imperative to recognise decentralisation as a multifaceted process, which, instead of rather obscure conceptualisation (Schuster 1997; Kawashima 2004; Heiskanen 2001) of the term, encompasses “much more complicated set of views and understandings of appropriate directions to take in cultural policy [A] precise and nuanced knowledge of *policy intent* [emphasis added] is critical to understanding [its] implications for policy” (Schuster 1997, 261). Due to the fact that different things can be decentralised in different ways, DiMaggio (1991) also emphasises the need of employing a more specific vocabulary in order to avoid conceptual confusion and recognise the policy alternatives. Kawashima (1997, 2004) categorises decentralisation in cultural policy, distinguishing among political, fiscal, and cultural decentralisation and emphasising that it can apply to cultural processes (activities) and also to the political structures or actors in policy that are administering them (see Table 4.1.).

TABLE 4.1. Concepts of decentralisation

Type of Decentralisation	Cultural	Fiscal	Political
Position within Policy Process	Policy Objective = Outcome	Policy Measure = Input	Policy Measure, Administration = Input
Sub-Concepts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Geographical - Socio-economic - Physical - Cultural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regional - Professional - Institutional 	Vertical: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Central - Regional - Local Horizontal: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Power transfer between levels - Power distribution among departments within one level - Power shift from

			government to non-government
Actors involved	Consumers	Funders Subsidy constituencies	Decision-makers/ Funding bodies
Decentralisation of what?	Opportunities and/or actual outcome	Resource allocation	Power

Source: Kawashima 1997, 344.

According to the classification indicated above, cultural decentralisation implies a process of “fair distribution of [culture] to a wider population” (Kawashima 2004, 5), considering factors of geographical location, socio-economic status, physical ability, and cultural differences as obstacles to equal access. Fiscal decentralisation entails “the diffusion of public expenditure in the arts and culture [I]t does not directly take consumers into consideration, but it focuses upon either funders or producers of cultural and artistic activities” (Kawashima 2004, 6). Depending on the focus of analysis, regional, professional, and institutional aspects of financial decentralisation should be considered. Lastly, political decentralisation denotes “diffusion of political and administrative power for making and implementing cultural policy. It is concerned with disparity of power between different spending authorities or decision-makers. In most cases, it refers to the relationship between central, regional, and local bodies” (Kwashima 2004, 7), implying vertical diffusion of power. DiMaggio (1991, 220-221) suggests that political decentralisation can also take place on a horizontal spectrum among actors that are operating at the same level, e.g., Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Pertinent to the horizontal distribution is “the transfer of power from government to the non-government sector, i.e., the market, the voluntary sector, and

private individuals” (Kawashima 2004, 7), which the scholar characterises as an extreme version of political decentralisation. Important aspect of the classification is the conceptual separation between different positions that each type of decentralisation occupies within the policy process. Kawashima (2004, 5) argues that “[c]ultural decentralisation is first and foremost a policy objective and should be assessed in light of the policy outcome. Fiscal decentralisation, in contrast, should be about policy measure, or input, which is concerned with uneven distribution of public expenditure among cultural producers. Political decentralisation, meanwhile, is about policy measure or policy administration.” In this regard, both political and fiscal decentralisation can be viewed as fundamental means for augmenting cultural decentralisation.

During the 1990s (phase I), closely adhering to the major cultural policy implementation principles, i.e., subsidiarity, proclaimed in *The Main Cultural Policy Postulates of Latvia* (LR Kultūras Ministrija 1996d), political and fiscal decentralisation had been central within the official cultural policy framework of Latvia (LR Kultūras Ministrija 1996d, 2001b, 2006a; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; Council of Europe 1998); both categories have been established as an imperative policy norm conceptually. When evaluating the implementation process of political and financial decentralisation during the phase I, however, the progression can be described as rather stagnant, reflecting deeply embedded historical continuities and complex institutional chemistry characteristic to post-socialist countries. The slow institutional change in cultural policy during the 1990s was featured by resilient structural and institutional patterns of inertia, suggesting that “institutions” are enduring entities that cannot be changed instantaneously or easily (Mahoney 2000, DiMaggio and Powel 1991a,b, Thelen 2000, Ikenberry 1994). When

describing institutional change of the field of cultural production during the first decade of transition, Baiba Tjarve (2010, 133) argues that “[w]hen designing new institutions, they usually [were] successors of old institutions and this cause[d] difficulties in functioning of the newly designed organisations. Despite innumerable institutional changes and transformations, *systemic changes* [emphasis added] in cultural policies of Latvia ha[d] not been implemented.” This reverts the discussion back to the question of inconsistency, which, to a great extent, prevailed between the political rhetoric and policy implementation. Hugoson (1997, 323) describes it as “[r]hetoric of abstract goals in cultural policy,” which often in major policy documents are expressed as general and elusive statements of purpose. The contention between the concept and actuality indicates that during the first phase, strategic planning of cultural policy had not been sufficiently bound to specific implementation instruments, i.e., to a concrete fiscal plan and resources. The very first cultural policy documents, *The Main Cultural Policy Postulates of Latvia* (LR Kultūras Ministrija 1996d) and *The National Programme Culture* (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2001b), lacked consistency and succession in putting forward and complying with the strategic priorities. Both documents can be regarded as an ideal corpus of guidelines devoid of realistic connection to the economic situation and legal procedures. As discussed in Chapter Three, both documents were not synchronised with the content and structure requirements of policy planning documents that were defined by the *Rules of Procedure of the Cabinet of Ministers* (LR Ministru Kabinets 2001a, 2002b), which were introduced in order to improve the prevailing policy planning system and to ensure an adequate linkage between the policy and budget planning processes.

When assessing the most acute issues in cultural policy of Latvia during the 1990s, academician and cultural sociologist Pēteris Laķis had particularly emphasised four impeding factors: “weakness of the legal system [and its implementation]; lack of long-term perspective in the approach to the problems of culture; habitual dependence on government patronage of culture [institutional funding], suppressing spontaneous initiative within society; low level of private support for culture” (quoted in LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 133). As analysed in the previous chapter, the impeding factors have played a decisive role during the emergence phase of the contemporary visual arts field, determining the development trajectory and structuration process. Lack of systematic recognition of the emerging field and non-existent cooperation between the Ministry and the third sector, engendered a distinctly polarised institutional context in which the participating actors (both incumbents and challengers) were operating outside the direct influence of the Ministry of Culture and outside the postulated framework of principles, objectives, and tasks of the national cultural programme, i.e., *Main Cultural Policy Postulates of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d). The very end of the 1990s and the early 2000s eventually started showing positive signs towards synchronisation between the political rhetoric and implementation processes. An encouraging trajectory became apparent in political and fiscal decentralisation processes of the inert administrative and funding apparatus. During the following chapter, I argue that, after descending into crisis, caused by the exit of the chief actor in the field – the SCCA-Riga, the “stabilising hand of state actors” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 104) played a central role in reproducing the field and introducing a new development phase. To this thesis, the concept of local validation is judged to be empirically valuable and practically useful, since it provides a

general characterisation of the prevalent institutional logic of the second examined stage of field structuration. The dynamic sequence during the local validation phase implies that a certain settlement and stabilisation have been reached and that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, beliefs and values) have gradually become a part of a broader institutional locus, e.g., national cultural policy.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 176) state that “one empirical indicator of the crisis in a field is the inability of incumbents to reproduce themselves. When incumbents in the field begin to fail, this is a sign that the underlying principles of the field are not working.” Towards the very end of the 1990s, the field of contemporary visual arts faced a potential institutional reproduction crisis, which was related to the leaving of the most central, financially and culturally significant actor of the field – the SCCA-Riga. Intensity of the foreign assistance programmes decreased significantly towards the end of the 1990, correlating with the rapidly growing economic trend in the country and Latvia’s integration process into the European Union and NATO. From 2000 to 2007 the annual average rate of the GDP increase in Latvia was nine per cent (OECD 2017), indicating the steepest and fastest growth among all of the EU countries (Kraan, Dirk-Jan et al. 2009). The positive economic growth had a direct correlation with the steadily increasing budget of the Ministry of Culture and later with the annual allocation for the State Culture Capital Foundation (FIGURES 4.12 and 4.16.).

Fondazione Fitzcarraldo (2003, 7) report suggests that “most OSI/Soros foundation’s art departments closed down activities between 2000 and 2001.” The general assumption was that the formal goals of the foreign assistance programmes were achieved, like democracy, development of civil society, enhancement of human rights, economic

stability, etc., In the case of the SCCA network, the expectation was that the centres would transform into self-sustaining actors of the independent sector. The withdrawal of this critical funding that formed the economic backbone of the field during the 1990s was abrupt, however, and the field was facing deinstitutionalisation risk, experiencing “a sharp rupture in the routine institutional understandings and practices of the field” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 177). Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 176), in this regard, highlight an important point that “when the field is in crisis, it is ripe for transformation.” Solvita Krese (2006a) explained that due to a very active search for partners in order to sustaining this much needed institution, the centre succeeded in establishing a public-private partnership that was legally based on trilateral agreement between Riga City Council, Latvian Ministry of Culture, and the Soros Foundation. The agreement was signed in 2000, stipulating that each party will allocate a subsidy of twenty thousand LVL in order to guarantee the basic operational functioning of the newly established Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LR Ministru kabinets 1999b; Document Archive of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art 2000a, LR Kultūras Ministrija 2000, 2001a,b). This partnership agreement marked a pivotal and historical decision, elevating the contemporary visual arts field from a narrowly and professionally defined and locally situated field to a state recognised and theorised domain. It was also a decisive moment for the LCCA, guaranteeing that the organisation overcame the liability of newness: “individual organisations exhibiting culturally approved forms and activities, receiving support from normative authorities, and having approval from legal bodies are more likely to survive than organisations lacking these evaluations. Legitimacy exerts an influence on organisational viability independent of its performance or other attributes or connections”

(Scott [1995] 2014, 193). The establishment of the LCCA in 2000 and the decisive involvement of the ministry legitimised the ideational environment, which for a decade was completely ignored by the government. The action of the state at the very beginning of the 2000s was critical step in ensuring institutional reproduction of the field and “enforcing some order in that field” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 175).

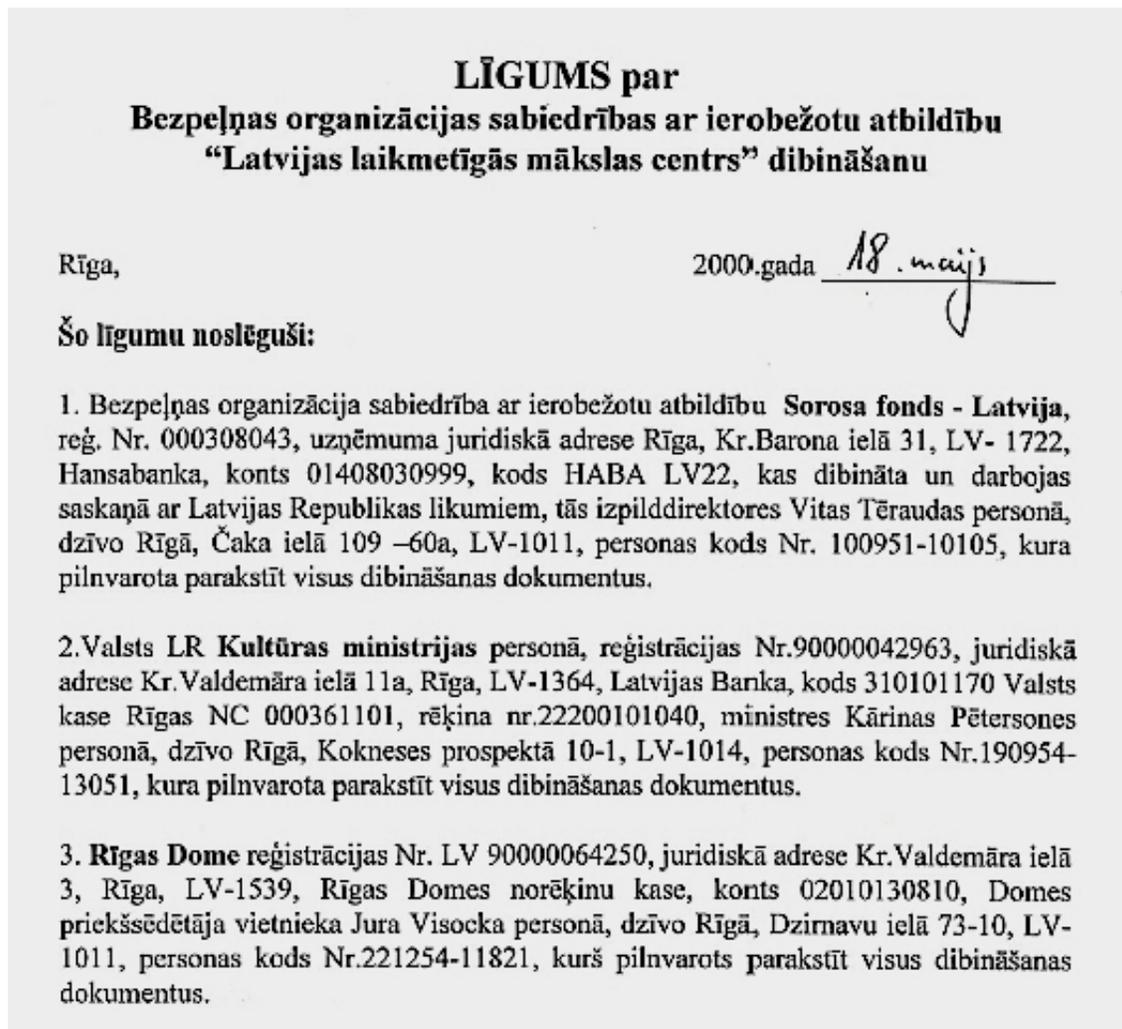


FIGURE: 4.1. Agreement: The Establishment of the Non-profit Organisation, Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. A description of agreeing parties.

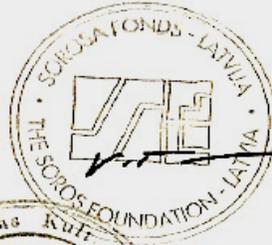
Source: Document Archive of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art 2000a.

13. Līguma stāšanās spēkā un darbība

Līgums stājas spēkā tā parakstīšanas dienā un darbojas līdz Sabiedrības reģistrācijas dienai Uzņēmumu reģistrā, izņemot saistības, kuru izpilde ir iespējama pēc Sabiedrības nodibināšanas.

Sabiedrības dibinātāji

B/o SIA Sorosa fonds- Latvija



V. Tērauda

Valsts Kultūras ministrijas personā



K. Pētersone

Rīgas Dome

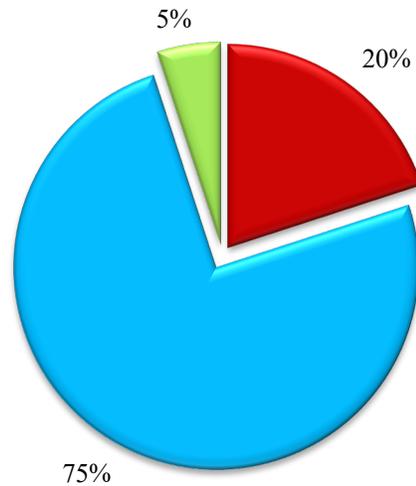


J. Visockis

FIGURE: 4.2. Agreement: The Establishment of the Non-profit Organisation, Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. Agreement Coming into Force and Procedures.

Source: Document Archive of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art 2000a.

When compared with the situation at the very beginning of the 1990s (FIGURE 3.4.), FIGURE 4.3. indicates a clear change in the development processes of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1999 to 2006 and demonstrates a consistent trend within otherwise slow, but planned and continuous policy implementation in relation to the field of contemporary visual arts.



■ Slow and sporadic ■ Slow, but, planned, continuous, and regular ■ Overall fast, planned, and regular

FIGURE: 4.3. Overall evaluation of development processes of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia from 1999 to 2006

Source: Demir 2006. Survey: *Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006*.

Notes: How would you evaluate the overall development processes of contemporary visual art field in Latvia from 1999 to 2006? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The overall development processes of contemporary visual art field in Latvia from 1999 till 2006 could be described as: (1) slow and sporadic, (2) slow, but planned, continuous, and regular, (3) overall fast, planned, and regular.

During the course of the first decade of the 2000s, this encouraging trajectory can be explained by several internal and external factors that fundamentally determined the further development process of the contemporary visual arts field, introducing new incumbents, stabilising the field around a certain core of professional and political actors, and theorising and diffusing the problem on a higher – state level:

1. the establishment of the State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF) in 1998;
2. Latvia's accession into the European Union on 1 May 2004;
3. encouraging political environment for culture during 2004 and 2008; and

4. positive legislative changes, regulating cooperation between the non-governmental sector and the ministry and fostering horizontal political decentralisation (Partnership Agreements).

The SNA visualisation that is illustrated in FIGURE 4.4., representing the major structural and relational trends of the second phase of the field development, comprise a comprehensive examination of one hundred and thirty-five creative output micro-networks with a total involvement of one thousand and fifty-five actors (TABLE 4.2.), but the SNA visualisation that is demonstrated in FIGURE 4.23. represents a separate network of the EU Culture 2000 programme, which includes a total of thirty-two creative output micro-networks with a total participation of four hundred and twenty-nine actors (TABLE 4.2.). A separate visualised network was prepared also for the Venice Biennale participants to demonstrate the changing role of the government in supporting international exchange within the framework of contemporary visual arts field (FIGURE 4.14.). This network is also integrated within the Phase II total network data. The Venice Biennial SNA visualisation comprises twelve creative output micro-networks, indicating biannual participation of Latvian contemporary visual artists within this international art exhibition. In total, seventy-five actors are included in this computation. The archival research that was conducted at the National Archives of Latvia, at the exhibition documentation archives of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Research Centre, and at NOASS' Video Art Archive and Video Art Data Base all were integral in preparing the data sets for the following SNA visualisations of phase II.

TABLE: 4.2. Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics of Phase II

PHASE II: LOCAL VALIDATION (2000-2008) (n=1051)		
135	Creative output	13%
63	Curators	6%
548	Artists	52%
41	Jury	4%
73	Funders	7%
191	NGOs	18%
VENICE BIENNALE (1999-2019) (n=75)		
12	Creative output	16%
18	Curators	24%
23	Artists	31%
3	Jury	3%
9	Funders	12%
10	NGOs	13%
EC “CULTURE 2000” (2000-2006) (n=429)		
32	Creative output	8%
26	Curators	6%
220	Artists	51%
1	Jury	0%
22	Funders	5%
128	NGOs	30%

FIGURE 4.4. illustrates eight distinct structural clusters within the phase II network of the field. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURE 4.4.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central nodes are denoted by major organisations that formed the administrative, fiscal, and professional core of the field, indicating structural properties of the field and relational positioning of “the totality of relevant actors” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 148) endowed with pertinent political, economic, or cultural capitals during the first decade of the 2000s. Some of the colour-coded labels (along with the organisation) also include names of the individual actors (e.g., director, curator, artist,

etc.) who assume a high centrality within each cluster and represent a close relationship with the major organisation denoting the specific sub-network.

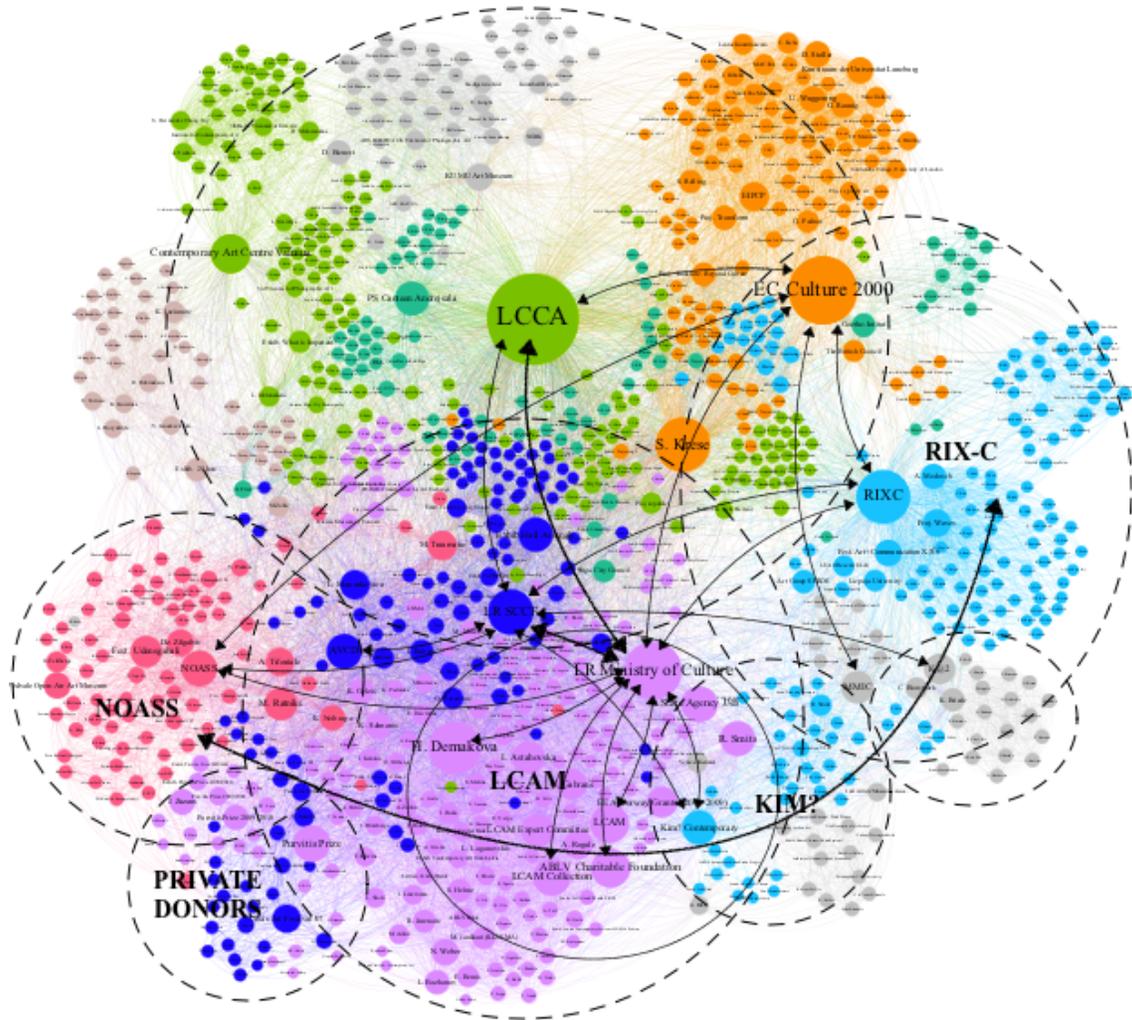
The graph of the second phase indicates an abrupt decline of the previous institutional entrepreneur – the SCCA-Riga – and a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors. High centralities of the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF, denoting two separate structural and relational clusters within the network, characterise changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field and signal an increasingly more prominent input of the government in the constitution project of the field. During the local validation phase, the ministry and other state agencies performed a significant role within the developing field of contemporary visual arts, indicating extended institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive. The state involvement in the field materialised through objectified political capital like laws, regulations, declarations, policies, and funding, denoting the existence of empirical indicators of developing normative and regulative institutions that were crucial in shaping the field.

The EU and its support programmes for culture (European Parliament 2000, 2002, 2006b, 2013; EU – Latvia Association Council 2001; LR Ministru kabinets 2000d, 2001b; LR Saeima 1995) and the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants – Norway Grants, Financial Mechanism (LR Ministru kabinets 2006c; LR Saeima 2007), denoting a separate cluster, were significant external actors that facilitated the structuration process during the first decade of the 2000s.

The constitutive core of the very first non-governmental organisations, like Pedvāle Open Air Museum (1991), the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (2000)

(previously known as E-LAB Electronic Arts and Media Centre (1996)), Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997), and LCCA (2000) (established on the professional and administrative foundation of the SCCA-Riga (1993)), is represented with high degree centrality within the phase II network, indicating a constant development of the field and signalling that these organisations are able to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period. All of these actors are closely inter-related, but in terms of their creative output micro-networks, denote separate clusters. The very high centrality reading of the LCCA within the network of the phase II is an obvious illustration of durability and continuity in routinisation patterns of previously established institutional values, templates, and classifications that, during the emergence phase of the field, were facilitated by the SCCA-Riga as an organisational vehicle of “innovative collective action” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 91).

FIGURE 4.4. also illustrates a strong entrance of the new players (challengers), like Audio-visual Communication Department (AVCD) of Art Academy of Latvia (1997), K@2 Culture and Information Centre in Karosta (2000), Arts Management and Information Centre (AMIC) (2002), Cēsis Art Festival (2007), and KIM? Contemporary Arts Centre (2008); they all assume highly central positions within the corresponding structural clusters, as well as within the overall field of the phase II.



- LCCA / Director Solvita Krese / Curator Ieva Astahovska
- EU Programme Culture 2000
- RIX-C / Festival *Art+Communication* / Director Raitis Šmits / Curator Rasa Šmite
- KIM? Contemporary Arts Centre
- LR Ministry of Culture / Minister of Culture Helēna Demakova
- LR State Culture Capital Foundation
- Audio-visual Communication Department (AVCD) / Art Academy of Latvia / Ojārs Pētersons
- Culture and Arts Project NOASS / Festival *Waterpieces* / Director and Curator Dzintars Zilgalvis
- Cēsis Art Festival / Director Juris Žagars / Curator Daiga Rudzāte
- K@2 / MMIC (Art Management and Information Centre)
- Pedvāle Open Air Art Museum / Director and Artist Ojārs Felbdergs

FIGURE 4.4. SNA visualisation of the contemporary visual arts field, phase II: 2000-2009

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total nodes: 1,051; total edges: 20,521; density 1.6%; 8 distinct structural clusters.

4.2 INSTITUTION OF THE STATE CULTURE CAPITAL FOUNDATION

When analysing the state support for the arts organisations, DiMaggio argues, “the most enduring impact of federal programs that support non-federal organisations over long periods of time may be not direct effects upon individual organisations but influences on the structure of organisational fields” (DiMaggio 1983, 148). The establishment of the SCCF in 1998 (LR Saeima. 1997a) marked another qualitative break, indicating field’s transition to phase II. Similarly to the economic power of the SCCA-Riga during the 1990s, the SCCF intensified and eventually stabilised the structuration process of the field, changing the configuration within the field and indicating the formation process from more atomistic to centralised relational structure around several stable economic powers of influence and around a constant professional core of incumbent actors. In phase II, the most central economic and political powers of the field were represented by two agencies – the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF (FIGURE 4.4.) (purple and dark blue modularity indicators). “Public support from non-entitlement grant programs legitimates the organisations that receive it, particularly when, as in the arts, humanities, and sciences, grant selection is conducted by peer review panels” (DiMaggio 1983, 154). Consequently, these public awards are interpreted “as seals of approval” (DiMaggio 1983, 154) by alternative grant providers, like foundations, private businesses, and individual philanthropists. The non-governmental organisations with high rate of government support – either direct or through the arm’s length agency – are considered to be more successful and they easier overcome the liability of newness (DiMaggio 1983; Singh, Tucker and House 1986; Scott [1995] 2014).

The establishment of the State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF) in 1998 can be regarded as an imperative critical juncture or a “seismic shift” that initiated new developmental pathways in cultural policy of Latvia in general and in the advancement of the contemporary visual arts field in particular. The inception of this arms lengths agency was one of the most important strategic decisions made in cultural policy after almost one decade, introducing a fundamentally new principle of promoting culture in conjunction with the existing institutional funding. Creation of the SCCF implied several important changes within the field of cultural production, distribution, and promotion:

1. refocusing allocation of the public funds: distribution of public funds primarily focusing on new and innovative cultural projects instead of the heavy institutional apparatus;
2. diversification of access to the public funds: making it possible to access funding from a wider range of sources instead of the very limited funding from the budget of the ministry;
3. de-concentration of public funds: providing support for important aspects of culture at risk that suffered from the scarcity of funds remaining at the disposal of the Ministry of Culture; and
4. de-bureaucratization and de-politicisation of administration of the public funds: introduction of professional peer group assessment in the distribution process of funds for culture (LR Ministry of Culture 1998, 168).

The arm’s lengths principle in cultural governance in Latvia was introduced after lengthy and persistent lobbying efforts by cultural operators (Tjarve 2013; Umblija 2015a,b) and

“repeated administrative perturbations” (Arnestad 1995, 32), which seriously interrupted and delayed decentralisation processes during the 1990s. Institution of the SCCF “has been the most significant step in horizontal decentralisation, decentralising distribution of public support in the field of culture that has resulted in free and diverse development of cultural initiatives, both by public and private sector” (Tjarve 2013, 123).

Kawashima (2004, 7) argues that “[u]nfair distribution of subsidy may ... occur among different arts disciplines, among organisations of different sizes, or according to the degree to which organisations or art forms are established [institutionalised], and it can also occur between “mainstream” culture and “non-mainstream” cultures ...”; therefore, de-concentration and diversification of public funding after the creation of the SCCF played a critical role in further development of contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. After the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art ceased to exist as a vital financial and administrative source for the contemporary arts projects at the end of the 1990s, introduction of this “new gatekeeper” within the domain of culture suggested that new avenues for funding might open also for the field of contemporary visual arts. As Wheeler (2003, 491-512) points out, not only the progressive development of venues, magazines, umbrella organisations, university departments, and the like, but also all categories of government, third sector, or private funding indicate institutionalisation. Since the very beginning of the renewal of the independence, the field has been struggling for its existence and recognition. In this respect, the field of contemporary visual arts acquired its official state institutionalisation only in 1998 when, first, the SCCF was established and, second, when, in co-operation with Riga City Council, Latvian Ministry of Culture,

and the Soros Foundation, the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art was created as one of the very first public-private partnerships.

The Visual Arts Programs (1998) of the SCCF offered new possibilities for artists to apply for the project grants. The Special Purpose Programs for Non-commercial Visual Arts Centres and Galleries was introduced in 2002 and provided a consistent funding for infrastructural development of the field of contemporary visual arts. The Special Goal Program: Cultural Events of State Importance was created in 2004, facilitating the development of the large-scale annual festivals within the field. Such international level festivals, like *Survival Kit* by LCCA (orange modularity index), *Art+Communication* by RIX-C (light blue modularity index), *Waterpieces* by NOASS (light red modularity index), *Cēsis Art Festival* by Cēsis Art Festival (dark blue modularity index) all have acclaimed their stable place among the annual state importance awards of the SCCF (SCCF Reports 2004-2018). Their significance can also be evaluated when analysing the phase II visualisation graph. All of the mentioned festivals acquire a high degree centrality with a very extended local and international networking capacity. The award reports of the above-mentioned programmes (SCCF Reports 2004-2018) and the exhibition archive of the LCCA indicate that ninety per cent of the creative outputs that are included within the phase II graph visualisation have a link with the SCCF (dark blue modularity index).

Survey data that was collected in 2006 (Demir 2006) suggest that the institution of the SCCF introduced a significant change in the revenue structure and amount for the contemporary visual arts organisations and projects during the first half of the 2000s; seventy per cent of the respondents strongly supported the occurrence of this trend.

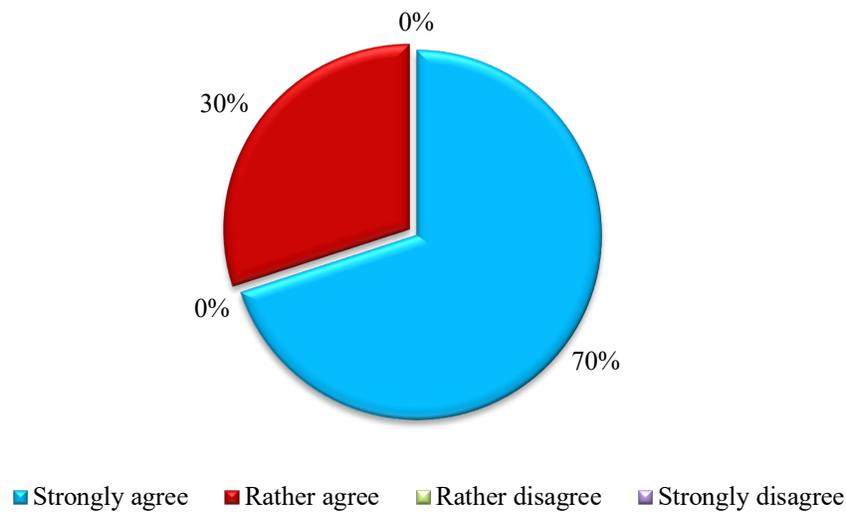
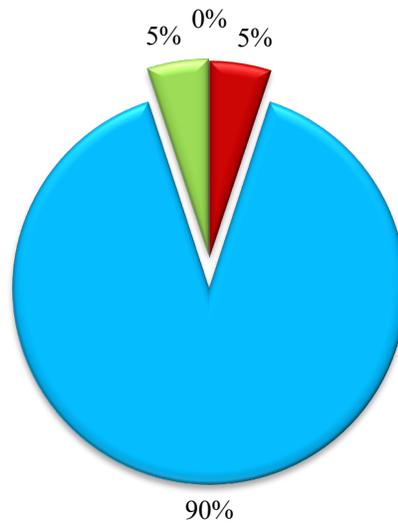


FIGURE: 4.5. The evaluation of the changes in the revenue structure and amount for the contemporary visual arts organisations and projects that took place after the establishment of the SCCF in 1998

Source: Demir 2006. Survey: *Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006*.

Notes: Please evaluate the following statement by selecting one of the answers that best describes your opinion. I (1) strongly agree, (2) rather agree, (3) rather disagree, (4) strongly disagree that the establishment of the SCCF in 1998 introduced considerable changes in the financing structure and amount for the contemporary art organisations and projects.

Regular access to the SCCF’s grants is measured in FIGURE 4.6., indicating a very high stability outcome (ninety per cent). Economic sufficiency evaluation is regarded as low, however.



■ Regular and sufficient ■ Regular, but insufficient ■ Irregular and insufficient ■ Irregular, but sufficient

FIGURE: 4.6. Evaluation of the financial support allocated by the SCCF to the contemporary visual arts organisations and projects in time period from 1998 to 2006

Source: Demir 2006. *Survey:* *Financial Structure Trends of Contemporary Art Organisations and Projects in Latvia from 1992 to 2006.*

Notes: How would you evaluate the financial support that was allocated by the SCCF to the contemporary art projects in time period from 1998 to 2006? Please select one of the statements that best describes your opinion. The Financial support that was allocated by the SCCF to the contemporary art projects in time period from 1998 to 2006 was: (1) regular and sufficient, (2) regular, but insufficient, (3) irregular, but sufficient, (4) irregular and insufficient.

Analysis of the in-depth interviews with professionals from the contemporary visual arts field, including curators, artists, and administrators, indicate that the SCCF has been the most reliable funding source for the non-governmental organisations and the average support of the endowment in 2005 still comprised a high forty-six per cent of the total annual operating revenue of most organisations working in the field (FIGURE 4.9). Pētersons (2006, 2014), the former Chair of the Council of the SCCF, explained, the foundation fulfilled the key supporting role, both for contemporary art projects and infrastructure during the second phase of development, i.e., from 2000 to 2009. It is important to note, however, that, while regular, this source of income was still

comparatively very small and insufficient. In regard to infrastructural support, it was more like “seed money” (Krese 2006a, 2014).

The five charts included below clearly illustrate the vital financial role that the SCCF assumed in facilitating the development of the visual arts organisations that were operating outside the state established institutional and cultural production and distribution setting until the global economic recession, which severely affected Latvia in 2008. FIGURE 4.10. represents the expected funding structure of visual arts organisations in 2010 as it was projected in one of the major strategic planning documents for culture, *National Program “Culture” 2000 – 2010* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b).

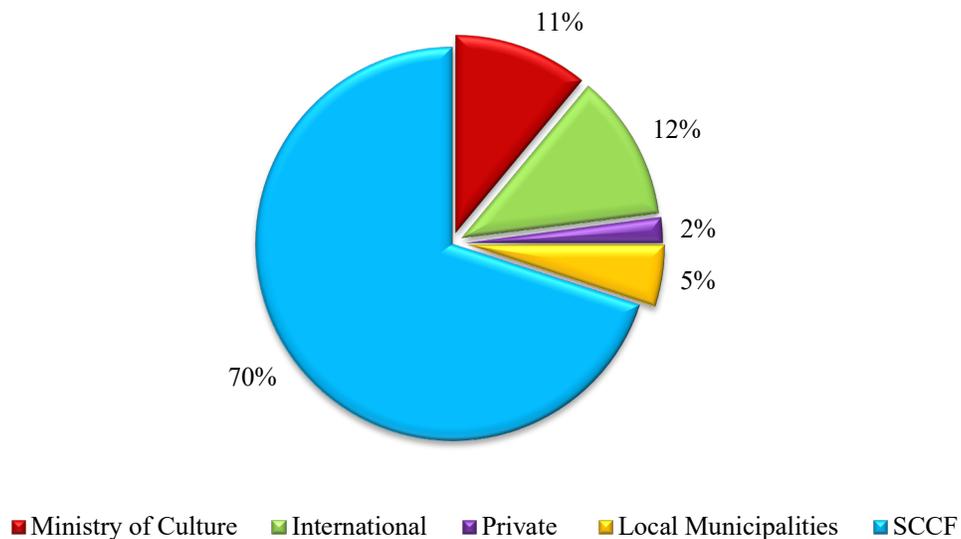


FIGURE 4.7. Revenue structure of non-governmental visual arts organisations in 2000
Source: LR Kultūras Ministrija 2001b.

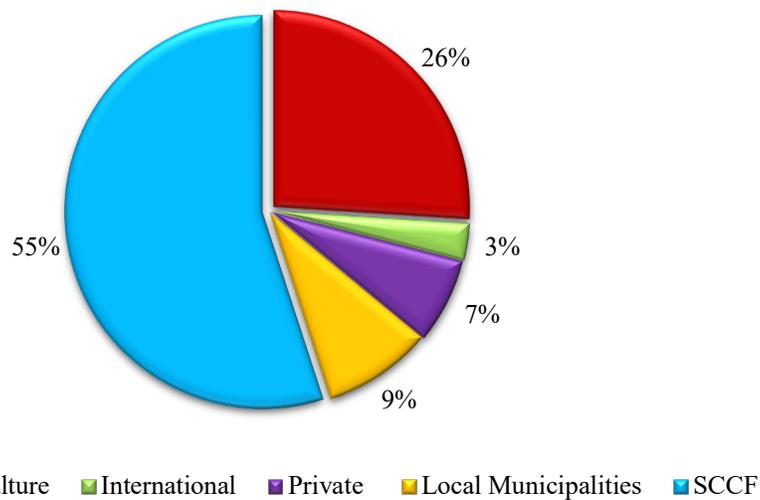


FIGURE 4.8. Revenue structure of non-governmental visual arts organisations in 2001

Source: LR Kultūras Ministrija 2001b.

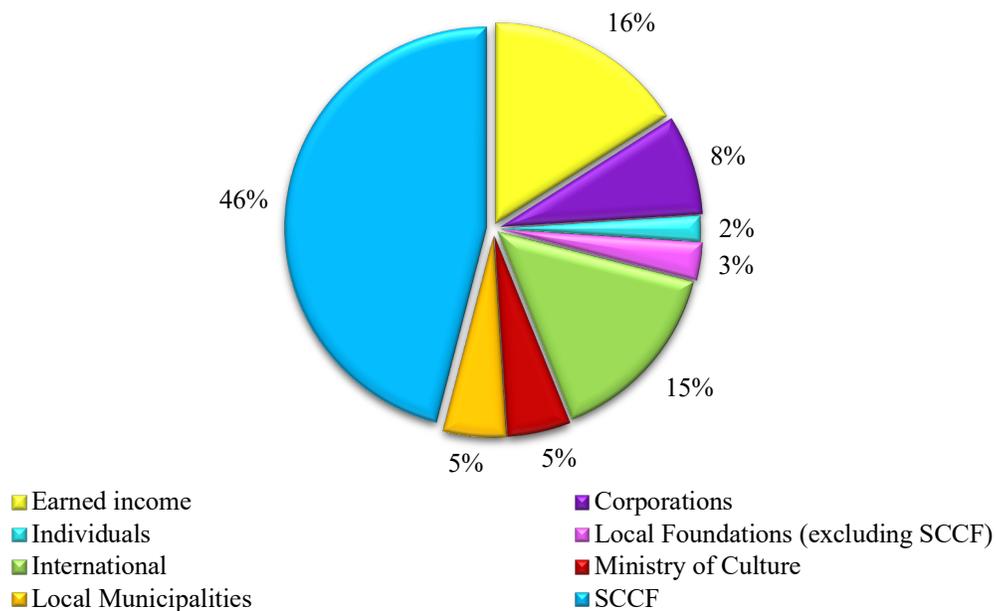
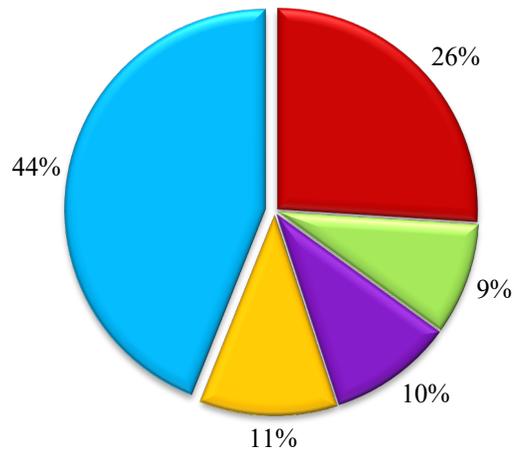


FIGURE 4.9. Revenue structure of non-governmental contemporary visual arts organisations in 2005

Source: Demir 2006, *Survey Financial Structure and Developmental Tendencies of Infrastructure of Contemporary Art Field in Latvia from 1992 to 2006*, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019. Note: Data collected from seven high degree centrality acquiring non-profit organisations working in the field (LCCA, Pedvāle Open Air Museum, SERDE, RIX-C, NOASS, K@2 Culture and Information Centre, MMIC)



■ Ministry of Culture
 ■ International
 ■ Private
 ■ Local Municipalities
 ■ SCCF

FIGURE 4.10. Projected funding structure for non-governmental visual arts organisations from 2001 to 2010

Source: LR Kultūras Ministrija 2001b.

The analysis of financial records of seven contemporary visual arts organisations that are also represented within the SNA visualisation graph with high degree centrality, indicate that the division of average income from 2004 to 2008 is compatible with the projections of the Ministry of Culture that were calculated in 2001.

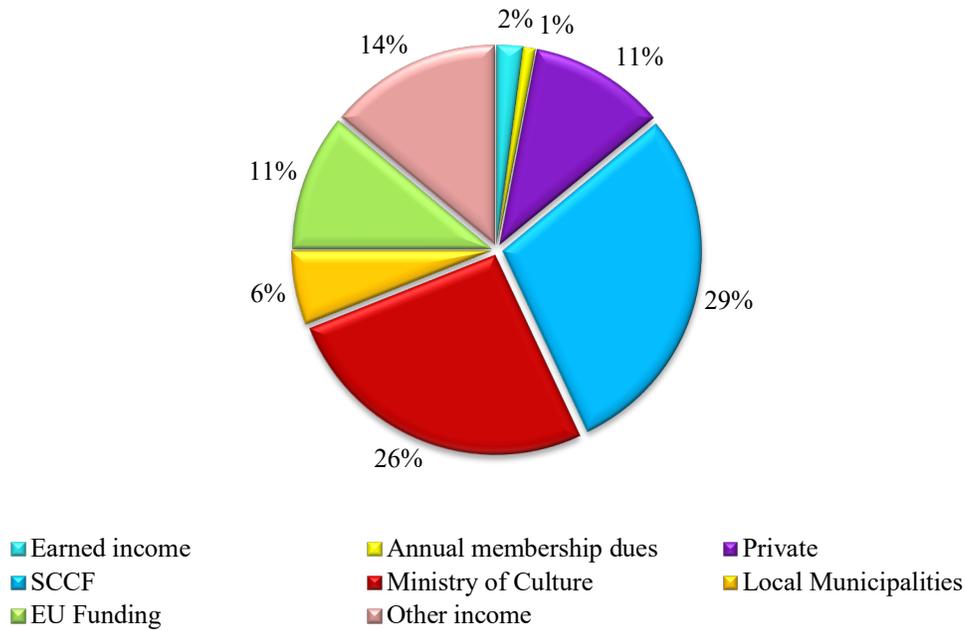


FIGURE 4.11. Revenue structure of non-governmental contemporary visual arts organisations (average from 2004 to 2008)

Source: Lursoft 2017, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

Note: Data collected from seven high degree centrality acquiring non-profit organisations working in the field (LCCA, Pedvāle Open Air Museum, SERDE, RIX-C, NOASS, K@2, MMIC)

It is obvious that during the second phase the SCCF had acquired the role of symbolic “gate keeper” of public funds for the non-governmental organisations and innovative projects, but there is also a slight indication of improvement towards more diversified funding pattern. The revenue structure of contemporary visual arts organisations (FIGURE 4.9.) shows that international funding has considerably increased after Latvia joined the EU. The importance of the EU Structural Funds and other EU funding programmes in promoting the non-governmental visual arts sector, including contemporary visual arts field, is discussed in the further sub-chapter of this study.

When establishing the SCCF, the government sought to implement one of the fundamental principles of political and fiscal decentralisation in cultural policy of the

country, however, it is also possible to argue that the rest of the horizontal co-operation on a state level remained rather limited. In the framework of this discussion, it is important to establish the borders of arm's length principle in Latvia and to determine exactly what does this principle imply? Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire McCaughey (1989, 43) argue that in Western societies the arm's lengths principle is "implicit in the constitutional separation of powers between the judiciary, executive and legislative branches of government." When discussing the principle within the cultural policy models,¹⁴³ the researchers point out that the *Patron State* supports culture through arm's length councils, implying that "[t]he government determines how much aggregate support to provide, but not which organisations or artists should receive support" (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey 1989, 49). Christopher Madden (2009, 11) reminds that in literature that covers cultural policy matters the definitions of the principle are considerably different from each other and are often vague. Probably the best way to find common ground in regard to this complex issue would be to agree with Per Mangset (2009, 274) who argues that "[t]here is ... a great international variety of institutions called "arts councils" or "arm's length bodies". Their autonomy, in relation to the government, varies considerably both between and within countries" based on a wider net of country specific institutional complexities. The notion of an ideal arm's length model can exist only as an "efficient rhetoric reality" (Mangset 2009, 286).

The SCCF was officially instituted on 18 December 1997, and it started functioning as a paramount arm's length agency in the field of cultural production on 1

¹⁴³ More information about the models is available in Harry Hillman Chartrand and Claire McCaughey. 1989. The Arm's Length Principle and the Arts: An International Perspective--Past, Present, and Future. In *Who's to Pay for the Arts? The International Search for Models of Support*, ed. Milton C. Cummings and J. Mark Davidson Schuster, 43-80. New York: ACA Books.

January 1998 (LR Saeima 1997a). In Latvia, the principle has been introduced in conjunction with the centralised approach in public governance and distribution of funding. On institutionally administrative level, there is a strong Ministry of Culture and “relatively” strong arm’s length agency. The goal of the newly established state endowment was to provide financial support and promote balanced development of creative projects in all the sectors of culture, but particularly focusing on cultural expressions that were not included within institutional funding routine of the state. The analysis of the SCCF records indicate that the organisations, representing the field of contemporary visual arts in Latvia, had been very active in participating in the grant contests and the awarded project ratio, on average from 2000 to 2008, within the Visual Arts Programs (1998) and the Special Purpose Programs for Non-commercial Visual Arts Centres and Galleries (2002) comprised high fifty-two per cent of the total awarded projects. This also explains the high degree and betweenness centrality of the SCCF within the SNA visualisation graph of the phase II.

The Annotation of the Bill the “Amendment of the Law on the State Culture Capital Foundation” clearly states that the key objective in creating this arm’s lengths agency was separation of the decision-making and funding powers of culture from political influence and dependence. Vērpe argues that “[i]ndependence of art professionals from political power provides an opportunity to finance cultural projects that most directly correspond to the professional standards of each field in art and culture rather than to support projects that are commercially most beneficial and politically preferred” (Vērpe 2014a). The original law, the *Law on Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 1997a), which was ratified by the Saeima in 1997 provided endowment’s independence via two

mechanisms. First, decisions about the allocations of funds were made by the boards of different professional fields and the board of the foundation (consisting of professionals) instead of politicians or bureaucrats and, second, the endowment was funded by earmarked tax revenues, i.e., the excise tax imposed on alcohol (three per cent), tobacco products (three per cent), gambling and lottery tax. The support mechanism of the SCCF ensured endowment's independence from political lobbying and disputes during the time when the annual *Budget Law* was planned.

Arguably, the arm's lengths principle in Latvian cultural policy was implemented on a limited scale, particularly after the reorganisation of the endowment's initial funding mechanism in 2003. Initially, the length of "the controlling arm" was planned to be quite long, but, already after the first three years of successful functioning, this distance was notably reduced. As the findings of this thesis demonstrate, the arm's lengths principle is the subject of considerable controversy and the idea of fiscal and political decentralisation has been contested, encountering serious constraints, particularly on funding level. The major issue is to what extent such agencies "should be allowed to follow an independent road – to travel to the sound of their own tambourine – and to what extent should they be controlled by the government. And this question opens up, among other aspects, the whole matter of the extent to which patronage should be allowed to influence granting policies" (Meisel 1989, 88).

As discussed in the previous chapter, prevalent has been a biased understanding about the ministry regarding it as the only institution responsible for shaping cultural policy. It is only partially true because cultural policy is very closely related to the entire political spectrum of the state. The importance of the Saeima and the *Declaration of the*

Government often get forgotten. Experts, bureaucrats, or social media are not passing the bills, politicians in power are. Political parties can introduce important changes in the political processes of the country, including changes in the existing cultural policy. In this regard, important factors are political responsibility and consistency in policy implementation. Edgars Vērpe (2014a), Director of the SCCF, points out that “the most severe malady in Latvia is that everyone who comes to power also wants to reorganise something – and so it continues on and on.” The frequent changes of governments,¹⁴⁴ particularly characteristic during the first phase, have only aggregated the problem of responsibility and consistency factors, affecting also the stability of the contemporary visual arts field development, which is heavily dependent on the funding capacity of the SCCF.

In 2003, the financial independence of the SCCF was considerably compromised. After the general elections in October 2002, the new government decided to introduce a fundamental change in the funding procedure of the arm’s length agency (LR Ministru kabinets 2002a, 2003b). The new *Law on the State Culture Capital Foundation* was ratified in 2003, defining that “the financial resources of the endowment are comprised by state budget resources from the annual general revenue in the amount stipulated by the *Annual Budget Law*” (LR Saeima 2003b, Article 5, Paragraph 1). The consolidation of the budgets undermined the fiscal and political decentralisation attempts of the previous governments in the field of cultural production and indicated a comeback of the previous *modus operandi*, in which the most significant decisions about the financial provisions

¹⁴⁴ Appendix 8 provides a list of all Ministers of Culture in Latvia from 1990 to 2019. Usually the minister would change with each new incoming government. During phase I (1991-1999), the field of cultural production experienced a change of eight consecutive ministers.

were passed in the Saeima and the Ministry of Finance. The Ministry of Finance had a casting vote in determining either to increase or to decrease the annual subsidy for the field of culture. The ruling of 2003 considerably reduced the opportunity to realistically develop any long-term plans, and it completely eliminated financial autonomy of the foundation. It also notably compromised the symbolic, economic, and political power of the Ministry of Culture. This particular case indicated the presence of the political unpredictability and volatility that was still very much present in Latvia during the 2000s. It also demonstrated that there was a very strong correlation between political volatility and policy outcomes in the field of culture (Ridley 1987; Bell and Oakley 2015).

In a process-oriented perspective, politics can be defined as social constructions of different approaches to problems and solutions, forwarded by different actors with different motives and in different positions of power, in an attempt to make binding decisions. Political processes then consist of struggles or conflicts between the ways in which various actors describe and evaluate reality. (Baklien and Predelli 2003, 303)

In Latvia, frequently changing political actors tend to make different binding decisions and prescribe different and “reforming” solutions to problems. In 2003, the leading New Era party coalition, by proposing the new *Law on the State Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 2003b), reminded that the SCCF, the cultural gatekeeper of the state, is still a politically appointed agency operating as the prolonged arm of the government instead of as an independent body. It also demonstrated that, in practice, the actor of power, who pays the piper, calls the tune.

Ramona Umblija (2015b), former Minister of Culture from 1997 to 1998, during whose tenure the SCCF finally came to fruition, remembers that the idea of funding the endowment from the earmarked tax revenues was not very popular from the very

beginning: “the concept perhaps was too avant-garde among the politicians of the time and especially among financial specialists.” When establishing the SCCF, Estonian experience was taken as the critical example. Among other cases that were studied (e.g., Great Britain, Denmark, Netherlands), it was more feasible to apply the experience of the Cultural Endowment of Estonia due to historical, political, economic, and legislative similarities between the two neighbouring countries (Umblija 2015b).

Edgars Vērpe (2006, 2014a,b) explained that the official validation of this unpopular decision was a “concern” of instability of the foundation’s budget due to the tax revenue fluctuations, however, in actuality, it was a political matter of not having a complete control over the financial resources that were allocated to different foundations through excise tax, including the SCCF. Also, domestic economic indicators exhibited a strong and rapidly increasing excise tax revenue trend. The comparative chart below (FIGURE 4.13.) illustrates the differences between the two options, i.e., budget that is dependent on the will of the Saeima and its appropriations authority, and the budget that would depend on the excise tax revenue. In addition, represented are the annual budget data of Cultural Endowment of Estonia (CEE), the budget of which is comprised of a fixed share of alcohol (three per cent), tobacco (three per cent), and gambling taxes (fifty per cent), and available funding data of the Culture Council of Lithuania (CCL), the budget of which is comprised of a fixed share of alcohol (three per cent), tobacco (three per cent), and gambling taxes (ten per cent). The arm’s length agencies in Estonia and Lithuania were not exposed to such radical reorganisation as their Latvian counterpart and they had managed to protect the initial implemented funding mechanism of the endowments’ annual budgets. The difference between the two scenarios is quite obvious.

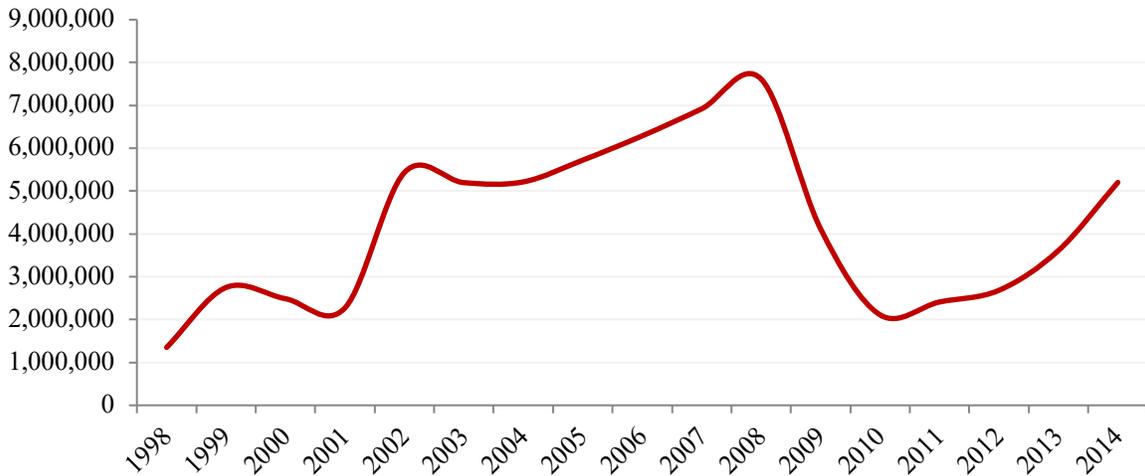


FIGURE 4.12. Budget of the State Culture Capital Foundation from 1998 to 2014 (LVL in current prices)

Source: The State Culture Capital Foundation 2014, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

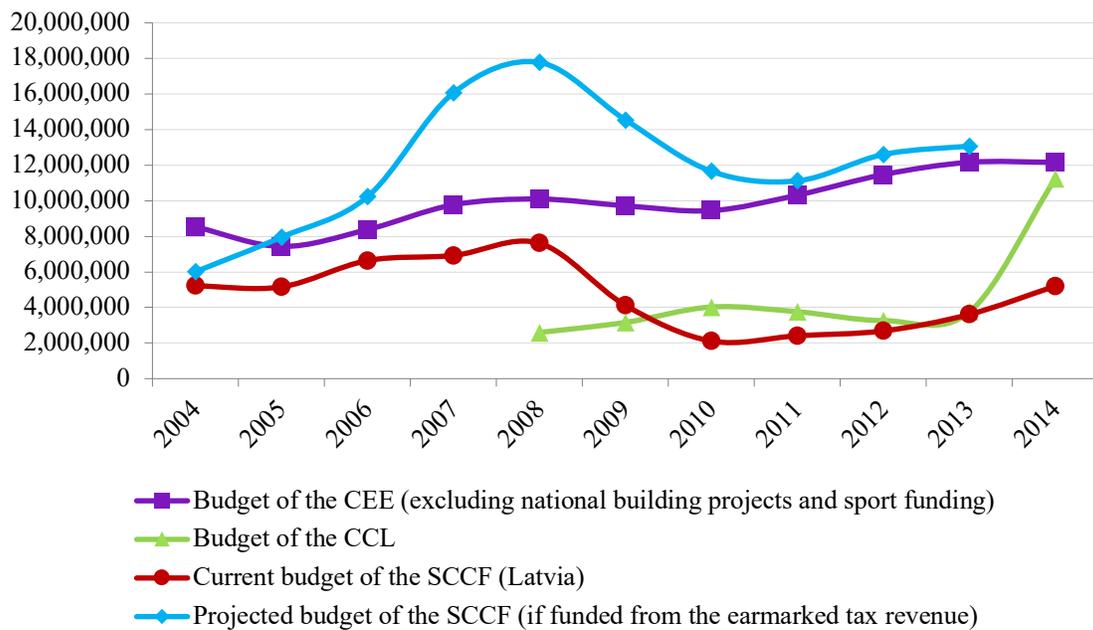


FIGURE 4.13. Budgets of the SCCF (current and possible), the Culture Council of Lithuania, and the Cultural Endowment of Estonia (LVL in current prices)

Source: The State Culture Capital Foundation 2014, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The sentiment that culture is a spending, but not an earning sector (Demakova

2008, 228), as well as the question: what if there is going to be too much money allocated for culture (Vērpe 2006, 2014a; Kultūras Krustpunkti diskusija 2014), are still rather widespread within political circles of Latvia, and the unfortunate ruling of 2003 only reflects this attitude. Consequently, the new *Law of the State Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 2003b) had to be ratified according to the proposed reform. The new law, at least, included an important provision, guaranteeing an annual budget increase. The stipulation was, “the allocation from the state budget [could not] be smaller¹⁴⁵ than in the previous fiscal year” (LR Saeima 2003b, article 5, paragraph 2). This legal requirement of “increase”, however, was not bound to a fixed amount and could be as low as one cent or as high as thirty per cent of the previous annual budget of the foundation. Considering the inflation rate, the first alternative illustrates that, in reality, the law was not very accommodating and everything depended on the political mood and, most importantly, the political will of the Saeima and the appropriations authority of the deputies and the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Finance.

The New Era party majority Cabinet of Ministers fell in March 2004, and the incoming government in their *Declaration* announced, “[w]e will immediately renew a complete independence of the State Culture Capital Foundation from political power and we will secure a ten per cent annual increase¹⁴⁶ in the agency’s budget by law” (LR Ministru Kabinets 2004d). The reorganisation of the SCCF budget allocation principle indicates how the political volatility and political inconsistency in policy implementation affect the field of cultural production and distribution. The precedent had opened the door

¹⁴⁵ There was a strong opposition, asking to incorporate a specific ten per cent increase clause in the new *Law on State Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 2003b).

¹⁴⁶ Ten per cent annual increase was not incorporated in the law, however.

for other “convenient” amendments and, since the budget of the endowment was passed through the centralised scrutiny of the *Annual Budget Law*, the principal financial document of the country, the *Law on State Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Saeima 2003b) was legally susceptible to further modifications.¹⁴⁷ As Cummings and Katz (1987, 12) argue:

There are limits to the insulation from politics, which are possible with any public agency. Members of arts councils are appointed by politicians; governments can react to policies they dislike by threatening to cut the council’s appropriation for succeeding years, and councils usually anticipate this possibility, making overt threats unnecessary; and despite the principle of autonomy, government may impose restrictions on appropriations.

Mundy (2000, 33) states, that the relationship between the centre and the arm’s lengths organisation more often than not is complex and even though such agencies are created to make a “buffer of independence” between the cultural sector and the political sector, “in reality it rarely protects the cultural sector from the political climate of the day.”

The battle about the SCCF’s funding model is not over, and the endowment’s director, Edgars Vērpe, as well as the current Minister of Culture, Dace Melbārde, are full of determination to finally achieve the restoration of the very first funding mechanism. It looks there might be a slight chance. In 2011, the *Declaration* of the incoming government stated that it is going to “*reassess* [emphasis added] the opportunity of providing the independence of the SCCF by restoring the previous funding system” (LR Ministru kabinetu 2011b). The current *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinetu 2014a), however, states that the government is “*going to renew* [emphasis added] the previous funding model of

¹⁴⁷ The provision of the annual budgetary increase was effective until December 2008. Due to the economic downturn, the *Amendment of the Annual Budget Law 2009* revoked this provision, and the budget of the SCCF was decreased by forty-five per cent. In 2010, agency’s budget experienced further reduction. When compared with 2008, the SCCF’s budget had been decreased by seventy-five per cent.

the State Culture Capital Foundation” (LR Ministru kabinets 2014a). During the preparation stages of the current *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinets 2014a), the longest discussion was about the funding fate of the SCCF. As the current Minister of Culture, Dace Melbārde, points out, the debate was “like a boxing ring. It was a real test of endurance – who will outlast whom?” (Kultūras Krustpunkti diskusija 2014). The draft law regarding the concept of the funding model of the SCCF has been reviewed in the Cabinet of Ministers, however, no amendments have been ratified yet. Linda Karliņa (2015, e-mail exchange), the Executive Director of the SCCF, admits that “the passing of the resolution has been deferred, but we are hoping that the question is going to be actualised during the summer.”¹⁴⁸

4.3 PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR AND THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE

One of the important factors fostering the horizontal political decentralisation was a significant improvement in cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and non-governmental sector during the second phase of the contemporary visual arts field development. Beginning of the 2000s marks significant improvements in developing a comprehensive legal framework, facilitating partnership initiatives between the public authorities and the non-governmental sector. In 2000, the Cabinet of Ministers ratified the

¹⁴⁸ On 13 June 2018, the Cabinet of Ministers passed the resolution (No. 275, protocol No. 28 28.§) about the *Conceptual Report Regarding the Amendments in the Funding Model of the State Culture Capital Foundation* (LR Ministru kabinets 2018). The resolution stipulated that the reorganisation of the SCCF’s budget allocation principle is going to be implemented, starting from 2022. According to the provision, the funding of the endowment will be calculated based on earmarked tax revenues, i.e., the excise tax imposed on alcohol (three per cent), tobacco products (two per cent), gambling (two-and-two-tenth per cent), and lottery tax (one-and-four-tenth per cent).

Regulations of the Secretariat of the Specific Tasks Minister in Society Integration Matters (LR Ministru kabinets 2002c). The Secretariat was in charge of developing civic society integration and strengthening policy. Consequently, the *Guidelines of the Civic Society Strengthening Policy: 2005 – 2014* (LR Ministru kabinets 2005b), the *State Programme “Strengthening of the Civic Society: 2005 – 2009”* (LR Ministru kabinets 2005c), and *Co-operation Memorandum of the Non-governmental Organisations and the Cabinet of Ministers* (LR Ministru kabinets 2005g) were ratified in 2005.

In the field of cultural production, a significant cooperation framework was established within three policy planning documents: *National Programme “Culture”* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b), *State Cultural Policy Guidelines 2006-2015: “National State”* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a), and *State Cultural Policy Guidelines 2014 – 2020: “Creative Latvia”* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014c). Considering that during the 1990s the institutional funding for the state established organisations was dominating the field of cultural production and distribution and there were only few support outlets for the independent sector to develop, the functional delegation principle was not applied, and the non-governmental organisations, representing the field, were not involved within cultural policy realisation, the three documents are particularly important in facilitating the partnership implementation between the independent sector and the Ministry of Culture¹⁴⁹ not only in rhetoric, but also in policy planning and application. Also, the theorisation of the contemporary visual arts as a category was included within the documents and “the field concept emerge[d] in the official language of arts policy”

¹⁴⁹ The *Regulations of the Ministry of Culture* (LR Ministru kabinets 1994a, 2000e, 2003a) have been changed in total twenty-two times within the time frame from 1994 to 2019, reflecting the cognition, naming, categorisation, and theorisation stages of the contemporary visual arts at a national level.

(DiMaggio 1983, 156). Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 175) argue, “while the state usually does not directly produce the ... field, it will often be called upon to certify or enforce some order in that field.” In 1999 a special funding by the Ministry of Culture was assigned to the LAMA in order to start working on the development of the contemporary visual arts collection (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2000).

When evaluating her tenure, the former Minister of Culture from 1998 to 2002, Kārina Pētersone (2003, Paragraph 3) emphasised that during her time in the office “several institutions or fields were strengthened both financially and legally.” Among the institutions she mentions the establishment of the LCCA. Emphasising the fact that until 2000 there was no state recognised representing institution of contemporary visual arts, the Ministry of Culture particularly highlighted the trilateral agreement that was signed between the ministry, the Riga City Council, and the Soros Foundation Latvia; the result of the agreement was the institution of the LCCA as a direct successor of the SCCA-Riga (LR Ministru Kabinets 1999b; LR Kultūras ministrija 2000, 2001a,b). The SCCA-Riga report (Soros Center for Contemporary Arts – Riga 2000, 6) states that “the expertise and experience gained over the years has created the basis for a new structure that would be ready to become involved in problem solving at the cultural policy level.”

Awareness that close to nothing had been done by the state in relation to the collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the contemporary heritage of visual arts, was an important factor, characterising the development initiatives of the public authorities towards the enhancement of the field during the second phase. DiMaggio (1988, 14) contends that

...[c]reating new institutions is expensive and requires high levels of both interest

and resources. New institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources (*institutional entrepreneurs*) see in them an opportunity to realise interests that they value highly. The creation of new legitimate organisational forms – such as corporations, savings and loan associations, advertising agencies, universities, hospitals, or art museums – requires an *institutionalisation project*.

The “institutionalisation project” of the state as one of the central institutional incumbents during the first decade of the 2000s can be described through the inception of the idea of the contemporary art museum and strong initiatives towards the realisation of this idea. One of the primary tasks of the newly instituted LCCA was to “work out the conceptual and development model of a Latvian Museum of Contemporary Art. The creation of such a museum [was] one of the priorities of ... cultural policy” at the time (Soros Center for Contemporary Arts-Riga 2000, 7). In 2001, the Ministry of Culture commissioned the LCCA to conduct the research and comparative analysis of international case studies, critically assessing the existing situation in the field. The final study established a viable foundation for the museum development also in Latvia (LR Kultūras ministrija 2002a).

The Visual Arts Council (VAC), a consultative body to the ministry, was created in 2001 (LR Kultūras ministrija 2002a), comprising also representatives from two core contemporary art organisations, i.e., Solvita Krese from the LCCA and Rasa Šmite from RIX-C, respectively. The international contemporary art exhibition, Venice Biennale, was acknowledged by the newly established VAC among one of the state importance events, and the first public allocations for this particular event were ratified within the *State Budget Laws* of 1998 and 1999 (LR Saeima 1998c, 1999). The participation network of Venice Biennale is represented in FIGURES 4.14. and 4.15., and it supports the central role that the ministry and the SCCF acquired during the phase II of the contemporary visual arts field development. Defined by the *Budget Laws* and other related legal

regulations, the two institutions have occupied the major economic and political power in connection with this particular international art exhibition (LR Saeima 1998c, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003c, 2004; LR Kultūras ministrija 2006d, 2007a, 2010a,b, 2011, 2012, 2014b,e, 2016a,b, 2018; LR Iepirkumu birojs 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016).

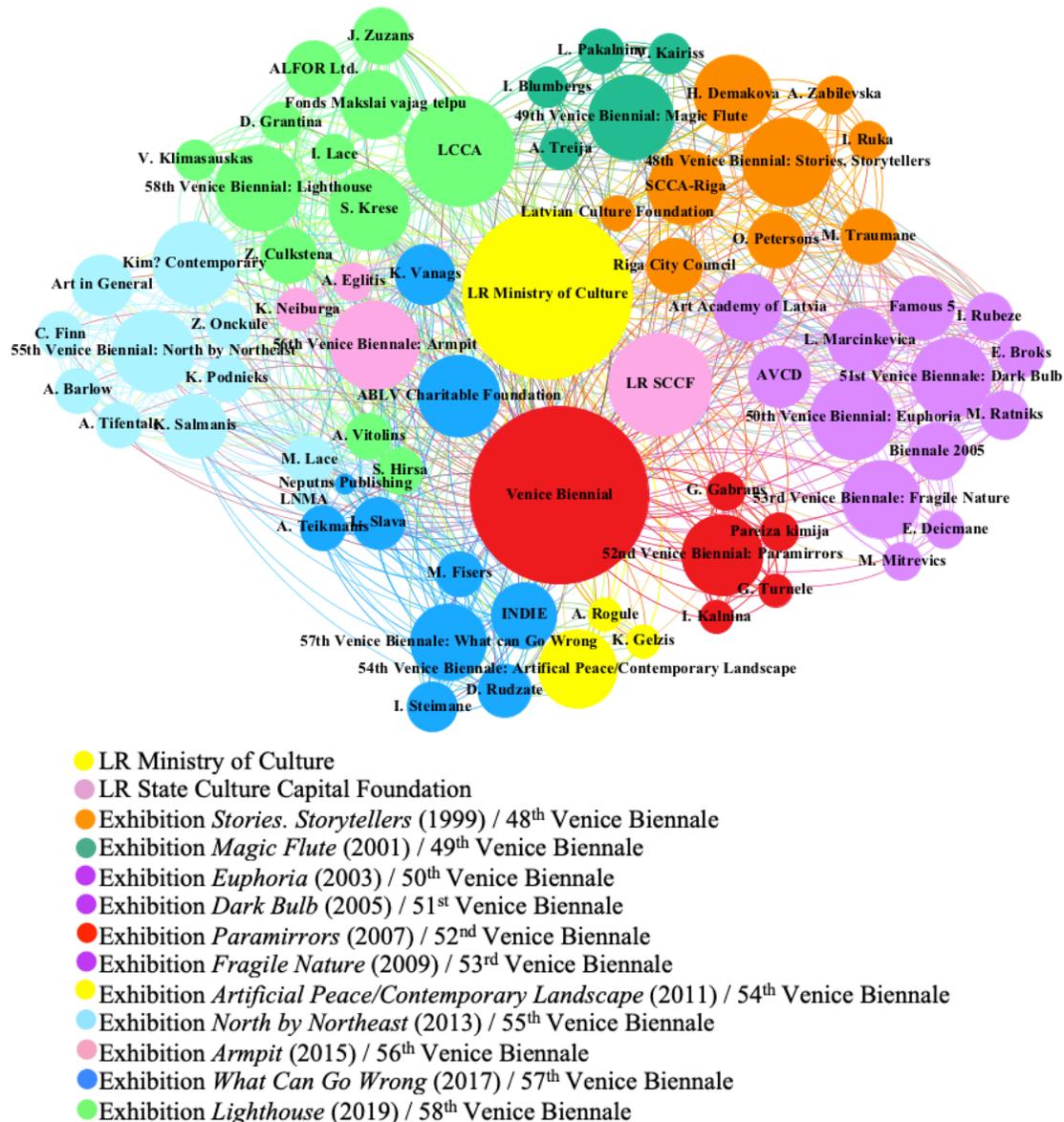


FIGURE 4.14. Visualisation of Latvia's participation in Venice Biennale from 1999 to 2019 after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, degree centrality, and modularity measure

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: total actors: 74; total edges: 1,332; density: 17.6%; 9 distinct structural clusters.

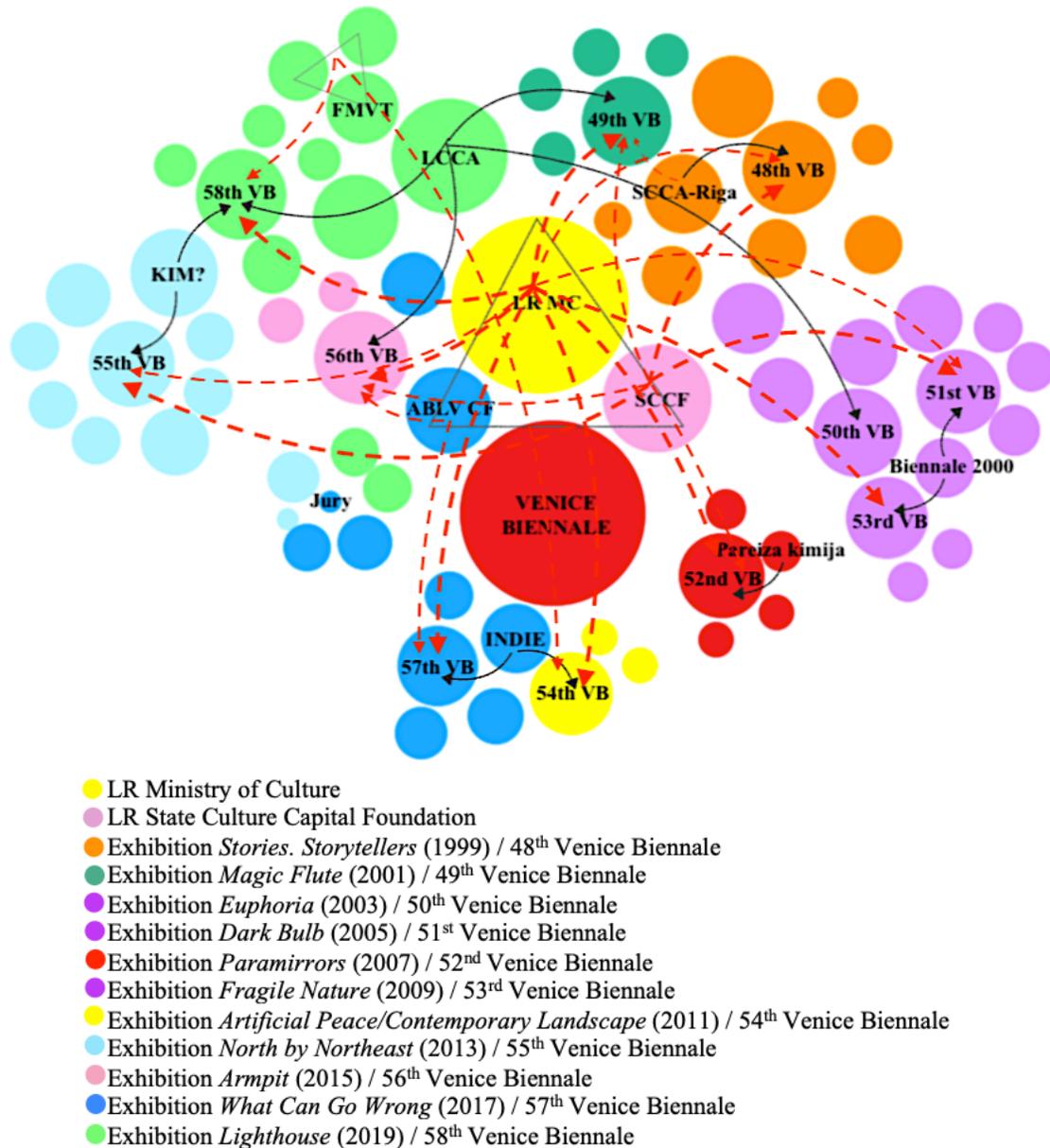


FIGURE 4.15. Funding trendlines: visualisation of Latvia's participation in Venice Biennale from 1999 to 2019 after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, degree centrality, and modularity measure

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: total actors: 74; total edges: 1,332; density: 17.6%; 9 distinct structural clusters.

FIGURES 4.14. and 4.15. illustrate nine distinct structural clusters of the network that represents the participation of Latvian artists in the Venice Biennale since 1999. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURES 4.14. and 4.15.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central actors are defined by eleven symbolically potent creative outputs – biannual exhibitions at the pavilion of Latvia in Venice – and their micro-networks, comprising major organisations in charge of supervising the execution of the corresponding event, curators, artists, and principal benefactors. Both graphs (4.14. and 4.15.) indicate a high degree centrality for both the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF, denoting these state agencies as major financial and political guarantors. The added trendlines trace the regularity and the level of the allocated amounts. The bold dotted line (red) indicates the primary funding source and the lighter dotted line (red) indicates the secondary funding source for each event. The solid black lines indicate the particular organisation's relation to each biannual exhibition. In 2014 the ABLV Charitable Foundation and in 2018 the Foundation Art Needs Space signed partnership agreements with the Ministry of Culture, provisioning a specific and regular financial support in conjunction with the public subsidy of the ministry and the allocations by the SCCF (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014b,e, 2018). In the SNA visualisation graphs both foundations indicate an emerging economic power presence of the private sector, which is a particularly visible trend within the contemporary visual arts field after the global economic recession affected Latvia in 2009.

The existing *Law on Culture Institutions* recognizes all governance types of cultural institutions (LR Saeima 1998b, Paragraph 31). It also determines that all organisations, regardless of their legal status, can compete for the state and municipal commissions, the SCCF grants, the state and international support project and program grants, as well as other guarantees and allowances established by laws. *The Law on Culture Institutions*, however, does not include a provision that would stipulate delegation or reallocation of certain administrative tasks to the non-governmental culture organisations. Considering that the institutional funding was still dominant at the very beginning of the 2000s and the chance for non-profit culture organisations to get any funds directly from the ministry was very slim, introduction of Basic Provisions for Delegation within the *State Administration Structure Law* (LR Saeima. 2002a, Chapter 5, Section 40) was a significant step towards horizontal fiscal and administrative decentralisation in Latvia. Tjarve (2013, 29) suggests that

...[i]n Latvia, the influence of contemporary art non-governmental organisations gradually has grown on a cultural policy level, mainly because they have offered innovative content and have had an effective management, and a capacity to form professional alliances to advocate for a change. Without changing general legislation or overall principles of distribution of public funds, some changes favourable for NGOs have been attained. e.g., one of the achievements has been the allocation of the public funding to non-governmental organisations, delegating them some of the public policy functions.

The financial benefits of the *Partnership Agreements* were of utmost importance for the contemporary arts organisations, which were working outside the recognized “established” institutional setting of the state. In 2005, there were four cases of the reallocation of public functions to non-governmental organisations and all four of the organisations represented the contemporary visual arts field (LR Ministru kabinets 2004;

LR Kultūras ministrija 2005b, 2006d, 2007b,c,d 2008b,c,d,e). In principle, the organisations are functionally subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers, which means that these “institutions of indirect administration ... perform specific tasks of the State administration ... the performance of which is transferred to the relevant derived public person or the institution itself” (LR Saeima 2002a, Chapter I, Section 5, Paragraph 3) if the authorized person or institution can perform the relevant task more effectively. The contractual delegation period defined by the law is three years. After each period, the Ministry of Culture announces new competition, however, for the last decade the above mentioned four organisations have been selected as the undisputed finalists. The corresponding areas of contractual delegation are:

1. Development of video art and free public accessibility to video art data base (Culture and Arts Project NOASS).
2. Development of visual art and free public accessibility to visual art data base (Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art).
3. Development of new media art and free public accessibility to new media art data base (Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C).
4. Promotion of contemporary art in Latvia and abroad via innovative artistic and educational programming (Contemporary Art Centre *Kim?*).

The partnership agreements were critical in the further advancement of the structuration process of the field – they defined institutional identity of the four organisations on a state level, assigning specific “capacities, rights, and responsibilities” (Scott [1995] 2014, 228). The agreements also shaped the arrangement of the professional core of the field

(FIGURES 4.4 and 4.14), as well as facilitated the further classification of the artistic language – each agreement specifies a concrete professional focus that the corresponding organisation represents within the field. All four organisations acquire a very high degree centrality, indicating a rather consistent historical development trend that was already starting to take shape during the first phase of the field development.

During 2008 and 2009 already eight agreements were signed reallocating certain public responsibilities to the non-governmental sector (LR Valsts kontrole 2015), beside contemporary visual arts including also fields of literature and music.

4.4 ENCOURAGING POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT FOR CULTURE DURING 2004 AND 2008

Time period between 2004 and 2009 can be characterised as one of the most consistent when referring to the state cultural policy development in Latvia. This was also the time when the economy of the country was growing at a very high rate. The budget of the ministry almost tripled between 2004 and 2008. Also, the annual allocation for the SCCF increased significantly, from five-and-two-tenth million LVL in 2004 to seven-and-six-tenth million LVL in 2008 (FIGURE 4.16.).

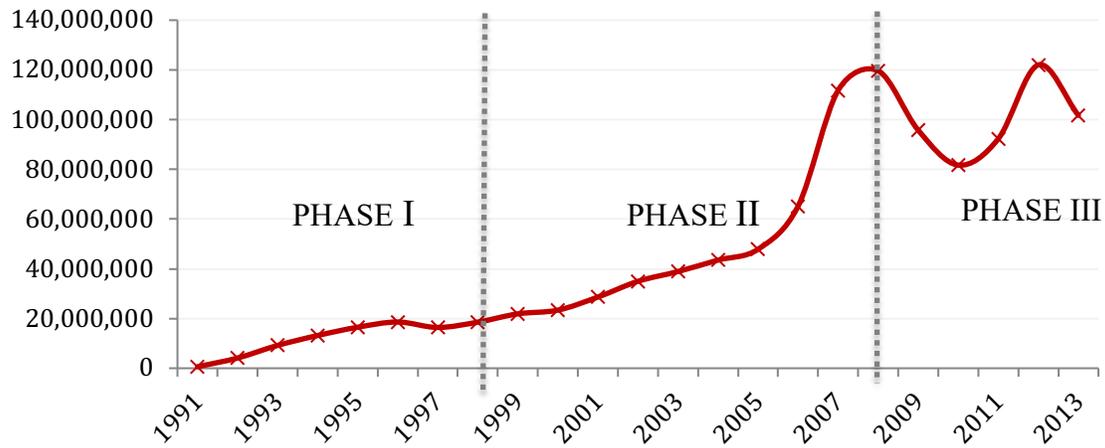


FIGURE 4.16. The budget of the Ministry of Culture (LVL in current prices)

Source: LR Ministry of Culture 2014c,d, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

The Minister of Culture at the time, Helēna Demakova, managed to retain the ministerial position throughout the change of four cabinets from 2004 to 2009. This timeframe also marks an important stage in the development of contemporary visual arts field, directly correlating with the distribution of political power in Latvia at the time. On 28 October 2004, a very short-lived minority government of Indulis Emsis (Green and Farmers Union) resigned. Despite the fact that the tenure of this Cabinet was brief, the momentum that the *Declaration* of Emsis’s government created was pivotal for the field development. The minister’s portfolio, overseeing the field of culture, was assigned to Helēna Demakova, and, for the very first time in the post-Soviet history of the country, the construction of new cultural edifices of national importance were announced among the main policy priorities in culture. The *Declaration* and the *Action Plan* very ambitiously claimed to start the planning process of the new Contemporary Art Museum project in 2004 with a goal to complete the construction of the building by the end of 2008 (LR Ministru kabinetu 2004a, Article *Culture*, Section 1, LR Ministru kabinetu 2004b). Soon

afterwards – in May of 2004 – under the auspices of the ministry, the museum project work group became established. Based on the research that was completed by the LCCA, *Development of the Scientific Concept of the Latvian Museum of Contemporary Art* (Kļaviņš, Krese, Buša 2001), and the *Law on Museums* (LR Saeima 1997c), the principal responsibility of this body was to develop the concept and mission statement, as well as to define the economic and cultural impact of the future museum within Latvian and European cultural environments. The protocol of agreement, *Development Project of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum and New Concert Hall in Riga* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006ce; LR Valsts kontrole 2010), that was signed between the Ministry of Culture and Riga City Council in June 2004 embraced a resolution between the two public agencies, stipulating bilateral collaboration towards development of the museum project with a goal to enhance the international recognition and competitiveness of Riga and Latvia, to advance cultural tourism, to promote the integration of cultural processes of Riga and Latvia within European and global cultural flows, and to create an opportunity for the citizens of Latvia and Riga to gain access to high quality and cutting edge professional art expressions. The protocol stipulated that the Ministry of Culture would commission the museum project, develop and run the work group, organize the architecture sketch competition, and provide funding for the completion of the project. The agreed responsibilities of Riga City Council were to secure the building plot for the realisation of the project and to guarantee the participation of the council's experts in the established work group. Also, in accordance with this legal document, Riga City Council pledged to raise capital that was equivalent to twenty per cent of the total planning and

construction expenses of the edifice (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006ce, LR Ministru padome 2006d).

The minority government led by the Prime Minister Indulis Emsis was forced to resign on 28 October 2004 due to a failed attempt to pass the annual draft state budget in the Saeima. *The Saeima Rules of Procedure* demanded, “if the Saeima, when voting on the annual draft state budget submitted by the Cabinet in the first or second reading, rejects it, it shall be deemed that distrust of the Cabinet has been expressed” (LR Saeima 1994c, Article III, Section 30). The falling of this short-lived Cabinet jeopardised the new museum project initiatives that were included in the *Declaration* and the *Action Plan* of the leaving government. The continuity of the previous endeavours and hence the institutionalisation process of the project was secured by the succeeding government, in which the portfolio of the minister of culture was again assigned to Helēna Demakova. In the new Cabinet, formed by Aigars Kalvītis in December 2004 (LR Ministru kabinets 2004d), the Minister of Culture had a strong backing of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister – all three of them represented the same party, i.e., the People’s Party. This was a unique situation that had not repeated itself after 2008.

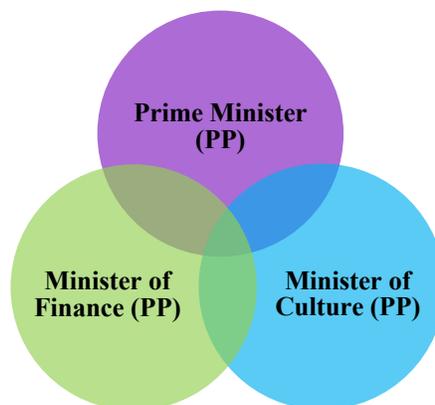


FIGURE 4.17. The core of political, cultural, and economic power from 2004 to 2008

Source: Demir 2019.

The *Declaration* of the new government included fundamental provisions for the infrastructural development of the contemporary visual arts field. The very first section in this essential policy document, under the article focusing on incoming Cabinet's priorities in the field of cultural production and distribution, stipulated that, during the tenure of the new government, the construction process of the "three brothers" would be launched, including three fundamental cultural facilities of national importance – the new National Library building, music hall, and the Contemporary Art Museum (LR Ministru kabinets 2004d, Article *Culture*, Section 1). During the very first year of this government and Helēna Demkova as the Minister of Culture, the contemporary art museum project was officially instituted, and the state agency, the New Three Brothers (*Jaunie "Trīs brāļi"*), was established (LR Ministru kabinets 2005a). The agency was working under the supervision of the Minister of Culture and the goal of it was "to ensure the construction and preparation for the beginning of operation and functional execution of the National Library of Latvia, Riga Concert Hall, Contemporary Art Museum and other culture buildings funded from the state budget" (LR Ministru Kabinets 2005a, Article I, Section 1).

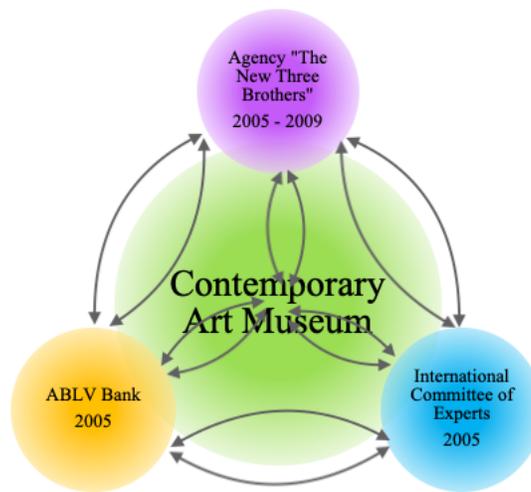


FIGURE 4.18. The core of political, cultural, and economic power of the Contemporary Art Museum concept

Source: Demir 2019.

The *Annual Public Report of the Ministry of Culture* of 2004 (LR Kultūras ministrija 2005c) recognized that, in order to provide a well-rounded development of the field, significant infrastructural improvements should be implemented and the development of contemporary art museum project was announced as one of the priorities of the year: “the absence of the contemporary art museum has caused serious interpretation problems of the art processes representing recent history, as well as shortage of systematic, regular, and objective art criticism” (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006e, Article 1.1.) and research. During this same year, the International Committee of Experts for the development of the contemporary art collection was created, and, finally, the Ministry of Culture signed the *Collaboration Agreement* with the ABLV Bank (LR Kultūras ministrija 2004b), which undertook to invest one million, four hundred twenty-two thousand, eight hundred EUR for the acquisition of artworks proposed for the collection of the future Contemporary Art Museum.

Within the confines of the *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinets 2004d) of A. Kalvītis's government that worked until the national elections in November of 2006, two important policy planning documents were ratified, significantly impacting the development trajectory of the museum. The respective documents were, *The Informative Report of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum Project Implementation Process* (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2006c, LR Ministru kabinets 2006d) and *The Implementation Concept of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum Project* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006e).

After the national elections of the ninth Saeima that took place on 7 October 2006, Helēna Demakova managed to remain in office as a Minister of Culture throughout the next two successive governments, reinforcing the continuity in the policy implementation, particularly in connection with the planning and development processes of the new cultural infrastructure projects, amongst them also Latvian Contemporary Art Museum. The significance of the two aforementioned, as well as the two succeeding government *Declarations* and *Action Plans* (LR Ministru kabinets 2004abd, 2006a, 2007, 2008c) was that they represented the very first, national-level policy planning documents that comprised specific strategic goals, objectives, and course of action that were bound together with the declared priorities of the incoming governments. It indicated that the museum project idea ceased being theorised as mere paperbound rhetoric that lacks any specific and real implementation plans.

The question of new cultural infrastructure improvement, focusing on national importance cultural edifices, is particularly important within the development context of national cultural policy planning documents. In the framework of the long-term cultural policy planning document, *National Programme Culture 2000-2010* (LR Kultūras

ministrija 2001b), the development and improvement of cultural infrastructure was delineated as one of the priorities. Cultural infrastructure in the guidelines is defined as the sum of structures, conditions, and systems guaranteeing continuity of and access to cultural processes. In a narrow sense, the term implies physical infrastructure, comprising structures, buildings, and technological and communication equipment that enables proper functioning of cultural practices, and territorial infrastructure, determining the geographical location of cultural institutions and indicating cultural accessibility. Considering that during the 1990s the infrastructure development for contemporary visual arts as a specific cultural policy goal, recognized on a state level, was not established within the existing policy framework and a field specific institutional base was absent, important were the strategic goals and objectives that were described in two subdivisions of the new policy document. In the Museums section of the guidelines, one of the objectives clearly expressed the need to establish a specific development plan that would help facilitating the accessibility of Latvian contemporary visual arts collection in a format of an exposition. The intention closely correlated with the strategic goal, describing the essential role of the contemporary heritage and continuity of cultural processes. As one of the objectives that was set forth in the Visual Arts section of the guidelines was a necessity to identify the essential infrastructure for a successful dissemination of visual arts, like art gallery and museum exhibitions halls, workshops, studios, etc., and a need to develop an investment attraction strategy to maintain and improve this infrastructure. When describing the governance system of the field, the guidelines comprise a clear commitment in the near future to establish the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum development and completion programme (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b).

However important for the field development and national visibility, the *National Programme Culture 2000-2010* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001b), similarly to the previous *Principal Cultural Policy Guidelines of Latvia* (LR Kultūras ministrija 1996d), did not comply with the content and structure requirements of policy planning documents that were defined by the *Rules of Procedure of the Cabinet of Ministers* (LR Ministru Kabinets 2001a, 2002b). Even though the guidelines included clear national priorities in the field of cultural production and distribution, as well as strategic goals and objectives for each sub-programme, like museums, visual arts, libraries, music and dance, theatre, etc., the document lacked a detailed formulation of an action plan and implementation procedures that would be harmonised with the rest of the strategic and budget planning processes of the country, significantly compromising the credibility and efficacy of this otherwise essential policy planning document.

During H. Demakova's tenure as the Minister of Culture (2004-2009), new long-term cultural policy planning document, *State Cultural Policy Guidelines: 2006-2015. National State* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a), was ratified, indicating a synchronisation trend between the field specific policy planning documents and other strategic and budget planning practices, comprising *National Development Plan* (LR Ministru kabinets 2006e), *Regional Policy Guidelines* (LR Ministru kabinets 2004e), *State Budget Law* and annual local budget plans. The apparent harmonisation practice of the policy planning on national level considerably minimised the persistent dissonance gap between the rhetoric and application, as well as between the localities where the cognition and theorisation processes took place. The national cultural policy document that was ratified on 18 April 2006 marked an important turning point in the development trajectory of the

contemporary visual arts field. From an abstract rhetoric in an ideal corpus of the previous guidelines that were devoid of realistic connection to the economic situation and legal procedures, the field had emerged as a political category within the state policy planning documents, signifying that a certain settlement and stabilisation has been reached and that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, beliefs and values) have increasingly become a part of a broader institutional locus. It was also an indication that the obligation to facilitate a well-rounded development of the field had gradually become a national responsibility.

The construction of national importance cultural edifices was defined as one of the middle-term priorities in the guidelines, and it was closely tied to the strategic goal, embracing national identity and cultural values. The problem statement maintains that the conceptual framework and perception of national identity in Latvia is out-dated, restricting the society to fully embrace and recognize the richness of the cultural heritage in all of its entirety, as well as hindering the development of a diverse national culture. The persistent status quo and preservation approaches have led to exclusive cultural policies, undermining the development of a dynamic and open society. In today's society, relevant has become question about up-to-date preservation and development strategies of national culture that would represent an important transition from an inward-oriented and restrictive identity perception to a positive and open one. The problem statement also comprises a significant recognition that the society in Latvia lacks new and contemporary symbols of national culture, which would, simultaneously, represent the country worldwide as a modern-day state (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a). This was a clear acknowledgement that a cohesive policy that would enhance identification, maintenance,

and production of national cultural values was absent in Latvia. There were several tangible and intangible cultural heritage examples, for which, after they gained international acclaim, a special normative framework had been established in order to ensure their preservation, like Historic Centre of Riga¹⁵⁰ and Latvian Song and Dance Festival.¹⁵¹ There were, however, other nationally important cultural values that required state support in order to establish their legal status, guarantee their proper preservation, and facilitate their accessibility. The emergence and development course of the contemporary visual arts field during the 1990s, in this regard, represented a relevant example. In close correlation with the above-mentioned policy priority and strategic goal, one of the principal objectives was to support and develop anew national importance cultural institutions that would foster high-quality and diverse national cultural processes and represent and boost the national identity of the country (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a). Establishment of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum as a modern symbol of the state was included among the priority tasks, and the *Action Plan* of the cultural guidelines determined that the construction process of the museum should commence in the time period between 2008 and 2009 (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a; LR Ministru kabinets 2008a).

FIGURE 4.19. illustrates a fragment of the phase II network (marked by purple modularity indicator in FIGURE 4.4.), containing a more detailed view of the structural cluster that is represented by the ministry as the central actor. It also indicates all incumbents (core actors) involved in the development of the museum concept and the

¹⁵⁰ In 1997, Historic Centre of Riga was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

¹⁵¹ In 2008, Latvian Song and Dance Festival was inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

collection. H. Demakova has retained her high degree centrality position that she already acquired during the phase I as one of the leading curators. During the second development stage of the field, her role changed from dominant cultural power to political power, considerably influencing the field structuration dynamics.

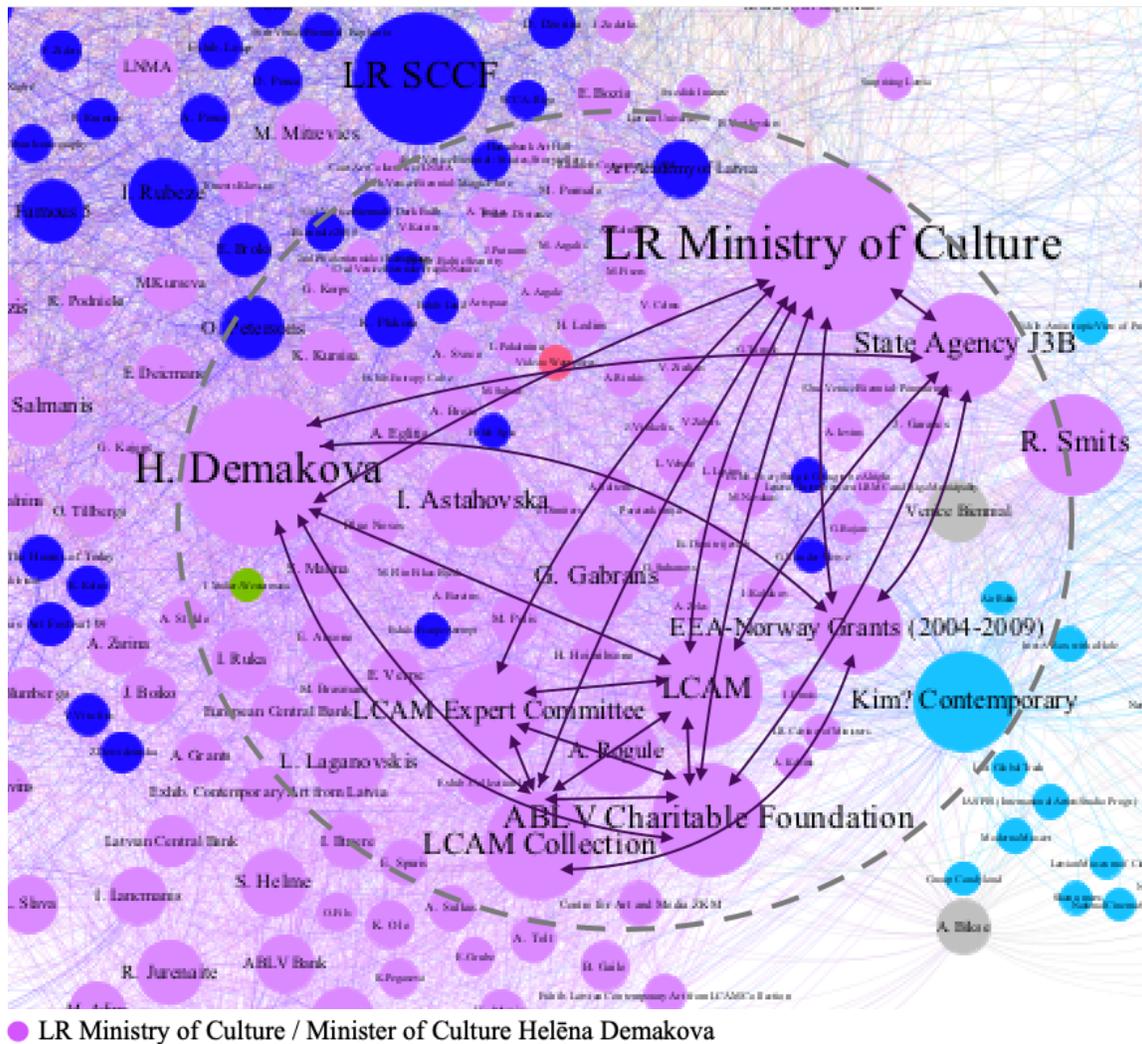


FIGURE 4.19. Visualisation of the field structuration during the Phase II: major actors of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum concept and collection. Fragment of the network after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, degree centrality, and modularity measure.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

4.5 ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

Fligstein and McAdam (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 85) argue that “new inputs from outside the field are thus normally required to change the balance of power within the field. These inputs can include dramatic events or other exogenous shocks that suddenly and decisively alter relations within the field, or infusions of new resources and/or ideas from external sources that greatly improve the strategic position of challenging groups.” Latvia’s integration process in the EU reflects the changing political and, particularly, economic balance power within the field structuration process of the phase II. On 12 June 1995 in Luxembourg Latvia signed European Union Association Agreement (LR Saeima 1995c), which entered into force on 1 February 1998. “According to Article 109 of the Europe Agreement and Annex XVIII thereto, Latvia may participate in Community framework programmes, specific programmes, projects or other actions in particular in the field of culture” (EU-Latvia Association Council 2001; LR Saeima 1995c). In order to legally participate in the EU specific culture programmes the Cabinet of Ministers on 28 December 2000 ratified the *Financial Memorandum about Latvia’s Participation in European Community Programmes LIFE III, Fiscalis, Leonardo da Vinci II, Socrates II, Youth, Culture 2000, Fifth Framework Programme – Science and Technological Development* (LR Ministru kabinets 2000d), but on 21 July 2001 the decree about *European Union-Latvian Association Council Decision Regarding Conditions Governing Latvia’s Participation in the Programme “Culture 2000”* was passed (LR Ministru kabinets 2001b), opening new funding avenues for the non-governmental organisations working in the field of cultural production and distribution.

It is important to note, however, that the concept of culture entered the legal

framework of the EU rather late – only with the ratification of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) or Maastricht Treaty, which was signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992. Within the legal confines of this document, the culture became an official part of the EU legislature (European Union 1992).¹⁵² The Article 167 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union defines the role of the EU in the area of culture, claiming that “action by the Union shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas: improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples, conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance, non-commercial cultural exchanges, artistic and literary creation, including in the audio-visual sector” (European Union 2007, Title XIII, Article 167, Points 1 and 2). In order to encourage and ensure the cultural cooperation and exchange, the European Parliament and the Council “acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States” (European Union 2007, Title XIII, Article 167, Point 5). According to the provision, cultural sphere is defined within the supporting, coordinating, and complimentary category of the classification of the EU competences (TABLE 4.3).

TABLE 4.3. Classification of EU competences into three categories

¹⁵² The Treaty on European Union (European Union 1992), signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992, Article 128, Title IX, followed by the Treaty of Amsterdam (European Union 1997), signed in Amsterdam, 2 October 1997, Article 151, Title XII. The Treaty of Lisbon (European Union 2007) was signed in Lisbon on 13 December 2007 and the article comprising culture was changed from Article 151 to Article 167, Title XIII.

EXCLUSIVE	SHARED/CONCURRENT	SUPPORTING/ COORDINATING/ COMPLIMENTARY
1. Customs union	1. Internal market	1. Protection and improvement of human health
2. Establishment of the competition rules necessary for the functioning of the internal market	2. Social policy, for the aspects defined in the TFEU	2. Industry
3. Monetary policy for the Member States whose currency is the euro	3. Economic, social, and territorial cohesion	3. Culture
4. Conservation of marine biological resources under the common fisheries policy	4. Agriculture and fisheries, excluding the conservation of marine biological resources	4. Tourism
1. 5. Common commercial policy	5. Environment	5. Education, vocational training, youth and sport
	6. Consumer protection	6. Civil protection
	7. Transport	7. Administrative co-operation
	8. Trans-European networks	
	9. Energy	
	10. Area of freedom, security, and justice	
	11. Common safety concerns in public health matters, for the aspects defined in the TFEU	

Source: TFEU (EU 2012b, Title I, Articles 2-6).

The incentive measures in a form of three important culture support programmes are of particular importance for the field development of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia. *Culture 2000* programme was established by the decision No 508/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council (European Parliament 2000) and prolonged by decision No 626/2004/EC of 31 March 2004. On 12 December 2006 the European

Parliament and the Council of the European Union passed the decision No 1903/2006/EC, establishing the *Culture* programme that run from 2007 to 2013 (European Parliament 2006b), but on 11 December 2013 the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union passed the Regulation No 1295/2013, establishing the *Creative Europe* programme, which started in 2014 and will complete in 2020 (European Parliament 2013). The SNA visualisations, illustrating the networking and relational impact of *Culture 2000* and *Culture* programmes are included in the sub-chapter below.

During the second development phase, Latvian cultural policy showed an encouraging trend towards fiscal and administrative decentralisation, however, it should also be noted that institutional funding was still dominant and the determinant factor in applying for funding was the legal status of the organisation, i.e., the status of a state organisation, making access to budget funding very difficult for the non-governmental organisations. In 2006, cultural production, distribution, and promotion were still mostly managed through the state budget, namely the state financial support for culture (central government and municipalities combined) was amounting to high seventy per cent of the total support for culture (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006a, 13). In this context, Latvia's accession in the EU was vital. As data indicate, the availability of the EU Structural and Investment Funds and other EU funding promoted diversification of income for many non-governmental organisations working outside the established network of the state institutions. During the fiscal years of 2004 and 2005, the available funding for culture from the central budget was ninety-one-and-nine-tenth million LVL (LR Saeima 2003c, 2004). Additional thirty-one-and-two-tenth per cent of the given amount was available from different public sources (Baltic Project Consulting 2006, 25). During this time

period, i.e., 2004 and 2005, fifteen-and-five-tenth million LVL or sixteen-and-nine-tenth per cent of the total state allocation were available from the EU Structure and Investment Funds and twelve-and-six-tenth million LVL or thirteen-and-seven-tenth per cent of the total state allocation were available from other EU funds (Baltic Project Consulting 2006, 26). During this time period, bilateral aid programs¹⁵³ for culture contributed 0.55 million LVL.

Comparison of the allocation ratios to different culture sub-programs reveals rather expected results. Taking the sub-program of visual arts as an example, it is possible to argue that the availability of the additional funding from the EU Structural Funds and particularly from other EU funds played an important role in financially supporting visual arts projects and non-governmental organisations, working outside the state infrastructure. Visual arts example is also important when analysing the available support for the contemporary art projects and organisations. As data show, only one hundredth per cent of the total state budget for culture (LR Saeima 2003c, 2004) was allocated for visual arts in 2004 and 2005. In regard to the direct state funding, the very limited ratios reflect still a very similar allocation practice to that of the phase I (discussed in detail in Chapter Three).

¹⁵³ Bilateral aid is generally provided by the government of one country directly to another country (Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy).

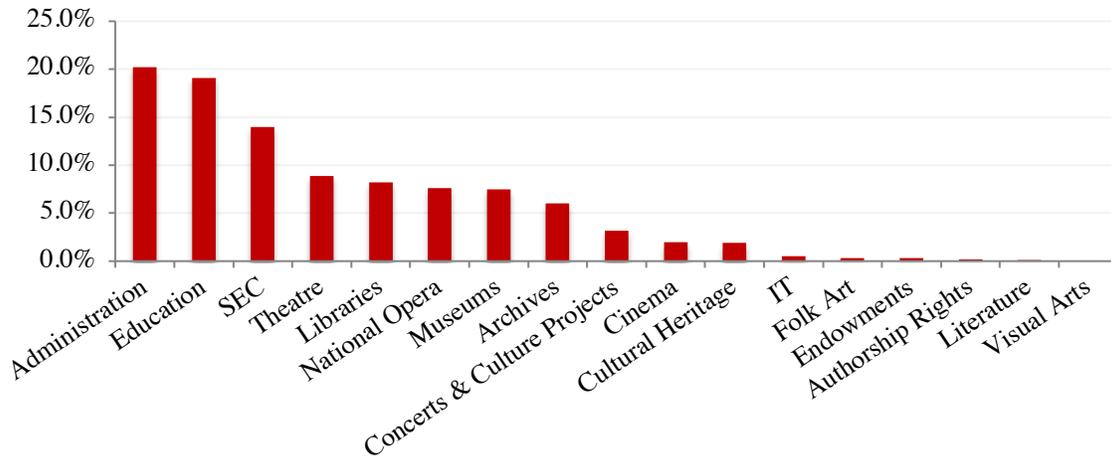


FIGURE 4.20. Allocation ratios of the Ministry of Culture for different budget sub-programs in 2004 and 2005

Sources: LR Saeima 2003c, 2004, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

It is also noteworthy to remind the important role of the SCCF. When analysing the allocation tendencies to the different programs, data indicate that thirteen-and-three-tenth per cent of the total foundation’s budget in 2004 was allotted to visual arts programs that did not qualify for the institutional funding directly from the Ministry of Culture.

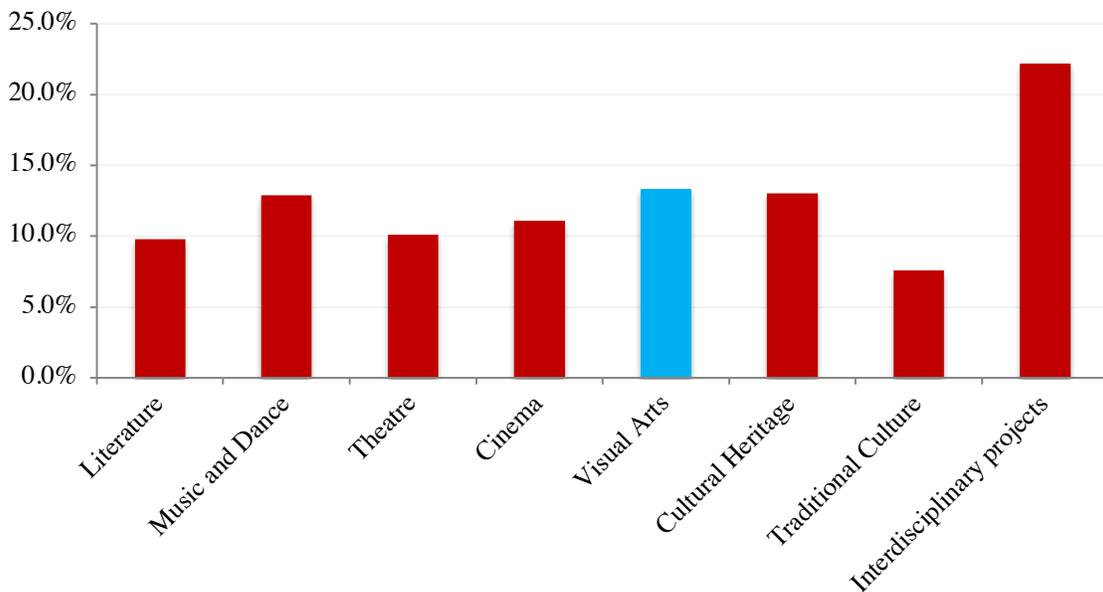


FIGURE 4.21. Allocation ratios of the State Culture Capital Foundation for main

programs in 2004

Source: The State Culture Capital Foundation 2014, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

Among the allocations of the Structural Funds the separate category of visual arts does not come up, therefore it is hard to evaluate an exact impact of this funding for this particular discipline. Most of the allotments during 2004 and 2005 were distributed among such fields as libraries, archives, museums, cultural heritage, education and development of cultural tourism, which also tells about the restrictive nature of the projects that could be submitted in order to apply for this particular funding.¹⁵⁴ Different results are revealed when analysing other available EU funds like PHARE, INTERREG, Culture 2000, Culture, Leonardo da Vinci, Socrates, Comenius, indicating that visual arts managed to secure eight-and-eight-tenth per cent of the total available funding (LR Kultūras ministrija 2001c, 2002b, 2003, 2004a, 2005, 2006b; Baltic Project Consulting 2006; EC Creative Europe 2016), which amounted to twelve-and-six-tenth million LVL or thirteen-and-seven-tenth per cent of the total state provision for culture during 2004 and 2005.

¹⁵⁴ *Effective Use of Cultural and Historical Heritage for Development of Tourism* program prioritized projects for preservation and renovation of cultural heritage.

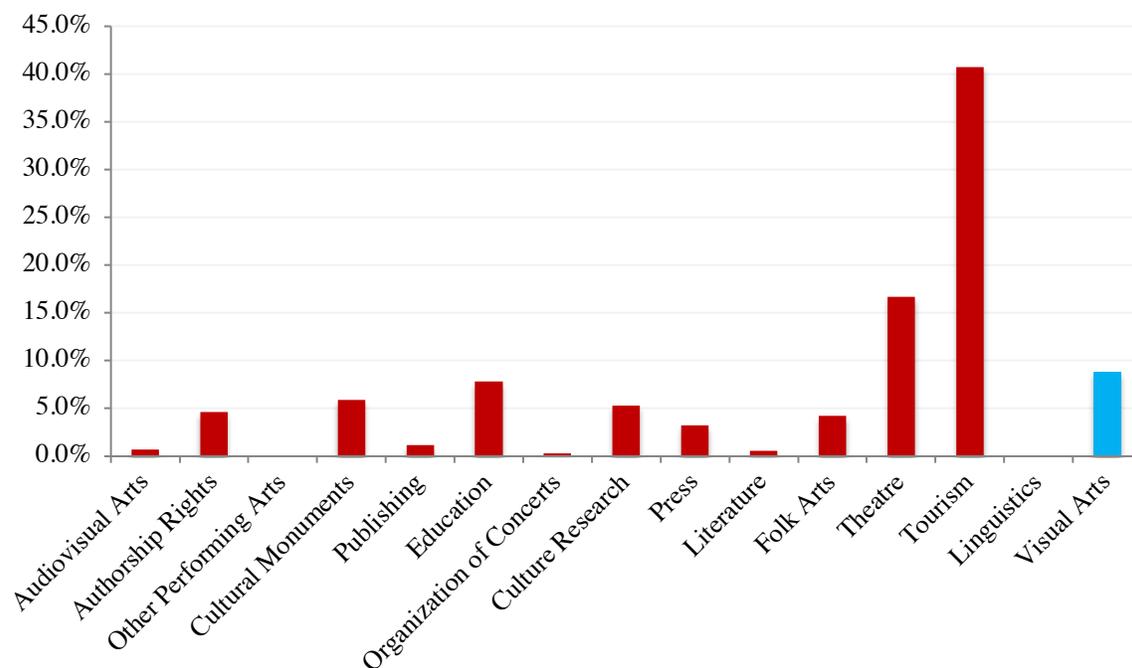


FIGURE 4.22. Allocation ratios of the other EU funding for main programs in 2004 and 2005

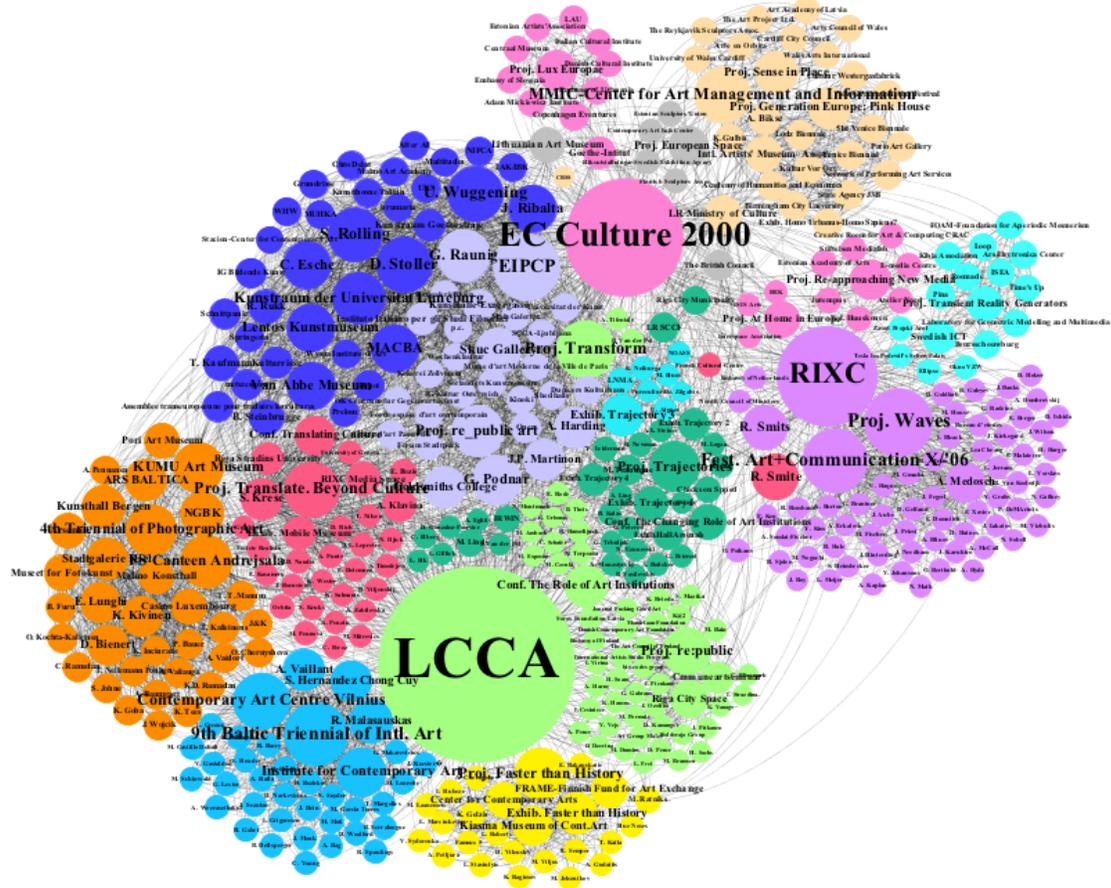
Sources: LR Kultūras ministrija 2001c, 2002b, 2003, 2004a, 2005, 2006b; Baltic Project Consulting 2006; EC Creative Europe 2016, graph prepared and calculations made by Demir 2019.

When comparing the data of available state funds and the allocation ratios for different sub-programs with the data of different EU funding sources and bilateral aid programs, it is obvious that this additional funding, amounting to twenty-eight-and-seven-tenth million LVL, which is almost one third of the state budget for culture, played a vital role in promoting cultural projects in disciplines that do not have the institutional representation within the dominant field of culture and that are not much prioritised within the official state support system.

The *Administrative Law on European Economic Area and Norway Grants, Bilateral Financial Mechanism*, which was ratified on 18 October 2007 (LR Saeima 2007) should be singled out in relation to the collection of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum. In 2009, the state agency, the New Three Brothers, received a grant in amount

of four hundred forty-nine thousand, one hundred twenty-one EUR to document and preserve the Soviet non-conformist cultural heritage for the collection of the Contemporary Art Museum of Latvia (LR Ministru kabinets 2006c), denoting one of the founding portions of the future museum's body of artworks. The impact of this grant is also indicated in the SNA visualisation of the phase II (FIGURES 4.4. and 4.19., purple modularity indicator).

The two SNA visualisations that are represented in FIGURES 4.23. and 4.24., as well statistical information of Table 4.4., clearly indicate a high relational and structural impact and also a high degree centrality of the EU Culture 2000 Programme (orange modularity indicator in FIGURE 4.4.). The LCCA and RIX-C were the core actors of the field that had participated in the programme particularly actively. When comparing the project ratio between the different cultural fields that were represented through the programme in Latvia, the contemporary visual arts projects acquired twenty-four per cent of the total awarded projects (TABLE 4.4.).

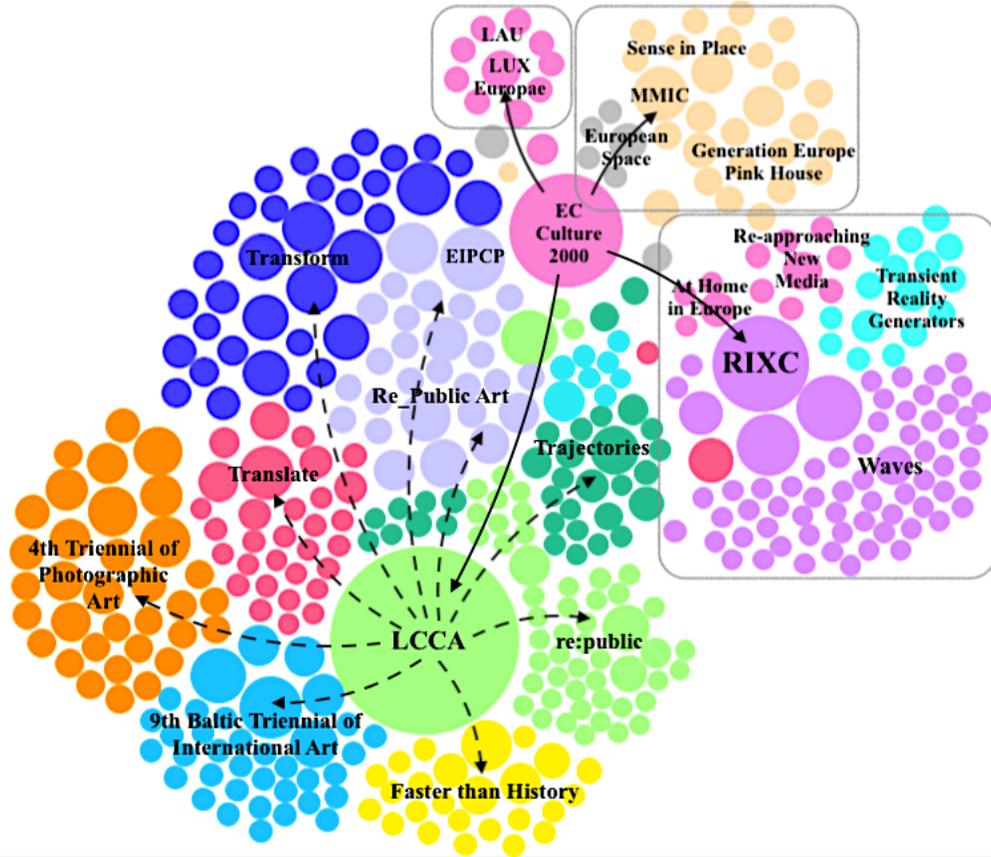


- Project *Re-approaching New Media* / RIX-C
- Project *Re_Public Art* / LCCA
- Project *Lux Europae* / Latvian Artists' Union
- Project *Faster than History* / LCCA
- Project *European Space* / MMIC (Centre for Art Management and Information
- Project *Transient Reality Generators* / RIX-C
- Project *Transform* / LCCA
- Project *Black Market: the 9th Baltic Triennial of International Art* / LCCA
- Project *SENSE IN PLACE* / MMIC / LR Ministry of Culture / Art Academy of Latvia
- Project *Translate* / LCCA
- Project *Generation Europe: Pink House* / MMIC
- Project *At Home in Europe* / RIX-C
- Project *WAVES* / RIX-C
- Project *4th Triennial of Photographic Art* / LCCA

FIGURE 4.23. Visualisation of the EU Culture 2000 Programme (2000-2006) after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm and modularity measure

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total actors: 429; total edges: 6,843; density: 3.4%; 12 distinct structural clusters.



- Project *Re-approaching New Media* / RIX-C
- Project *Re_Public Art* / LCCA
- Project *Lux Europae* / Latvian Artists' Union
- Project *Faster than History* / LCCA
- Project *European Space* / MMIC (Centre for Art Management and Information)
- Project *Transient Reality Generators* / RIX-C
- Project *Transform* / LCCA
- Project *Black Market: the 9th Baltic Triennial of International Art* / LCCA
- Project *SENSE IN PLACE* / MMIC / LR Ministry of Culture / Art Academy of Latvia
- Project *Translate* / LCCA
- Project *Generation Europe: Pink House* / MMIC
- Project *At Home in Europe* / RIX-C
- Project *WAVES* / RIX-C
- Project *4th Triennial of Photographic Art* / LCCA

FIGURE 4.24. Visualisation of the EU Culture 2000 Programme (2000-2006) after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, modularity measure, and markings

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total actors: 429; total edges: 6,843; density: 3.4%; 12 distinct structural clusters.

FIGURES 4.23. and 4.24. illustrate twelve distinct structural clusters of the network that represents the participation of Latvian contemporary visual arts organisations, curators, and artists in the EU Culture 2000 programme that was in effect from 2000 to 2006. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURES 4.23. and 4.24.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central actors are defined by fourteen symbolically potent creative outputs – specific contemporary visual arts projects and comprising micro-networks that were realised with financial support of the EU Culture 2000 programme, denoting it as a principal benefactor and holder of significant economic power and symbolic and social capital. The name of the organisation in charge of executing a specific project is also included in the colour-coded label of each identified cluster. The grey markings in FIGURE 4.24. detect the networking capacity of each participating organisation in the programme based on the number of awarded projects. The LCCA indicates the largest network of projects that were completed within the EU Culture 2000 programme, and each project represents a separate sub-community or cluster due to the scale of the creative output and the number of partaking actors involved.

TABLE 4.4. Latvian contemporary art organisations supported by EU Culture 2000 (2000 - 2006) programme

“CULTURE 2000” (2000 – 2006) Total Budget: 236.4 million (EUR)			
Total Projects Supported: 54 / Contemporary Art Projects: 13 / Ratio: 24%			
Project	Project leader	Partners	Year Grant (EUR) Action

1. Re-approaching New Media	Creative m for Art and Computing – CRAC (S)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +4	2001 – 2004 472,798.76 Multidisciplinary Multiannual
2. Re_Public Art	European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policy (AT)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +14	2002 – 2005 888,005.62 Visual arts Multiannual
3. Lux Europae	Danish Culture Institute (DK)	Latvian Artists' Union (LV) +8	2002 – 2003 147,873.48 Visual arts Annual
4. Faster than History	Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art (FI)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +2	2003 – 2004 60,000.00 Visual arts Annual
5. European Space	Centre for Art Management and Information (LV)	Contemporary Art Information Centre of the Lithuanian Art Museum (LT) +4	2003 – 2004 149,075.70 Visual arts Annual
6. Transient Reality Generators	Foundation of Aperiodic Mesmerism – FOAM (BE)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +11	2004 - 2005 130,714.00 Visual arts Annual
7. Transform	European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policy (AT)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +4	2005 – 2008 900,000.00 Visual arts Multiannual
8. Black Market: the 9th Baltic Triennial of International Art	Contemporary Art Centre (CAC) (LT)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +1	2005 – 2005 111,131.39 Visual arts

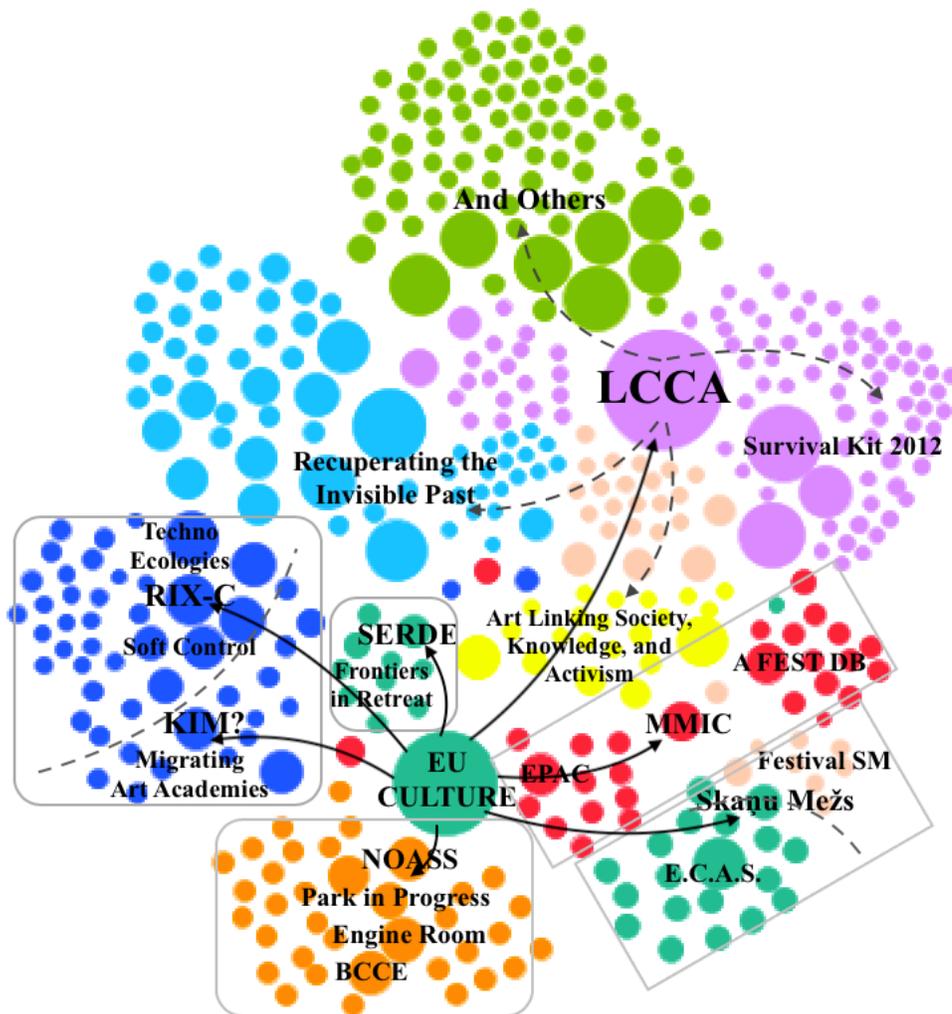
			Annual
9. SENSE IN PLACE Site Actions International Europe 2005	University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC) (UK)	Centre for Art Management and Information (MMIC) (LV) Art Academy of Latvia (LV) Latvian Ministry of Culture (LV) +7	2005 – 2006 150,000.00 Visual arts Annual
10. Translate	European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policy (AT)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +12	2005 – 2008 900,000.00 Heritage Multiannual
11. Generation Europe: Pink House	Centre for Art Management and Information (MMIC) (LV)	Kultur Vor Ort (DE) +7	2005 – 2006 Information is not available Interdisciplinary Multiannual
12. At Home in Europe	ISIS Arts Limited (UK)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +2	2006 – 2007 115,154.00 Visual arts Annual
13. WAVES – Electro-Magnetic Waves as Material and Medium of Art	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV)	Ellipse (FR) +4	2006 – 2007 149,999.85 Visual arts Annual
TOTAL:			4,174,752.80

Sources: EC Creative Europe 2016; LR Kultūras ministrija 2001c, 2002b, 2003, 2004a, 2005, 2006b.

The grey shading in the Tables 4.4. and 4.5. represent the participation frequency of Latvian contemporary visual arts organisations either as project leaders or partners.

Source: Dace Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total actors: 440; total edges: 6,783; density: 3.3%; 9 distinct structural clusters.



- Project *Bridge between European Cultural Centres* / NOASS
- Project *A FEST DB* / MMIC
- Project *European Public Art Centre* / MMIC
- Project *Recuperating the Invisible Past* / LCCA
- Project *Park in Progress* / NOASS
- Project *E.C.A.S. – Networking Tomorrow's Art for an Unknown Future* / Skaņu Mežs
- Project *Engine Room Europe* / NOASS
- Project *Art Linking Society, Knowledge, and Activism* / LCCA
- Project *M4m – m for mobility* / SERDE
- Project *TECHNO-ECOLOGIES* / RIX-C
- Project *Soft Control* / RIX-C
- Project *Skaņu Mežs Festival for Adventurous Music and Related Arts 2013* / Skaņu Mežs
- Project *Migrating Art Academies* / Kim? Contemporary Art Centre
- Project *Frontiers in Retreat* / SERDE
- Project *Survival Kit 2012* / LCCA
- Exhibition And Others / LCCA

FIGURE 4.26. Visualisation of the EU Culture Programme (2007-2013) after applying ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm, modularity measure, and markings

Source: Dace Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total actors: 440; total edges: 6,783; density: 3.3%; 9 distinct structural clusters.

FIGURES 4.25. and 4.26. illustrate nine distinct structural clusters of the network that represents the participation of Latvian contemporary visual arts organisations, curators, and artists in the EU Culture programme that was in effect from 2007 to 2013. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURES 4.25. and 4.26.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central actors are defined by fifteen symbolically potent creative outputs – specific contemporary visual arts projects and comprising micro-networks that were realised with financial support of the EU Culture programme, denoting it as a principal benefactor and holder of significant economic power and symbolic and social capital during the field development of phase two and phase three. The name of the organisation in charge of executing a specific project is also included in the colour-coded label of each identified cluster. The grey markings in FIGURE 4.26. detect the networking capacity of

each participating organisation in the programme based on the number of awarded projects. Akin to the trend observed in the previous network (FIGURES 4.23. and 4.24.), the LCCA denotes the largest network of projects that were completed within the EU Culture programme; each project represents a separate sub-community or cluster due to the scale of the creative output and the total number of partaking actors involved. Strongly correlating with the general trend of local validation phase of the field, the EU Culture programme network also illustrates a strong entrance of new players (challengers), like Arts Management and Information Centre (AMIC) (2002), Interdisciplinary Art Group Serde (2002), Festival Skaņu Mežs (2003), and Kim? Contemporary Arts Centre (2008). They all assume high centralities within the corresponding structural clusters, as well as within the overall field of the phase II (FIGURE 4.4.).

The EU Culture Programme network visualisation partially represents the phase III (FIGURES 4.25. and 4.26.) development of the field, and the programme's financial assistance was particularly vital for the organisations during and after the global crisis affected Latvia. It provided much needed regularity of support, and the financial reports of the core actors of the field indicate that the budgets of the organisations experienced even a slight increase in revenues (Lursoft 2017) due to the available funds.

The involvement of all the core contemporary visual arts organisations (LCCA, Noass, RIX-C, and Kim?), representing the field, is very high, and the participation ratio equals to thirty-one per cent of the total awarded projects within the framework of the programme. Also, the high participation rate in the EU culture programmes enhanced the international networking capacity of the field – fifty-four per cent of the field actors in the phase II are international and forty-six are local.

TABLE 4.5. Latvian contemporary art organisations supported by EU “Culture” (2007 - 2013) programme

“CULTURE” (2007 – 2013)			
Total Budget: 400 million (EUR)			
Total Projects Supported: 48 / Contemporary Art Projects: 15 / Ratio: 31%			
Project	Project leader	Partners	Year Grant (EUR) Action
1. Bridge between European Cultural Centres (BECC)	European Network for Cultural Centres (ENCC) (BE)	Culture and Arts Project NOASS (LV) Latvian Literature Centre (LV) +7	2009 – 2011 Information not available Pilot projects for artist mobility
2. A FEST DB	Centre for Art Management and Information (MMIC) (LV)	No co-organisers	2010 – 2010 Information not available Festivals/ Visual arts
3. European Public Art Centre (EPAC)	Centre for Art Management and Information (MMIC) (LV)	Arts and Genomics Centre University Leiden (NL) +6	2010 – 2012 Information not available Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
4. Recuperating the Invisible Past	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV)	Institute of Art History of Estonian Academy of Arts (EE) +3	2010 – 2012 Information not available Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
5. Park in Progress	Pépinières européennes pour jeunes artistes (FR)	Culture and Arts Project NOASS (LV) +4	2010 – 2013 Information not available Multiannual Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary

6. E.C.A.S. – Networking Tomorrow’s Art for an Unknown Future	DISK – Initiative Bild & Ton e.V. (DE)	Skaņu Mežs Association (LV) +8	2010 – 2015 Information not available Multiannual Cooperation/ Music
7. Engine Room Europe	Stichting Melkweg (NL)	Culture and Arts Project NOASS (LV) +10	2011 – 2014 Information not available Multiannual cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
8. Survival Kit. Art Linking Society, Knowledge, and Activism	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV)	Ars Longa (FR) +3	2011 – 2013 Information not available Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
9. M4m – m for mobility	Tanec Praha o.s. (CZ)	The Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE (LV) +5	2011 – 2012 Information not available Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
10. TECHNO- ECOLOGIES. Other Approach to Cultural, Social, and Ecological Sustainability	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV)	Baltan Laboratories (NL) +6	2012 – 2014 195,000.00 Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
11. Soft Control	Association for Culture and Education KIBLA (SI)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +7	2012 – 2015 754,274.00 Multiannual Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
12. Contemporary Self-Portraits	Turku University of Applied Sciences (FI)	Association ISSP (LV) +3	2012 – 2014 200,000.00

			Cooperation/ Visual arts
13. Skaņu Mežs Festival for Adventurous Music and Related Arts 2013	Skaņu Mežs Association (LV)	No co-organisers	2013 – 2014 Information not available Festivals/ Music
14. Migrating Art Academies	Vilnius Academy of Arts (LT)	kim? Contemporary Art Centre (LV) +4	2013 – 2014 Information not available Cooperation/ Interdisciplinary
15. Frontiers in Retreat	HIAP ry (FI)	The Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE (LV) +7	2013 – 2018 Information not available Multiannual cooperation/ Interdisciplinary

Sources: EC Creative Europe 2018; LR Kultūras ministrija 2014a.

4.6 FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD: DIFFUSION

Due to the recency and still ongoing progress, the data in relation to the Phase III development may not be conclusive; however, the SNA visualisation graph features certain tentative trends that can already be observed. The dynamic sequence during the diffusion stage implies that the maturation and stability of a field has been reached, i.e., the actors of the field – organisations and individuals – are able to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period (DiMaggio 1988a; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). During this stage, the new framework of institutional patterns that has emerged and developed throughout the previous stages, like rules, norms, procedures, values, beliefs,

get “diffused into other new, local situations” and “[b]ecause the innovation has been construed as a valid social fact, it is now adopted more readily by actors in other local contexts as mere fact” (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006, 60). The dynamic sequence of the diffusion phase is similar to that of the local validation, but it involves broader institutional locus and pool of actors, as well as more dynamic presence of the external relational systems.

4.6.1 The State Cultural Policy Framework and the Development of the Field

The global economic crisis, which struck the country particularly hard in 2009, marked the beginning of the third phase, introducing new corrections in the administrative, fiscal, and professional core of the field again. The hard landing of Latvian economy in 2009 presented unpleasant surprises for the field of cultural production in Latvia. The law, *The Amendment of the Law on 2009 State Budget* (LR Saeima 2008), that became effective, starting from 1 January 2009, had made “a fat cut” in the budget of the SCCF – the central financial provider of culture in Latvia. The original law on 2009 budget designated seven million, fifty-seven thousand, ninety-one LVL (in current prices) for the agency, however, the new allocation comprised merely four million, six hundred twenty-three thousand, five hundred four LVL (in current prices). “There was a good chance that we could lose up to one more million,” when commenting on the situation, admitted Edgras Vērpe (2009), the current Director of SCCF. The ruling of this almost thirty-five per cent budget cut had instantly thrown the agency in the situation similar to where it was ten years ago when it was established, implying that many of the cultural processes,

supported by the foundation would stop and majority of them would simply cease to exist. “The consequences are going to be dramatic. We can already see the first victims. Those are the small NGOs and freelance artists who do not have the alternative to diversify their means, transferring them from one project to another or optimizing the costs. It is also hard for the large NGOs, which, until this year, could realise several big projects a year. Now they are trying to survive by relocating to smaller facilities and by laying off part of their staff” (Vērpe 2009). This notion, however, contrasted with the position of the Ministry of Culture, which was confident that the cultural system would successfully survive the crisis. The major rationale was that during the previous years the financial support of the field had significantly increased and the capacity of the field to fight back should be sufficient.

After the arrival of the crisis, the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum project was officially deferred until 2014 (LR Ministru Kabinets 2010b; 2012b, Article 1), and the state agency, The New Three Brothers, was liquidated (LR Ministru kabinetis 2009c). Along with the onset of the Great Recession, the state field of cultural production experienced another wave of infrastructure decline that threatened the institutional reproduction of the museum project and its collection. The *Declaration* (LR Ministru kabinetis 2009a,d) of the incoming Valdis Dombrovskis’s Cabinet on 12 March 2009 stated that the government is going to utilize all necessary measures to decrease the administrative apparatus of the state, joining structures and their functions, hence securing more efficient spending of the state budget funds that are allocated for the organisational apparatus of the ministries. Consequently, several agencies of the Ministry of Culture went through reorganisation, including the Museum State Administration, which, together

with the agency the New Three Brothers, were liquidated in 2010 (LR Ministru kabinets 2009b,c,e) in accordance with severe emergency measures that were passed by the government, following the worldwide economic crisis. After the liquidation of this agency, the main collection part, belonging to the state, administratively was moved under the auspices of the Latvian National Museum of Art museum network. This decision did not change anything in regard to the visibility of the collection. Since there was neither a designated building nor any other proper space to display it, the artworks remained in the crates away from the public eye. With the liquidation of the New Three Brothers, the museum project, nurtured by the ministry for five years (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006e, 2008a), lost its most direct and influential institutional agent. Helēna Demakova resigned in 2009, and the museum question lost its priority and came to halt (as well as the other infrastructure projects). During the crisis years, the Ministry of Culture was reluctant to open any discussions related to the project. The National Library project was the only one of the “three brothers” that survived the austerity measures of the “crisis governments”. Starting from 2009 and until 2014, the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum development priority disappeared from the *Declarations* of the governments.

The museum project got actualised again in 2014 in the *Declaration and Action Plan* of an incoming government that was led by Laimdota Straujuma (LR Ministru kabinets 2014abc, 2015a). In connection to the cultural priorities, the two policy planning documents closely correlated with the new cultural policy guidelines, *State Cultural Policy Guidelines 2014 – 2020: “Creative Latvia”* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014c; LR Ministru kabinets 2014d), that were ratified on 29 July 2014. The development of creative territories and facilitation of accessibility of cultural services was defined as one of the

priorities in this document, and it was closely tied to the strategic goal, embracing regional development initiatives that would promote accessibility of high quality and diverse cultural services to everyone. The problem statement maintains that the potential of the cultural heritage and the contemporary cultural activities have not been sufficiently utilised to advance the regional competitiveness. The concept of creative territory network development had been overlooked, dismissing the paramount role of cultural and creative industries in branding activities of cities and regions, in building confidence of citizens, and in development of tourism sector. Critical here is the acknowledgement that Riga as a city contains a rich cultural capital and advantages, but it lacks appropriate infrastructure to promote its international recognition. Consequently, in close correlation with the needs assessment, the policy priority, and the strategic goal, one of the principal objectives was to develop the city of Riga as the cultural metropolis of Northern Europe and facilitate its positive influence on the balanced development of the country (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014c). The importance of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, along with other major cultural facilities, was emphasised in order to support the fulfilment of this objective. The *Action Plan* (LR Kultūras Ministrija 2014c; LR Ministru kabinets 2014d) was harmonised with the *National Development Plan of Latvia* (LR Saeima 2012), and the completion date of the building was set for the first half of 2018. Within the state cultural policy planning framework from 2004 to 2012, the infrastructure projects of national significance, including the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, had completed a cycle from being defined as critical contemporary symbols of national identity to imperative facilitators of country's economic development and nation branding.

4.6.2 The Non-governmental Framework and the Development of the Field

The economic crisis was also a good test for the non-governmental organisations representing the field of contemporary visual arts in Latvia. Despite the very grim estimations of Vērpe (2009), the development trajectory did not show a receding trend (FIGURE 4.27.). When compared to the preceding stage, the phase III indicates a consistent development of the field around the major professional core of the actors (LCCA, RIX-C, Kim?, NOASS), signalling that they are able to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period (DiMaggio 1988a; Fligstein and McAdam 2012) and that they are the continuous controllers of cultural capital. The central actors, however, changed in relation to the economic and political power. Although the ministry and the SCCF still remained very principal actors in regard to the degree and betweenness centrality, the crisis and post-crisis arrangement within the field was characterized by increasing public-private partnerships and by emergence of strong private entrepreneurs and local foundations furthering the institutionalisation project of Latvian contemporary visual arts. Interviews, financial statements of the examined organisations, annual reports of the charitable foundations, cultural policy changes, government level partnership agreements, particularly earmarking the field of contemporary visual art, and exhibition documentation all signified a more apparent visibility of new powerful actors in the field. The activities of the ABLV Charitable Foundation, Jānis Zuzāns, Foundation Art Needs Space, Purvītis Prize, and the Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation indicated a consistent trend of regular and comprehensive involvement in financially supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high

level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations. Purvītis Prize is a valid example, acquiring a very high degree centrality within the field. FIGURES 4.27. and 4.28. indicate the emerging trend of the stable private philanthropists within the field. As indicated earlier, they already announced their entrance during the phase II, however, their activities could not yet be characterised as regular and stable then. Particularly important in this connection is the *Agreement of Intent* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014f) that was signed on 30 October 2014 between the Ministry of Culture and the newly established Foundation of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, comprising two important and already recognized private donors – ABLV Bank and Inara and Boris Teterevs. The agreement established that the foundation, in partnership with the ministry, would be in charge of the construction and operating processes of the museum, including the development and maintenance of the collection, guaranteeing its accessibility to the society (LR Kultūras ministrija 2014f). This event was a strong indicator that the already previously established actors, representing the economic power of the field, were taking over the institutionalisation project of the museum and that the new framework of institutional patterns that had emerged and developed throughout the previous stages was getting adopted outside the ministry's routine of legitimisation – in wider society by “actors in other local contexts” (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006, 60).

4.6.3 The European Union Dimension and the Development of the Field

An exogenous factor, exerting a positive influence in the field, was the EU Culture Programme already discussed above, which provided a much-needed cushion in the situation of crisis. Within the field network, the programme Culture acquires a very high

degree centrality, indicating an important networking and relational capacity. In this regard, the phase III features a very high international actor presence, comprising forty-four per cent of the field. The EU Creative Europe Programme was launched in 2014 (European Parliament 2013), and TABLE 4.6. illustrates the participation frequency of Latvian contemporary visual arts organisations either as project leaders or partners. The current data indicate that the involvement was dominated by three professional core actors of the field – RIX-C, LCCA, and KIM?. In 2018, the overall participation ratio of the contemporary visual arts organisations was equal to the high seventeen per cent out of the total fifty-four awarded projects within the framework of the EU Creative Europe. Considering that the programme concludes in 2020, this representation is not definite.

TABLE 4.6. Latvian contemporary art organisations supported by EU “Creative Europe” (2014 - 2020) programme

“CREATIVE EUROPE” (2014 – 2020)			
Total Budget: 1.46 billion (EUR)			
Total Projects Supported: 54 / Contemporary Art Projects: 9¹⁵⁵ / Ratio: 17%			
Project	Project leader	Partners	Year Grant (EUR) Action
1. This is Tomorrow. Back to Basics: Forms and Actions in the Future	What, How & for Whom (WHW) (HR)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +1	2014 – 2016 199,998.00 Culture/ Cooperation project
2. Changing Weathers	Zavod Projekt Atol (SI)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +5	2014 – 2016 200,000.00

¹⁵⁵ The programme “CREATIVE EUROPE” is still ongoing. The calculation represents the ratio at the end of 2018.

			Culture/ Cooperation project
3. Trauma & Revival	Palais des Beaux Arts (BE)	kim? Contemporary Art Centre (LV) +4	2015 – 2018 1,563,765.70 Culture/ Cooperation project
4. Flâneur – New Urban Narratives	Procur. Arte Associcao Cultural e Social (PT)	Association ISSP (LV) +10	2015 – 2017 541,097.00 Culture/ Cooperation project
5. Renewable Futures	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV)	Oslomet – Storbyuniversitetet (NO) +5	2015 – 2017 199,980.00 Culture/ Cooperation projects
6. Shared History	Stiftelsen Fargfabriken (SE)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +1	2016 – 2018 174,312.00 Cross-sector/ Refugee Integration Project
7. Midstream. New Ways of Audience Development in Contemporary Art	The European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policy (EIPCP) (AU)	The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art (LV) +1	2016 – 2018 199,980.00 Culture/ Cooperation project
8. Risk Change	Kulturno Izobrazevalno Društvo Kibla (SVN)	The Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (LV) +9	2016 - 2020 1,570,520.00 Culture/ Cooperation project
9. Unearthing the	OUT.RA – Associao	Skaņu Mežs Association	2018 – 2020

Music: Sound and Creative Experimentation in Nondemocratic Europe	Cultural (PT)	(LV) +3	198,000.00
			Culture/ Cooperation project

TOTAL: 4,847,652.70

Sources: EC Creative Europe (2018); LR Kultūras ministrija (2014a).

4.6.4 The Social Network Analysis of the Diffusion Stage of the Field

The SNA visualisation that is illustrated in FIGURE 4.27., representing the major trends of the third phase of the field development, comprise a comprehensive examination of two hundred sixteen creative output micro-networks with a total involvement of one thousand, three hundred and eighty-four actors (TABLE 4.6.). The archival research that was conducted at the National Archives of Latvia, at the exhibition documentation archives of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Research Centre, and at Noass Video Art Archive and Video Art Data Base all were integral in preparing the data set for the following SNA visualisations of phase III.

TABLE 4.7. Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics of phase III

PHASE III: DIFFUSION (2010-ongoing) (=1384)			
216	Creative output		16%
130	Curators		9%
716	Artists		52%
45	Jury		3%
77	Funders		6%
200	NGOs		14%

Source: Demir 2019

FIGURE 4.27. illustrates ten distinct structural clusters of the network within the diffusion stage of the field. The label of each colour-coded module (included below the FIGURE 4.27.) is represented by the most central actor of each sub-community. In this particular network, the most central nodes are denoted by major organisations that formed the administrative, fiscal, and professional core of the field, indicating structural properties of the field and relational positioning of the incumbents endowed with pertinent political, economic, or cultural capitals during the 2010s. Some of the colour-coded labels (along with the organisation) also include names of the individual actors (e.g., director, curator, artist, etc.) who assume a high centrality within each cluster and represent a close relationship with the major organisation denoting the specific sub-network. During the diffusion phase, the ministry and other state agencies continued performing a significant role within the maturing field of contemporary visual arts, indicating extended institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive. Emphasised should be a growing trend that indicates state co-operation with strong private and third sector initiatives, signalling an increasingly more prominent input of the local entrepreneurs, foundations, and non-profit organisations in the constitution project of the field. The structural cluster that is represented by the ministry as the central actor has close association with ABLV Charitable Foundation and Boris and Inara Teterev Foundation, and it comprises all major incumbents with significant political, economic, social, and symbolical capitals that were involved in the development of the museum concept and the collection.

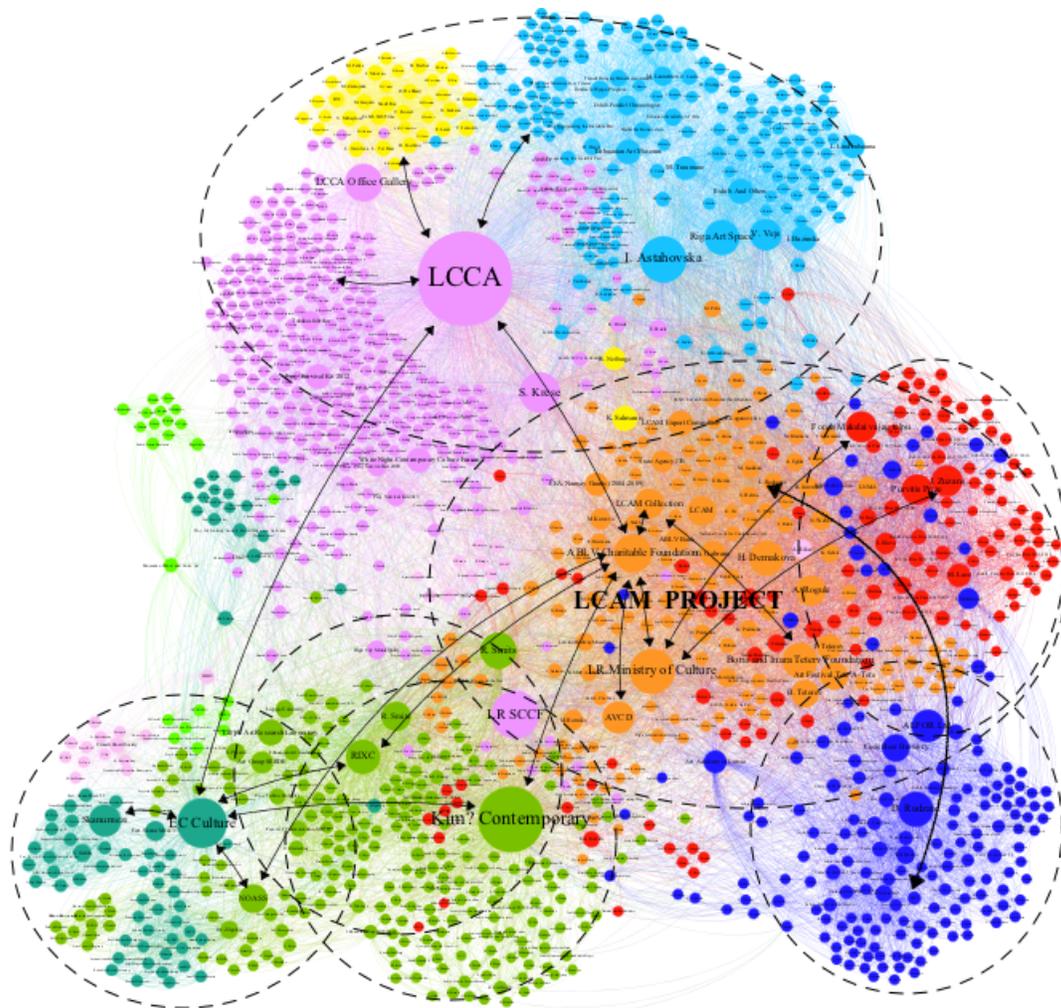
The EU and its support programmes for culture (European Parliament 2000, 2002, 2006b, 2013; EU – Latvia Association Council 2001; LR Ministru kabinets 2000d, 2001b;

LR Saeima 1995), denoting a separate cluster, were important external actors that provided a continuous facilitation of the structuration process also during the third development phase of the field.

The constitutive professional core of the very first non-governmental organisations, like the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, Culture and Arts Project NOASS, LCCA, and Kim? Contemporary Arts Centre, is represented with high degree centrality also within the phase III network, indicating a constant development of the field and signalling that these organisations are able to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period. All of these actors are closely inter-related, however, during phase I and phase II, their creative output micro-networks represented separate clusters (FIGURES 3.33. and 4.4.). In phase III structural field configuration, RIX-C, NOASS, and Kim? share the same sub-community, signifying a dense collaborative presence amongst the three major cultural capital controllers in the field. Similar to the preceding two decades of development, the LCCA retained a very high centrality measure within the field, illustrating a wide networking capacity locally and internationally (consisting of three separate structural clusters), as well as durability and continuity in routinisation patterns of previously established institutional values, templates, and classifications.

The blue colour-coded module, which is represented by Cēsis Art Festival as its principal creative output, indicate a consistent and stable development of a sub-community, comprising a network of actors that announced themselves at the end of phase II. The Purvītis Prize, symbolised by the red colour-coded modularity indicator, was launched in the middle of the economic crisis, embodying an ambitious goal to guarantee a regular and systematic recognition of the cutting-edge “visual arts events in Latvia,

promote development of new projects and original ideas, acknowledge the best achievements in Latvian professional visual arts and popularise the success of Latvian artists both in Latvia and abroad” (Purvītis Prize 2018). This particular creative output, representing strong alliances with instrumental economic, cultural, symbolic, and political powers in the field and comprising a steadily growing structural cluster of actors, positioned itself as one of the newest incumbents in the field during the phase III. Both creative outputs – Cēsis Art Festival and Purvītis Prize – were instituted as local non-governmental initiatives, commenced by active civil actors who “with sufficient resources” and “an opportunity to realise interests that they value highly” established “new legitimate organisational forms” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) and successfully incorporated collaboration with public bodies, like the Ministry of Culture, SCCF, LNMA, Cēsis Municipality, illustrating that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, procedures, values, beliefs) of the field were theorized on a national level and got further “diffused into other new, local situations ... and adopted more readily by actors in other local contexts” (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006, 60).



- LCCA
- RIX-C / Kim? / NOASS / SERDE
- MMIC (Art Management and Information Centre)
- Skaņu Mežs
- EU Culture Programme
- Cēsis Art Festival / Curator Daiga Rudzāte
- Purvītis Prize/ Foundation Art Needs Space / Major Donor Jānis Zuzāns
- LR Ministry of Culture / ABLV Charitable Foundation / Boris and Inara Teterev Foundation
- Project *Recuperating the Invisible Past* / LCCA / EU Culture Programme project
- LCCA Office Gallery
- Riga Gallery

FIGURE 4.27. SNA visualisation of the contemporary visual arts field, phase III: 2010-ongoing

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total nodes: 1,384; total edges: 27,664; density 1.2%; 10 distinct structural clusters.

FIGURE 4.28. illustrates a fragment of phase III network (marked by orange modularity indicator in FIGURE 4.27.), containing a more detailed view of the structural cluster that is represented by the ministry as the central actor. It shows all the incumbents involved in the development of the museum concept and the collection, revealing a trend of growing civic initiatives and influence in construction process of the field. The SNA graph indicates a particularly high centrality measures of ABLV Bank and Boris and Inara Terev Foundation in conjunction with the major state incumbents.

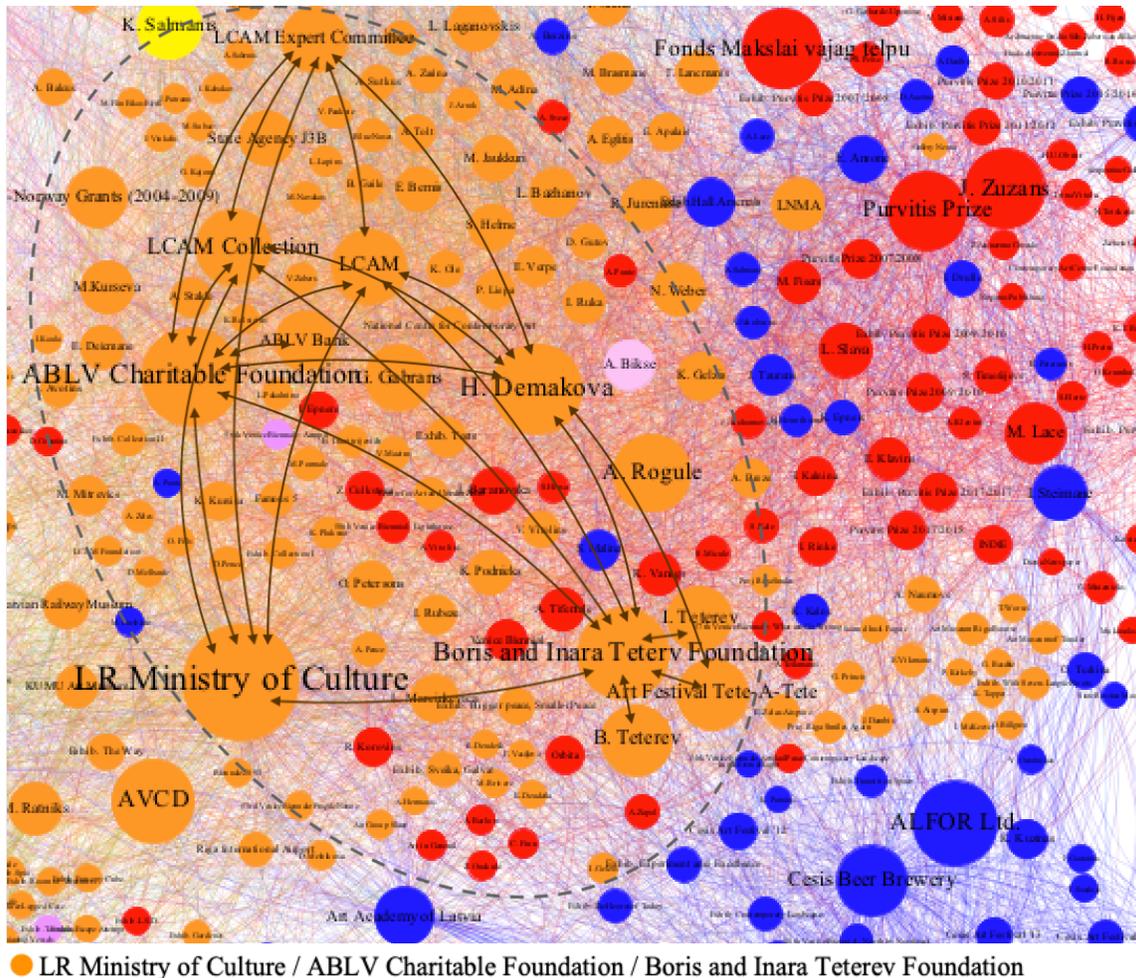


FIGURE 4.28. Fragment of Phase III network (2010-ongoing). SNA visualisation of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia.

Source: Demir 2019. The data visualisation produced by Gephi – Open Graph Visualisation Platform. Final

spatialisation of graph is based on ForceAtlas2 (Jacomy et al. 2014) layout algorithm; degree centrality, modularity, and density measures applied.

Notes: Total nodes: 1,384; total edges: 27,664; density 1.2%; detailed view of one structural cluster.

4.7 CONCLUSION

4.7.1 Development of the Field as Government Responsibility

The period of local validation, representing the first decade of the 2000s, indicated a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and exhibited a changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. During this phase, the emerging field, for the first time, appeared as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents, and the government started playing an increasingly more prominent role in the constitution project of the field. This was a positive indication that the field of contemporary visual arts was cognised, named, categorised, and theorised (formulated) across the legislative, financial, and administrative governance facets of the policy during the second phase of development, minimising the dissonance gap between the rhetoric and application, as well as between the localities where the cognition and theorisation processes took place. The empirical analysis of the local validation clearly established that the institutionalisation locality of the emerging field had moved from peripheral and exclusively professional locus to a national level, indicating a clear change in the prevalent institutional logic and implying that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, beliefs and values) have gradually become a part of a broader institutional locus, e.g., national cultural policy.

After descending into crisis, caused by the exit of the chief actor in the field – the SCCA-Riga, the “stabilising hand of state actors” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 104)

played a central role in reproducing the field and introducing a new development phase. Until 1998, the SCCA-Riga represented the administrative and fiscal core, assuming the principal economic, cultural, social, and symbolic power within the field. The organisation was the only source of support for the contemporary visual arts and it represented the central actor, undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14). The very end of the innovation phase presented a trend of inconsistent involvement of major state actors, particularly the Ministry of Culture, in the field development initiatives, however, by the mid 2000s the state actors had already claimed the place among the major institutional entrepreneurs, considerably influencing the structuration process of the field. The government role was central in securing the institutional reproduction of the field during the first episode of contention when the institutional framework of the emerging field was most vulnerable and most exposed to the risk of deinstitutionalisation. The state’s role often is determinant during the emergence, constitution, and reproduction or deinstitutionalisation processes of a field, and legitimacy is an important factor that bonds the two together. Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 22) emphasise, “indeed, the imposition of a settlement by state actors is a common, if not always stable, method for resolving an episode of contention. Very often the advantages – material, cultural, political – enjoyed by incumbents may be enough to overcome crisis and restore order.”

The progressively mounting authority of the state within the field during the local validation phase was one of the foremost factors that governed the institutional change and fortified the formation of a rather definite core of professional constituencies, which assumed the institutionalisation project. The state involvement in the field materialised through objectified political capital like laws, regulations, declarations, policies, and

funding, denoting the existence of empirical indicators of developing normative and regulative institutions that were crucial in shaping the field during the first decade of the 2000s. The institution of the SCCF, the most influential and recognised arm's length body in the field of cultural production, in 1998, and introduction of legislative changes, ensuring funding, regulating and facilitating cooperation between non-governmental sector and the state, were critical factors that established a tight link between the two fields during the second phase. Introduction of the SCCF intensified and eventually stabilised the structuration process of the field, changing the configuration within the field and indicating the formation process from more atomistic to centralised relational structure around several stable financial powers of influence (economic and symbolic capital) and around a constant professional core of incumbent actors (cultural capital). The Ministry of Culture and the SCCF were the major financial and political guarantors, denoting administrative and financial base of the field. The partnership agreements that were signed between the Ministry of Culture and LCCA, Arts Project NOASS, Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, and Contemporary Art Centre *Kim?*, delegating specific tasks, facilitated development of the core constituencies and more clearly defined the boundaries of the developing field. The agreements were critical in the further advancement of the structuration process of the field by establishing the four organisations as the “legitimate producers” (Bourdieu [1987]1993, 251); they defined the institutional identity of these specific actors on a state level and assigned specialised “capacities, rights, and responsibilities” (Scott [1995] 2014, 228), as well as shaped the arrangement of the professional core of the field (FIGURES 4.4 and 4.14) and facilitated the further classification of the artistic language.

Awareness that close to nothing had been done by the state in relation to the collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the contemporary heritage of visual arts was an important factor that featured the development initiatives of the public authorities towards the enhancement of the field during the second phase. The “institutionalisation project” of the state as one of the central institutional incumbents during the first decade of the 2000s can be described through the inception of the idea of the contemporary art museum and strong initiatives towards the realisation of this idea. The contemporary art museum project was officially instituted in 2004 by an incoming government’s *Declaration*, and a new governance body – the state agency New Three Brothers – was established to administer this undertaking. The New Three Brothers was the principal actor working under the supervision of the Minister of Culture with a goal to ensure the development process of the Contemporary Art Museum, including, construction and preparation for the beginning of operation and functional execution. In the framework of this government initiative and under the auspices of the public-private partnership agreement that was signed by the Ministry of Culture and the ABLV Bank, a special International Committee of Experts was established to oversee the development of the contemporary art collection. The agreement guaranteed a considerable investment by the ABLV Bank with a sole purpose to acquisition works for the collection of the future museum, and it also established the bank as one of the major emerging economic powers within the field, considerably shaping the development patterns of the ensuing phase. The acquired artworks by the bank formed an essential section of the collection.

The increasing government focus on the safeguarding initiatives of the contemporary visual arts heritage, including collection, preservation, and exhibition

practices and processes, illustrated that the obligation to facilitate a well-rounded development of the field had gradually become a national responsibility. The *Implementation Concept of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum Project* (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006e) that the Ministry of Culture submitted for the examination to the Cabinet of Ministers in 2006 comprised a critical needs assessment and clearly implied this national sense of responsibility. The document expressed a strong claim that already two generations have grown up without an adequate knowledge about contemporary Latvian and regional art history and that the oeuvre of many seminal artists have been abandoned without ensuring a timely and comprehensive research. Throughout the preceding decade, the state cultural policy had not secured the continuity of vital art historical processes, consequently creating false stereotypes, reluctance and spiritual inability to explore contemporary visual arts expressions (LR Kultūras ministrija 2006e). Subsequently, the main goal of establishing the contemporary art collection was that it should function for the benefit of public good in order to facilitate the development of an educated and informed society about the recent trends in the visual arts. Also, the collection would enable the identification, classification, documentation, conservation, research, interpretation, and popularisation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and contextual information representing visual arts processes of Latvia and Baltic region during the time period from the middle of the past century to the present. Throughout the local validation phase, the ministry and other state agencies performed a significant role within the developing field of contemporary visual arts, indicating extended institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive.

The accession to the EU was an important factor that facilitated the structuration process of the field. Closely correlating with the government commitment to the field development, the EU support programmes for culture, like Culture 2000 (2000-2006), Culture (2007-2013), and Creative Europe (2013-2020), assumed seminal external actor roles and considerably influenced the shaping of the field during both the local validation and diffusion phases. The EU programmes for culture signified an important economic power and symbolic and social capital within the field. The impact of another external actor that held great fiscal power, the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants – Norway Grants, Financial Mechanism, was critical in providing much needed resources for the documentation and preservation project of the Soviet non-conformist cultural heritage that represented one of the founding portions of the future museum’s collection and was administered by the state agency New Three Brothers. The Bilateral Financial Mechanism of European Economic Area and Norway Grants provided one of the major investments in the collection development of the museum.

The social network analysis (FIGURE 4.4.) illustrates that during the local validation phase, around well-defined and constant professional, economic, and political core of the field, new structural clusters emerged that were represented by “new categories of authorised actors” (DiMaggio 1991a, Kindle Location 5385) – challengers; they considerably contributed to the professionalisation, constituency building, and information generating processes in the field and furthered the classification of the new art language (e.g., Audio-visual Communication Department (AVCD) of Art Academy of Latvia, K@2 Culture and Information Centre in Karosta, Arts Management and Information Centre, Cēsis Art Festival, KIM? Contemporary Arts Centre,

Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE, Skaņu Mežs, and Art Research Laboratory at University of Liepāja.

TABLE 4.8. Major institutionalisation indices of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. Local validation stage: 2000-2008

INDICATORS	
Exogenous and endogenous shock/ critical juncture	<p>Withdrawal of the Western assistance programmes; Latvia’s integration into the European Union; institution of the SCCF</p> <p>The exit of the SCCA-Riga, the central administrative and fiscal core, assuming the principal economic, cultural, social, and symbolic power within the field, marked the onset of crisis in and seriously destabilised institutional reproduction capacity of the field at the end of the 1990s.</p> <p>The establishment of the State Culture Capital Foundation (SCCF) in 1998 was an imperative critical juncture or a “seismic shift” that initiated new developmental pathways in cultural policy of Latvia in general and in the advancement of the contemporary visual arts field in particular.</p> <p>The accession to the EU was critical in advancing the field structuration process. The EU support programmes for culture (Culture 2000 (2000-2006), Culture (2007-2013), Creative Europe (2013-2020)) signified an essential economic power and symbolic and social capital.</p>
Organisational field constituency and locus of institution building	<p>Focus away from professional industry to government level institution building</p> <div style="text-align: center;"> </div> <p>The period of local validation indicated a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and exhibited a changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. The emerging field, for the first time, appeared as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents, and the government started playing an increasingly more prominent role in the constitution project of the field, indicating that the field of contemporary visual arts was cognised, named, categorised, and theorised (formulated) across the legislative, financial, and administrative governance facets of the policy, minimising the dissonance gap between the rhetoric and application, as well as between the localities where the cognition and theorisation processes took place, i.e., professionally localised and narrow area and national space.</p>
Type of field	Non-state/ increasing state focus and influence

	<p>At the very beginning of the 2000s, the state actors (predominantly the Ministry of Culture) represented the “stabilising hand” that safeguarded the reproduction of the field after the abrupt exit of the central institutional entrepreneur – the SCCA-Riga. The progressively mounting authority of the state within the field during the local validation phase was one of the foremost factors that governed the institutional change and fortified the formation of a well-defined core of professional constituencies that assumed the institutionalisation project.</p>
<p>External field of power</p>	<p>Network of external state and non-state fields; the European Union field of cultural production</p> <p>The Ministry of Culture and the SCCF were the major financial and political guarantors, denoting administrative and financial base of the field.</p> <p>The EU support programmes for culture (Culture (2007-2013) and Creative Europe (2013-2020)) were critical in advancing the field structuration process and they represented an essential economic power and symbolic and social capital.</p> <p>Mounting influence of civic actors, like ABLV Bank, indicated the presence of notable economic and social capital, outside the governance of the involved state actors.</p>
<p>Factors defining external relational structure (in connection with the field of power)</p>	<p>Dependence</p> <p>External relational structure is defined by hierarchical relationships. The field of power denotes formal legal authority, bureaucratic authority, resource dependence, and legitimacy.</p> <p>Interdependence</p> <p>Signs of cooperation are present, indicating a significant increase in information flows, mutual professional interactions, and sharing of power through a growing number of state authorised public-private partnership agreements and projects.</p>
<p>External field relations (in connection with the dominant state field of cultural production)</p>	<p>Reciprocal (information flow, mutual beneficial interactions, sharing of power)</p> <p>The first decade of the 2000s, exhibited a changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. The partnership agreements that were signed between the Ministry of Culture and LCCA, Arts Project NOASS, Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, and Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i>, delegating specific tasks, facilitated development of the core constituencies and more clearly defined the boundaries of the developing field. The agreements were critical in the further advancement of the structuration process of the field by establishing the four organisations as the legitimate producers, by defining the institutional identity of these specific actors on a state level, and by assigning specialised responsibilities, capacities, rights.</p> <p>Hierarchical</p> <p>The relational structure between the two fields also comprise the elements of hierarchy where the field of the contemporary visual arts was subject to</p>

	the influence of the dominant state field of cultural production. Major factors of dependence were characterised by resource dependence, bureaucratic authority, formal legal authority, and legitimacy.
<p>Internal field constituency:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutional entrepreneur(s); - Incumbents - Challengers 	<p>Key institutional entrepreneurs: The Ministry of Culture and the Minister of Culture from 2004 to 2009, Helēna Demakova; the State Agency New Three Brothers; the International Committee of Experts</p> <p>The very end of the innovation phase presented a trend of inconsistent involvement of major state actors in the field development initiatives, however, by the mid 2000s the state actors had already claimed the place among the major institutional entrepreneurs, considerably influencing the structuration process of the field. The government role was central in securing the institutional reproduction of the field during the first episode of contention when the institutional framework of the emerging field was most vulnerable and most exposed to the risk of deinstitutionalisation.</p> <p>Incumbents of the field</p> <p>The SNA indicate that the constitutive core of the field was shaped by the very first non-governmental organisations: Pedvāle Open Air Museum (1991), the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (2000) (previously known as E-LAB Electronic Arts and Media Centre (1996)), Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997), and LCCA (2000) (established on the professional and administrative foundation of the SCCA-Riga (1993)). The high degree centrality of these organisations within the phase II network indicate a constant development of the field and ability of these incumbents to reproduce themselves and the field for an extended time period, illustrating durability and continuity in routinisation patterns of previously established institutional values, templates, and classifications.</p> <p>Challengers</p> <p>During the 2000s, around well-defined and constant professional, economic, and political core of the field, new structural clusters emerged that were represented by challengers or new authorised actors that considerably contributed to the professionalisation, constituency building, and information generating processes in the field and furthered the classification of the art language: Audio-visual Communication Department (AVCD) of the Art Academy of Latvia (1997), K@2 Culture and Information Centre in Karosta (2000), Arts Management and Information Centre (2002), Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE (2002); Skaņu Mežs (2003); Art Research Laboratory at University of Liepāja (2006); Cēsis Art Festival (2008); KIM? Contemporary Arts Centre (2008).</p>
<p>Key external actors</p>	<p>European Union programmes for culture; the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants – Norway Grants, Financial Mechanism</p>
<p>Institutional primacy</p>	<p>Regulative</p> <p>During the local validation phase, the ministry and other state agencies performed a significant role within the developing field of contemporary visual arts, indicating extended institutional implications, i.e., regulative and normative. The state involvement in the field materialised through objectified political capital like laws, regulations, declarations, policies, and</p>

	<p>funding, denoting the existence of empirical indicators of developing normative and regulative institutions that were crucial in shaping the field during the first decade of the 2000s.</p>
<p>Basis of legitimacy</p>	<p>Legally sanctioned</p> <p>Introduction of legislative changes, ensuring funding, regulating and facilitating cooperation between non-governmental sector and the state, and the institution of the most influential and recognised arm's length body in the field of cultural production, were critical factors that established a tight link between the two fields during the second phase.</p>
<p>Central institutional logic of the field</p>	<p>Development of contemporary arts as state responsibility</p> <p>The empirical analysis clearly established that the institutionalisation locality of the emerging field had moved from peripheral and exclusively professional locus to a national level, indicating a clear change in the prevalent institutional logic and implying that the new institutional patterns (rules, norms, beliefs and values) have gradually become a part of a broader institutional locus, e.g., national cultural policy.</p> <p>The increasing government focus on the safeguarding initiatives of the contemporary visual arts heritage, including collection, preservation, and exhibition practices and processes, illustrated that the obligation to facilitate a well-rounded development of the field had gradually become a national responsibility.</p> <p>Awareness that close to nothing had been done by the state in relation to the collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the contemporary heritage of visual arts was an important factor that featured the development initiatives of the public authorities towards the enhancement of the field during the second phase. The “institutionalisation project” of the state as one of the central institutional incumbents can be described through the inception of the idea of the contemporary art museum and strong initiatives towards the realisation of this idea. Within the national cultural policy planning and implementation framework, the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum was defined as critical contemporary symbol of national identity.</p>
<p>Governance structure</p>	<p>Increasing dominance of the state actors – the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF hold essential economic power and control the circulation of resources – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic in the developing field</p> <p>During the second development phase of the field, the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF assumed major formative and normative power that intensified the structuration process of the emerging contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. Both actors performed as the major financial and political guarantors, denoting administrative and financial base of the field.</p> <p>The partnership agreements that were signed between the Ministry of Culture and LCCA, Arts Project NOASS, Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, and Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i>, delegating specific tasks and assigning specialised capacities, rights, and responsibilities, established the four organisations as the legitimate producers in and more clearly defined the boundaries and the professional core of the field.</p>

Under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture the state agency New Three Brothers was instituted in 2005, and it performed the role of the principal institutional agent and major governance body of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum concept.

4.7.2 Development of the Field as Societal Responsibility

The advent of the world-wide recession in 2008, affected the country particularly hard, and it also marked the beginning of the third – diffusion – stage of the field development. In Latvia, the consequences of this economic decline manifested itself particularly strongly in 2009, and the hard landing of country’s economy introduced evident corrections in the administrative, fiscal, and professional core of the field yet again. With the demission of I. Godmanis’s government on 12 March 2009 and with the incoming “crisis Cabinet” of Valdis Dombrovskis, the political mood in the country changed considerably. The austerity measures introduced severe reductions in the government spending, considerably affecting the budget of the Ministry of Culture and the state subsidy for the State Culture Capital Foundation, which was the central financial supporter of culture in Latvia. During the Great Recession, the state field of cultural production experienced another wave of infrastructure decline, jeopardising the institutional reproduction of the museum project and its collection, as well as challenging the institutional reproduction capacity of the entire field. As a consequence of the introduced crisis measures, the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum project was officially deferred until 2014, and the major governing body – the state agency New Three Brothers – was liquidated (LR Ministru kabinets 2009c). Through the reorganisation measures, intended to decrease the administrative apparatus of the state, the museum project lost its most direct and influential institutional agent, as well as its priory status in the policy

planning documents until 2014. During the time period from 2009 to 2013, four Ministers of Culture changed, challenging the consistency in policy application and also exhibiting a decreasing state attention to the field development that experienced a prioritised status during the five-year tenure of the previous minister.

The need for the museum got re-actualised on the national level in 2014 with an incoming government of Laimdota Straujuma when the questions of cultural infrastructure improvement and development, including construction plan of the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, were prioritised in the *Declaration and Action Plan* of the Cabinet, as well as in the new cultural policy guidelines that were ratified on 29 July 2014. The tenure of Dace Melbārde, who performed the functions of the minister for the next five consecutive years, brought the development question of the field of contemporary visual arts to the fore again. It indicated that during the diffusion phase, the ministry and other state agencies still continued performing a significant role within the maturing field of contemporary visual arts. Important, however, was the observation that the “silent” years, lasting from 2009 to 2013, introduced modifications in the field as a space of position-takings (Bourdieu 1983), signalling an increasingly more prominent input of the local entrepreneurs in the constitution project of the field that was realised through growing number of public-private partnership agreements and projects.

The global economic recession was the exogenous shock that caused the critical rupture, inducing the third phase of the field development that manifested through destabilised institutional reproduction of the state actors in charge of the financial and organisational well-being of the field. Deinstitutionalisation of the major governance body – state agency New Three Brothers – and defunding of the SCCF considerably redefined

the positional configuration of the incumbents, assuming economic capital in the third phase of the field development. DiMaggio (1988a, 15) reminds that “institutionalisation projects are advanced by core constituencies (institutional entrepreneurs and their backers) and external constituencies, with whom the core constituencies usually must bargain for support.” With the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF withdrawing from the position of the major financial and political guarantors, the field continued through the transformation process, comprised by crisis, episode of contention, and settlement) (FIGURE 1.5.). The mobilisation of strong private entrepreneurs and local foundations that represented “actors with material or ideal interests in the persistence of the institution” (DiMaggio 1988a, 13) was an imperative factor, featuring this transformation from the phase of local validation to diffusion and indicating that the field had started gravitating “towards a new—or refurbished—institutional settlement, regarding field rules and cultural norms” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 22). During this shift, the actors that were already previously established (phase two), particularly representing the economic power of the field, were taking over the institutionalisation project of the museum and were introducing new organisational forms and a new governance body, like the Foundation of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum.

The social network analysis (FIGURE 4.27.) illustrates that, by building strong alliances with instrumental economic, cultural, symbolic, and political powers and by successfully incorporating collaboration with public bodies, steadily growing structural clusters of actors established themselves as the newest incumbents in the field, indicating the diffusion of responsibilities outside the ministry’s domain of legitimisation. The promoting of the institutionalisation project of Latvian contemporary visual arts was

getting embraced in a wider societal area. The notion that collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the contemporary heritage of visual arts was solely a state responsibility was steadily changing within society. Also, the advent of the crisis accelerated the civic awareness of state's inability to implement the policies related to further development of the field. The mobilisation trait of interested and influential private entrepreneurs and local foundations manifested itself through their regular and comprehensive involvement in financially supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations. The nation-wide campaign *Art Needs Space*, which was initiated in 2014 and financially supported by philanthropist Jānis Zuzāns, is but one relevant example, representing activities that aimed to increase the civic awareness of the persistent lack of adequate physical infrastructure for artworks that were created after the 1960s. The programming of *Art Needs Space* established a platform for public discourse to address the serious societal, educational, and art historical implications associated with issues of heritage, contemporary visual arts, and continuity of cultural processes, including questions of representation and preservation. The field had grown from exclusive and narrowly defined professional project, to national level responsibility that was predominantly theorised in political circles, and, finally to a societal concern, representing wider social environment and comprising larger group of active civil actors.

The professional nucleus of the very first non-governmental organisations, closely inter-related with the challengers of the second phase, made up a relatively stable core constituency of the field during the diffusion phase, exhibiting a wide networking capacity locally and internationally, as well as durability and continuity in routinisation patterns of

previously established institutional values, templates, and classifications. The persistence of this constant group of professional actors indicated that they were the continuous controllers of cultural capital within the field.

Similar to the preceding decade, the financial support of the EU programme Culture played a notable role in the structuration process of the field during the diffusion stage. It was the principal external guarantor of economic capital, providing much needed regularity of support during the difficult economic climate, cushioning the effect of austerity measures that were introduced by the “crisis Government” in 2009, and, on the whole, buffering the institutional reproduction capacity of the professional core constituency of the contemporary visual arts field during the times when the dominant state field of cultural production went through another wave of infrastructure decline.

TABLE 4.9. Major institutionalisation indices of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia. Diffusion stage: 2010-ongoing

INDICATORS	
<p>Exogenous shock/ critical juncture</p>	<p>The Great Recession</p> <p>The global economic recession of 2008 was the exogenous shock that caused the critical rupture, inducing the third phase of the field development that manifested through destabilised institutional reproduction of the state actors in charge of the financial and organisational well-being of the field.</p>
<p>Organisational field constituency and locus of institution building</p>	<p>Focus away from government to wider societal context of institution building</p> <div data-bbox="799 1514 1127 1829" data-label="Diagram"> </div> <p>The mobilisation of strong private entrepreneurs and local foundations was an imperative factor, featuring the transformation from the phase of local</p>

	<p>validation to diffusion and indicating that the field had started gravitating “towards a new—or refurbished—institutional settlement, regarding field rules and cultural norms” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 22). SNA specifies that, by building strong alliances with instrumental economic, cultural, symbolic, and political powers and by successfully incorporating collaboration with public bodies, steadily growing structural clusters of actors established themselves as the newest incumbents in the field, indicating the diffusion of responsibilities outside the ministry’s routine of legitimisation and signalling that the field of contemporary visual arts was cognised, named, categorised, and theorised (formulated) across wider societal area.</p>
<p>Type of field</p>	<p>Non-state/ increasing wider societal focus and influence</p> <p>The Great Recession introduced evident corrections in the administrative and fiscal core of the field. The austerity measures proposed severe reductions in the government spending, considerably affecting the budget of the Ministry of Culture and the state subsidy for the SCCF; the state field of cultural production experienced another wave of infrastructure decline, jeopardising the institutional reproduction of the museum project and also challenging the institutional reproduction capacity of the contemporary visual arts field. Deinstitutionalisation of the major governance body – the state agency New Three Brothers – and defunding of the SCCF redefined the positional configuration of the incumbents, assuming economic capital in the field. The progressively mounting institutional power of civic initiatives within the field was one of the foremost factors that governed institutional change during the diffusion phase. The Ministry of Culture and the SCCF withdrew from the position of the major financial and political guarantors, and the active civic actors that established themselves during the local validation phase, particularly representing the economic power, were taking over the institutionalisation project of the museum and were introducing new organisational forms and a new governance structures.</p>
<p>External field of power</p>	<p>Network of external state and non-state fields; the European Union field of cultural production</p> <p>During the diffusion phase, the ministry and other state agencies still continued performing a significant role within the maturing field of contemporary visual arts. The “silent” years, lasting from 2009 to 2013, introduced modifications in the spatial configuration of the field and signalled an increasingly more prominent input of the local entrepreneurs in the constitution project of the field that was realised through growing number of public-private partnership agreements and projects.</p> <p>The EU support programmes for culture (Culture (2007-2013) and Creative Europe (2013-2020)) were critical in advancing the field structuration process and they represented an essential economic power and symbolic and social capital.</p> <p>Mounting influence of civic actors, like ABLV Bank, Alfor Ltd., Boris and Inara Teterev Foundation, indicated the presence of notable economic and social capital outside the governance of the involved state actors.</p>
<p>Factors defining external relational structure (in</p>	<p>Interdependence</p>

<p>connection with the field of power)</p>	<p>Cooperation is present, indicating a significant increase in information flows, mutual professional interactions, and sharing of power through regular and comprehensive involvement in financially supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations.</p> <p>Dependence</p> <p>Signs of hierarchy are also present in the definition of the external relational structure. Dependence is chiefly denoted by resource dependence factors.</p>
<p>External field relations (in connection with the dominant state field of cultural production</p>	<p>Reciprocal (information flow, mutual beneficial interactions, sharing of power)</p> <p>The partnership agreements that were instituted during the local validation phase remained critical in the further advancement of the structuration process of the field. The agreements reinforced the institutional capacity of the core professional constituents of the field, like LCCA, Arts Project NOASS, Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, and Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i>, by delegating specific tasks, by defining the institutional identity of these specific actors on a state level, and by assigning specialised responsibilities, capacities, rights.</p> <p>Hierarchical</p> <p>The relational structure between the two fields also comprised the elements of hierarchy where the field of the contemporary visual arts was subject to the influence of the dominant state field of cultural production. Major factors of dependence were characterised by resource dependence, bureaucratic authority, formal legal authority, and legitimacy.</p>
<p>Internal field constituency:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutional entrepreneur(s); - Incumbents - Challengers 	<p>Key institutional entrepreneurs: ABLV Charitable Foundation, Jānis Zuzāns, Foundation Art Needs Space, Purvītis Prize, Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation</p> <p>During the diffusion phase, the ministry and other state agencies still performed a significant role within the maturing field of contemporary visual arts, indicating extended institutional implications, i.e., regulative, normative, or cultural-cognitive, however, the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF withdrew from the position of the major financial and political guarantors. Active civil actors were taking over the institutionalisation project of the field and were introducing new organisational forms and new governance structures. Starting from the onset of the global crisis, the routinised support and activities of these actors, representing notable economic, social, and symbolic capital outside the governance domain of the associated state actors, revealed a consistent trend of growing civic initiatives and influence in construction process of the field.</p> <p>Incumbents of the field</p> <p>The professional nucleus of the very first non-governmental organisations (Pedvāle Open Air Museum, the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C, Culture and Arts Project NOASS, and LCCA) closely inter-related with the challengers of the second phase (Audio-visual Communication</p>

	<p>Department (AVCD) of the Art Academy of Latvia, Arts Management and Information Centre, Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE; Skaņu Mežs; Art Research Laboratory at University of Liepāja; Cēsis Art Festival; KIM? Contemporary Arts Centre) made up a relatively stable professional core constituency of the field during the diffusion phase, exhibiting a wide networking capacity locally and internationally, as well as durability and continuity in routinisation patterns of previously established institutional values, templates, and classifications.</p>
Key external actors	European Union programmes for culture
Institutional primacy	<p>Normative</p> <p>The SNA illustrates that during the diffusion phase, steadily growing structural clusters of actors established themselves as the new institutional entrepreneurs in the field, indicating the diffusion of responsibilities outside the ministry's domain of legitimisation. The promoting of the institutionalisation project of Latvian contemporary visual arts was getting embraced in a wider societal area. The mobilisation trait of interested and influential private entrepreneurs and local foundations manifested itself through their regular and comprehensive involvement in supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations. Routinisation pattern of the involvement of active civil actors in the field denoted the existence of empirical indicators of developing normative institutions that were crucial in shaping the field during the diffusion phase of the 2010s.</p>
Basis of legitimacy	<p>Morally Governed</p> <p>Decreasing role of the Ministry of Culture and the SCCF as the major financial and political guarantors signalled that the field was undergoing further modifications in the spatial configuration of the pertinent powers. To ensure the institutional reproduction of the field, active civil actors were taking over the institutionalisation project of the field and were introducing new organisational forms and new governance structures.</p>
Central institutional logic of the field	<p>Development of contemporary art as social responsibility in wider societal context</p> <p>Growing involvement of the new institutional entrepreneurs gradually established a platform for public discourse to address the serious societal, educational, and art historical implications associated with issues of heritage, contemporary visual arts, and continuity of cultural processes, including questions of representation and preservation. The notion that collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the contemporary heritage of visual arts was solely a state responsibility was changing in society. The advent of the crisis had jeopardised government's credibility and had accelerated the civic awareness of state's inability to implement the policies related to further development of the field. The mobilisation trait of interested and influential private entrepreneurs and local foundations during the crisis years altered the relationships between the major actors, particularly representing the economic capital in the field, and indicated that the concern over the contemporary visual arts development had diffused outwards - from national level responsibility, predominantly theorised in</p>

	<p>political circles, to a societal matter of moral responsibility, representing wider social environment and comprising larger group of active civil actors.</p>
<p>Governance structure</p>	<p>Weakening control of state actors and increasing dominance of strong civil initiatives that hold essential economic power and control the circulation of resources – economic, social, cultural, and symbolic in the maturing field</p> <p>Diffusion phase was characterised by destabilised institutional reproduction of the state actors in charge of the financial and organisational well-being of the field. Infrastructure decline – deinstitutionalisation of the major governance body, state agency New Three Brothers, and defunding of the SCCF weakened the state control in the field. Steady development of structural clusters, representing involvement of strong civil actors, started exhibiting more centrality already during the second phase of field development, however, they established themselves as the new institutional entrepreneurs during the diffusion stage, assuming major formative and normative power that intensified the structuration process of the maturing field. The new incumbents introduced new organisational forms and a new governance body, indicating change “in formal and informal systems that exercise control within the field” (Scott [1995] 2014, 244).</p>

CONCLUSION

Firmly relying on institution as process approach, including institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation as a part of the process, the hypothesis of the study states that the development trajectory of Latvian contemporary visual arts field is divided into three consecutive, but distinctive historical phases where each one of them is ignited by some founding moment (caused by an exogenous shock) that leads to the episode of crisis and contention and that is principal in shaping the ensuing phase of the field development. The underlying premise is that each of the phases signifies a different structuration dynamic that defines development of institutional framework, i.e., cultural-cognitive, regulative, and normative, and empirically captures change, occurring within the field throughout the time period of nearly three decades. Empirical analysis, through which the major institutional trends, relational patterns, and change are identified in the featured innovation, local validation, and diffusion stages, strongly rests on the argument that the field emergence, advancement, and maturation “cannot be considered in an isolated context, conducted in a vacuum, or developed on an autonomous basis. All organisational action is mediated by the history, culture, and the context of the institutional environment” (Hoffman 2001, 196). This longitudinal study examines institutional history of the contemporary visual arts field, revealing that the structuration process of the field, in its initial – innovation – phase, did not occur across all levels, but was very local, and professionally defined within a relatively narrow circle of artistic community, and the locality where the emerging problem was generated, cognised, classified, and theorised did not represent a national level (top-down) but was peripheral and narrowly

professional, denoting a bottom-up approach in institution building and the persistence of a polarised organisational reality. During the local validation phase of the 2000's, the field had grown to be recognised as national level responsibility that was predominantly theorised in political circles, signalling the decrease in dissonance between the policy rhetoric and application, as well as between the localities where the cognition and theorisation processes took place. Finally, during the diffusion phase of the 2010's, the field development and the institutional framework that it represented gradually became legitimised in wider social environment, comprising larger group of active civil actors.

PROFESSIONAL FOCUS

The emergence of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia at the very beginning of the 1990s epitomised a critical moment in the existing field of cultural production when the qualitative break from the previous logic of institutional action and the relationships that this logic entailed took place. This qualitative break comprised a considerable challenge because the new institutional templates and routines needed to be articulated in parallel with the pre-existing institutional reality and definitional apparatus. As previously discussed, “problems generally do not arise with equal frequency in all parts of a social system, the likelihood that a given entity will [cognise and] theorise a given set of problems and solutions depends on the extent of that entity’s relevant experience, direct and vicarious” (Suchman 1995b, 44). The decade of the 1990s featured the emergence stage of the field of contemporary visual arts in Latvia. During this phase of autonomisation and innovation the new institutional framework, did not originate within the established state infrastructure, but developed outside the direct influence of the

dominant and legitimate producers of art. The artists, representing innovative projects, and the new art organisations that got established during the 1990s lacked a systemic support from the authorities that exercised the “monopoly of nomination” (Bourdieu [1987] 1993, 250); hence they displayed a trend of autonomous development under the auspices of a non-state actor. The locality where the emerging problem was cognised and theorised did not represent a national level (top-down) but was peripheral and narrowly professional (bottom-up).

The persistence of the centralized and hierarchical institutional legacy and the status quo approach to its administration and funding was one of the principal endogenous factors that undermined the development of innovative and non-traditional art initiatives and prevented the growth of new infrastructures, particularly in the field of contemporary visual arts. Within the prevailing practice of institutional funding, the inherited art establishment that represented more conventional and academic visual arts mandate absorbed the already limited public resources.

In parallel to the prevalent state institutional logic and governance structures, a slow, but steady increase in development of non-profit organisations was apparent during the 1990s, starting to fill the gaps of the post-command cultural landscape and offering cultural products in fields, which were not institutionally represented during the Soviet period and were not included in the programming of the state cultural institutions. At the very beginning of the 1990s, Western countries, particularly the US and the EU, and private philanthropic organisations mobilised their assistance to the CEECs in attempts to eliminate “the worst and most dangerous legacies of the previous regime” (Quandt 2002, 22). The Western assistance programmes that were made available as part of the transition

to democracy package (Salamon et al. 1999) indicate an important exogenous factor that needs to be considered when analysing the development of the non-governmental sector. This international support facilitated the emergence of new types of art institutions. The philanthropic investment assistance of the Soros Foundation played a particularly important role in Latvia, marking the qualitative break and facilitating the formation of a new art historical narrative and a new framework of beliefs, meanings, values, rules, and norms. The Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts-Riga was the central actor undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14) of Latvian visual contemporary art field during the 1990s.

TABLE C1: Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics of phase I: Innovation and Autonomisation

Count of actors	Actor attribute	Percentage
PHASE I: INNOVATION AND AUTONOMISATION (1991-1999) (n=1173)		
271	Creative output	23%
86	Curators	8%
596	Artists	51%
27	Jury members	2%
14	Funders	1%
179	NGOs	15%
SCCA-RIGA (1993-1999) (n=386)		
70	Creative output	18%
23	Curators	6%
215	Artists	56%
8	Jury members	2%
10	Funders	3%
60	NGOs	15%

Source: Demir 2019.

POLITICAL FOCUS

The second phase, representing the first decade of the 2000s, indicates a gradual decrease in institutional polarisation between the state and non-state actors and exhibits changing behaviour of the state actors towards the field. One of the important factors fostering the horizontal political decentralisation was a significant improvement in cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and non-governmental sector, marking significant improvements in developing a comprehensive legal framework that facilitated partnership initiatives between the public authorities and the third sector. During this phase, the emerging field, for the first time, appeared as a political category within the strategic state cultural policy planning documents, and the government started playing an increasingly more prominent role in the constitution project of the field. Until 1998, the functioning of the SCCA-Riga represented the administrative and fiscal core of the field. The organisation was the only source of support for contemporary art and it represented the central actor, undertaking the “institutionalisation project” (DiMaggio 1988a, 14). By the end of the 1990s, major state actors, particularly the Ministry of Culture, started exhibiting signs of interest and hitherto inconsistent involvement in the active development and support, however, by the mid 2000s the state actors, including the SCCF, had already claimed the place among the major institutional entrepreneurs, considerably influencing the process of field constitution. The institutional entrepreneurs represent the capability of agency to either create shared institutional frameworks (rules, norms, beliefs) and initiate the emergence of a new field or considerably transform the pre-existing institutional frameworks in an already established field during the episodes of contentions when institutional reproduction is in question and deinstitutionalisation is a possibility.

The state role, in this regard, was particularly crucial in securing the institutional reproduction of the field during this first episode of contention when the SCCA-Riga exited the field in 1999.

Latvia's accession to the EU indicates an important exogenous factor that needs to be considered when analysing the development of the non-governmental sector. The EU programmes for culture were significant in financially supporting visual arts projects and non-governmental organisations working outside the state infrastructure, as well as facilitating international exchange.

TABLE C2: Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics: Phase II

PHASE II: LOCAL VALIDATION (2000-2009) (n=1051)			
135	Creative output		13%
63	Curators		6%
548	Artists		52%
41	Jury		4%
73	Funders		7%
191	NGOs		18%
VENICE BIENNALE (1999-2019) (n=75)			
12	Creative output		16%
18	Curators		24%
23	Artists		31%
3	Jury		3%
9	Funders		12%
10	NGOs		13%
EU CULTURE 2000 PROGRAMME (2000-2006) (n=429)			
32	Creative output		8%
26	Curators		6%
220	Artists		51%
1	Jury		0%
22	Funders		5%
128	NGOs		30%

Source: Demir 2019

SOCIETAL FOCUS

The worldwide economic crisis that struck the country particularly hard in 2009 marked the beginning of the diffusion phase, introducing new corrections in the administrative and fiscal core of the field. It was characterized by increased public-private partnerships and by emergence of strong private entrepreneurs and local foundations furthering the institutionalisation project of Latvian visual contemporary art. SNA visualisation graphs, as well as interviews, financial statements of the examined organisations, annual reports of the charitable foundations, cultural policy changes, government level partnership agreements, particularly earmarking the field of contemporary visual art, and exhibition documentation all signified a more apparent visibility of new powerful actors in the field. From the beginning of the crisis in 2009 and through the next ten years the activities of the ABLV Charitable Foundation, Jānis Zuzāns, Foundation Art Needs Space, Purvītis Prize, and the Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation indicated a consistent trend of regular and comprehensive involvement in financially supporting artists, projects, organisations, higher art institutions, media outlets, and administratively initiating high level contemporary art festivals, prizes, and collaborations.

The EU and its culture support programmes continued to exert their positive impact on the field development and should be considered as major exogenous factors of influence during the phase III. The financial assistance of the EU Culture Programme was particularly vital for the organisations during and after the global crisis reached Latvia. It provided much needed regularity of support, and the financial reports of the core actors in the field indicate that the budgets of the organisations experienced a slight increase in

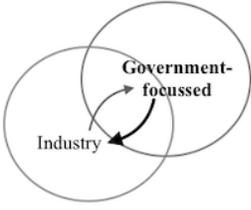
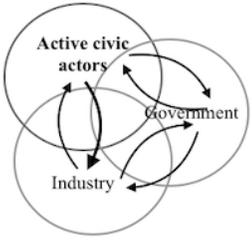
revenues (Lursoft 2017) due to the accessibility of the funds.

TABLE C3: Statistical field representation and structuration dynamics, Phase III

PHASE III: DIFFUSION (2010-ongoing) (=1384)			
216	Creative output		16%
130	Curators		9%
716	Artists		52%
45	Jury		3%
77	Funders		6%
200	NGOs		14%
EU CULTURE PROGRAMME (2007-2014) (n=440)			
30	Creative output		7%
57	Curators		13%
217	Artists		49%
6	Jury		1%
18	Funders		4%
112	NGOs		26%

Source: Demir 2019

TABLE C4: Major indices of the institutionalisation phases of the contemporary visual arts field in Latvia

Indicator	Innovation 1991-1999	Local validation 2000-2008	Diffusion 2009-2016
Exogenous shock/ critical juncture	Disintegration of the Soviet Union, restoration of independence in 1991	Withdrawal of the Western assistance programmes, Latvia's integration into the European Union, Institution of the SCCF	Global economic crisis
Organisational field/locus of institution building	Professional industry: narrow professional group	Professional industry and government level institution building	Professional industry, government, and wider societal level institution building
			

Type of field	Non-state/ autonomous	Non-state/ increasing state control in the field	Non-state/ increasing influence of interested and influential civic actors
External field of power	Western assistance programmes	Other state fields, European Union	Other state fields, Other non-state fields, European Union
External field relations	Autonomous	Dependent	Interdependent
Factors defining external relational structure	<u>Cooperation (primary):</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power <u>Hierarchy:</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy	<u>Hierarchy (primary):</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy <u>Cooperation:</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power	<u>Cooperation (primary):</u> - Information flows - Mutual professional interactions - Sharing of power <u>Hierarchy:</u> - Formal legal authority - Bureaucratic authority - Resource dependence - Legitimacy
Internal field constituency	Professional industry	Professional industry, government	Professional industry, government, influential civic actors from non-state fields
Key external actors	Soros Foundation Network	European Union programmes for culture, the European Economic Area (EEA) Grants – Norway Grants, Financial Mechanism	European Union programmes for culture
Institutional primacy	Cultural-cognitive	Regulative	Normative
Basis of legitimacy	Culturally supported	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed
Central institutional logic of the field	Advancement of contemporary visual arts as social obligation of transition: rehabilitation of free expression and development of shared professional understandings within a relatively isolated enclave of artistic community	Development of contemporary arts as state responsibility: government obligation to safeguard the contemporary heritage and continuity of cultural processes, including museum development	Development of contemporary art as social responsibility in wider societal context: social obligation to safeguard the contemporary heritage and continuity of cultural processes, including the museum development

Source: Demir 2019.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: TABLES

Appendix 1.1. Funding of culture from various sources from 1993 to 1997 (allocation amounts in current prices, LVL)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
State subsidy	9,181,905	13,171,655	16,499,000	18,599,000	16,410,000
Local government subsidy	5,906,278	7,904,835	12,026,838	12,847,058	15,790,000
Private funding	932,000	1,658,048	1,864,250	1,210,821	1,745,246

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b.

Appendix 1.2. Breakdown of the state budget for culture from 1992 to 2000 based on functional classification programmes (allocation amounts in current prices, LVL)

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Culture	2,097,000	3,610,636	4,765,498	5,491,869	6,616,956
Cultural education	1,057,000	2,849,757	4,317,608	5,639,538	6,198,418
Investments	411,000	2,056,900	3,947,000	3,900,000	4,228,000
Special budget	357,014	595,169	589,441	819,969	910,181
Cinema	134,000	191,878	303,900	297,393	318,307
Administrative expenses	61,766	94,626	142,487	218,759	236,348
Scientific research	0	2,496	13,958	22,000	26,000

	1997	1998	1999	2000
Culture	6,840,000	7,878,000	9,073,000	10,579,000
Cultural education	6,482,000	7,318,000	7,365,000	8,642,000
Investments	2,586,000	1,389,000	1,678,000	824,000
Special budget	800,000	880,000	2,620,000	1,979,000
Cinema	634,394	682,000	551,000	525,000
Administrative expenses	273,523	385,177	577,000	479,000
Scientific research	26,000	12,000	27,000	347,000

Sources: LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Ministry of Culture 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999, 2000.

Appendix 1.3. Income of the Latvian Art Museum Association from 1993 to 1997 (amounts in current prices, LVL)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
State subsidy	192,222	329,936	296,460	428,276	366,261

Entrance fees	17,475	39,751	28,428	30,591	25,793
Donations and individual project funding	32,453	3,975	8,122	12,236	41,269
Other income (including commercial services)	7,489	23,851	73,100	140,719	82,538
Total	249,639	397,513	406,109	611,823	515,861

Source: Museum State Administration Statistics 1998.

Appendix 1.4. Budgetary allocations of the Latvian Art Museum Association from 1993 to 1997 (amounts in current prices, LVL)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Salaries	111,018	106,128	130,656	178,136	187,935
Utilities	54,218	74,683	40,830	118,757	111,745
Security	15,491	15,723	36,747	11,876	15,238
Repairs	18,073	74,683	73,494	154,384	5,079
Other expenses	59,382	121,851	126,573	130,633	187,935
Total	258,181	393,068	408,299	593,785	507,932

Source: Museum State Administration Statistics 1998.

Appendix 1.5. Breakdown of the budget programme "Culture" allocations (based of functional classification) from the total budget of the LR Ministry of Culture from 1994 to 1999 (amounts in current prices, LVL)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Libraries	612,338	587,264	716,322	1,138,850	1,332,010	1,489,478
Museums	1,505,672	1,487,312	2,192,969	2,614,453	2,589,080	3,079,120
The Philharmonic	365,454	386,177	471,600	545,541	567,411	368,598
Theatres	1,461,820	1,544,712	1,664,311	2,182,166	2,269,646	3,587,281
Other culture institutions	268,500	350,170	386,170	401,740	400,111	449,432
Topical cultural events	268,500	556,384	543,057	673,586	674,584	544,640
Culture projects	100,000	180,000	182,000	186,000		
Protection of cultural heritage	210,000	227,755	227,755	232,192	204,000	50,000
Folk art	104,733	127,037	174,041			
Subsidy to Unions (writers and composers)	17,686	15,839	15,839	20,000	20,000	20,000
Other art events	45,916	42,834	42,834	62,558	61,822	62,122
Cultural Periodicals			134,179	86,971		

Sources: LR Sacima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999.

Appendix 1.6. Comparison of the Ministry of Culture budget allocations to different budget programmes and sub-programmes from 1993 to 1997 (amounts in current

prices, LVL). Total budget amount of the Ministry of Culture is applied as a base (=100%)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Budget of the Ministry of Culture	9,181,905	13,171,655	16,499,000	18,599,000	16,410,000
Budget programme <i>Culture</i>	3,610,636	4,765,498	5,491,869	6,616,956	6,840,000
Budget sub-programme <i>Museums</i>	1,088,215	1,505,672	1,487,312	2,192,969	2,614,453
Budget allocation to LAMA	192,222	329,936	296,460	428,276	366,261
Annual average budget allocation for visual arts	13,500	13,500	13,500	13,500	13,500
Budget allocation to the Culture Projects (total)		100,000	180,000	182,000	186,000
Culture Projects allocation for visual arts		20,500	40,700	28,010	51,769
Culture Projects allocation for contemporary visual arts		10,000	8,000	11,000	4,304

Sources: LR Augstākā padome 1993b; LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b, 1994, 1995b, 1996c, 1997a, 2001b; LR Kultūras ministrijas Muzeju Valsts pārvaldes statistika 1998; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b, 1998c, 1999.

Appendix 1.7. Allocation to the Culture Projects from the total budget of the Ministry of Culture from 1992 to 1997

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Allocation to the Culture Projects from the total budget of the Ministry of Culture (in percentages)	1.21	0	0.8	1.1	0.9	1.1

Sources: LR Kultūras ministrija 1992b, 1994, 1995a,b, 1996c, 1997a; LR Augstākā Padome 1992e, 1993b; LR Saeima 1994a, 1995a, 1996, 1997b.

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (PILOT STUDY)

No.	Interviewee	Position	Date of the Interview
1.	Helēna Demakova	Art Scholar, Critic, and Curator. Former Minister of Culture (2004 - 2009) Demakova is still one of the most influential professionals in the field of contemporary art. She has represented the field from the very beginning (starting from the Soros Foundation as one of the board members). During her service as a minister, the Contemporary Art Museum project was introduced and launched.	30 March 2014 Krimulda, Latvia
2.	Edgars Vērpe	Latvian artist. Director of the State Culture Capital Foundation since 2002	3 April 2014 Riga, Latvia
3.	Solvita Krese	Director of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art Solvita Krese is one of the best-known curators working in the field of contemporary art in Latvia. She started her career under the management of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art Riga in 1993 as a Deputy Director. In 2000, after the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art was restructured into the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art, S. Krese continued working as a Director of the organisation.	4 April 2014 Riga, Latvia
4.	Ojārs Pētersons	Professor at the Department of Audio-Visual Media Art in Art Academy of Latvia Ojārs Pētersons is a well-known contemporary artist, representing the generation of the so-called “trespassers” in Latvian art. Starting from the beginning of the nineties, he has assumed influential positions in key cultural organisations that played an important part in shaping the field of contemporary visual art, e.g., he was a Chair of the Board of the State Endowment for Culture and a member of National Council of Culture at the Ministry of Culture.	8 April 2014 Riga, Latvia
5.	Dzintars Zilgalvis	Founder of Culture and Arts Project NOASS (1997) Dz. Zilgalvis is a professional artist and has been actively involved in the projects of the organisation since its inception in 1997. Established in 1997, NOASS is one of the core non-governmental arts and culture organisations in Latvia. The organisation was created as a non-commercial	8 April 2014

		modern cultural centre on Noass, a floating boat with exhibition and conference hall. This was one of the first independent contemporary art organisations created in Latvia and initially it functioned only as an exhibition space, which had a goal to emphasize and encourage the interaction of culture and art through opportunities for curators and artists to experiment and also to support research and the use of new technologies and mediums in artists' creative work. In 2002, a new project, NOASS VIDEO, was conceived, which is an ever-expanding international video art gallery.	
6.	Kate Zilgalve	Director at Culture and Arts Project NOASS	8 April 2014
7.	Astrīda Rogule	Chief Curator of Latvian Contemporary Art Collection Before the administrative transition under the LNMA, Astrīda held the same position at the state agency New 3 Brothers.	15 April 2014
8.	Inga Šteimane	Art Critic, Curator Former and last Chief Curator of the controversial Riga Art Space (2012 - 2104). Since January 2014, she is working on independent projects. Chief Editor of culture newspaper "Kultūras Forums", which had to be closed after the economic crisis hit Latvia. She also worked as a director of the documentary "What is so Contemporary? (Kas te tik laikmetīgs?)	16 April 2014
9.	Līga Lindenbauma	Curator, Art Historian at Mūkusala Art Salon	17 April 2014
10.	Ieva Kalniņa	Art Critic, Curator at Institute for Contemporary Art Ieva has curated multiple domestic and internationally important exhibitions. While working in the Department of Cultural Affairs at the City Council of Riga, Ieva was the major force behind the establishment of Riga Art Space, which finally came to fruition in 2008. She was also the first Chief Curator of the city gallery (2008 - 2010).	23 April 2014
11.	Jānis Borgs	Director of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (1993 - 1999) (1993) Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.	23 April 2014

12.	Linda Pavļuta	Executive Director of the Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i> (2008)	25 April 2014
		<p>The newest and currently most aggressive addition to Latvian contemporary visual art map, Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i>, was established in 2008 as a pilot project of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum. The establishment of the organisation came as a direct initiative from the Ministry of Culture. Due to the personal disagreements between the minister and the senior management of the organisation, the pilot project idea was soon revoked by the ministry, however, the organisation managed to salvage the Partnership Agreement.</p> <p>Due to very professional management and marketing strategies, the organisation can definitely be viewed as one of the trendsetters in the field, focusing on new Latvian artists and very strong international network building.</p>	
13.	Zane Onckule	Program Director of the Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i> (2008)	29 April 2014
14.	Diāna Barčevska	Chief Curator at Mūkusalas Art Salon (2011)	8 May 2014
15.	Zanda Zilgalve	Chair of the Board ABLV Charitable Foundation (2006)	9 May 2014
		<p>On 23 September 2005, ABLV Bank signed a Collaboration Agreement (Nr.LSad-1/05-110) with the Ministry of Culture, undertaking to invest EUR 1,422,800, and acquiring works for the collection of the nascent Contemporary Art Museum. The agreement served as the inspiration for the founding of the ABLV Charitable Foundation (then known as “AB.LV fonds”). Since its founding in 2006, support for and promotion of contemporary art projects has been the Foundation’s most stable and important operating direction.</p> <p>Note: on 30 October 2014, the Minister of Culture and the Board Members of the Foundation of Contemporary Art Museum of Latvia signed a memorandum of understanding about the building of the Contemporary Art Museum of Latvia. The impetus for the signing of the memorandum of understanding comes from the successful and long-term collaboration between the Ministry of Culture, the ABLV Charitable Foundation and the Ināra and Boriss Teterev Foundation as prominent patrons in the field of contemporary art in Latvia.</p>	
16.	Ivars Asnis	Founder and Director of the Contemporary Art Group ASNI (in Kuldīga) (2005)	11 May 2014

		<p>The group was established in 2005 and until the economic crisis of 2009 was actively working mostly locally (in Kuldīga). The major professional focus was organisation of art exhibitions and educational workshops. After the crisis, the group's activities significantly decreased due to insufficient funding.</p> <p>The group's impact can be evaluated as mostly local and it is hard to compare it to the importance and acclaim that Cēsis Art Festival achieved in comparatively short time. Kuldīga's status in this regard is compatible to that of Cēsis.</p>	
17.	Elita Asne	Member (artist) of the Contemporary Art Group ASNI	11 May 2014
18.	Ramona Umblija	Art critic and Former Minister of Culture (1997-1998)	18 May 2014
		State Culture Capital Foundation was instituted during her tenure as minister.	
19.	Jānis Zuzāns	Businessman and Art Collector	20 May 2014
		<p>Jānis Zuzāns is one of the major art collectors in Latvia. Since 2008, he has been one of the central funders of contemporary art. Due to his initiatives, important institutional aspects in the "field" have been developed.</p> <p>Supported initiatives:</p> <p>2008 The Purvītis Prize (biannual): 2011 Arterritory.com 2011 The Mūkusala Art Salon 2014 Foundation Art Needs Space</p>	
20.	Zaiga Pūce	Director at Foundation Art Needs Space (2014)	21 May 2014
		Foundation's activities were launched at the very beginning of 2014. This organisation has been very actively and consistently campaigning within the public domain (bottom-up approach) with a goal to promote and explain the need for a contemporary art museum. One of the most famous projects of the year was the public art initiative "Snails". Riga's citizens and visitors were surprised by huge colourful snails crawling the city's streets, symbolizing the very slow process of the museum project and requesting the public to help pushing the snails forward.	
21.	Katrīna Leiškalne	Foundation Art needs Space Coordinator and Marketing manager/PR person	21 May 2014
22.	Māra Lāce	Director of Latvian National Art Museum since 2001	22 May 2014

Māra Lāce also is a member of the Visual Arts Council, which is a consultative body to the Ministry of Culture. Lāce represents the Ministry of Culture as one of the experts in the establishment process of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, - realised in partnership with the ABLV Bank and Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation.

23.	Jānis Dripe	Advisor to the Minister of Culture and Former Minister of Culture (1993-1995)	22 May 2014
		<p>J. Dripe is representing the ministry as one of the experts in the newly established Contemporary Art Museum Committee of Experts.</p> <p>J. Dripe is a well know public and political figure and has been very actively involved in the political life of Latvia since the early 1990s.</p>	
24.	Ieva Astahovska	Art Scholar, Critic, and Curator (Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art)	22 May 2014
		<p>I. Astahovska has worked at the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art since 2005 where she had lead research projects about contemporary art writing, including the publication <i>Trespassers, Contemporary Art of the 1980s</i> (2005), and research on Latvian Soviet period nonconformist art heritage (2009–2010). She has recently co-curated the exhibitions <i>90s with a Different Gaze</i> (2010), <i>Movements, Explorations, Artists in Latvia. 1960–1984</i> (2010), and <i>Parallel Chronologies</i> (2011).</p>	
25.	Raitis Šmits	Founder and Curator of the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C	23 May 2014
		<p>Raitis Smits is a media artist, curator and net activist. He frequently collaborates with Rasa Šmite.</p> <p>The very beginnings of RIX-C reaches back to 1996 when Raitis Šmits (together with Rasa Šmite and Jānis Garančs) created the Electronic Arts and Media Centre E-LAB. Currently, RIX-C is one of the most active and professionally recognized art organisations in Latvia. It has acquired its own unique niche within the contemporary art map of Latvia and consistently is working in it. RIX-C is also the organizer of the annual international new media culture festival "Art+Communication" in Riga since 1996.</p>	
26.	Andrejs Ēķis	Latvian film producer	27 May 2014
27.	Daiga Rudzāte	Artistic Editor of Arteritory.com (Baltic, Scandinavian, and Russian art portal)	28 May 2014

Art Program Director of Cēsis Art Festival

Artistic Director of Culture Project Agency *Indie*: two of the major projects of the agency are: Cēsis Art Festival and the biannual Purvītis Art Prize.

Daiga is wearing more than one hat and is very well connected and respected "art impresario" in Riga.

Founded in 2011, Arterritory.com is an art and culture website in Latvian, Russian, and English, which focuses on Baltic, Scandinavian, and Russian contemporary art and its manifestations elsewhere in the world.

28.	Līga Marcinkēviča	Latvian Artists and Chief Editor at Studija (art journal)	29 May 2014
		L. Marcinkēviča works with video installations and new media art and she is one of the members of the "Famous 5" art group.	
29.	Katrīna Neiburga	Latvian Artist	29 May 2014
		K. Neiburga works with video installations and photography, and she represented Latvia in the 56th Venice Biennial (2015) in a co-project with Andris Eglītis.	
30.	Armands Zelčs	Artist, Chair of the Visual Art Committee at the State Culture Capital Foundation	2 June 2014
		A. Zelčs is one of the leading contemporary artists in Latvia.	
31.	Kristaps Ģelzis	Artist, Art Professor in Department of Audio-Visual Media Art at Art Academy of Latvia	3 June 2014
		In his works, he focuses on graphic art, painting, video installations, installation projects.	
		K. Ģelzis represented Latvia at the 54th Venice Biennial (2011) with his "ARTIFICIAL PEACE (Contemporary Landscape)."	
32.	Anna Iltnere	Latvian Editor to Arterritory.com art newspaper	3 June 2014
33.	Ojārs Feldbergs	Founder and Director of The Open-Air Art Museum at Pedvāle (1993)	13 September 2014
		Pedvāle is a very well-known place regionally, nationally, and internationally. The Art Museum was created by sculptor O. Feldbergs, one of the leading contemporary sculptors Latvia, in 1993 and it is located in a specially protected cultural territory of	

Western Latvia. It is an ideal place in which creative professionals, sculptors, painters, printmakers, installation and performance artists, are free to express themselves. The museum is the largest and the most versatile cultural and art centre in Latvia with dual focus: safeguarding the cultural environment and creating a new platform for the development and presentation of contemporary art.

Among the active participants in many of the thematic programs, symposia, seminars and conferences organized by the museum are not only visual artists, poets, musicians or film makers, but also scientists, researchers of folklore and mythology, geographers, specialists of landscape studies, territorial planning and regional development. The museum also acts as a workshop of intellectual and artistic initiatives where new conceptual ideas for regional development programs are generated and put into practice.

Similar to Juris Žagars (Cēsis Art Festival), Ojārs has been very actively working on network building on all levels.

34. Sandra Krastiņa **Latvian Artist** 12 September 2014

Sandra mostly works with big scale painting projects. Sandra's work is important in the context of the first controversial and "independent" art exhibitions at the end of the 80s and at the beginning of the 90s (e.g., exhibition "Maigās svārstības (1990)).

35. Evelīna Deičmane **Latvian Artist** 16 September 2014

In her works, Deičmane utilizes a wide range of mediums: photography, installations, video installations, and sound elements.

E. Deičmane probably is among one of the most productive young artists. She has participated in numerous exhibitions and biennales since 2002: the 12th International Cairo Biennale (2010), Manifesta 7 (Bozen/Bolzano, 2008), the 2nd Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art (2007) and the 15th Biennale of Sydney (2006). Together with Miks Mitrēvics she also represented Latvia at the 53rd Venice Biennale (2009).

36. Kristīne Briede **Founder of K@2 Culture and Information Centre in Karosta (1998)** 18 September 2014

Due to a land (property) dispute between the organisation and the local authorities, K@2 had to leave the territory in 2008 and soon after it ceased to exist.

During the ten years of its existence, the organisation was well recognized locally and nationally, as well as it was actively working on network-building internationally.

After it finished its existence, the database and archive of the organisation was transferred to Art Research Laboratory at Liepāja University.

K@2 was established in 2000, however the project was conceived earlier, in 1998, when a group of artists from Riga came to Karosta, a former Soviet military base and port that was completely closed to civilians, to realize a film project. Artists who came from a film background described the move to Karosta as coming to the other side of the screen. Their objective was to create an alternative solution for improving the current situation in Karosta district by means of forming a body for culture, education, social, and ethnic integration and cooperation and also to promote and develop the Centre into an institution that has an essential role in information and cultural exchanges on local, national, and international levels. The major tasks that the artists undertook were the organisation of events that promote culture, education, integration and accessibility of information.

37. Juris Žagars

Founder and Director of Cēsis Art Festival (2007)

19 September 2014

This could be a very good case study, featuring a very successful relationship building with public officials, private investors, as well as with the local public.

Juris Žagars is a renowned and very well-connected cultural figure. He has always been very outspoken advocate in support of development of contemporary art infrastructure in Latvia.

The very first Cēsis Art Festival took place in August of 2007. It is an annual event and usually it takes place at the very end of the summer. Even though the program features a diverse range of art forms including classical music concerts, opera and drama performances, the contemporary visual art component of the festival is very well known and established. Cēsis has always played a significant role in the context of Latvian culture, but due to the development of tourism, especially cultural tourism, the name of Cēsis is also becoming known outside the borders of Latvia. The festival has significantly helped to brand and transform Cēsis into one of the most active and attractive cultural centres of the country, focusing on high quality professional visual art and music.

An annual contemporary art exhibition is one of the principal components of the festival.

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS)

No.	Interviewee	Position	Date of the Interview
1.	Ojārs Pētersons	Professor at the Department of Audio-Visual Media Art in Art Academy of Latvia	9 October 2014 Riga, Latvia
		O. Pētersons is a well-known contemporary artist, representing the generation of the so-called “trespassers” in Latvian art. Starting from the beginning of the nineties, he has assumed influential positions in key cultural organisations that played an important part in shaping the field of contemporary visual art, e.g., he was a Chair of the Board of the State Endowment for Culture and a member of National Council of Culture at the Ministry of Culture.	
2.	Signe Pucēna	Director and Founder of Interdisciplinary Art Group SERDE (2002) in Aizpute	10 October 2014
		SERDE was founded in Aizpute in 2002 as a platform for international and cross-disciplinary collaboration. The aim of the organisation is to encourage creative development and long-term cooperation of art professionals through participation in residency programmes.	
		SERDE is a very well-known place locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally.	
		Signe has been very actively working on network building on all levels.	
3.	Santa Mazika	Director at Art Research Laboratory University of Liepāja (ARLUL)	11 October 2014
		Before establishing Art Research Laboratory, Santa Mazika was working at Culture and Information Centre K@2 as Curator	
		Art Research Laboratory was established in November 2006 as a research unit of the university (University of Liepāja), focusing on new media art projects. The Laboratory was created in very close collaboration with two absolutely fundamental contemporary art organisations in Latvia, i.e., RIX-C, the Center for New Media Culture, and Culture and Information Centre K@2. University of Liepāja is one of the biggest regional	

		universities and the Art Research Laboratory right now is the closest competitor to the Department of Audio-Visual Media Art at the Art Academy of Latvia.	
4.	Alnis Stakle	Director at Multimedia Communication Study Program	13 October 2014
		A. Stakle is one of the leading contemporary photographers in Latvia.	
		In 2012, he was invited by Rīga Stradiņš University to set up a new study program, Multimedia Communications.	
		Even though Multimedia Communication study program is not an art program, it has integrated a very strong multi-media art component within it.	
5.	Sandra Krastiņa	Latvian Artist	14 October 2014
		S. Krastiņa mostly works with big scale painting projects. Her work is important in the context of the first controversial and "independent" art exhibitions at the end of the 80s and at the beginning of the 90s e.g., exhibition "Maigās svārstības/ Gentle Fluctuations" (1990).	
6.	Inga Šteimane	Art Critic and Curator	16 October 2014
		Former and last Chief Curator of the controversial Riga Art Space (2012 - 2104). Since January 2014, she is working on independent projects.	
		Chief Editor of culture newspaper "Kultūras Forums", which had to be closed after the global economic crisis hit Latvia.	
		She also worked as a director of the documentary "What is so Contemporary? (Kas te tik laikmetīgs?)	
7.	Edgars Vērpe	Latvian Artist and Director of the State Culture Capital Foundation since 2002	17 October 2014 Riga, Latvia
		E. Vērpe's work is important in the context of the first controversial and "independent" art exhibitions at the end of the 80s and at the beginning of the 90s (e.g., exhibition "Maigās svārstības/ Gentle Fluctuations" (1990)).	
8.	Krišs Salmanis	Latvian Artist	20 October 2014
		K. Salmanis is a conceptual artist whose works question identity, material properties, and the role of the artist as a creator. He gives preference to	

		working with moving images and animation; even his installations and sculptures often have a motorized or kinetic component. Salmanis also makes films, graphics, and photographs.	
		Krišs Salmanis and Kaspars Podnieks represented Latvia at the 55th Venice Biennial (2013): North by Northeast.	

9.	Inese Baranovska	Director at the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design (MDAD)	21 October 2014
		I. Baranovska also continues to curate art exhibitions outside the MDAD.	
		The MDAD is a part of the Latvian National Museum of Art museum network.	

10.	Rasa Šmite	Founder and Director of the Centre for New Media Culture RIX-C (1996)	22 October 2014
		Rasa Šmite is a new media artist, curator and researcher.	
		RIX-C, the Centre for New Media Culture was founded in May 2000 by three cultural organisations in Latvia: E-Lab - Electronic Arts and Media Centre Riga, Locomotive International film and video studio, and the International Baltic Centre for Human Education. People involved in developing the RIX-C program like Rasa Šmite, Raitis Šmits, Ieva Auzina, Normonds Kozlovs and the team at Locomotive International - are extremely active media artists, theorists and curators who have been instrumental in establishing local and international media art networks in the Baltic region.	

11.	Zane Čulkstena	Founder and Chair of the Board of the Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i> (2008)	22 October 2014
		With her outstanding education in economics and arts management, Z. Čulkstena is the undisputed managerial strategist of the organisation (very bright and well-connected young lady).	
		The newest and currently most aggressive addition to Latvian contemporary visual art map, Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i> , was established in 2008 as a pilot project of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum. The establishment of the organisation came as a direct initiative from the Ministry of Culture. Due to the personal disagreements between the minister and the senior management of the organisation, the pilot project idea was soon	

		<p>revoked by the ministry, however, the organisation managed to salvage the Partnership Agreement.</p> <p>Due to very professional management and marketing strategies, the organisation can definitely be viewed as one the trendsetters in the field, focusing on new Latvian artists and very strong international network building.</p>	
12.	Kate Zilgalve	Director at Culture and Arts Project NOASS	22 October 2014
13.	Jānis Dripe	Advisor to the Minister of Culture and Former Minister of Culture (1993-1995)	23 October 2014
		<p>J. Dripe is representing the ministry as one of the experts in the newly established Contemporary Art Museum Committee of Experts.</p> <p>J. Dripe is a well-known public and political figure and has been very actively involved in the political life of Latvia since the early 1990s.</p>	
14.	Ieva Kalniņa	Art Critic, Curator at Institute for Contemporary Art	24 October 2014
		<p>I. Kalniņa has curated multiple domestic and internationally important exhibitions.</p> <p>While working in the Department of Cultural Affairs at the City Council of Riga, I. Kalniņa was the major force behind the establishment of Riga Art Space, which finally came to fruition in 2008. She was also the first Chief Curator of the city gallery (2008-2010).</p>	
15.	Daiga Rudzāte	Artistic Editor of Arteritory.com (Baltic, Scandinavian, and Russian art portal)	27 October 2014
		<p>Art Program Director of Cēsis Art Festival</p> <p>Artistic Director of Culture Project Agency <i>Indie</i>: two of the major projects of the agency are: Cēsis Art Festival and the biannual Purvītis Art Prize.</p> <p>D. Rudzāte is wearing more than one hat and is very well connected and respected "art impresario" in Riga.</p> <p>Founded in 2011, Arterritory.com is an art and culture website in Latvian, Russian, and English, which focuses on Baltic, Scandinavian, and Russian contemporary art and its manifestations elsewhere in the world.</p>	
16.	Astrīda Rogule	Chief Curator of Latvian Contemporary Art Collection	29 October 2014

		Before the administrative transition under the LNMA, A. Rogule held the same position at the state agency New Three Brothers.	
17.	Baiba Tjarve	Institutional researcher at Latvian Academy of Culture	29. October 2014
18.	Māris Čačka	Executive Director of The Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre (DMRAC) (2013) The DMRA opened in 2013. Besides displaying Rothko collection, one of the main focuses of the centre is collecting and exhibiting of contemporary art. The DMRAC is the newest addition to the regional contemporary art map and the organisation is very successfully collaborating regionally and nationally. This is one of the success stories reflecting a very fruitful partnership with official local authorities. Only Cēsis could be mentioned as another example of equivalent local collaboration.	30 October 2014
19.	Zane Onckule	Program Director Contemporary Art Centre <i>Kim?</i> (2008)	31 October 2014
20.	Ojārs Feldbergs	Founder and Director of The Open-Air Art Museum at Pedvāle (1993) Pedvāle is a very well-known place regionally, nationally, and internationally. The Art Museum was created by sculptor O. Feldbergs, one of the leading contemporary sculptors in Latvia, in 1993 and it is located in the specially protected cultural territory of Western Latvia. It is an ideal place in which creative professionals, sculptors, painters, printmakers, installation and performance artists, are free to express themselves. The museum is the largest and the most versatile cultural and art centre in Latvia with dual focus: safeguarding the cultural environment and creating a new platform for the development and presentation of contemporary art. Among the active participants in many of the thematic programs, symposia, seminars and conferences organized by the museum are not only visual artists, poets, musicians or film makers, but also scientists, researchers of folklore and mythology, geographers, specialists of landscape studies, territorial planning and regional development. The museum also acts as a workshop of intellectual and artistic initiatives where new conceptual ideas for regional development programs are generated and put into practice.	1 November 2014

		Similar to Juris Žagars (Cēsis Art Festival), Ojārs has been very actively working on network building on all levels.	
21.	Māra Lāce	Director of Latvian National Art Museum since 2001	3 November 2014
		M. Lāce also is a member of the Visual Arts Council, which is a consultative body to the Ministry of Culture. Lāce represents the Ministry of Culture as one of the experts in the establishment process of Latvian Contemporary Art Museum, - realised in partnership with the ABLV Bank and Boris and Inara Teterv Foundation.	
22.	Zanda Zilgalve	Chair of the Board ABLV Charitable Foundation (2006)	3 November 2014
		On 23 September 2005, ABLV Bank signed a Collaboration Agreement (Nr.LSad-1/05-110) with the Ministry of Culture, undertaking to invest EUR 1,422,800, and acquiring works for the collection of the nascent Contemporary Art Museum. The agreement served as the inspiration for the founding of the ABLV Charitable Foundation (then known as “AB.LV fonds”). Since its founding in 2006, support for and promotion of contemporary art projects has been the Foundation’s most stable and important operating direction.	
		Note: on 30 October 2014, the Minister of Culture and the Board Members of the Foundation of Contemporary Art Museum of Latvia signed a memorandum of understanding about the building of the Contemporary Art Museum of Latvia. The impetus for the signing of the memorandum of understanding comes from the successful and long-term collaboration between the Ministry of Culture, the ABLV Charitable Foundation and the Ināra and Boriss Teterev Foundation as prominent patrons in the field of contemporary art in Latvia.	
23.	Solvita Krese	Director of the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art	3 November 2014 Riga, Latvia
		S. Krese is one of the best-known curators working in the field of contemporary art in Latvia. She started her career under the management of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art Riga in 1993 as a Deputy Director. In 2000, after the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art was restructured into the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art, S. Krese continued working as a Director of the organisation.	

24.	Ramona Umblīja	Art Critic and Former Minister of Culture from 1997 to 1998	3 July 2015
		The State Culture Capital Foundation was instituted during R. Umblīja's tenure as minister.	
25.	Jānis Borgs	Director of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (1993–1999) (1993)	5 July 2015
		Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.	
26.	Elīna Vikmane	Director of Tête-à-tête annual art festival at Boris and Ināra Teterev Foundation	5 July 2015
		She is going to represent the foundation as one of the experts in the newly established Contemporary Art Museum Committee of Experts	
27.	Kaspars Vanags	Art Critic and Curator	20 November 2015
		K. Vanags was the Curator of the Latvian exhibition in the 56 th Venice Biennial (2015)	
		In 1995, Kaspars was one of the founders of Sounds OPEN Systems in Riga – a creative group which consisted of the non-commercial art management bureau OPEN, the electronic art and media center E-L@b, the independent journalists and mass media group, the film studio Lokomotive, as well as a group of artists, DJs, film and video directors and designers. Some of the first events organized by the art bureau OPEN were in an old warehouse and in the old Dzintars factory in Riga as an attempted to mix various youth sub-cultures with contemporary art.	
		He is going to represent the ABLV Charitable Foundation as one of the experts in the newly established Contemporary Art Museum Committee of Experts.	
28.	Ieva Astahovska	Art Scholar, Critic, and Curator (Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art)	28 December 2015
		I. Astahovska has worked at the Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art since 2005 where she had lead research projects about contemporary art writing, including the publication <i>Trespassers, Contemporary Art of the 1980s</i> (2005), and research on Latvian Soviet period nonconformist art heritage (2009–2010). She has recently co-curated the exhibitions <i>90s with a Different Gaze</i> (2010), <i>Movements, Explorations, Artists in Latvia. 1960–1984</i> (2010), and <i>Parallel Chronologies</i> (2011).	

29.	Jānis Borgs	Director of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (1993–1999)	4 May 2016
		Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.	
30.	Jānis Borgs	Director of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art (1993–1999)	2 June 2016
		Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.	
31.	Sandra Krastiņa	Latvian Artist	7 June 2016
		S. Krastiņa mostly works with big scale painting projects. Her work is important in the context of the first controversial and “independent” art exhibitions at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s (e.g., exhibition “Maigās svārstības”/ Gentle Fluctuations (1990)).	
32.	Džemma Skulme	Latvian Artist and Painter	9 July 2016
		Dž. Skulme has been a paramount personality within the Latvian Artists’ Union during the 1970s and 1980s.	

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWS FROM OTHER SOURCES

No.	Interviewee	Interviewer	Source
1.	<p>Ilmārs Blumbergs</p> <p>Artist who entered Latvian art scene during the early 1970s and worked across various mediums: stage design, poster and book art, graphic art.</p>	<p>Ieva Astahovska</p> <p>Interview conducted on 19 February 2010, Riga</p>	<p>Translated and transcribed in <i>The Self. Personal Journeys to Contemporary Art: the 1960s-80s in Soviet Latvia</i>, edited by Helēna Demakova, 225-245. Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia. Jelgava: Jelgava Printing House.</p>
2.	<p>Iveta Boiko</p> <p>Program Coordinator at the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999.</p>	<p>Ieva Astahovska</p> <p>Interview conducted in 2009, Riga.</p>	<p>Translated and transcribed in “Laikmetīgās mākslas Aģents 90/ Contemporary Art Agent 90,” <i>Deviņdesmitie. Laikmetīgā māksla Latvijā/ Nineties. Contemporary Art in Latvia</i>, edited by Ieva Astahovska, 428-435. Riga: The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.</p>
3.	<p>Jānis Borgs</p> <p>Director of the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999.</p> <p>Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.</p>	<p>Laima Slava</p> <p>Interview conducted on 5 February 2004, Riga.</p>	<p>Transcribed in “Cietuma sudraba maliņa/ Prison’s Silver Lining,” <i>Studija</i>, No. 2 (35). Accessed 21 March 2016. http://www.studija.lv/?parent=1526.</p>
4.	<p>Jānis Borgs</p> <p>Director of the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999.</p> <p>Jānis Borgs was one of the leading art theoreticians and curators during the 1990s.</p>	<p>Ieva Astahovska</p> <p>Interviews conducted on 5 and 12 February 2009, Riga.</p>	<p>Translated and transcribed in <i>The Self. Personal Journeys to Contemporary Art: the 1960s-80s in Soviet Latvia</i>, edited by Helēna Demakova, 56-95. Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia. Jelgava: Jelgava Printing House.</p>
5.	<p>Kristīne Briede</p> <p>Founder of K@2 Culture and Information Centre in Karosta (1998).</p>	<p>Dace Demir</p> <p>Phone interview conducted on 5 April 2006, Chicago.</p>	<p>Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.” Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. And Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.</p>

6.	Helēna Demakova Art scholar, critic, and curator. Former Minister of Culture from 2004 to 2009.	Ieva Astahovska and Solvita Krese Interview conducted in 2009, Riga.	Translated and transcribed in “Tēmas nosaka dzīve/ Themes are Determined by Life,” <i>Deviņdesmitie. Laikmetīgā māksla Latvijā/ Nineties. Contemporary Art in Latvia</i> , edited by Ieva Astahovska, 408-415. Riga: The Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.
7.	Ojārs Feldbergs Founder and Director of The Open-Air Art Museum at Pedvāle (1993). Ojārs Feldbergs is one of the leading contemporary sculptors in Latvia.	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 29 March 2006, Chicago.	Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.” Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. And Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.
8.	Solvita Krese Deputy Director of the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999. S. Krese is currently the Director of the LCCA. Solvita Krese is one of the best-known curators working in the field of contemporary art in Latvia.	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 10 April 2006, Chicago.	Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.” Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. And Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.
9.	Solvita Krese Deputy Director of the SCCA-Riga from 1993 to 1999. S. Krese is currently the Director of the LCCA. Solvita Krese is one of the best-known curators working in the field of contemporary art in Latvia.	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 15 April 2010, Riga.	Interview conducted for research paper “Defining Cultural Capacity in Crisis: Latvian Cultural Policy in Crossroads.”
10.	Raimonds Pauls Minister of Culture from 1990 to 1993.	Viestarts Gailītis Interviews conducted on 5 August 2003, Riga.	Transcribed in “Kultūras ministru simpozījs.” <i>Studija. Vizuālo mākslu žurnāls</i> , No. 5, Vol. 32. Accessed 4 December 2015. http://www.studija.lv/index.php?parent=1601 .
11.	Ojārs Pētersons Professor at the Department of Audio-Visual Media Art in	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 25 April 2006, Chicago.	Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.”

	Art Academy of Latvia.		Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. And Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.
	O. Pētersons is a well-known contemporary artist, representing the generation of the so-called “trespassers” in Latvian art.		
12.	Astrīda Rogule Chief Curator of Latvian Contemporary Art Collection. Before the administrative transition under the LNMA, Astrīda held the same position at the state agency New Three Brothers.	Dace Demir Direct interview conducted on 21 May 2013, Riga.	Interview conducted for research paper “Defining Cultural Capacity in Crisis: Latvian Cultural Policy in Crossroads.”
13.	Džemma Skulme Latvian artist and painter. She has been a paramount personality within the Latvian Artists’ Union during the 1970s and 1980s.	Renee Baigell Interview published in 1995.	Translated from Russian and transcribed in <i>Soviet Dissident Artists. Interviews after Perestroika</i> , edited by Renee Baigell and Matthew Baigell, 65-74. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
14.	Ojārs Spārītis Minister of Culture from 1995 to 1996.	Viestarts Gailītis Interviews conducted on 5 August 2003, Riga.	Transcribed in “Kultūras ministru simpozijs.” <i>Studija. Vizuālo mākslu žurnāls</i> , No. 5, Vol. 32. Accessed 4 December 2015. http://www.studija.lv/index.php?parent=1601 .
15.	Māra Traumane Art scholar, critic, and curator.	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 21 April 2006, Chicago.	Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.” Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. and Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.
16.	Edgars Vērpe Latvian artist. Director of the State Culture Capital Foundation since 2002.	Dace Demir Phone interview conducted on 20 April 2006, Chicago.	Research conducted for the Master of Arts in Arts Administration and Policy final thesis, “Production of Legitimate Cultural Identity: Changes in Cultural Policy and Development of Contemporary Art in Latvia since 1991.” Chicago: The Department of Arts Admin. and Policy, School of the Art Institute of Chicago.

17.	Edgars Vērpe Latvian artist. Director of the State Culture Capital Foundation since 2002.	Dace Demir Direct interview conducted on 15 April 2009, Riga.	Interview conducted for research paper “Defining Cultural Capacity in Crisis: Latvian Cultural Policy in Crossroads.”
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APPENDIX 5: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



Informed Consent Form

This Informed Consent Form is for _____ who I am inviting to participate in my Ph.D. thesis research, titled “The Institutionalisation Project of Latvian Contemporary Visual Arts: a Critical-Historical Analysis of the Latvian Field of Cultural Production 1991-2016.”

The **Informed Consent Form** has two parts:

- Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)
- Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate).

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form.

Part I: Information Sheet

My name is Dace Demir and I am a doctoral student in the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies at the University of Warwick. I am conducting a study on “The Institutionalisation Project of Latvian Contemporary Visual Arts: a Critical-Historical Analysis of the Latvian Field of Cultural Production 1991-2016.” I am going to provide you with information and invite you to be part of this research. If you have any questions about the research or methods applied, please ask me as we go through the information form and I will take my time to explain. If you have questions later, you may contact me via e-mail or phone: [REDACTED] or [REDACTED].

Purpose of the research

As there is limited research conducted on the changing cultural policy modes and the effects they have had on the emerging contemporary visual art fields in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the goal of the study is to explore the emergence,

development and maturation of Latvian contemporary visual art as a distinct institutional field between 1991 and 2014. In doing so, I will also examine the role social and political environments and infrastructures play in the institutionalisation patterns of a new organisational field.

Type of Research Intervention

This research will involve your participation in an interview that will last for about one hour. During this study, I am going to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with participants from the key sample groups that are essential in shaping and defining contemporary art field in Latvia. These are going to be face-to-face, telephone, and computer mediated video interviews, based on open-ended question design. The interviewees will represent following sample groups: state and municipal administration; quasi-autonomous or arm's lengths agencies; non-governmental/not-for-profit organisations in Riga and regions; higher art education institutions; private investors and collectors, individual curators, critics and individual artists working in the field of contemporary art.

Participant Selection

You are being invited to take part in this research because your experience as _____ can contribute much to my understanding and knowledge on the emergence, development and maturation of Latvian contemporary visual art as a distinct institutional field between 1991 and 2014.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. The choice that you make will have no bearing on your job or on any work-related evaluations or reports. You may change your mind later and stop participating even if you agreed earlier.

Procedures

I am asking you to help me learn more about the emergence, development and maturation of Latvian contemporary visual art as a distinct institutional field between 1991 and 2014 and therefore I am inviting you to participate in an interview with myself. During the interview, I will sit down with you in a comfortable place where you can freely engage in the interview. If it is better for you, the interview can take place in your office or home. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question. No one else but me will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except my Ph.D. dissertation supervisor, Associate Professor Jonathan Vickery, will have access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be recorded digitally and the file will be kept in safe storage on remote hard drive.

Risks

There is a risk that you may share some personal or confidential information by chance, or that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. If you make any statements during your interview that, on reflection, you do not wish to be quoted or used in the research, then I will respect your wishes. You do not have to answer any question if you feel the question(s) is/are too personal or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable.

Benefits

While there will be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study, the anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of the institutionalisation stages and patterns of the contemporary art field between 1991 and 2012.

Reimbursements

There will be no costs to you as a result of taking part in this study, nor will you be reimbursed for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality

I will not be sharing information about you to anyone outside of the research. The information that I collect from this research project will be kept private. I will respect the need for confidentiality or any particular suggestions you may have.

Contact Information

If you have questions about the research, you may contact me at [REDACTED]. If you have further questions about the study, you may contact the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies at the University of Warwick, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. You may reach the CCPS office by calling [REDACTED], by e-mailing [REDACTED], or by writing to the CCPS, Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick, Millburn House, University Science Park, Coventry, West Midlands, United Kingdom, CV4 7AL.

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher _____

Signature of Researcher _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

APPENDIX 6: CERTIFICATE OF CONSENT



Participant identification number: _____

Part II: Certificate of Consent

Project Title: The Institutionalisation Project of Latvian Contemporary Visual Arts: A Critical-Historical Analysis of the Latvian Field of Cultural Production 1991-2016

Name of Researcher:
(to be completed by participant)

I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet **DATE:**

For the above project which I may keep for my records and have had the opportunity to ask any questions I may have.

I agree to take part in the above study and am willing to be interviewed.

I understand that my information will be held and processed for the following purposes: PhD dissertation (primary purpose) and any publications that may result as a product of this research (secondary purpose).

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW GUIDE

State level cultural policy: state involvement in the development of the contemporary visual art field in Latvia.

1. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of infrastructure development of contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 1992 till 2000? What, in your opinion, were the major policy achievements or failures?
2. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of infrastructure development of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 2000 till 2008? What, in your opinion, were the major policy achievements or failures?
3. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of infrastructure development of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 2008 till 2015? What, in your opinion, were the major policy achievements or failures?
4. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of creative practices (e.g., exhibitions, projects, performances, symposia, etc.) of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 1991 till 2000? Has the Ministry of culture prepared and implemented a systemically outlined and strategically planned development facilitation programme for contemporary visual arts field in Latvia?
5. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of creative practices (e.g., exhibitions, projects, performances, symposia, etc.) of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 2000 till 2008? Has the Ministry of culture prepared and implemented a systemically outlined and

strategically planned development facilitation programme for contemporary visual art field in Latvia?

6. How would you evaluate state's involvement in either facilitating or impeding the overall development of creative practices (e.g., exhibitions, projects, performances, symposia, etc.) of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia from 2008 till 2015? Has the Ministry of culture prepared and implemented a systemically outlined and strategically planned development facilitation programme for contemporary visual arts field in Latvia?
7. In your opinion, how relevant is the legitimacy question of the contemporary visual arts in Latvia? The experience of recent public and political discussions indicate a strong presence of necessity to justify the need for the designated museum, i.e., museum of contemporary art?

State culture Capital Foundation

1. How would you evaluate financial support of the State Culture Capital Foundation that was available for the contemporary visual arts projects and non-governmental organisations after 1998?
2. What terms would you use when describing the funding availability that was facilitated by the State Culture Capital Foundation after 1998?
3. How would you characterise the overall impact of the State Culture Capital Foundation on the development processes of the contemporary visual arts projects and non-governmental organisations after its institution in 1998?
4. Which is/are the principal State Culture Capital Foundation grant programme/s that you as an artist apply for regularly?

5. Which is/are the principal State Culture Capital Foundation grant programme/s that your organisation applies for regularly?

Private Sector Involvement in the Field Development

1. How would you evaluate the role of the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art – Riga in the overall development of the contemporary visual arts field from 1993 to 2000?
2. What terms would you use when describing the funding availability that was facilitated by the Soros Centre for Contemporary Art – Riga from 1993 to 2000?
3. How would you evaluate the current involvement of the private sector in financially supporting contemporary visual arts field? When compared with the funding situation that was prevalent from 1991 until 1998, is it possible to trace any particular development trajectory?
4. How would you evaluate the role of the ABLV Charitable Foundation and the Boris and Inara Teterev Foundation in the overall development of the contemporary visual arts field from 2005 until 2015?
5. What is your opinion about the Latvian Contemporary Art Museum Foundation's letter of intent that was officially signed between the ABLV Charitable Foundation and Boris and Inara Teterev Foundation?
6. In your opinion, what are the imminent risk factors that could potentially affect the current development process of the museum in Latvia?
7. How would you evaluate the fact that after all the legal, political, and financial preparations, commenced by the Ministry of Culture in 2005, Latvian Contemporary Art Museum development is put into execution as a private initiative in 2014?

Non-governmental Sector

1. How would you evaluate the overall environment of the non-governmental sector of the contemporary visual arts field? What is the overall dynamics of the field development?
2. Which organisations represent the incumbents of the field?
3. Which organisations represent the challengers of the field?
4. How would you evaluate the collaboration among the NGOs within the field?
5. How would you evaluate the collaboration of the NGOs with the public sector?
6. How would you evaluate the collaboration with the higher art institutions?
7. What are the major risk factors of the field currently?
8. What, in your opinion, are the major achievements of the field?
9. Has the formal organisation experienced any changes during the past decade?
10. Have there been any noticeable changes in the exhibition practices in your organisation during the past decade?
11. How have the priorities changed when preparing the programming of the organisation?
12. How would you evaluate the professionalisation dynamics of the field?

Education

1. How would you evaluate the overall art education level in Latvia after 1991 in higher education institutions?
2. Which art schools, in your opinion, are the most competitive in Latvia today?
3. Does your organisation collaborate with any of the art schools or specific art programmes?

APPENDIX 8: CHRONOLOGY OF LATVIAN MINISTERS OF CULTURE

Raimonds Pauls	16/05/1990 – 20/09/1993 Not a member of any political party during the tenure
Jānis Dripe	20/09/1993 – 21/12/1995 Latvijas Ceļš Latvia's Way
Ojārs Spārītis	21/12/1995 – 22/07/1996 Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība Latvian Farmers' Union
Dzintars Rasnačs	22/07/1996 – 12/08/1996 Tēvzemei un Brīvībai For Fatherland and Freedom
Rihards Pīks	12/08/1996 – 20/06/1997 Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība Latvian Farmers' Union
Aleksandrs Kiršteins	21/06/1997 – 7/08/1997 Latvijas Nacionālā Neatkarības Kustība Latvian National Independence Movement
Ramona Umblīja	7/08/1997 – 26/11/1998 Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība Latvian Farmers' Union
Kārīna Pētersone	26/11/1998 – 7/11/2002 Latvijas Ceļš Latvia's Way
Ingūna Rībena	7/11/2002 – 9/03/2004 Jaunais Laiks New Era

Helēna Demakova	9/03/2004 – 14/01/2009 Tautas Partija People's Party
Edgars Zalāns	15/01/2009 – 12/03/2009 (interim Minister of Culture) Tautas Partija People's Party
Ints Dālderis	12/03/2009 – 3/11/2010 Tautas Partija People's Party
Sarmīte Ēlerte	3/11/2010 – 25/10/2011 Partija Vienotība Unity Party
Žaneta Jaunzeme- Grende	25/10/2011 – 16/09/2013 Nacionālā apvienība National Alliance
Jānis Bordāns	17/09/2013 – 30/10/2013 (interim Minister of Culture) Nacionālā apvienība National Alliance
Dace Melbārde	31/10/2013 – 18/06/2019 Nacionālā apvienība National Alliance
Kaspars Gerhards	19/06/2019 – 8/07/2019 (interim Minister of Culture) Nacionālā apvienība National Alliance
Nauris Puntulis	8/07/2019 - currently Nacionālā apvienība National Alliance

APPENDIX 9: LIST OF ARTWORKS



Appendix 9.1. Sergejs Davidovs, Sarmīte Māliņa, Oļegs Tillbergs, *Cages*, 1987, Performance, Art Days 1987, Philharmonic Square, Riga, Photograph Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.2. Ojārs Pētersons, *Big Orange Triumphal Arch*, 1994, Photo Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. Photo: Jānis Buls.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.3. Inese Mailīte un Ivars Mailītis, *People as Flags*, Installation, 1988, Photograph Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. Photo: Valts Kleins.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



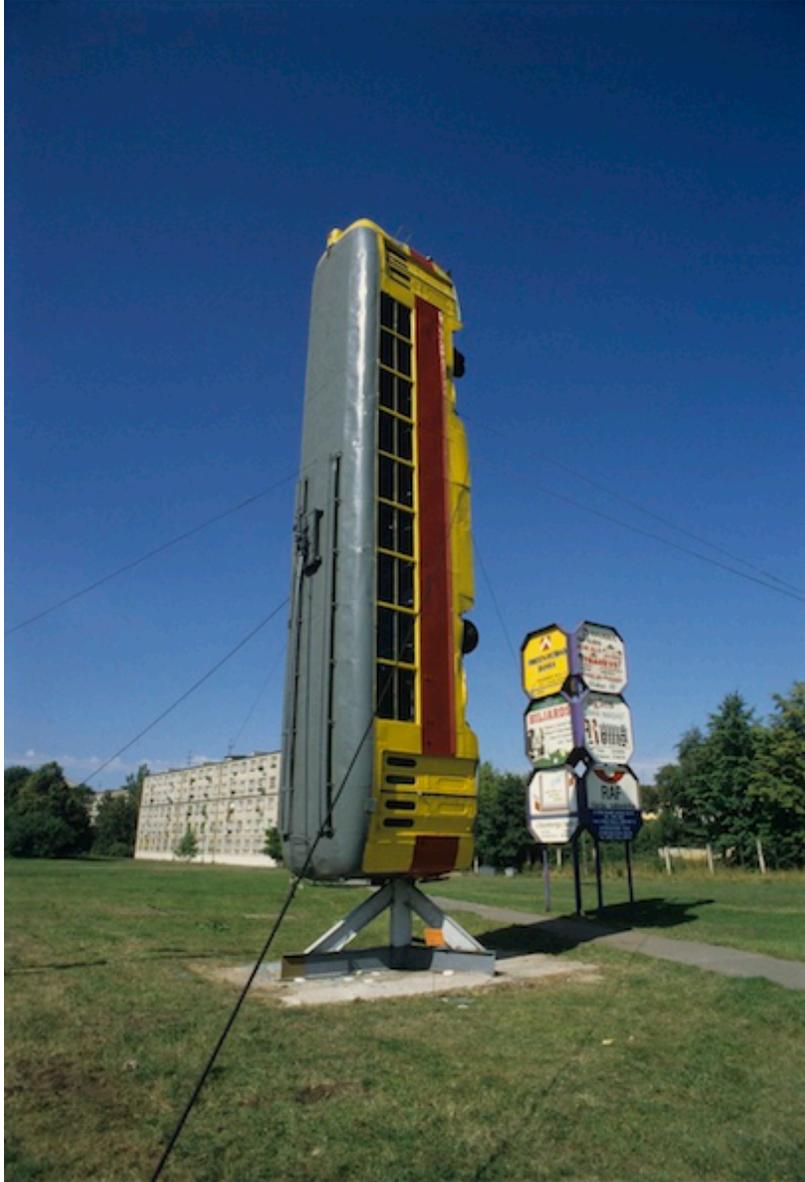
Appendix 9.4. Inese Mailīte un Ivars Mailītis, *People as Flags*, Installation, 1988, Photograph Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.5. Oļegs Tillbergs, *White Wings*, Installation, 1997, Digital Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.6. Gatis Blunavs, *Tram-Tree*, Installation, 1995, Exhibition *Monument*, Diapositive Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



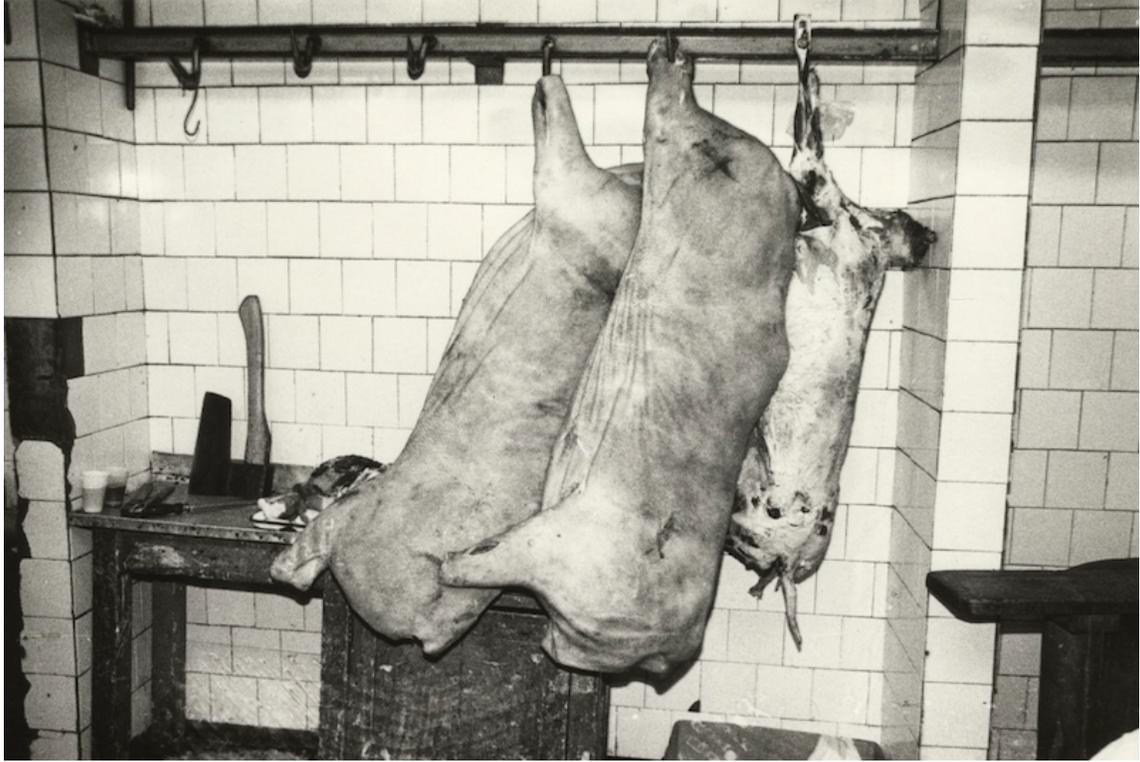
Appendix 9.7. Oļegs Tillbergs, *Station*, Installation, 1994, Sao Paulo Biennial, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Diapositive Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.8. Anita Zabiļevska, *Five Identical Landscapes*, Installation, 1994, Exhibition *Zoom-Factor*, Diapositive Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.9. Jānis Mitrēvics, *Ham for the Entire Country*, Installation, 1993, Photograph Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. Photo: Jānis Deinats.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.10. Andris Breže, *Black Square*, Installation, 1997, Diapositive Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.



Appendix 9.11. Aija Zariņa, *Head of the Madonna*, 1996, Exhibition *Geo-Geo*, Photograph Collection of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Art. Photo: Jānis Deinats.

Source: Courtesy of Latvian Centre for Contemporary Arts.