modelling public space(s) in culture

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Rethinking Institutional Practices in Culture and Historical (Dis)continuities

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Introduction

The Project

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The *Dissonant (Co)Spaces* project was launched in September 2016 with the joining of three partner organizations from Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia: Lokomotiva - Centre for New Initiatives in Arts and Culture from Skopje, Foundation Jelena Šantić from Belgrade and Loose Associations (Slobodne veze), contemporary art practices from Zagreb. The project Dissonant (Co)Spaces aims to contribute towards preservation of places of the common social and cultural history and support the development of new models of public spaces and cultural institutions defined on the principles of civic participation, inclusion, dialogue, exchange and development of contemporary culture. The focus of the project was on three physical spaces, Kino Kultura in Skopje, Pioneer City in Belgrade and Motel Soline (originally Motel Sljeme) in Trogir, and the possibilities for their re-evaluation, re-interpretation or re-invention, in circumstances of strong attempts for history rewriting, revisionism and (ideological) "struggle for Yugoslav heritage", an all-embracing tendency region-wide. One could say that the project had two major centres of interest: the first being historical revisionism and the second methodologies and models of governing of institutions and public spaces. From September 2016 until January 2018 the project went through several stages: preparatory and team meetings in

Skopje, development of case studies for the three spaces in focus, *Modelling the Public in Dissonant Co-spaces* workshop in Belgrade, study trips along the Adriatic coast (Split, Trogir, Makarska Riviera) related with the former Yugoslav modernist architectural heritage, several artistic residencies in Macedonia and Croatia, public presentations, *Modelling Public Space(s) in Culture* conference in Skopje and this publication. The publication is either edited material deriving from the conference not editorially selected but rather facilitated. It is an arrangement, or choreographing of material and content from the conference in the medium of a publication. The conference itself with its ephemerality of presentations, vivid discussions, deliberations on some of the presented theses or proposed questions cannot be fully depicted or presented in the form of a publication. Therefore, dealing with the ephemerality or the critical positions opened at the conference within the publication was a challenge.

Multiplications

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The Dissonant (Co)Spaces project extends and transfers on a national level in Macedonia in the project *Cultural Spaces for Active Citizens* (2017/18), dealing with the development of diverse models of public spaces in culture. The project is organized by Lokomotiva - Centre for New Initiatives in Arts and Culture, in partnership with FRU Faculty of Things That Can't Be Learned, and in collaboration with the Association Freedom Square, Theatre Navigator Cvetko and Loud Textile Worker. This project explores the methodology of participative governance in diverse cultural spaces and heterogeneity in modelling public spaces in culture.

The Conference

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The Conference *Modelling Public Space(s) in Culture*, held in Skopje, in October 2017, aimed to offer diverse thematic overview on "public space" as a physical location creating social ties and "public sphere" as the collection of attributes contributing to the formation of public discourse.

At the conference, public spaces were reviewed and discussed through two different aspects:

1 — Revisionism and production of the history of culture and institution. In this thematic focus we mostly engaged with the modernist heritage from former Yugoslavia, critically examining the term “dissonant heritage”, and its usage in the contemporary context of culture. Another focal point was the history of cultural institutions in former Yugoslavia.

2 — Reflection on the need for new models of public spaces in culture, critical deliberation on the existing and proposal of new methodologies in governing and modelling institutions, or proposing new models of public spaces as new models of institutions. Together with our guests we tried to examine diverse approaches such as commons, participation, usership and others in modelling the new public spaces.

The first point of reflection (and dispute) within the project and the conference was the very term “dissonant heritage”, its meaning when applied to the concrete territory (former Yugoslavia), where the historical narratives were being hijacked and brutally re-interpreted by nationalist political establishments. How much “dissonance” can be allowed with a right-wing political shift denying even the achievements of the Second World War antifascist struggle on the territory of former Yugoslavia, mostly due to the fact that it was organized and led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? Even liberal intellectuals and political elites have the tendencies to separate antifascism from its carriers (in the case of Yugoslavia it was the People’s Liberation Movement led by Josip Broz Tito). Where and how do we draw a line between these dangerous tendencies, while allowing plurality of opinions and standpoints?

Similar deliberations can be applied in the context of interpreting current social and political reality as well, (not only) when dealing with memorialization and preservation of the mid-20th century architectural modernism in the former Yugoslav republics, today independent states.

The other line of interest pursued locating the crisis of the institution as a public space; whether this crisis can be solved within the reformation of the existing concept(s) of a state institution or the institution should be articulated within some other framework of collective action in order to be(come) part of the public sphere. Participants presented diverse stand points, from theoretical approaches and critical reflections on thematic issues, to practical case studies and artistic interventions. Such diversified contributions brought up vivid discussions and argumentations that opened new aspects to be reviewed further on.

Publication

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The publication is a collaborative endeavour to bring forward our concerns about the symptoms we have been noticing for some time in the institutional, collaborative surrounding concerning how we work, cooperate, how the meaning of certain notions such as public has been distorted, or how the public sphere has been destroyed, which were shared at the conference. Some of the texts were introduced in the form of presentations at the conference but the larger part was written specifically for the publication, or in other cases the initial idea and argumentation presented at the conference were reassembled. There are sixteen contributions in thematic axes, and three case studies for the spaces concerned in the project. The authors are from former Yugoslavia, Europe and beyond, all coming from different background - sociologists, scholars, academics, cultural workers, independent researchers, cultural policy experts, art and culture theorists, artists, activists, managers in culture, etc. Their contributions correspond to one of the two topics proposed, with no particular constraints, allowing them to (re)articulate their position towards the subject(s). The contributions also vary in form(at), as sometimes they are analytical texts and sometimes "interventions". The texts are intertwined with presentations of the three case studies on Kino Kultura, Pioneer City and Motel Togir which were the starting point of the *Dissonant (Co)Spaces* project.

As facilitators of this process, we edited the book in 3 thematic directions.

The first one, *Re-Assembling the Institution of Culture*, brings forward texts that analyse the notion of the institution and instituting, cultural policy and its relation to the institution, and critically reflecting on participation as a method in governing. Through the texts we observe institutions in an extended field of their practice, forms of organisation and ways of collaboration within and among them. We touch upon European or national policies that condition the formats and space of collaboration based on territorial, ideological and identity premises as well as imagined institutions with dynamic and migrating set of institutional practices. Besides the academic approach, we have texts that depict and deliberate on the attempts to reform the governing or/and think about the decentralized institutional practices, cultural centres and their reformative potentials, also overview collaborative actions and "public – civil partnership" in the particular context, critically, and through individual perspective.

The second theme *Collective Instituting: Between 'No Longer' And 'Not Yet',* brings analyses and theoretical articulation of "destituent" spaces, thoughts about commoning, its genealogy and meaning, and proposes artistic and curatorial prac-

tices as a methodology for reformation of the public space and gives two artistic approaches in viewing the institution and its practices. This theme also brings forwards the (co)relation between the body (as an artist, academic, researcher, cultural worker) and its representing institution, or how much, how long and in which physical and political space can the institution perform this representational function.

Borrowing the title from Fredric Jameson[1], *Archaeologies of the Future*, the third theme delves in the realm of history and memory by examining (media) images, particularly those creating historical narratives, but also building (or replacing) personal and collective memory. Further on, we deal with social transformations accompanied with changes in the symbolic order of the built environment, with focus on monuments as "containers and disseminators of the social memory" but also shapers of political identities. At the end, there is an attempt to elaborate and justify the term "dissonance" within academic discourse, especially its usage in heritology, as a tool to deal with the complexity of meanings attributed to sites of memory, not without its controversies.

(Instead of) **Conclusion**

One of the strongest points of the DISSONANT (CO)SPACES project was the possibility to connect three ongoing projects from the region of former Yugoslavia, three physical spaces, as well as the discursive frameworks around them. The singular projects already had had life of their own, they were recognized within its own context and standing for bottom up initiatives, rooted in the local community. The exception is the Belgrade case of Pioneer city, which was extensively researched for the first time through this project.

We hope that with this publication we have managed to convey parts of the experiences, findings and dilemmas we encountered throughout the project and that it will be useful to the readers eager to delve further into the topics exposed.

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1 — Jameson, Fredric. 2005. *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions*. London – New York: Verso.

Chapter 1

Re-Assembling Institution of Culture

Imagining Culture in a *Flat Wet World*

—*Pascal Gielen*

It is only because of our ability to 'see the world through a double lens' that we can conceive of both the natural world and culture as being different than what they are in reality. Because we can distinguish between the real world and an imagined, or fictional 'reality', change and innovation are within the realm of human possibility. Regardless of whether such change means progression or regression, our ability to oscillate between non-fiction and fiction is crucial in imagining other worlds, in being creative, in presenting different models of society or in addressing ecological issues. The empirical 'reality' of an imaginary world allows for both daydreaming and the forging of the most utopian plans. The sobering return from this fictional world to reality then generates the chance to try out these things. Imagination may well be one of the few remaining pos-

sibilities for us to escape from a quagmire by pulling ourselves up, like Baron von Münchhausen, by our own hair. As social scientists know only too well, individuals, groups and organizations are always within society. They cannot escape from it, especially since our society has become a 'global village'. Only the power of imagination can bring about such an exodus. Or perhaps we should use the neologism 'inodus' here, coined by the Italian artist Michelangelo Pistoletto (Corsten, Gielen, and Coppola 2009), because the power of imagination enables us to simultaneously be in the world physically while escaping from it mentally. This is why it is like an escape *into* the world. Daydreaming during meetings, making holiday plans while teaching a class, but also collectively brainstorming about the reorganization of a company posits a different, imaginable world within this one. The imaginary is therefore certainly not only an individual affair. Like Karl Marx's 'general intellect', there is such a thing as collective imagination.

This universal – or at least human – possibility of taking ourselves to an imaginary place is not without risk, however. There is, for instance, the danger of not planning a return trip to reality, which may lead to isolation, unworldliness and sometimes even complete madness on an individual level. On a collective level, an escape from the real world may result in the most esoteric of cults or radical revolutionary movements. No wonder then that the powers that be – in the past, mainly the church, and nowadays, to a considerable degree the State – have always concerned themselves with this imaginary space. However, regimes of power are always relatively powerless when face-to-face with the imaginary. No law, no dark dungeon, is so efficient that it can completely root out the dissident, dangerous or undermining power of the imagination. Individuals may be chained and tortured, entire segments of the population may be excommunicated or banned to ghettos, and still their thoughts will be free. Those who want to control imagination or more or less streamline it without liquidating humanity itself must therefore come up with an ingenious plan indeed. It is very difficult to eradicate 'wrong' thoughts. At best they can be contained, and the most efficient way of doing this from a position of power is by embarking upon the imaginary path as well. In short, fiction is best combated with fiction.

It shouldn't come as a surprise, then, that both the church and the State have in the past invested enormous amounts of time, money and effort in producing images and telling stories, in consecrating and nationalizing art and history, and even in 'sacralizing' and 'patriotizing' natural resources and geographic areas. Religion and nationalism both use the imaginary extensively to create a certain reality. In doing so, they have tried to quarantine that which can also always be otherwise, at least when they deem it threatening to their own existence.

It is well known that institutions have always played a crucial role in mediating between the real world and the imagined world. Whereas the Church moderated

the contact between heaven and earth by means of rituals, images of saints and liturgy, with the advent of the modern age museums and educational institutions took it upon themselves to propagate national treasures and heritage, among other things. However, the secularization that went on during the modern age led to yet another important role for these institutions. According to most social scientists, during the nineteenth century the world – the Western world in the first place – became subdivided into social subsystems or value regimes. Not only did the separation of Church and State originate in the modern age; so did the increasing differentiation of politics, justice, science, economics, art and family life. Institutions also served to guard the boundaries between these value regimes relatively strictly. The university, for instance, as the institutionalization of science, had to take care that the objectifying methods within its walls could not be undermined by religion, money or power. Likewise, the court had to safeguard that its verdicts were reasonable and just and that judges were not blinded by wealth or by any form of superstition. In nascent democracies, the parliamentary system and its concomitant suffrage were meant to safeguard that politicians put the public interest first and were not manipulated or pressurized by their own position, family or business relations. Art institutions such as academies, museums, galleries and journals, finally, had to protect the imaginary space of the artist against political and religious propaganda or commercialism.

So, in the modern world, institutions would guarantee the 'purity' and proper functioning of their own social domain to a large degree. They also provided the much-needed backbone and ethics for the negotiations between value regimes, for instance between art and the market, art and politics or art and family life. Finally – and perhaps most importantly – institutions mediated, each for their own world, between reality and fiction. In this way, each institution upheld the values, and especially the ideals, of its own world, from absolute justice in law to fair competition in the economy to *l'art pour l'art* in the arts – all of them ideals and value narratives that were constructed at this time. Institutions became the pillars of the modern world, as it were. They established value regimes that represented and maintained a higher goal worth striving for. The fact that these goals were rather lofty and belonged more to the realms of utopia and fiction was no problem. On the contrary, it enabled people who wished to be in these institutions to live meaningful lives. The preordained goal gave their lives a clear direction, and so we might call institutions 'verticalization machines'. They not only generated an imaginary height, but also a historical depth, a foundation to stand on. This is because institutions are always also 'con-stitutions'. They spring from the Latin 'con-' or 'com', from acting communally. The path to the imaginary world is organized collectively, and its associated values are guaranteed and sanctioned by a collective. In this respect, institutions generate – or used to generate – a sense of certainty, even of safety and security. However, for the same

reason they could also seem very rigid, hierarchical and overwhelmingly authoritarian. In combating anomy, institutions tend towards social claustrophobia.

Institutional Critique

The two waves of institutional critique that we have seen in the art world so far can be partly understood as a dissatisfaction with claustrophobia. In a broader sense, the scepticism in regard to classic institutions is based on their oppressive navigation between the world of non-fiction and that of fiction. During the first wave of institutional critique in the 1970s, artists such as Michael Asher, Robert Smithson, Daniel Buren, Hans Haacke and Marcel Broodthaers seemed to be gasping for breath. They literally wanted to break open the museum in the name of imagination and democracy. Individual freedom and creativity were pitted against a bourgeois morality and the canon of art history. The second generation, from the 1990s, which included protagonists such as Fred Wilson and Andrea Fraser, became mired in a wider institutional art field, as described by the cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, among others. Within this field, artists cannot escape the power game and find themselves caught in a Weberian iron cage. In the words of the American cultural theorist Brian Holmes (2009):

> *This situation of a critical process staking itself for its object recently led Andrea Fraser to consider the artistic institution as an unsurpassable, all-defining frame, sustained through its own inwardly directed critique (Fraser 2005). Bourdieu's deterministic analysis of the closure of the socio-professional fields, mingled with a deep confusion between Weber's iron cage and Foucault's desire 'to get free of oneself', is internalized here in a governmentality of failure, where the subject can do no more than contemplate his or her own psychic prison, with a few aesthetic luxuries in compensation. — (P.58)*

This failure of institutional critique is also caused by the very ambivalent attitude of artists towards their own institutions. As noted earlier, institutions are vertical, tightly organized hierarchical value regimes that guard their boundaries with other value regimes such as that of religion, the market or politics precisely because they are so inflexible. Critique of the institution is only possible thanks to the shelter of that same institution and the values it represents. At the same time, such critique always also threatens to erode institutional boundaries, making it increasingly difficult

for the institution to provide this collective shelter. With its call for more democracy and less hierarchy, institutional critique has in the meantime opened the door to a flat world in the art world as well. The breaches it has made in the institutional walls of the modern era have let in other value regimes that have eroded not only its own hierarchy but also its own dignity. This was possible because the critique was mainly of a negative nature, an attack that offered few alternatives or new strategies. If there were to be a third wave of institutional critique nowadays, it could only succeed by making the time-honoured modern values of the art institution its ally. The art institution that was the target of modern and postmodern critique no longer exists. It has been transmuted and eroded to such an extent that it has become unrecognizable when compared to thirty years ago. If critique is to be effective at all, it has to have a clear focus. It therefore makes sense to first take a closer look at the transmutation of at least two art institutions: the art academy and the museum.

Crumbling Pillars

The classic nineteenth-century museums provided depth by presenting history, offered a stepladder by way of an exemplary canon and provided 'grandeur' to anyone exhibiting there, and even to those wandering around in them. The consecration of the actual work of art could only take place in relation to the deep wells of history. In art education, there was a similar hierarchical relationship between those who knew and those who did not (yet) know. The classic relationship between master and pupil was a vertical one in which the place of law and authority was clear. The pupil had to climb the proverbial ladder and try to become the equal of his or her master. Only then did the ritual patricide become possible. But what is important here is that learning was climbing. Climbing the ladder of a rather self-assured wisdom. And aspiring students were only willing to do so if teachers had some 'grandeur' that earned them respect (even if this 'grandeur' was sometimes artificially upheld by the institutions that embedded them). At the same time, museums and art academies offered a yardstick for measuring creativity. Teachers who felt that they discerned talent in a pupil not only relied on vast experience but also on a healthy dose of intuition and subjectivity – especially when dealing with a modern artist. In other words, in the relationship between master and pupil there was also always an element of 'not-knowing' (Laermans 2012).

The important point is that institutions such as museums and academies, in spite of their subjectivity and 'not-knowing', did erect a relatively objectifiable hierarchy of values. This hierarchy had little to do with the quantitative hierarchy of visitor

numbers, number of competencies, output data and other evidence-based measurement material of the flat world. Creation and the potential for creativity simply do not lend themselves to being calculated or recorded in such a logic of numbers. On the contrary, having a lot of money or public acclaim has in the past not always proven to be the best guarantee of good art, creation and innovation. To create something means to place oneself outside of the measurable measure. Artists must withdraw themselves from the flat plane and, by much trial and error, make themselves stand upright. Classic institutions came in handy here because they, with their experience of depth, could somehow point the way up. All this navigating, of course, carried no absolute guarantees for a successful result, but it did offer an adequate view of the horizon. And perhaps it was precisely this concurrence of rigidity, history, ignorance and faith within the institution that offered creativity its chances in the past.

Without trying to romanticize their function – the history that institutions carry with them can also be crushing and the bureaucracy they embrace can be too rigid to allow for any rebellion or literal 'uprising' – one can safely say that classic institutions at least stood for a hierarchy of values that assessed and measured creativity differently from the way it is done in the present dominant system of measuring investment and output. The latter reduces quality to quantity and erases the former in the process. Any numerical calculation makes differences in quality relative, after all. It generates quantitative comparability and the interchangeability of qualities by making an abstract distinction in grades. Once the abstraction is made, literally anything can be related to anything else, and relationships therefore become relative and interchangeable too. By contrast, rising up, or creating something, requires absolute faith and blind intuition, but also needs a solid cultural ground to stand on. And that is exactly what the classic institutions provided.

After the 1999 Bologna Agreement, not only did the educational arena in Europe become highly uniform and rational, it was also redefined as a market space where educational institutes fiercely compete for students, outbidding each other in offering easily interchangeable competencies. Within this system, students are treated like little entrepreneurs, while the relationship between teacher and pupil takes the form of a contract. Much has already been said elsewhere about the transmutation of education (see, for instance, Masschelein and Simons 2006; Gielen and De Bruyne 2012). What matters here is that under the neoliberal hegemony, the classic institution is being eroded. One of the causes is that it is losing its own cultural hierarchy in the shadow of market logic. What was once regarded as highly functional for educating articulate citizens, creating 'cultivated' people, now fades into dysfunctionality under the dogma of profitability. And, as the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk ([2009]2011) argues:

> *…because schools over the last few decades could no longer muster the courage to be dysfunctional – a courage they had continually demonstrated ever since the seventeenth century – they became empty selfish systems, focused exclusively on the norms of their own operational management. They now produce teachers that are only reminiscent of teachers, subjects that are only reminiscent of subjects, students that are only reminiscent of students.*
>
> *At the same time, schools become 'anti-authoritarian' in an inferior way, without ceasing to exercise formal authority. — (P.447)*

The implementation of an anti-authoritarian educational model does indeed run remarkably parallel to the introduction of a formal authoritarian neo-management model, which, as in other institutions, deconstructs the traditional cultural hierarchy of verticality by submitting it to the law of numerical measurability. According to Sloterdijk ([2009]2011), the overturning of verticality into horizontality, and of book culture into net culture, also generates a kind of controlled 'jungle pedagogics' within education, whereby 'interdisciplinarity' is the buzzword that eradicates all disciplines (and thus depth – "time to dig deep", as Richard Sennett (2008) would say).

We should not be fooled by these loud calls for professionalization. After all, in art schools these calls are often answered by inserting some marketing and management subjects, which inevitably leaves less time for teaching the proper creative subjects. As a result, students rapidly switch from one specific skill to a completely different area of knowledge. Such jungle pedagogics thus often have the opposite result of what was intended and result in the de-professionalization of the creative profession. The aim of all this is to deliver 'broadly employable' or 'polyvalent' students, multi-purpose individuals who follow just one important imperative: that of adaptation or anticipation. 'Adaptivity' and 'flexibility' are after all the highest goods in a flat network world. The main thing is that such an educational model loses all performativity. Educational institutes become organizations that no longer deliver a surplus of autonomous personalities and idiosyncratic skills, for which society (and the economy) needs to generate new space. On the contrary, schools obligingly follow the demands of the market 'to be more closely linked to the professional practice'. However, as schools are always lagging behind in following these economic trends, and as it is also impossible to guess what the demands of a fluctuating labour market may be in five years' time, education covers itself against such fluctuations by delivering multi-purpose or 'polyvalent' subjects. Whether they are as characterless as traditional multi-purpose venues is best left an open question. The point is that by 'tuning into' the market, schools lose all performativity (and authority) to make their own mark and therefore no longer provide a spine to those who wish

to stand up straight and undertake some daring creative act.

And what about museums, then? That is a more familiar story. Beginning in the 1970s, the function of the museum has slowly but surely been eroded by the rapid succession of temporary exhibitions and biennials, introducing a structural amnesia in the field of art, causing it to suffer from a loss of depth (Gielen 2009). Over the past few decades, the museum "unlearned its ability to hook up with the artistically most ambitious level of the previous generations", again according to Sloterdijk ([2009]2011:449). Paradoxically, the ideology of creativity has consistently fought the institution of the museum. If artists and other protagonists of the institutional critique as mentioned before, had been aware thirty years ago that they were undermining their own institutional foundation, then perhaps they would have changed their tune completely. Or at least they would have chosen a better strategy. Still, such an analysis is not altogether fair and correct. On the road of their slow criticism (slow, as they were always starting from a very ambivalent attitude towards the museum) they were after all overtaken at high velocity by a speeding neoliberalization. It quickly found ways to profit from the work done by the institutional critique by taking over its jargon of 'creativity' (which would squash the museum), 'innovation' (which would slow the museum down) and 'flexibility' (which would make the museum rigid). This takeover by neoliberalism took place in a rather 'unseemly' manner, and the 'anti-institutionalists' from before hardly even recognized it anymore. Only the converts to neoliberalism – and there was no shortage of them in the 1990s – still saw some similarity between the critique from before and the opportunism that now ruled.

Mostly, however, the neoliberal engine has set a new operational framework in motion in the art world. Or rather, it deftly hitches a ride, even enhancing operations that were initiated in the art world with the best intentions and much idealism. This of course refers to the hegemonial shift from the museum to the biennial and the symbolic displacement of the artist by the so-called 'independent' curator. Artists who still aim for immortality and who take up a position as bohemians outside of society, hoping for recognition in the hereafter, are today ridiculed for their conviction. It is only the here and now that counts. Or rather, not the here and now, but the very near future on this flat foundation. The artist can no longer stand outside of or above the world. Because many contemporary artists still regard creation as 'standing upright', rising above everyday things, they are summarily dismissed in the contemporary flat world. The creative worker of today is not so much a trapeze artist but more of a (social) networker. In the world of visual art, the latter coincides wonderfully well with the 'independent' curator mentioned earlier. He mingles with the audience, wanting both to show and be seen. Sloterdijk ([2009]2011:449) calls it the shift from "art as production power (including the ballast of the 'great masters') to art

as exhibition power". It's all less and less about creating and more about exhibiting.

In this exhibitionistic turn, it should hardly come as a surprise that the workshop or the atelier is losing importance or that studios cease to exist (Davidts and Paice 2009). In the flat world, this space of digging deep, of reflexivity and 'slowness' or verticality, but also of isolation and dealing with materiality, is predictably exchanged for an immaterial discourse that is all about mobility, and the institution dissolves in a network structure. 'Mobilism', 'nomadism', 'travel', 'planetary drift', 'exodus', 'transport', 'links', 'chains', 'loops', 'neurons', 'in touch', 'relational', 'connection', 'communication', 'distribution', 'redistribution' are but a handful of notions used by curators and a growing horde of creative workers to describe and sell their activities. While curators – both in their exhibitions and in general – pour out criticism of the perverse excrescences of late capitalism by the bucket load, the majority of people in the art world dance perfectly in time to the tune of the neoliberal climate. This lack of self reflexivity – at least publicly – is quite remarkable. The same goes for the notion of the rhizome or that of the network. It is usually embraced, and endowed with a romantic touch. The hero of network thinking is of course the nomad, which again emphasizes the rosy side of mobile man. This nomad, however, is not a strider but a swimmer – and one with gills, if we are to believe the Italian author Alessandro Barrico (2011).

Flat Wet World

Mobility and networking are today part of the art world's doctrine, and in fact that of the entire world of professionals. Artists who stay at home in their studios are morally reprehended and accused of localism. They nourish false illusions on an island where they still have solid ground beneath their feet. But nowadays artists are either international or they are nobodies. Curators are connected or they are nobodies. These may sound like the ground rules of the contemporary art world, but they are also the adages of global late capitalism, which has, over the past few decades, effortlessly invaded the artistic realm through cultural and creative industrialization. This late capitalism, by the way, has a lot to gain from us seeing ourselves as mobile actors in a fluid networked world. Individuals as well as organizations feel that their true selves are "corporate identities on the open sea," as Sloterdijk (2006:90) says in his writings about globalization. Time, labour, and even love become liquid, if we are to believe Zygmunt Bauman (2009).

So, those who imagined that they still had solid ground beneath their feet when the flat world was created were very much mistaken. The flat world is a wet

one. It is one big pool of H2O in which we paddle around as if on water bikes. Or, to put it more pathetically, we are floating in a swimming pool, treading water in an airless, liquid, late-modern age, hoping to find some sort of direction (or meaning). Whereas collective institutions – the welfare state prominent among them – used to guarantee the stability of the cruise ship on the open ocean, today our living and working environment is made up mainly of rubber rings floating about with the occasional small lifeboat and a limited number of luxury yachts thrown in.

This is especially true of creative working environments. Creative workers have been thrown into deep existential waters with treacherous currents. Therapists, personal coaches and other social-psychological workers are supposed to help us get used to our new living environment. This mental support force is entrusted with the noble task of relieving entrepreneurial creative people from their fear of drowning. Those who still think that they can rely on the traditional ground that institutions used to offer are merely delusional. With no clear idea of the future, creative individuals are bouncing from one wave to the other and have no choice but to practice freestyle swimming. Occasionally they may find a precarious rubber ring to keep their head just above water, but the creative entrepreneurs have to inflate it themselves and the slightest puncture will burst it wide open. Hopefully, the double wall of the insurance policy will then keep them afloat for a little while longer. In a flat world with neither God nor secular collective solidarity structures, these entrepreneurs are indeed very much left to their own devices.

This 'immanism' of liberal representative democracy, as the French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (1991) calls it, regards society as the sum of independent individuals, who are finding it increasingly difficult to forge relational ties. A flat, wet world that looks upon itself as a network presupposes quite specific characteristics and makes certain demands of the people who are floating about in it. In a neutral definition, a network consists of interconnected points. It can only exist because there are connections, as we know from the actor-network theory. When those connections are broken, the rhizome evaporates with them. The word 'evaporate' clearly indicates the weakness of a network configuration within a wet playing field and evokes the volatile or at least temporary nature of such social connections. What's more, within a liberal network economy these temporary collaborations are controlled by competition. This is why project-like thinking is so dominant in the current order. People only temporarily drift together, to then float collectively while realizing a project, after which their swimming lanes often diverge again. Relationships arise because there is a collective goal for a short while. This is why sociologists call this *goal-instrumental action*. This thinking in terms of networks and projects is not limited to the field of creative labour but has become part of society in general. Nowadays, for instance, project developers determine to a large extent the look of our

cities and living environments, and even the nuclear family is seen as a temporary educational project for children, at the conclusion of which parents can go swim their separate ways again.

The best functioning units within wet networks are not collectives or large, unwieldy cruise ships. It is not unions, social classes, groups, political parties, institutions or families that set the course, but entrepreneurial individuals – even in their rubber rings. The maximum collective unit that matters is the team, precisely because in a team all members can be called to account for their *individual* responsibility and effort. Individuals are more flexible, more mobile, slicker, wetter and more 'adaptive' than rigid collective structures on dry land, and that makes them very suitable for the water society. It is also why 'independent' curators have a better market position in today's art world than do collective museum structures with their local artistic, political, social and economic embedding and historical and art-historical obligations. One of the reasons is that the 'independent' curator can provide the manoeuvrability of a speedboat, whereas institutions are as unwieldy as mammoth tankers. Just like an entrepreneur, this player stays dynamic by constantly keeping a watchful eye on the potential competition from other curators and fluently anticipating it. The curating boom with its worldwide culture of selection and contests fuels this competitive mood even more. Just like independent entrepreneurs, curators who wish to keep their heads above water take their destiny into their own hands, never give up and respond with a problem-solving attitude to every new challenge that the surrounding oceans throw at them. Indeed, in the flat wet world, creativity is often equated with 'problem-solving', which is something else entirely than causing problems or, rather, problematizing issues, a task that was until recently reserved for the artist or dabbler.

Over the past two decades, the art world has increasingly come to define itself as part of the network society outlined above. It should be no wonder, therefore, that a lot of the jargon mentioned here can be found in today's exhibition catalogues. The word 'network' is ubiquitous and the careers of curators and artists are treated like a succession of temporary projects. Art schools, museums and biennials, as well as the cultural cities in which they operate and produce, also define themselves as enterprises competing with each other for artistic, political and economic prestige. Their symbolic weight is reflected in visitor numbers, audits and other measurements, and their potential for creativity is expressed in this quantifying logic as well.

The Ideology Of Realism

It would be too simplistic to condemn the network idea as a purely ideological concept. Within the present-day economy, however, it is increasingly being appropriated and deployed to serve the neoliberal hegemony. This is certainly true for labour relations, but also for the reorganization of education, the media, politics and relationships in the art world. Also, the whole network discourse is instrumental in completely redrawing the lines between the public domain, the labour sphere and the domestic sphere. To use the network concept as a purely neutral or descriptive term, as Bruno Latour does in his ethnographic work, or to flirt with it – often accompanied by some choice phrases by Gilles Deleuze – as happens in the art world, is to ignore or suppress the ideological appropriation of the notion of networking. It can only lead to sticking one's head in the sand.

As mentioned earlier, the current context of production by creative entrepreneurs is characterized by a high degree of individualization or de collectivization of project work in a fluent network structure. The ambiance of this production context and the always youthful enthusiasm with which it is embraced, and even 'scientifically legitimized' under the guise of individual independence, makes the art world especially sensitive to neoliberal value regime. Those ideas cater to the desire of cultural producers to act autonomously, in full freedom. Creative capitalism of course tells its protagonists that they are, or at least should be, in control of their own lives and working conditions. It is their moral obligation. In exchange for this opportunity for self-regulation, the artist as well as the curator is prepared to offer her or his virtuosity cheaply, and sometimes even for free. The desire for autonomy, fuelled by the neoliberal appeal for realism and 'personal responsibility', eventually leads to 'self-precarization'. Artistic entrepreneurs take risks and neglect institutional securities (disability insurance, pension funds, etcetera), believing they can take care of these things themselves. Within these parameters, work offers the experience of a unique chance for self-realization, and that is exactly why labour is easily offered at low rates. In their urge to realization, entrepreneurs take up a sensible or realistic position in order to obtain their goals efficiently. In this secularized religion of 'self-realism', it is no coincidence that the root word 'real' fits in well with neoliberalism's call for more realism and the neo-manager's watchfulness over the realizability or feasibility of a proposed project. Utopia and excessive imagination is out of the question in this ideology of realism. Worse still, whatever cannot be measured is soon set aside as impracticable and too utopian. The urgent call for an awareness of reality obliterates the breathing space for an awareness of what is possible. Entrepreneurs,

who are themselves the employers of their own labour, regard the realization of their objectives as real, and in the process realize themselves. However, the belief in 'self-realism' often gets these employers/employees into trouble. Political scientist Isabell Lorey (2011) has outlined the ambivalent situation into which these cultural and creative entrepreneurs manoeuvre themselves:

> *This financing of one's own creative output, enforced and yet opted for at the same time, constantly supports and reproduces the very conditions in which one suffers and which one at the same time wants to take part of. It is perhaps because of this that creative workers, these voluntary precarized virtuosos, are subjects so easily exploited; they seem able to tolerate their living and working conditions with infinite patience because of the belief in their own freedoms and autonomies, and because of the fantasies of self-realization. In a neoliberal context, they are so exploitable that, now, it is no longer just the State that presents them as role models for new modes of living and working. — (P.87)*

Because classic bourgeois institutions offered many collective guarantees for the self-realization of the individual, that individual could also take more risks. Institutions guaranteed a collective safety net, as it were, for possible 'excesses'. But more importantly, institutions had certain autonomy in defining their own reality and so kept other yardsticks for measuring reality at bay. The classic art academy, for instance, shielded not only its students but its very subject, i.e. art, from the economy as well as from politics. As a result, students and teachers alike saw themselves as belonging to a different – sometimes perhaps naïve – world, but at the same time, this enabled them to measure themselves against an alternate reality. In other words, the isolation of the ideal art academy, with its risk of unworldliness, served the purpose of being able to see the world as also always possibly otherwise.

The artist-entrepreneur as outlined above can hardly appeal to this collective embedding in the institution anymore. Because the artistic risks that they take are hardly safeguarded by institutions as yet, they will simply be more careful before sticking out their necks. What's more, because art institutions are less and less able to build and protect their own value regime in an auto-referential way, artists are increasingly positioning themselves according to a measurable economic reality within the current neoliberal hegemony. This not only causes them to take fewer risks but also means that the grace period for 'unprofitable' artistic experimentation is shortened. In other words, artists are forced to score in the short run and to avoid risks whenever possible. In the free market – which is an institution as well – the exchange between non-fiction and fiction is organized quite differently from the way

this is done within the classic art institution. Whereas the latter related fiction to eternal life or at least to a lasting cultural contribution, the former stresses the importance of surviving in the here and now. And even more than that: within the hegemony of the market, making a cultural contribution is seen within the fiction of endless accumulation. The Sign of cultural eminence in a faraway future may be told directly from the present financial surplus value of the cultural product.

So, the free market cherishes its own fictions and its own utopia, as was wonderfully demonstrated by the Dutch philosopher Hans Achterhuis (2010). The only difference is that it regulates the exchange between non-fiction and fiction differently than the art institution and thereby generates a different reality. However, by persuading us that there is only one liveable reality possible, neoliberalism slips into the ideology of realism, as Mark Fisher (2009) has explained quite subtly. Only that which can be calculated is manageable, and only that which is manageable is realistic and real. It should come as no surprise that such dogmatic realism produces evermore calculable art for the market.

Auditing Imagination

The possible exchange between non-fiction and fiction is not only shrinking because of the erosion of art institutions. As is well known, other social institutions such as education, the media, health care and the justice system are also being measured within the parameters of evidence-based policy. Today, they are all submitted to an audit industry that tries to reduce risk through standardized technologies for monitoring and measuring output. Through the audit, specific value regimes that used to be managed and controlled auto-referentially by institutions are now related to other value regimes, to values that often have little to do anymore with their original ideas about quality. Audits are therefore not passive instruments of inspection, but, as the economist Michael Power (1994:7) states, active players with specific ideas about quality and accountability. Institutions are thus made auditable and are being structured according to the needs of monitoring systems. Each audit ritual starts with a self-evaluation report, the sort of institutional confession in which an organization scans itself critically. The institution ‘sincerely’ shows all of its own positive and negative sides, but in doing this it also learns how to *imagine* itself in an alternate way. Values like justice, beauty, artistic innovation, imagination, health or intelligence, to name a few, are very hard to demonstrate to outsiders if they are not expressed in measurable units. For instance, it is much harder to prove to auditors that the art on display has a lot of quality or is even socially relevant than it is

to present attendance figures or point to the *number* of reviews published about an exhibition. Power (1994) says:

> *The consequence is a displacement in the terms of government discourse, from service-specific values of teaching, care and so on to more abstract, financial and quantitative categories... Audits do as much to construct definitions of quality and performance as to monitor them. — (P.13 and 25)*

And so the audit introduces into the institution its own values, such as efficiency, rationality and transparency, and especially the idea that what is produced within the institution and what the institution stands for can indeed be measured and inspected. What's more, the auditors do this while pretending to be apolitical, according to Power. Formalizing and codifying audit processes does indeed generate a cosmetics for and of institutions that is highly interchangeable. The most diverse institutions are beginning to 'imagine' themselves in a similar manner for the outside world, the more so because they assume that this is a manner that is at least understood. The audit promises transparency, after all. In doing so, however, institutions are denying their own specificity and are taking less and less effort to explain it.

This uniformization of the public image of sometimes quite different institutions has the effect that laymen think they can really instantly understand their specific values and institutional value hierarchies. Through the re-codification of art, health care, etc. in quantitative terms, their qualities appear to be related and therefore interchangeable. This illusion of 'instant understanding' of a world or value regime (an illusion which is maintained by the mass media, by the way) makes people feel that they don't need to move anymore, that hardly any effort is required to get from one world to another. It makes it all the more difficult to still see the world from a fundamentally different perspective or value regime. Those who do not understand that institutional worlds can be radically different, that there are irreconcilable value hierarchies, limit for themselves the possible routes between the real and the imagined world. They do not realize, for instance, that the same artefact becomes a radically different reality when it is addressed and treated from a religious, economic, artistic, educational, political or legal value regime. All these worlds are reducible to the rule of efficiency and the unity of the number. And the institutions themselves have taught this to the outside world by imagining themselves in a way that is 'understandable' to auditors and the mass media. In doing so, they have also reduced the gross global possibilities of imagination.

Intervention Beyond The Contemporary

Looking at the attitude of art institutions historically, it is obvious that in general they take a relatively passive stance. In the nineteenth century, when geopolitics ruled, they became instruments of the prevailing nationalism and when neoliberalism arrived on the back of globalization, museums and other art organizations became 'contemporary' and easily switched to legitimizing themselves with business figures, numbers of visitors and output measurements. Although these public legitimizations and imaginations sometimes deeply affected the auto-referential values of the institutions themselves, it looks as if a core of authenticity has remained intact somewhere deep down. As institutions increasingly start to behave as corporate organizations, the modern imagining of artistic values remains present for the time being. However slick, cunning, competitive and profitable art institutions may themselves behave these days, for the time being the memory of something like artistic autonomy or even transgression, but especially imagination, is still kept alive. Art still cherishes the idea of *that which can always also be otherwise imagined*, an idea it has upheld since the advent of the modern age. Meanwhile, this idea has been adapted by advertising, abused by post-Fordism and digested by cognitive capitalism, which is centred on the accumulation of immaterial assets. Art *knows*, however, that this is not about true imagination or an absolute possibility, as it is still breathing this artistic utopia through the cracks and fissures of its institutions. For now, the art world remembers only too well that it was the inventor of the route between fiction and non-fiction from the beginning of the modern era. It even, thanks to the existence of the art institution – even in its current, sometimes completely degenerated form – relatively safeguards the knowledge of the distinction between fiction and non-fiction. And also thanks to the art institution, we are aware that this distinction between reality and imagination is an aspect of all worlds – so also of the worlds of politics, science and economics.

If a third wave of institutional critique is to succeed, it will have to make that modern truth of art, which lies buried within the art institution like a public secret, the motor of its critique. Paradoxically, this means that institutional critique must accept the institution as its ally. Not the institution in its present organizational, operational and sometimes opportunistic form, but the institution as a value regime and keeper of an imagined ideal. However, if institutional critique is to prevent this ideal from being completely lost, it will have to 'de-pacify' the institution. Just as the market today is overflowing its banks, the art institution will have to go beyond its own borders to intervene in the world. It would be an illusion to think that we can keep neoliberalism

from penetrating the walls of the institutions. What's more, it would be reactionary to defensively withdraw again to one's own temple in the spirit of the modernist ideal. Rather, art will have to burst at the seams and break into 'alien' social domains such as the domestic domain of the private home, into the familiar spheres of its peers in art academies and studios, into civil space and the political arena and, yes, into the free market and ruling neoliberalism.

To do this, institutional critique should first and foremost imagine its own values according to its own logic – so, no longer via the imagination demanded by auditors and other accreditors or the mass media. Art will then tactically respond to the colonization of both the public and domestic sphere by the neoliberal market logic by developing counter models for those same domains. For instance, where market logic now occupies the domestic space with home entertainment and precludes individual creativity there, museums and biennials will break this creativity opened again via the Internet, workshops for children, volunteer work and all sorts of means by offering unformatted and non-pre-programmed possibilities. Among peers and within the walls of the schools, the art institution will juxtapose the call for entrepreneurship, marketing and management with a political discourse. It will teach students to self-reflexively understand that this currently prevailing call is ideologically biased and that it offers but one imagined reality within a whole kaleidoscope of possibilities.

It will also teach them that being an artist is not an individual fate, such as proclaimed by entrepreneurship, but that they can fall back on collective structures of solidarity. Nowadays, for instance, some artist-in-residence and biennial circuits already make up an alternate economy of bartering, exchange and services. Within the value regime of the market, the art world is building on these far-from-neoliberal transactions. It is beginning to oppose the property laws of the creative industry with the free rights of the creative commons, for example.

The art institution will also no longer try to lure an audience through all kinds of marketing strategies by asking it what it wants. On the contrary, the institution will start to tell its audience, in the public domain, what it *should* want, if that audience wants to preserve its imaginative powers. The journey from one world to another sometimes needs to be jumpstarted. In the recent past, institutions seemed almost embarrassed to take on a truly guiding role, to suggest designs for communality based on their own value frameworks. The fear of coming across as patronizing or pedantic has paralyzed their social performativity.

From the very moment that art started calling itself 'contemporary' (everything that is made now is contemporary and therefore has no historical depth, but neither does it have a future), it lost more than its verticality, it also lost its own voice. By applying such sterile self-labelling (which by the way is remarkably in tune with the

movement in the 1970s through the mid 1980s towards post-Fordism and neoliberalism), art also lost its potency to make history. Everything that is made today can be labelled 'contemporary' and this automatically disqualifies anything that was made yesterday. Contemporary art refuses to make a clean break with the past, precisely through an uncomplicated forgetting. But in its embrace of the hyper-current, art above all lost the vigour to really concern itself with history. The intoxication of the contemporary leaves no time for solidification and so everything remains fluid. In its desire to be 'with it', to 'keep up with the times' and not, like the historical avant-garde, be *ahead* of its time, contemporary art gave up on any utopian plan to really intervene in the world. In short, the route from fiction to non-fiction was closed. Contemporary art has exiled itself to a safe island within the white walls of the purely imaginary, where anything is possible as long as it makes no claims to reality.

If the art institutions are to survive, they will have to pitch their tents outside of these walls. The tent poles will no longer reach the unassailable heights of the pillars, but they will be unquestionably vertical. Adapting and anticipating in the flat wet contemporary can only be forsaken by intervening again from verticality, not with the ambition of 'keeping up with' but of 'staying ahead of'. Not for the sake of being fashionable, but simply because society needs imagination. This, by the way, is the difference between fashion or trends and art. Fashion, if it wants to sell, cannot afford to be too far ahead of its time, while art has not yet completely given up its right to a visionary sluggishness, at the risk of being perpetually unmarketable and ethereally un-contemporary. A third wave of institutional critique can only succeed if it uses its imagination to be critical from a really distant future perspective. This means taking an upright stance to shake off and destroy the indifferent and blind contemporaneity of current art institutions. It must, in other words, not follow the world but intervene in the world. Only then will it be able to write history again. It is only through such 'creative destruction' (Schumpeter 2010) that art institutions can secure their social mission for the future. Only then will the prediction that the Danish-French artist Thierry Geoffroy wrote on his tent at *Documenta 13* come true: "The Emergency will replace the Contemporary."

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Building European Cultural Spaces: Discussing the Impact of *European Cultural Policy* on Southeast Europe

—*Claske Vos*

Introduction

Through various means such as funding schemes, European conventions and charters, Europe-wide research networks and professional associations, the European Union (EU) has laid the groundwork for a European infrastructure of cultural production. This infrastructure does not only involve EU member states but also accession states in Southeast Europe and even countries outside of Europe. It should facilitate the creation of a shared European cultural space that can 'thicken' EU citizens' rather weak European identity and increase the EU's visibility in the world. However, what this European cultural space entails is by no means clear. Even less is known about the

participation of non-EU actors in this space of European cultural action. This paper aims to provide more insights in this by focusing on EU cultural action in Southeast Europe. It will first look at how the EU depicts its cultural space. Then it will expose the challenges to this space and its evolvement in Southeast Europe. Finally it will look at ways forward to the creation of a European cultural space. How to allow for transnational social practices in the field of culture that can stimulate identification with Europe?

Building The European Cultural Space

In its most general sense, the European cultural space can be seen as a 'space of flows'. The notion of a 'space of flows' derives from Manuel Castells book The Rise of the Network Society (1996). It refers to the space that emerges as a result of the social practices that are enabled and constrained by the contemporary global flow of goods and people, signs and information. Interaction and social practices are no longer bound to fixed places but cross borders and connect people in different kinds of ways. A space of flows is thus the result of the ability to cooperate beyond locally rooted places.

This ability to cooperate beyond locally rooted places is also central to the EU cultural policy. Most important about EU funded projects in the field of culture is that they allow for transnational cooperation. Secondary is whether these projects touch upon European themes or topics. In the words of a representative of the Commission: "We are looking more for a high level of cooperation than a 'European; theme. Many of the projects we support look at regional/local culture, but we are promoting them at a European level" (Sassatelli 2007:34). In order to facilitate transnational cooperation, methods, approaches and standards are introduced which determine the Europeanness of the projects. Cultural difference is thus sought to be harmonized under the umbrella of a shared European approach to culture. There is a conviction that by actively co-constructing European culture through cooperation and exchange, and thus by allowing for certain kinds of social practices, there will automatically be an appropriation of this European culture and identification with Europe.

The only tool that the EU has to stimulate these social practices and to stimulate cooperation and the co-construction of culture are funding schemes, communications, networks and expert groups. Thus far, the EU has lacked sufficient support from its members to implement a more solid European cultural policy. The EU continuously has to legitimize the value of its investments and prove why spending EU budget on culture is worthwhile. As a result, there has been an increasing focus on

the concrete benefits of EU investments in culture such as socio-economic development, transnational cooperation and cohesion. Some have called this the neo-liberalization of the EU cultural policy: the social and economic potential of culture has been increasingly used to legitimize culture on a European level (i.e. Littoz-Monnet 2012; McGuigan 2004). Nevertheless, focus on this more functional quality of culture never fully eclipsed the use of culture to stimulate identification. This holds even more value in accession countries in Southeast Europe. The EU is convinced that investments in culture stimulate not only transnational cooperation and economic growth but also identification with the EU.

Challenges To The European Cultural Space

Despite these objectives, the establishment of the European cultural space has met with a variety of obstacles. Why is it so difficult to develop social practices in the field of culture, transcend localized places and connect people from different parts of Europe? What is typical about Southeast Europe in this respect? Many explanations can be provided, but three are taken as a point of departure due to their centrality to most of the debates. First of all, European cultural policy always has to compete with other hegemonic identifications such as local, national, and regional ones. The European one almost never takes precedence. Even though there is a general acceptance that European identification can co-exist next to other kinds of identification, the resonance of EU initiatives has been rather weak. Some have argued that this is the result of a 'sovereignty reflex' which determines many of the more sensitive EU policy fields (Diedrichs, Reiners, and Wessels 2011:22). Even though many countries invest in EU cultural initiatives, they are against transferring too many competencies and instruments to the EU.

What I have seen in my own research in Southeast Europe is that this resistance to EU interference has led to the establishment of 'European products': "social constructions infused with EU values, standards and regulatory power" (Welz 2015). In applying for EU funds the main concern is adhering to the funding criteria to enhance chances for financial support (Vos 2013). The more idealistic values behind these programmes – to stimulate European cooperation and exchange – are often not decisive. Even though these projects Europeanize (modernize) the cultural sector, they do not provide tools for identification nor are they seen as relevant for the formation of such identification.

This lack of resonance of the more idealistic objectives behind the EU funded cultural initiatives is strengthened by the way in which EU cultural policies are governed. This brings us to the second explanation why it is so difficult to establish a European cultural space. The way in which culture has been governed on a European level has led to a flurry of interpretations of culture without a common European denominator in terms of content and function. This is a result of two factors. First of all, the implementation of EU cultural policies is left to the participating countries and as such always a projection of these countries. As been established in Article 128 of the Treaty of Maastricht, the EU avoids any transnational policy harmonization and allows different approaches to culture to coexist. This means that even though the Commission acts as a gatekeeper in terms of the allocation of funding, in terms of interpretation and implementation it is always subjected to those responsible on the national, regional or local level. The result is that even though programmes are European in that they are co-funded by EU funds, in their development they are marked by highly localised interpretations. Shared management provides frameworks of policymaking but no guarantees regarding its eventual implementation.

Additionally, many interpretations and logics of implementation co-exist depending on the context in which projects are implemented. For example, in many of the countries in Southeast Europe local pioneers establish cultural projects without the support of their national governments. These governments struggle with a lack of resources, apply more traditionalist approaches to culture, and are generally not very open to EU funded cultural projects, or only when it fits their interests. As most EU funded projects are dependent on co-funding from national governments, many of the projects of these pioneers cannot be developed and those projects that are co-funded are often not sustainable because co-funding is not guaranteed. At the other end of this spectrum is the United Kingdom where competition has always been part of cultural policy and the influence of the state rather limited. Their approach links up more directly with the approaches presented in the EU funding schemes. This partly explains the successes of the UK in their applications for EU funded cultural projects. Across Europe different interpretations, practices and approaches co-exist. Social practices in the European cultural space are not straightforward, but strongly dependent on the context of implementation.

Another factor that creates diversity in the interpretation of European culture is that EU cultural policy is an affair of a variety of actors that all have different ideas behind the implementation of the projects. This has led to the emergence of several kinds of initiatives with different objectives and criteria. One of those actors is the European Commission with its different Directorates General (DsG). These DsG adhere to different funding criteria, based on the specific objectives of the policy fields they represent. For example, DG-NEAR (IPA Funds) looks at how investments

in culture contribute to enlargement, while DG-REGIO (Cohesion Fund) emphasizes the need to use culture to stimulate socio-economic development. Cultural action on the EU level is therefore a rather heterogeneous activity. However, the EU is by no means the only actor. As argued earlier, the governments of the member states and the representatives of regions and municipalities have a considerable role in the eventual interpretation and implementation of the projects. Additionally, several grassroots movements, lobby organisations, and cultural entrepreneurs set the agenda for European cultural policies. This variety of actors affects the interpretation of the projects as culture often means something different for each of these actors. In a space of flows built up by so many different actors and different voices, people will unavoidably start misunderstanding each other.

The last reason why it has been so difficult to create a European cultural space has to do with the specific dynamic between top-down steering and bottom-up responsibility that characterizes most of EU cultural action. This has led to what Anna Tsing has referred to as “zones of awkward engagement” which limits the resonance of Europe in the initiatives, and particularly in those countries not yet part of the EU Zones of awkward engagement are the result of “the spaces of friction in which the relationship between local, regional and national actors and global processes are revealed” (2005:xi). These spaces emerge when new actors such as the EU encounter local, national and regional actors and start to influence common practices. Such encounters have also emerged as a consequence of EU cultural policy initiatives. The introduction of EU funding introduced other ways of thinking about culture, different kinds of interventions and new forms of interaction that differed from traditional approaches. These encounters did not always evolve smoothly but were – and still are – marked by friction.

I provide you with a few examples. As already argued, in the implementation of the EU funded cultural initiatives in Southeast Europe there has been often a focus on form over content. In a response to increasing competition over funding schemes, complying to funding criteria often overruled a clear vision about the course of European culture. Some have argued that such developments kill the visibility and image of the EU and damage its status, particularly because these European cultural products are often difficult to translate in actual practices. Friction emerges as projects with a high potential to achieve more idealistic goals, such as conflict resolution, fail to obtain funding. They fail due to their complexity and the time it takes to bring about change. Most of the funding criteria insist on feasibility, immediate results, and a direct output of the investments made. As such, often projects with a lower potential to achieve the more idealistic goals receive funding. This leads to quite some frustration amongst practitioners in the field.

Related to this, friction emerges when there is a mismatch between EU re-

quirements and the local conditions in place. This takes different forms and has different effects: for example there might be no support from national governments, there might be different realities on the ground, and there might be a lack of financial and human resources. As such, it can become very difficult to bring plans into practices. This places local mediators responsible for the local implementation of the projects in a difficult position and even more so because representatives of the European Commission are hardly ever present. In their projects, the European Commission governs at a distance: it leaves the responsibility for the funded projects in the hands of the target countries while still acting as a gatekeeper in providing funding and demanding standards. This causes friction amongst local actors and sometimes even leads to a backfiring of Europeanisation and a refusal to identify with such European community.

Ways Forward For The European Cultural Space

These are a few of the factors that explain why it is so difficult to establish a transnational space of shared European cultural practices. We can learn a few lessons from this. First of all, awareness has to grow that policy models cannot be simply developed and imposed to create a certain desirable 'European product', neither in form nor in content. Room needs to be provided for complex and contradictory approaches to culture and to allow these to co-exist. This requires the EU to say something about content and move away from its emphasis on form to avoid the creation of a European space full of 'European Product'. Additionally, it requires other actors – and particularly national governments – to move away from the national narratives and open up for a wider range of interpretations. Stories about European culture next to other forms of culture need to be told and provided with a place within other spaces of identification.

Second, and in line with the previous, there is a need to establish some unity in all of the diversity. This implies a few things. The EU needs to be provided with more tools to coordinate culture and to develop a shared narrative or approach to culture amongst its different institutions and bodies. This would entail consistency in the objectives amongst the different Directorates Generals and more communication between the different departments that invest in culture. It would also entail more exchanges between the expert and network groups that are already in place in Europe. Instead of writing report after report and organizing meeting after meet-

ing, certain agreements have to be made about what sets the rule. In other words: there needs to be a move from cooperation to coordination. If the cultural space means the co-construction of culture, some kind of framework needs to be offered. This starts with creating more congruency between the funding mechanism on the EU level, with a better communication of these unifying forces to the several actors that are participating in EU cultural initiatives and more visibility of these European projects in different contexts.

Third and final, we should learn from the zones of awkward engagement and think in terms of solutions and learning from these instances. This means that attention needs to be paid to the settings in which policies are implemented and room provided for content and not only form. Considering what is valuable and what might work is not only dependent on form. Instead of focusing on short term successes, long-term projects also ought to have a chance to be developed. Other lessons that could be learned is that for the European cultural space to function, governing at a distance does not seem to work. Europe has to be brought to the so-called spaces of place in order to become valuable for the space of flows. It asks for presence from the different actors at play and for true engagement in the social practices that make the European cultural space. It asks for ownership and entitlement and a real experience of co-constructing the space together with different European actors.

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Methods of Institutional Agency in the Public Sphere: Cultural Policy *Challenges* and *Achievements*[1]

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Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to demonstrate the contribution of different institutional agents within the realm of public culture - their various *challenges and achievements*. Our starting hypothesis is that dialog between institutional and non-institutional social actors is crucially important for the development of the art and cultural scene. Consequently, it means that only 'shared policies,' those that have been

1 — The starting point in writing this article was the position paper "Shared Policies: Future of Democratic Cultural Development. New models of partnership between the public, private and civil sector," written by Milena Dragićević Šešić, published in: *Dynamics of communication: New ways and new actors*, edited by Biserka Cvjetičanin, Institute for International Relations, 2006. The article was further developed relaying on data from the research project no. 178012 and research project no. 41004, both funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

developed through a dialog are legitimate in contemporary world. At the same time, mutual influence between researchers and policy makers from all three sectors (public, civic and private) will contribute to the development of new, more democratic standards in policy making. This is especially important for the newest democracies in Southeast Europe, Caucasus, and Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova. Those countries should, without any delay, reorganize their public policies using all available resources in their own environment, and by that, try to produce the most synergetic and multiplying effects.

The aim of this paper is to identify different possibilities for the development of comprehensive and participative cultural policies, ones that would meet the public interest. In order for this to happen, public cultural institutions should approach their social role more seriously.

We want to put forward arguments in favour of advocacy actions aimed at the development of cultural policies in the region that would entice public cultural institutions to respond to their social roles more responsibly. Among other things, it includes adjustment of their program policies to the various needs of different communities, artists and artistic collectives, as well as active collaboration with civil society organizations, the so-called independent scene. There are few examples of achievements made in this direction: BITEF festival with BITEF polyphony, Cultural Centre Belgrade (numerous projects and programs linked to the art of photography and contemporary literature production), Zemaljski muzej Sarajevo, etc.

It is exceptionally important for cultural policy that all three sectors (public, private and civil) are well balanced and equally developed. Each of them gives a different and diversified quality to cultural life. The public sector with its numerous institutions ensures that public interest is achieved, that cultural heritage is being preserved, and that contemporary artistic production is encouraged because it nourishes all the richness of the diversity of cultural expressions. The private sector brings in risk and innovation, while civil society organizations in culture are focusing on neglected and forgotten cultural domains in art production such as contemporary dance, polymedia art, art in public space, etc. More importantly, civil organizations address important social issues, like for example, social/transitional justice, etc.

Public Cultural Realm as a Norm in Europe

In EU countries, the focus of cultural policies is on the system of public cultural institutions at different levels of governance. Thus the responsibility for the dialog should be within the public sector, although in many cases civil society organ-

izations bring up new questions and issues to be debated among cultural operators and decision makers. At the same time, however, due to the lack of support, these independent organizations are unstable and weak, always at the verge of survival. Still, they initiate advocacy events, mapping and research that reveal the real state of the arts in different branches of the cultural sector – the conferences *Modelling Public Space(s) in Culture* and *Nomad Dance Advocates*[2] are good examples of that.

Cultural policy was for a long time an activity of narrow circles of public sector cultural administrators, under the patronage of the Minister of Culture who promoted the ideology of the political party s/he represented. Since most of the public resources (infrastructure and finances) go to the public cultural sector, their responsibility in the cultural sphere should go beyond 'activities' and routine services. Still, public cultural institutions cannot achieve much alone because they often lack human resources to go beyond, question, develop themselves, and offer new services and practices to society. Thus, a concept of public-private partnership was developed. Usually public authorities (state, municipality, etc.) provide resources, such as protected heritage buildings, or urban spaces to private businesses which in turn get to manage them in a way that would provide some services of public interest. Unfortunately, sometimes the public investment needed to restore these heritage sites turn out to be much higher than the investment of the business which is running it. Thus the partnership becomes problematic. For example, the Tirana castle and Budva citadel were given to private companies to develop businesses important for cultural tourism but in real life they only provided commercial entertainment (Tirana) and/or prevented organization of public cultural events (Budva).

Another solution might be public - civil partnership, but is it really possible?

Contemporary cultural debate is stressing the necessity of public-civil partnership for the realization of the public interest in culture, since both are created for the sake of the public interest and because the practices of public-private partnerships appear to be disputable (i.e. corruptive). There are, however, some challenges on the way of public-civil partnerships as well: possible loss of autonomy of public institutions, greater self-censorship and diminished subversive potential of civil society organisations.

The synergy of the *elected power* (the government and its main ideology), *expert power* (public and private cultural institutions) and *socially responsible forces* (NGO sector), which approach the process of policy making from different standpoints, should bring about a shift from "constructed community driven cultural policy" (nation building or "dreaming") (Dragićević Šešić and Dragojević 2006) to "ter-

2 — Belgrade, 20-22 October, 2017 Stanica, Service for Contemporary Dance.

ritorially driven cultural policy"[3]. This shift would be particularly important when the cultural field starts losing its symbolic-creative legitimating character and gains more and more producing-service-consuming roles in order to make culture as profitable as possible. Cultural managers are, thus, facing several questions/dilemmas: Are we accepting that culture is nothing more but Entertainment industry or Experience industry?

At this very moment culture is at the crossroads of different public policies that in order to develop programs need data and information from the following domains:

1 — Culture of memory (politics of identity and heritage);

2 — Space and urban planning (relevance of place, landscape and territory);

3 — Social policies (complexities of social life, integration and participation);

4 — Culturally sensitive policies for economic development (creative industries);

5 — Ecology (nature conservation, cultural landscape, etc.);

6 — Tourism development and many other economic domains.

All these policies might be developed through a dialogue and negotiations with cultural policies, increasing awareness and knowledge on the importance of sustainable development. By this, contemporary cultural policies would aim at social transformations through synergy of education, research, cultural diplomacy, tourism, social policies, city and regional planning, ecology, energy, traffic and infrastructure (Dragićević Šešić and Dragojević 2006).

Depending on the level of democracy in a particular society, a meritocratic principle and an arms-length cultural policy models have been applied. In more democratic systems, 'expert bodies' and professional opinion are gaining greater influence, while the power of ministries and public authorities is declining. At the same time, however, citizen participation in policy making is not expected here. This model had very positive effects in terms of diversity of policy measures, instruments, evaluations, etc., but it also suffered a certain level of alienation and bureaucratization.

But, the time of 'Malraux' or 'Lang' (great individuals, 'leaders') driven cultural policy has passed, as well as the time of cultural policy making within circles of anonymous bureaucracies. A new model of cultural policy is necessary now – a model open to contributions by all social actors in a society. Perhaps, Chris Smith, as a British (non-charismatic) Minister of Culture represented a new kind of leader in policy making – somebody who wanted the Creative Industries to take over the

3 — The word 'territory' here does not refer to spatial aspects of cultural policy. It refers to taking responsibility for quality of cultural life and practices in the whole country, region, city... for all communities, groups and individuals living there. So it cannot be a single policy – 'one' culture (usually of the main ethnic group) for all – cultural policy, instead, it should support all forms of expression and participation in cultural life. It is exactly the opposite of the traditional concept of cultural policy which aimed at reinforcing of the so-called national cultural identity, national values and artistic traditions.

cultural field – meaning, that the cultural field and all its actors should take responsibility for their own development.

But now a more coherent and balanced approach should be developed particularly in those countries where markets do not have sustainability potential in the creative sector, at least in the short run; and those countries whose language does not represent an advantage for future commercialization (creative industry), or for employment of artistic verbal products (Estonia, Slovenia, etc.).

Principal Approaches in Policy Making

If we can define the method of creating cultural policy within the EU as territory-driven cultural policy (based on facts and research, the situation and needs of diverse populations) within the borders of one country[4], the method which prevailed in the Eastern World was a method based on ethnically, identity-driven cultural policy. (The ultimate goal of cultural policies of new democracies was constructing community around majority ethnos, such as Latvians in Latvia, despite the fact that 30% of its population is of Russian background, etc.).

The first approach emphasizes territory and citizenship. It is an inclusive approach because all cultural models (social, generational, elitist, popular, traditional), majority and minority cultures, are taken into account, not only within instruments of cultural policy but also in a way of conceiving and developing cultural practices. The motto here would be: celebrating cultural diversity on our territory![5] The main issue became: "How are cultural institutions linked with their territories?" instead of how they are linked with the (national) community.[6]

The second approach emphasizes 'ethnicity' as the key element of self-identification, trying to conceive and conceptualize cultural policy for the imagined (constructed) community. The word 'Diaspora' is emphasized, as well as all key 'national identifications', like language, alphabet, religion, traditional art forms… The docu-

4 — The only exception within the EU is Belgium. "Since the 1970s, Belgium has undergone a step by step process towards building a federal state made up of territorial regions and linguistic communities. The history of cultural policies since the 1970s can therefore be looked at by examining the activities of the three independent linguistic communities (Flemish, French and German speaking communities) and that of the Federal state; each with their own independent institutions, traditions and political influences" (Compendium, 6th edition).

5 — French theory and cultural policy documents are significant in this respect. While during the 1980s, the word 'territory' could hardly be found in cultural policy documents, since the year 2000 it became the key word to describe the concepts and priorities. See for example texts of Jean-Pierre Saez.

6 — Citation from the symposium: *The Opening Up of Cultural Institutions to a New Public in Europe; Towards New Territorial Cultural Policies*, Banlieues d`Europe, Rheims, 21-22. November 2004.

ment Armenia 2020 illustrates this approach. The document gives a list of the special characteristics of Armenian culture: “unique language, unique alphabet,” “the place of culture in Armenian identity,” “church vs. state as a keeper of culture.” At the same time, “bi and multiculturalism of Armenians” are seen as the most negative components of present day culture.

Another document, the National Report of Armenian Cultural Policy, produced for the Program of Evaluation of Cultural Policies (Council of Europe), was for a long time unacceptable for the Council of Europe due to different understanding the role of cultural policy had in society. The majority of new democracies saw in cultural policy a possibility for top-down nation construction while the Council of Europe wanted to promote the idea of cultural diversity and support diversified cultural expressions. It means that there is still a lack of mutual understanding between these two concepts of policy-making. Consequently, there is almost no dialogue between them.

The idea of territorially driven cultural policies has not been accepted in many countries yet. They are still focused on ethnic (constructed community) based cultural policies. In these cases there are no shared cultural policies. Cultural policy is rather centralized in the hands of the so-called ‘national’ institutions (the Academy of Sciences, National Museum, libraries, etc.). Even the question of transferring, delegating responsibilities, (i.e. de-concentration) as one of the new challenges of modern democratic cultural policies has not been addressed.

The analysis of the cultural policies of many transition countries, including those that joined the EU in 2005, shows that the citizen in these policies is still less important than the compatriot, regardless of where s/he resides. At the same time, the imaginary ‘national’ territories (sometimes politically lost territories like Kosovo for Serbia, or parts of Turkey for Armenians) are still more present in the cultural discourse then the territory on which the contemporary state is developed and for which it is really responsible.

On the other hand, a territorially driven cultural policy is usually created through a dialogue which includes many different groups, cultural agents and different domains: from urban planning to social development, tourism and entrepreneurship, etc. Traditionally, the cultural sector was identified with the nation, meaning cultural urban elites. New values, on the other hand, require public policies which explicitly address the needs of different groups of citizens on the territory which includes the most remote regions and rural areas. Thus, when public policy decides to go to territories, it has to address not only public institutions and artists (majority in urban centres) but all the ‘actors’ (operators) on the territory (social workers, educators...)

This way, new models of partnership in creating (conceptualizing and designing) cultural policy priorities, strategies and instruments started to be developed through different models of ‘para-state’ bodies (art councils, etc.), through civil soci-

ety initiated 'forums', and through associations of the private sector.

Nowadays, the idea of Public - Private Partnership (3P) is also present in public discourses. Yet, it is not only these two – but all three sectors that should be in permanent dialogue and interaction. There will be no real, balanced, sustainable cultural development unless all three sectors are engaged in both creating and implementing cultural policy.

A balanced approach as well as matching interests and possibilities enables the realistic, down-to-earth selection of priorities and instruments of cultural policy. The intersectorial approach brings about the extension of policy perspectives and alternatives. In addition, the fusion of the private, civil and public sectors brings about another sort of knowledge in policy making and new operational methods in public administration management, giving, thus, more certainty to policy planning in terms of its viability and legitimacy.

What are the interests and values of these three sectors which are crucial for their involvement in policy making and priority selection?

Of course, their contribution can be both positive and negative, but for this occasion we focus mostly on the positive contributions, assuming that the negative elements specific for one sector would be rejected by the other two sectors through policy dialogue and selection of alternatives (if there was a real dialogue in policy making), because there are three partners involved, two of them can always find a way to prevent a possible inclusion of elements risky for the status of arts and cultural policy - in the third one.

Risking oversimplification, we can summarize different but complementary features of all three sectors of culture using the following scheme:

PUBLIC	PRIVATE	CIVIL
Traditional values	Modern values	Social values (solidarity, new culture of memory, intercultural sensitivity, social/distributive justice)
Professional knowledge and skills	Transversal skills (communication, fundraising, etc.)	
Identity building	Risk orientation	Inclusivity
Appreciations of old elites	Elitism and leadership	Equality
Institution building	Organization building	Movements
Museums, archives and libraries	Companies, enterprises & agencies	Circles, clubs, NGOs
Past	Future	Present
High standard routine in the main domain of operation	Innovation, new solutions, new markets & products	Social experiment, dialogue, participation
Oeuvre	Product	Process

Some negative features could be:

PUBLIC	PRIVATE	CIVIL
Sclerotisation	Commercialization	Propagandas
Bureaucratization	Oversimplification	Amateurism (diminishing of professional standards)
Culture as value per se	Culture as economic investment & job provider	Culture as a tool of social change

The public systems of cultural institutions in the region are based on traditionally established relations between nation and arts. They are concentrated in bigger urban areas and their policies are usually conservative (the mission has not changed since the XIX century, or since their creation). They do not apply strategic planning, or evaluation. Their main goal is to contribute to identity construction and representation (museums, libraries, theatres), unequally covering different art domains (in some countries there is a lack of musical cultural institutions, in others cinema archives, or contemporary art museums, etc.) These institutions are using 80% of the public funds allocated for culture, but are subordinated to partocratic leadership. Socially important and current issues such as distributive justice, accessibility, gender equality and equity, etc. are not on their agenda.

Civil society organizations often do not have adequate space for working and thus are forced to organize their actions in public spaces. This approach, unfortunately, is not always sufficient for communicating their messages. Frequently seen as organisations of 'collective intelligence', encompassing numerous artistic and intellectual movements, these organisations make possible civic engagement and the dissemination of new ideas in the wider European cultural and political space.

During the first couple of decades of the current century, cultural theory debated the contribution of civic imagination (Enwezor 2012) to civic engagement that introduced arts and critical reflection in the era of spectacle and consumerism mostly through the efforts of civil society organisations which opened up a space for new voices and new thoughts, addressing important social issues not being discussed before. Thus civil society has acted as a platform, a space for direct democracy practices, as well as for direct art practices (immersive theatre, participative art, etc.). The civil sector has contributed greatly in opening up issues such as intercultural sensitivity, social/distributive justice, negative past, etc. (Young 1990).

New Cultures of Memory in the European Public Sphere

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and since the creation of the new Europe in Maastricht in 1992, the culture of memory became a crucial issue in constructing a new European identity.

Special contribution was offered by artists like, for example, Jochen Gerz and Milica Tomić, who both had the courage to deal with the Negative Past of their nations. The countermonuments that they created represent participative re-telling and re-interpreting of the negative past – rejection of official memory politics that focus on the glory and heroism of one's own side, and the victimization of the 'other'. Thus, it was mostly due to artists and civil society that the global European space of remembrance was created. Public policies, on the other hand, contributed by building places of remembrance dedicated to the Holocaust and in fewer cases to Porajmos (Roma genocide).

Countermonuments can be seen as the manifesto of the end of a century, the art of the multitude (Vickery and Manus 2016). It is an act of resistance and dissent against the politics of oblivion that have neglected everything that was shameful. Such are the projects of Jochen Gerz, for example his 3-year long project *Monument against Racism*, a collective production with art students from the Saar College of Visual Art in Saarbrucken. For this non-commissioned intervention in public space, a research was done at Jewish community centres in Germany in order to collect a list of all Jewish cemeteries that existed in the country before the Second World War and the Holocaust. Students engraved the names of all 2,164 graveyards on the bottom of cobble stones in front of Saarbrucken Palace – the seat of the state parliament. Strictly speaking, this was an illegal action, but one month into the project, the regional authorities learned about it and, recognising its importance, joined in by renaming the square in front of the parliament - now it is called Square of the Invisible Monument.

In a similar manner Milica Tomić individually, and as a participant in various collectives *(Monument Collective and Four Faces of Omarska)*, has created several countermonuments as participative projects. Her aim was to raise public awareness of the recent negative past. For example, she initiated a series of workshops where artists discussed why and how the concentration camp Omarska was deleted from memory when its traces were erased – by restarting mining operations, or by using it as a shooting location for the movie St. George Shoots the Dragon (directed by Dragojević 2009), erasing thus the negative past from the collective memory. The

influence of Jochen Gerz on artists in the region was even more visible in the project *The De/construction of a Monument*, by SCCA Sarajevo, that invited artists to offer their ideas for new approaches to memory and monument politics.

It was a multidisciplinary project realized in the period of 2004-07, which included several dimensions: series of panel discussions, lectures and seminars, artistic presentations, exhibitions and actions in the public space. The most important part of the project was a competition for new monuments. The project followed the development of counter-monuments throughout former Yugoslavia since the 1990s, analysing works by: Mladen Stilinović, Irwin, Sanja Iveković, and Raša Todosijević, Erzen Shkololli and Kurt & Plasto. The project was realized in five phases, each debating a different issue. The first seminar presented artists famous for installations in public spaces that contradict the typical official policies of representation. The presence of Gerz, whose "Exit/the Dachau Project" (1972-74) started questioning the processes of the institutionalization of history, was extremely important in indicating to what extent an artist can take the lead in a social agenda-setting regarding the culture of memory.

With these efforts, the European identity, based on peace, democracy and human rights, received some new, also important values (resistance, allied solidarity, democratic renewal). Through numerous shared experiences and events that were performed on memory sites of common significance, even when they are related to historical events, that used to divide Europe, such as WWI and WWII (Habermas and Derrida 2005:8-9) all three cultural sectors offered different contributions to shared memory, discussions and dialogue.

The most important contribution to the new European public sphere common values comes from films, books, theatre performances, memory spaces that provoke thinking and underline common values. However, there are still very few art works about European's dark past (and even present): colonialism and imperialism, traumas, inclusion and exclusion of EU overseas borders, ways of treating the migrant crises, asylum seekers, etc.

Analysing the Pan-European memory landscape we have to study policies of memory and forgetting since re-telling the past might be a powerful mechanism for generating a collective sense of identity in a complex society such as Europe (Gluhović 2012). It has to take into account the diverging memories of Eastern & Western Europe and the forgotten South (Greek civil war, Francoism in Spain...). Historical trauma was enhanced and became a real social trauma due to forced silence and to politics of oblivion (exodus of the Macedonians during the Greek Civil War).

In his book, *Performing European Memories: Trauma, Ethics, Politics*, Milija Gluhović (2012) discusses theatre responsibilities regarding memory and citizenship. He shows how art narratives become social narratives – making political and

ethical demands from spectators (narratives of 'revolutions', the Holocaust, dissonant past, etc.) His main thesis: "shaping and negotiating issues of memory, identity and cultural values within the bounds of the nation-state is often problematic and highly charged" (Gluhović 2012:10) he analyzes through contemporary dramaturgy, demonstrating how ideas and practices are crossing nation-state borders. Thus, he presents several drama texts of Heiner Muller, like *The Task* that deals with "the suppression and disavowal of revolutionary antislavery in the Caribbean" – the only revolution that centred on the issue of racial equality – The Haitian revolution (1791-1804), forgotten and erased from the French and European memory as part of the negative past.

Gluhović (2012) explores how Art, Drama and Memory interact and what are the effects and impacts of art texts on the public memory. Their importance is in the fact that these works "...bring into the picture a broader historical (social, political...) horizon for both repressed and obsessed-about historical traumas" (Gluhović 2012:60). Art (drama) is the path for transferring the private, individual into collective, shared consciousness, values, memories, visions, ambitions. He points out that the Holocaust is "the ethical imperative" of the German political system – it is through culture that all was debated and integrated in social and public memory. In similar manner, the relation toward Jewishness in Poland is debated today through Museums (Polin, Warsaw), numerous festivals of Jewish culture, and films.

Discussions about negative pasts are rare in the region. Still there are examples of theatre work about the Srebrenica genocide (Dah theatre performances every July on the square of the Republic in Belgrade; CZKD production of the text *Priviđenja iz Srebrnog vijeka* of Almir Bašić directed by Stevan Bodroža, 2017).

It is more than obvious that without *civil society's* participation in cultural practices and without its influence on public policies, not a single cultural policy of any country would have integrated instruments and measures for people and groups with special needs.

If the *private sector* had not forced 'product approach' in arts, how much smaller would accessibility to works of art have been? The 'spectacularization' of museums and projects like museum nights might be insignificant from the standpoint of museology and sometimes kitschy from aesthetic standpoint – but they have brought in new audiences, made up of those individuals who, for different reasons, do not want to be part of civil society, associations, movements, and who also lack the cultural capital due to their social background and level of education.

An analysis of cultural policies in countries with underdeveloped civil society has shown that many instruments are deficient, and even if those instruments are recommended by the evaluation experts of the Council of Europe, they cannot be implemented solely with public policies (Bosnia and Herzegovina is an excellent

example, as Landry Cultural Policy Evaluation Report shows).

On the other side, it is clear why Great Britain developed the concept of creative industry. Obviously, it was not just the requirement of the public sector, but its strong private sector in culture wanted development and business success, which is part of the culture of entrepreneurship of the neo-liberal state.

It means also that the approach which endorses development of civil society organizations in the cultural realm should be suggested as one of policy priorities in countries like Albania where the private sector in culture has just started to develop. In those countries public policies supporting the development of creative industries are neither realistic nor viable. Moreover, they could prove counterproductive in the process of implementation.

For a New Ethics of the Public Cultural System

Many Ph.D. thesis and MA works today explore ways for developing a new, ideal, model of public institutions – the model that would make these institutions accountable but free in their programming activities. In order to work in the public interest, focusing on public good and not on products and services that could be sold on the market, cultural institutions should be financed with public money. However, like public universities, they should be granted autonomy in program creation and implementation.

New public managements (from the UK to new democracies) have brought about new demands such as evidence-based cultural policies at all levels of governance (state, region, city and municipality), and a need to manage cultural system according to the principles of transparency, efficiency and usefulness, introducing unambiguous parameters and criteria of evaluation in measuring their results.

Even though governments should be service providers, they started increasingly to allocate funds to public, civil and private sectors, having them deliver services. Thus, cultural policy is growingly promoting the idea of creative industries, stressing on those activities that can be profitable or at least self-sustainable (UNESCO 2005). At the same time, the mission of contemporary 'national' institutions is changing, and now they have to serve audiences and not national identity representation. The best examples are Scottish and Welsh national theatres conceptualised as 'theatres without walls'. They do not have impressive buildings either in Edinburgh or in Cardiff because they have to serve 'the whole nation' even in the

most remote villages of Wales or the Scottish islands. The mission of the National Theatre Wales describes in an excellent manner the aims and values of the new ethics of national institution:

> *The nation of Wales is our stage: from forests to beaches, from aircraft hangars to post-industrial towns, village halls to nightclubs. We bring together storytelling poets, visual visionaries and inventors of ideas. We collaborate with artists, audiences, communities and companies to create theatre in the English language, rooted in Wales, with an international reach. You'll find us around the corner, across the mountain and in your digital backyard — (National Theatre Wales, n.d.).*

The main task of public policies in new public management is to enhance the capacities of 'service providers' in all three sectors of the cultural realm. There is a need to balance strategic plans at all levels, i.e. public institutions have to adapt their plans to larger cultural development plans, including re-definition of their mission and aims (audience development, social inclusion, integration, relationship to minorities or towards diversity, etc.) On the other side, this entrepreneurial/organisational spirit demands a bigger turn toward the audience's needs (the audience as a 'client'), developing 'commercial programs' that could be relevant on the market either regarding box-office or sponsor interest.

The end of the twentieth century was marked by a celebration of the importance of the art markets, by the development of the private sector in culture, and by the development of transparent cultural policies at all levels - political de-concentration. However, the established democratic procedures were subordinated to different political non-democratic influences (partocracy) at both public and civil sector cultural organizations, sometimes even enabling inappropriate subsidies to the private cultural sector.

Analyses of the effects of instruments of cultural policies, like calls for project proposals, tenders, contracting (public/private partnership), etc., reveal to what extent those measures influenced the 'market-based thinking' of cultural institutions, their program policies and methods of operation. For example, the National Film Centre of Serbia launched a call for financing the most popular films – thus the high box office films received public funding as well. With this, the calls 'simplified' the transfer of concepts developed by public policies since the applicants (public and civil cultural organizations) are adapting their programs and projects to different calls' requirements (indicators of evaluation).

Case Studies in Bottom-Up 'Policy' Solutions (Self-Organized Complex Actions)

Case study related to the public sector: Closed National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Action: *I am THE National museum - Ja sam zemaljski muzej*, Sarajevo (AKCIJA 2015).

The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the seven cultural institutions of national importance which remained in 'legal vacuum', being left without its 'founder' – the state, after the Dayton Agreement was signed. Different layers of governing bodies and state institutions for the past twenty-two years have been unwilling to accept founder's rights for the Museum, and by doing that to take on its financing. Finally, the museum was closed because its employees did not receive any salaries, and the maintenance of the building was in question.

Still, the Museum managed to survive with the help of few grants for the upkeep of the collections and the willingness of its employees to work for free – 'waiting' for unpaid salaries. Those grants represented barely one fifth of the budget needed for the Museum to function properly. Thus, in 2012, the management and its employees decided to close the Museum for the public. Since then, they have only been 'on stand-by duty' ('monitoring', keeping artefacts safe), until civil society decided to stand up and organise the advocacy action "I Am the Museum". The action crossed all regional frontiers and engaged the local community in taking their 'responsibility' as citizens. The action was so successful, that Europa Nostra gave the award to the employees and activists of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina - the Grand Prix of the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage / Europa Nostra Award in 2016. The whole action was conceptualized and conducted by the NGO Akcija Sarajevo, and that represents one of the best examples of public-civil partnership. However, here the 'responsibility' fell on the civil sector, and that is the reason why this could be considered as one of the bottom-up policy solutions when the public sector and cultural policy do not have a response to a crisis.

Other regional case studies:

1 — Civil Society Platforms. Numerous 'open' cultural centres were created in the region throughout the 1990s from Mama in Zagreb to Točka in Skopje. All of them developed their own programs. Unfortunately, some

of them disappeared recently due to a lack of funds especially after foreign donors, like the Fund for an Open Society and Swiss Cultural Program, withdrew from the region. However, organizations like REX in Belgrade, CZKD (Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade) are still very active with their own projects (depending on project-based funding). In addition, they serve as platforms for numerous NGOs, artist collectives and individual artists that are in desperate need of space to present their artistic work. Acting under the slogan: *A Place Where People Come to Feel Free*, CZKD claims that "through the long-term platform 'Delegated Public Space' we offer 'unpredictability': openness for unplanned potential emerging from both the official and the independent culture." This is an excellent possibility for different civil society initiatives, individuals and organizations to realize "programs, projects, meetings, and actions of solidarity," such as the Book Fair of Publisher Ivan Čolović and his XX Century Library, Ring-ring festival, The Humanitarian Law Centre and SENSE – Centre for Transitional justice, the Context Studies, Circobalkana cabaret, Reflector theatre, etc.

2 — Public-Civil Partnership project. Magacin, initially a project of public-civil partnership, was left without a proper organisational model that would provide sustainability and equality between all parties involved. The City Secretariat for Culture delegated 'governing rights' to a public institution, the House of Youth in Belgrade, while user rights were given to 7 NGOs selected through a public competition. Since the year 2007, some organizations that were initial users have left Magacin and new ones have moved in, with the silent approval of city authorities.

Programs and projects such as, Ostavinska galerija and Karkatag Group Solidarity – open calendar, Your 15 minutes, Exhibition Opening – enabled independent organisations to test different models of working, all based on sharing resources. "The space is used as a resource centre where people work together sharing their resources, and it offers notable support to small productions that do not have their own space but need this kind of help in their work" (Magacin n.d.). The new model proposed by the Association ICSS to the authorities, in order to solve problems of governance, relies on the above mentioned practice: its availability (accessibility) to all organizations, an open calendar as an online tool for scheduling events in *Magacin*, relying on solidarity and mutual help.

3 — Ministry of Space, an NGO created in 2011, known for monitoring future urban development of Belgrade and other Serbian cities, but even more

for its struggle against the privatization of public spaces. This organization makes visible former public property spaces that have become invisible with the privatization during transition. This organization encourages different artist collectives and groups to use these abandoned spaces (Ministry of Space 2013).

All of these examples demonstrate how important are those civil society won spaces that have multiple functions both within artists circles and the wider community. They provoke, raise awareness, and fight against manipulation and populist policies that use culture as a space of entertainment and romance. Aiming at inclusivity – they develop different forms of participatory practices based on social values such as transitional justice, solidarity, gender equity, or involvement of marginal groups that are given spaces for their own expression.

Shared Policies as an Instrument of Democratic Dialogue

Although the idea of shared policies might be accepted by authorities in the public realm and sometimes even considered as panacea for all problems in a country, policy transfers between different domains are still rare in new democracies – moreover, they are actually impossible in practice. Public cultural policy should be created through a dialogue with all cultural sectors and across policy domains. It should not be imposed from above, or from outside, because policies need active 'users' – implementers. Thus, the Strategy for Cultural Development should be formulated through a dialogue on the backdrop of already agreed values. Unfortunately, this is not the case in Serbia or any other Balkan country. In developed democracies, on the other hand, a Cultural Charter which contains values, mission and major postulates of cultural policy is agreed upon by all cultural agents even before the dialogue on cultural strategy is open.

Cultural policy and cultural strategy today have to be 'agreed' upon, shared. It does not mean consensus – it is rather related to the participative process of policy making.

Thus, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, and many other international organizations introduced participative policy making in their recent policy 'solutions':

1 — The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2015) is often considered a panacea for all the shortages of public cultural policies because it promotes entrepreneurism, sustainability of creative sector with the focus on creative industries;

2 — Culture as the 4th pillar of sustainable development stresses the role of culture in general economic and social development, transferring responsibilities of integrating arts and culture to other public policies;

3 — Cultural spillovers (Fleming 2015:9) theory focuses on the effects that arts, culture and the creative industries have in other domains classifying them in three categories: knowledge spillovers, industry spillovers and network spillovers.[7]

Shared policy is:

- Transparent, (naturally as publicly debated and agreed upon);
- Pro-active, fostering innovation, stimulating underdeveloped areas;
- Catalytic, initiating new programs, projects and ideas;
- Cross-fertilizing, involving different sectors, and ideas from artistic, scientific and other fields;
- Coordinated within government and within different levels of public policies;
- Inclusive, for all marginal and minority groups.

Shared policy should help in achieving the highest democratic standards. It demands:

- A model of cultural policy which implies systemic measures and existence of long term planning;
- A mechanism of decision making, detached from political bodies;
- A public dialogue (consensus around major policy issues);
- All actors included (government, parliament, professional organizations, creative industries, the media and citizen participation in the widest sense);
- Publicly known priorities and criteria of evaluation;
- Transparency of the whole model (from declared priorities to budget distribution);
- Evaluation as a starting and final point of operation.

7 — Knowledge spillovers relate to: stimulating creativity, increasing tolerance between communities, an increase in employability and skills, strengthening cross-border and cross-sector collaborations, etc.

Industry spillovers relate to improved business culture, boosting entrepreneurship, impacts on property markets, stimulating private and foreign investment, improving productivity and competitiveness, boosting innovation and digital technology.

Network spillovers relate to: building social cohesion and integration, improving health and wellbeing, creating attractive eco system (city branding), stimulating urban development and boosting economic impact of clusters.

So is shared policy a necessity (or a trendy tool)? This is not just a rhetorical question, but a real one if the initiative is coming from above where motivation might be only a formal response to current standards proposed by the EU. If it is a grass-root initiative, on the other hand, it would more often than not fall on the deaf ears of public bodies. This reveals the real limits of a public-private-civil partnership – whose success will always depend on the willpower of public sector.[8]

In spite of that, shared policy is the future of democratic transformation. Developed with the strong commitment of the civil and private sector, it demands the professional and highly responsible public sector, accountable for its accomplishments.

Conclusions

Culture in the public realm has to fulfil numerous tasks related to construction and representation of identities, preserving heritage, stimulating contemporary creativity, mediating values to wide, diversified audiences. Often, art and culture are the only public space for debate or critical thinking (as direct political debate became superficial to suite tabloidizied media). At the time of political populism, contemporary art, especially on the independent scene, is opening up sensitive issues that politicians tend to avoid – culture has become a safe haven for such debates: negative past, immigrants and possibilities of inclusion, etc. Freedom of artistic expression is enabling and protecting artists for openly expressing their opinion, unlike politicians who might be 'punished' for 'prematurely' introducing politically controversial subjects. Facing 'pathologies of trauma' that broader society evades, artists create films, visual art projects and theatre performances that boldly present their critical views and statements. What better example of a critique of the lack of intercultural dialogue than the film *Zvizdan* (dir. Dalibor Matanić, 2015) or many other theatre projects developed in the region such as *PassPort Trilogy* (dir. Andras Urban, 2013).

At the same time, art contributes to the re-modelling of public spaces, creating

8 — Since 1997 many (un)successful attempts in Serbia were made in this direction– all initiated by the civil sector such as *Education for Cultural Policy* (Magna Agenda, PALGO Centre, YUSTAT) and finally the big conference *Cultural Policy and Cultural Production*, organized by the Centre for Contemporary Arts in the autumn of 2000. No matter how successfully organized, their impact has been limited with almost no effect. One 'small' project *Open road E – 761* tried to show the path toward new public policies of decentralization and intersectorial approach through partnership of four towns (Kraljevo, Čačak, Užice and Požega), uniting the NGO sector in those cities and trying to raise the awareness and sensitivity of politicians and the public sector. (Once again, funding was provided by foreign donors solely - local economy, local politics and the Ministry of culture did not recognize the importance of the project).

more room for culture, using either public cultural institutions or creating platforms organized by civil society and artist collectives which are used in an open manner in the framework of solidarity and common good (as examples of Magacin, CZKD and others have shown). These bottom/up cultural actions invite public authorities to a dialogue.

On the pages above, we presented arguments for the development of a new ethos in a cultural public sphere. Policy-makers, artists and operators as reflective practitioners should be innovative, and they should try to achieve synergy of administrative, managerial and creative practice that would expand the social role of culture and recognition of its public interest, acknowledging its importance for human rights, freedom and peace, and its importance in advocating values that are officially part of European public policies.

There are numerous practical solutions that can enable public-civil dialogue in the cultural sphere – sharing public resources is one of them. Every public cultural institution (based on its own strategic plan) should be working in numerous partnerships with civil society organisations, both from artistic and social realm. Public money should be allocated to public institutions only if such 'contracts' are implemented.

At the same time, those four-year partnership plans will offer more stability to independent cultural organisations and more time for research and realization of project ideas. It would contribute to raising the quality and diversity of programs in the public sector (for example, artists and cultural operators permanently employed can easily end up designing routine programs and activities). That is how more 'risky' ideas are introduced– like art projects on 'negative pasts, dissonant heritage, etc.

An excellent example represents the cooperation between BITEF (a public institution) and BITEF Polyphony (programme developed by the NGO, CEDEUM).

> *BITEF Polyphony explores and promotes the innovative, participatory and engaged theatre productions and projects and discovers those spaces of new theatre tendencies that emerge and develop through the engagement of theatre artists and other experts in collaborative work with young people within different fields, especially culture, education and social work — (ASSITEJ n.d.).*

BITEF Polyphony programs usually present regional projects of participatory theatre performances, also offering different formats to discuss and exchange experiences: workshops, work presentations, round tables after performance talks (dialogues). As a platform for encounters, the BITEF Polyphony has initiated new

actions and projects that are implemented in both public and civil society spheres. To conclude, it is through real partnerships, engaging all social and cultural actors that society can go further and develop conditions for cultural participation and dissemination. Cultural policies should be there to support, stimulate, catalyse and enhance emerging artistic practices, socio-cultural initiatives and discussions that cannot easily gain popularity and market confirmation. Thus, the words of Joost Smiers are still valid and can guide us in advocating more policies and at the same time more autonomy of the cultural sector.

> *Public authorities should protect what comes into being and what cannot count immediately on the approval of huge crowds. The protection of what only some people want to see, hear, read or experience, belongs to the process of guaranteeing the continuity of cultures. Communication freedom is an essential value for society, so governments should not only refrain from interventions in cultural and artistic processes, they also have the duty to create the conditions in which citizens can communicate with each other freely, including through the arts — (Smiers 2003:199).*

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: Exploring Practices of Participatory Cultural Governance as **Tendencies in Local Cultural Development**

—*Ana Žuvela*

Introduction — **Contribution to the Contextual Clarification**

The main challenge and principal task in contemporary modes of cultural policy development is providing access and possibilities for citizens' engagement and participation in the creation of culture, as well as in maintaining and governing cultural resources. The democratic aspect of the cultural field (activities, services, goods and resources) is amplified through the public power of cultural democratisation that contributes, in the long-term, to the construction

of more equal and sustainable society. With the gradual decline of the welfare state, which sustained the cultural policy and cultural system as we know it, the demands on renewing the concepts of cultural democracy are placing pressure on cultural policy's adaptability and ability to address the social and cultural needs of people, ensuring equal access to culture. This pushes cultural policy towards strategic repositioning and finding new measurements of functionality, given that self-evident *raison d'être* of representation and reproduction of the state's interests in traditional institutional and organisational formats no longer appears to be so indisputably or undeniably understood and legitimate. These deep structural changes in the cultural field are happening at a higher speed than ever before and are becoming more complex in the context of the post-socialist society that is sustaining conflicting legacies of high regards for ideals of public value, public goods, public services on one side, and rigid hierarchical political control over all aspects of political, social, economic, cultural (etc.) systems on the other. Though it could be asserted that the fairly rapid transition from state control to market economy has caused defragmentation of the monolithic dominion of the political apparatus over the public sector, the central role of the government remains powerful in the domain of governing the cultural sector in most East European countries, including Croatia. In the Croatian context, the focus of the research project presented in this paper, some authority is devolved to lower levels of government (regional and local administrations). However, the prevalence of cultural policy centralism, with limited involvement of the civil society and private organisations, still affirms the meanings and functions of culture that reflect power and prestige, hindering substantial decentralisation and endorsement of 'bottom-up' initiatives in necessary policy changes. Simultaneously, the developments in the register of financing and governing the arts and culture in the European Union indicate that the process of deétatisation and decentralisation of responsibilities has become a priority of cultural policies. The State is encouraged to hand over much of its responsibility to regional and local levels, as well as to the second and third sectors, which is causing critical changes in the cultural field. Devolution of authority through decentralisation processes is considered as a favourable practice from the perspective of affirming and amplifying the democratic traits of cultural policy, but diminishment of the authority of the State should not be mistaken for dissolvement of the public responsibility in the cultural field and encouragement of the privatization of cultural resources. Quite the opposite. Taking an active part in cultural policy and increasing opportunities to operate within the cultural sector inevitably involves the introduction of principles of participation in all aspects of cultural governance, corresponding to the ideals of society based on cultural pluralism and inclusiveness.

This paper presents the research titled "Approaches to Participatory Governance of Cultural Institutions" that explores new and emerging models of cultural

governance through a mosaic of interweaving and interrelated processes, practices and theoretical views including decentralisation, local cultural planning and development, participatory cultural governance and cultural policy change in Croatia. The emergence of new models of cultural institutions that directly tackle the challenges and failures of democratic traits in the contemporary cultural system entails the creation of new relations and networks based on open, participatory, effective and coherent processes and brings to the fore the issue of cultural resources, most specifically that of spatial infrastructure. This type of development highlights the role of localities, or the local spaces and levels as the nucleuses of an array of innovative, experimental as well as the leading concepts of cultural development.

In Croatia, there are examples of creative public spaces initiated by platforms of civil society organisations that function as cultural resources shared by a number of stakeholders and are open to the public as an accessible space of cultural and social activity. These examples address the importance of participatory governance of shared creative spaces as well as their relevance in increasing social inclusion, cultural democracy and sustainability on local levels. Though inventive in the Croatian context, these examples have not been fully affirmed, developed and promoted by the policy and decision makers, especially on municipal and city level. Moreover, creative industries and traditional public cultural institutions are yet to engage as equal stakeholders in the process that can significantly strengthen the overall cultural and creative sector locally, regionally and nationally through increased public engagement. This indicated an urgent need for applied research and intensive collaborative work with both international and national partners in exploring good participatory governance practices that can be used as an inspiration and foundation to the future sustainable development and co-creation of new institutional models in culture. Furthermore, in order to encourage and promote collaboration among creative industries, civil society, public sector and local communities in participatory governing of innovative models of cultural institutions, it seemed necessary to develop cultural policy guidelines that will stipulate adaptive governance approaches.

The research is conducted by the Foundation Kultura nova, with the support of the UNESCO International Fund for Cultural Diversity. This public foundation was founded in 2011, with the specific mission of supporting civil society organisations in contemporary arts and culture. The founding of Kultura Nova in itself is a result of a cultural policy change and institutional innovations after six years of a long advocacy process initiated by the independent cultural scene and actors in Croatia. This foundation remains the only of its kind in the region of South East Europe, while similar examples are scarce in the European and broader international area. The work of Kultura nova has become notable in the position of pro-active policy makers that affectively invest their resources (and themselves) in probing, anticipat-

ing, investigating, listening to, imagining and endorsing forms of power just "coming into vision" (Rogoff and Schneider 2008) indicating directions of a better future as a potentiality and possibility for the cultural sector in Croatia. Accordingly, one of the key rationales behind the project concerns the recent and current condition of the systemic space for development and growth of the predominantly non-institutional artistic and cultural work in Croatia, or lack thereof. Numerous analysis, research, writings, reports (Švob-Đokić 2004a; 2004b; 2010; Katunarić 2003; 2004; 2007; Mišković, Vidović and Žuvela 2015; Žuvela 2016; Barada, Primorac and Buršić 2016) and policy documents (encompassing national and local annual budgets), as well as formal and informal discussions with the artists and cultural workers, blatantly (and repeatedly) indicate that the cultural system in Croatia has not managed to overcome the obstacle of the 'glass ceiling' in the cultural development, signifying the limited space for growth and balanced perspectives of development for an institutional versus non-institutional cultural sector. This issue of an unbalanced space of development encompasses actual physical space (i.e. inaccessible and insufficient spatial infrastructure for cultural and artistic activity), as well as financial space (i.e. sustaining or declining levels of public funding granted to cultural and artistic activity), but more importantly, space of action, space of dialogue, influence, participation and inspiration. These issues are well acknowledged and deliberated on the smaller and more secluded scale of the public discourse on culture in Croatia. Hence, it is an intention of the research project "Approaches to Participatory Governance of Cultural Institutions" to make these issues all the more visible and part of the 'mainstream' discussions on directions and urgent actions of cultural development, both on local, regional and national levels.

Finally, it should be noted that this paper presents the rationale, selected theoretical framework, methodological approach and research tool used in the research. What this paper will not present are the research results, as the research is still on-going and any presentation of the preliminary results would amount to mere speculation. Rather, some of the methodological tasks will be suggested as interim results.

Selected Theoretical Framework

The following subchapters are an overview of some of the key theoretical concepts, readings and thoughts that informed the research project. As it will be more elaborated in the subsequent chapter on the methodology utilised in the research, the span of literature and theoretical sources cover a wide theoretical pa-

rameter, stepping into different academic fields and readings on shifting meanings, views and approaches to decentralisation, local cultural planning and development and participatory cultural governance.

Decentralisation and Local Cultural Development

Since its inception in the second half of the 20th century, cultural policy has been articulated within the framework of the nation-state, while the regional and local policy and activities were mainly seen as subordinate to the centralized national policy (Häyrynen 2005 in Pyykkönen, Simanainen and Sokka 2009). The state's intervention in the field of culture led to homogenization on an ideological level, in which the representation of national culture was concealed in symbols and disseminated to all stratums through the promotion of national heritage, the fine arts, etc. (Pyykkönen et al. 2009; Grodach and Silver 2013). A volume of literature on cultural policy deals with the problematic issue of state-centred cultural policy, investigating power relations and opening critical discourses on deconstructing representational culture, contesting cultural values, multiculturalism, cultural participation and cultural democratization, among other. These issues inevitably shifted the discussion from cultural policy to its formulation "in relation to the cultural needs of the population in their everyday lives (art according to the people's own conception) instead of formulating it in relation to extraneous aesthetic standards" (Kangas 2004:24). The focus on the sub-national (spatial) dimension of cultural policy was adapted through the lens of cultural democracy[1] and local struggles to maintain and develop cultural values of minorities and all sub-cultural groups ignored by institutional structures. Consequently, the process of de-fragmenting particular national culture narratives opened the prospects for more extensive and inclusive cultural differentiations and distinctions that both shape and are being shaped by institutionalized arrangements (Volkering 1996). The decentralization process can

1 — In the recent report titled "Towards Cultural Democracy, Promoting Cultural Capabilities for Everyone" (Wilson, Gross and Bull 2015), cultural democracy is presented as a romanticised ideal of each neighbourhood having the opportunities for (young) people to make their own culture – "to have access to materials, time, space and support (if they want it) to build things, draw things, write things, sing things, dance things and invent things. Imagine that this is actively enabled by a wide range of organisations, groups and individuals who are familiar with each other's work and services – regularly sharing information, resources and expertise in support of young people as they try things and make things on their own and with (new) friends" (Wilson, Gross and Bull 2015:3). Having the cultural opportunities widely accessible, with the emphasis on a world of opportunities to create and having "the substantive social freedom to make versions of culture" is the cultural democracy definitional ideal presented in the said study.

enable the policy change from both the aspect of changes, "individual interests and preferences, in institutional rules, or changes in ideational frameworks and in institutional discursive practices" (Schmidt and Radaelli 2004 in Barbieri Muttis 2012:14). More precisely, decentralization can provoke effects that reach beyond initiating the change of the old cultural policy, system and functions that essentially remain the same, just dispersed outside the core centre, reproducing its old-self.

Though decentralization as a process implies territorial dispersion of cultural policy's competences and resources, it is also a method for devolution of authority, enabling amplification of cultural democracy and participative governance practices. As a means of decreasing political concentration in decision-making, decentralization is based on the principle of subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is a norm in cultural policy in many nations and can be recognized as the most applicable method for participatory policy-making and governance, referring to the relationship between the centre and the local, but also to the relationship between government and non-government (Kawashima 2004). Correspondingly, Katunarić (2003) poses cultural policy centralism as "intimately connected with building of nation states," securing permanent state protection of the institutional ideal of national culture as "no other arrangements, including liberal market and civil society organisations, are believed to take care of public culture" (Miller 1995 in Katunarić 2003:1).[2]

The structural and territorial aspects of decentralisation merge in the contemporary position of cities that have, as the globalisation processes accelerates, "emerged as the main command centres of the world; not only or just confined within national geographical borders, but also with an expanded and complex international role to play" (Sarikakis 2012:17). The massive urbanisation of the world has compressed the opportunities and influences, opportunities and perils of globalisation in cities, which are converging the top-down pressure of globalisation with the bottom-up responses and counter initiatives encouraging "holistic and integrative ways of thinking in community planning practice, emphasizing intercon-

2 — In his study on decentralization in South East Europe, Katunarić (2003) established a three-dimensional conceptual framework to identify the objectives of decentralization as a methodological structure for researching decentralization of cultural policies in SEE, but also for encouraging the formulation of such policies. The first objective called "Titanic" refers to the reduction of central competencies in cultural policy and foresees only an exclusive set of privileged national institutions maintaining the protection of the state, while the others are left on their own in unsecure fluctuations of local cultural policies and competitive markets. The second objective is called "balancing the burdens" of the old cultural functions that leads to establishment of a "fair-chair" arrangement between the state, local administrations and the private economy. This objective accepts different proportions of hybridization and levels of assimilation of the old public culture into the commercial environment. Lastly, the third objective the author posits is new emerging forms of culture which remain in the sphere of the public culture but develop in the direction of sustainable cultural development, interpenetrating with other systems like education, science, environmental protections, tourism, economy etc. in which culture can provide a significant added value. Following the three-conceptual framework, Katunarić proposes a simulation of methodology for research of policy interventions in decentralization in a scale of decentralisation scenarios compatible with the already presented decentralization objectives.

nectedness, cross-sectoral collaborations, and plural perspectives that encompass both the community's physical form and its people" (Duxbury and Jeanotte 2010:1). Accordingly, cities have been identified as "key sites of action in global policy initiatives to recognize the important role of culture in sustainable development and to integrate culture in policy contexts at all levels" (Duxbury 2015:69). This type of discourse on the role of culture in urban development still succeeds the pervasive frenzy of culture-led local development, speared with the notorious typologies of *creative cities*[3] paradigms that arose in parallel with the rise of the neoliberal globalisation (Matarasso 2015). As illustrated by Bianchini (1993:2): "in terms of strategic objectives of cultural policy, the most important historical trend is the shift from the social and political concerns during the 1970s to the economic development and urban regeneration priorities of the 1980s. During the last decade a shift to the right in the political climate in most West European countries and growing pressures on the financial resources of local government helped downgrade the earlier emphasis on the importance of access to culture, especially for disadvantaged groups. It also undermined the view of culture as a contested political issue and of cultural policy as an alternative to traditional strategies for political communication and mobilisation". Culture-led urban development, with its emphasis on constructing competitive and attractive urban images, developing tourism and luring investment packages, managed to erase the idea of cultural development being about arts and culture, i.e. an end in itself and affirmed the blurring of cultural policy into economic and/or social one as cultural policy has become the "object of really serious business and governmental politics" (McGuigan 2004:96). In this paper, I shall not extend into the explicit critique of the creative city or the commodified and instrumentalised approaches to local cultural development, but it has to be noted that this type of development has not been without damage, especially in regards to tourism industry and big business investment,[4] which becomes important for some of the case studies of the models of cultural governance in Croatia (e.g. Split, Dubrovnik and Pula) that are attempting to establish more genuine, community (both cultural and social) driven and participative modes of governance.

3 — The creative city discourse has been analysed thorough the increasing volume of literature stemming from diverse academic and practical approaches: from urban planning, architecture, design, urban studies, cultural studies, urban sociology to media studies and political science. The most prominent contributions to the creative city theory and practice has been given by the 'father' of the concept, American urbanist Richard Florida and the British consultant in cultural policy and development Charles Landry.

4 — As McGuigan quotes Nicholson-Lord (2002:24 in McGuigan 2004:108) who argues: „Perhaps most offensive for those on the receiving end, tourism is a powerful cultural solvent; it takes customs and beliefs that are locally rooted and distinctive, puts them into global blending machine and turns them into the liquefied gunk to which a mass market has been primed to respond. One consequence is the phenomenon known as „staged authenticity "[MacCannell's concept], in which a cultural tradition, once celebrated for its own sake and out of a belief in its intrinsic value, turns into a tourist spectacle and thus, insidiously, into a performance."

Exploring Participation in Culture From Different Theoretical Origins and Concepts

While literature sources on participation in the arts and culture activities, i.e. cultural participation,[5] are robust, as the strategies for increasing the participations in the arts have been documented and discussed internationally for almost two decades (McCarthy and Jinnett 2001; Bunting et al. 2008; Bollo et al. 2012), the theoretical framework on participatory governance in culture is generally deficient and reduced to random, yet a growing number of scholarly articles examine participatory governance in culture (Sørensen, Kortbek and Thobo-Carlsen 2016; Jancovich 2011; 2015; 2017). Hence, the theoretical framework on participation used in the research project presented in this paper predominantly rests on the work of Frank Fischer and Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, the authors that have coined some of the most influential concepts and theories regarding participatory governance. Additionally, the theoretical framework encompasses work from the domain of arts and humanities, which becomes indispensable in testing and revising new theories with the language and experience of practice.

Participation itself has had permeated governance in the past two decades, and in most part we can connect it to the inability of the traditional state and representative political apparatus to deal with a range of contemporary social problems. Participation is expected to overcome or assist in curing all democratic deficiencies our political, economic, social and ultimately cultural systems are experiencing. Political theorist Frank Fischer situates participatory governance in what Hajer (Hajer 2003 in Fischer 2006:20) calls “institutional void”, or institutional cracks of the traditional state where the practices of participatory governance are reflected in a “proliferation of new forms of social and political association” (Fischer 2006:20). Partici-

5 — This brings us to the important point that has to be made right at the outset of this paper – the distinction between cultural participation and participatory governance in culture. These two categories have obvious overlaps, but should not be conjoined in their meaning lightly. Both categories aim at ensuring equal opportunities of “enjoyment of culture through the identification of underrepresented groups, the design and implementation of initiatives or programmes aimed at increasing their participation and the removal of barriers” and imply access to culture (Bollo et al. 2012:7). Unlike cultural participation, participative designs and principles in cultural policies and in governance and management of the cultural sector rest on the idea of devolving and decentralisation of power structures that define existing decision making structures in cultural policy and cultural domain in favour of more democratised and empowered models, based on shared responsibility, accountability and greater legitimacy. Hence, participatory governance deals with expanding the parameters of what constitutes engagement with arts and culture and with the expanded meaning and practice of what constitutes taking part in and of itself (Rogoff 2005). It is not (only) about reconnecting cultural institutions and organisations with the public in order to demonstrate their value and relevance, but it is (also) about exploring the origins of the new shapes, meanings and relations of culture. These directly lead to the discussion on the topic of decentralization and the transference of cultural policy from national to (micro) local and regional levels.

patory governance, as a variant or subset of the governance theory, has contributed to creation of new spaces "constructed and shaped by a different brand of social actors" (Fischer 2006:20). This implies the rise of political and social relevance of the civil society and non-governmental actors that, by questioning the legitimacy and accountability of the state, open new organisational spaces taking over public activities to "such a degree that some see them as reconfiguring public sector" and affecting policies of the mainstream institutions (Fischer 2006:20).

Fundamental to participatory governance is the creation of alternative participatory institutions and alternative political cultures that can support them. Theoretically grounded in the theory of participatory democracy[6] on general level, participatory governance "offers a theory and practices of public engagement through deliberative processes that puts emphasis on democratic engagement, in particular through deliberative practices" (Fischer 2012). This is most elaborated by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (2003) through their concept of Empowered Participatory Governance. For Fung and Wright, empowered participatory governance is one of the solutions for the erosion of democratic vitality, political passivity and retreating to privatism of the society through strategies that can advance values like egalitarian social justice, community and solidarity, as well as individual liberty combined with popular control over collective decisions.

Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG) relies "upon the commitment and capacities of ordinary people to make sensible decisions through reasoned deliberation and are empowered because they attempt to tie action to discussion" (Fung and Wright 2003:5). This is part of the broader aim to discover and imagine democratic institutions that are at once more participatory and effective than the familiar formula of political representation and bureaucratic administration. As a practice, EPG is state-centred in the sense that it colonizes state power and transforms formal governance modes and institutions. Most of the activists' efforts in areas like environmental protection, or urban renewal and planning (which predominantly rest on the cultural sector and workers in Croatia) seek to influence the outcomes of the state and/or local and regional authorities' decision-making processes through outside pressure. In doing so, the most successful of those efforts manage to advance some of EPG's principles of practicality, participation and perhaps delibera-

6 — Participatory democracy originated in the United States, in the 1960s and 1970s, through the youth movements. Jane Mansbridge (1983:376) wrote that participatory democracy "came into widespread use after 1962, when SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] gave it a central place in its founding Port Huron Statement. What the term meant then was unclear, and it became less clear afterward, as it was applied to virtually every form of organization that brought more people into the decision-making process. In the actual organizations of the New Left, however, the term came to be associated quite quickly with the combination of equality, consensus and face-to-face assembly." One of the first works that introduced that participatory democracy from theoretical point of view was an article by Arnold S. Kaufman "Human Nature and Participatory Democracy," published in 1960 in one of the first volumes of the NOMOS series, edited by Carl J. Friedrich, on the topic of "responsibility" (Florida 2013).

tion in civil and political organizations or their mode of thinking. But they do not yield sufficient influence on rethinking the format of institutions that represent and carry public sectors. EPG approach targets just that - reforming official institutions along the mentioned principles of participation, practicality and deliberation. “This formal route potentially harnesses the power and resources of the state to deliberation and participation thus making these practices more durable and widely accessible” (Fung and Wright 2003:22).

Discussions on participatory governance in relation to democracy resonate with the contemporary philosophical thoughts of Jacques Rancière and Chantal Mouffe. Rancière sees democracy as a dynamic and “uncontrollable” process, never completely definitive, attainable or consensual (Rancière [2005]2014; [2010]2016). He argues that democracy constitutes a basic paradox which cannot be dissolved, but only pushed, eschewed and reinstituted through radical politics (Rancière [2005]2014; [2010]2016). Radical democracy, as Mouffe (2013) claims, must be understood as a shift away from the focus on citizens as members of a state, where attention is mainly on duties and rights and on political representation, towards a focus on active citizenship in communities based on practised participation. Mouffe sees cultural institutions as places where radical politics, or “agonistic” politics and conflictual pluralism can materialise as an alternative to the market and the market-oriented experience economy (Mouffe 2005; Mouffe 2013 in Sørensen et al. 2016:7). Gert Biesta, the Dutch educational researcher, provided his contribution to understanding radical democracy through the notion of Bildung, or a ‘subjectification’ and as a concept of the active citizen within the framework of the participating/practising community – rather than a concept of the citizen identified with and represented by a group. What is radical about this concept of subject and Bildung is that its objective is not equality (and the absence of difference), instead equality (in the different and the socially unequal/excluded) is its starting point, as formulated by Rancière in the paradigmatic essay on “The Emancipated Spectator” ([2009]2014) (Biesta 2014 in Sørensen et al. 2016:8).

Apart from the world of sociology, philosophy and participatory democratic theory, we find interesting points on participation in art world. Here, we can mention the work by Nina Simon (2010) on the participatory museum, works by Irit Rogoff, who wrote on participation in visual culture (2005) and Nora Sternfeld (2012), who defined participation as not being simply about joining in the game, but also about having the possibility to question the rules of the game: the conditions under which education, the public realm and representation within institutions happen. And, when understood in this way, participation can indeed make a difference.

Literature review on participation in culture strongly indicates the times of development of an experimental platform for the ‘post-representative’ cultural in-

stitution in the form of a 'productive anticipation', i.e. an actualisation of the (better) future as a potential and a possibility (Rogoff and Schneider 2008). What reads as a common ground in the work of all mentioned authors, despite their differences, is what Sørensen et al. (2016:9) articulate as the need and belief in "challenging the representative, identity-borne and consensus-typified democracy/community in favour of a lived, diverse and also paradoxical and agonistic or dis-sensual togetherness." Participation, in that case, "must acknowledge the fragile and unpredictable, yet intense, insistent and affectively invested as opposed to the conditioned, calculated and thereby ultimately indifferent" (Rogoff 2012 in Sørensen et al. 2016:10). Being able to imagine and anticipate is vital for the emergence of a new institutional culture potent to, instead of reflecting what already exists, open up new public spaces where activities can take place that have not yet been firmly defined and where the unavoidable paradoxes and the inherent uncertainty can become a dynamic driving force.

Methodological Approaches and the Process of the Research

The research project, as already stated, focuses on the existing and emerging models of innovative cultural institutions in forms of socio-cultural centres, which are arising from sharing creative spaces based on the principles of participatory governance. By looking into relevant stakeholders (public authorities and bodies, civil society organisations & NGOs, artists, cultural workers, creative industries and local community representatives), the project specifically focuses on investigating the level of their active involvement in planning, decision-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programming of innovative institutions. Research focus has been placed on the detection and understanding the actions and positions of the actors included in the cultural policy discourse, the level of their interaction, juxtapositioning, inclusivity and exclusion, levels of representation and access to the process of decision-making in cultural policy, as well as on the development of new forms of governance and institutions that are inductional and/or consequential to cultural policy change. Placing participation in the cultural policy-making re-opens the reformulation issue of the 'governor – governed' relationship, retracting all the categories that fall under the rubric of State (dependency on administrative apparatuses, institutional jurisdiction, etc.), placing centre-stage

the vital question of who decides.[7] In order to assess this, the socio-cultural centres are investigated from the inception through the negotiation to the 'legislation' of the initiatives and full establishment of civil-public partnership. To provide better insight into the domain of innovative institutional and organisational formats based on participatory governance, the research includes mapping of the corresponding examples and best practices of participatory governance of innovative cultural institutions in Croatia and across Europe.

The research has been conducted utilizing the research tactic of an interpretative case study with the aim to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of the emerging practices of participatory governance in culture. However, the research also combined an illustrative approach in investigating new attributes and meanings of decentralisation tendencies and participatory practices in the domain of cultural governance and cultural policy with special emphasis on sub-national levels, i.e. regions, cities and municipalities. The purpose of this case study research is exploratory and instrumental, implying that it is conducted with a specific intention. This intention is compliant with the argumentative orientation in public policy inquiry that shifts away from the dominant empirical, analytic approach to problem solving to one including the argumentation as essential dimension of analysis in policy making and planning (Fischer and Gottweis 2013).[8] In other words, it is planned for research findings to be used for arguing and advocating necessary policy changes and alterations, as well as for further research and on-going analysis of the topic.

The research has been conducted by a Research Team[9] conducted in several temporal stages and in seven different locations/cities in Croatia, including the

7 — The Croatian experience follows the line of *laissez-faire* approach where those with the most political power seize the opportunity of a short-term political mandate to affect the nature and quality of cultural sphere, leaving all political, ideological opponents disenfranchised out from decision-making. Consequently, consistent planning in cultural policy development towards decentralization and participatory governance is reduced to a stream of one-off, singled-out initiatives that emerge in spite of the politically implicated and centralized system of cultural policy-making and governance.

8 — The method of *argumentative turn* was originally introduced by Frank Fischer and John F. Forester in 1993. In the work from 2013, titled "The Argumentative Turn Revisited", Fischer and Gottweis explained the argumentative turn as drawing heavily on Habermas' critique of technocracy and scientism, emphasizing "practical argumentation, policy judgment, frame analysis, narrative storytelling, and rhetorical analysis, among others." Over the years, the argumentative turn "expanded to include work on discourse analysis, deliberation, deliberative democracy, citizen juries, governance, expertise, participatory inquiry, local and tacit knowledge, collaborative planning, the uses and role of media, and interpretive methods, among others" (Gottweis 2006 in Fischer and Gottweis 2013:1).

9 — The work of Research Team (Nancy Duxbury, Davor Mišković, Mirko Petrić, Leda Sutlović and Ana Žuvela as Head of Team of Researchers) was complemented and supported by the professional members of the Foundation Kultura Nova office team. Additionally, representatives of the emerging initiative for socio-cultural centres provided contribution to the research process with information and organisation of research visits to their particular location.

following cities: Čakovec, Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Pula, Rijeka, Split and Zagreb[10] and was led by a set of research questions, aims and objectives.

Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

The research was not guided by the established presumptions of hypotheses, but by a set of research questions:

— What are the tendencies of decentralized sharing of authority in the cultural policy decision-making in Croatia?
— Are there any initiatives for participative cultural policy making and governance and who is leading them? What are the main reasons behind these initiatives?
— What is the role of regional, local and municipal authorities and cultural actors (encompassing non-profit civil society organisations and cultural institutions) in enabling and/or constraining new models of cultural governance based on the principles of participation?
— What are the examples of participatory cultural governance in Croatia? Where are they situated? What do they represent? How do they function? What kind of organisational formats do they take and why? What kind of partnerships do they entail?
— How do the existing and emerging examples of participatory cultural governance influence changes in cultural policy on local and national levels? How are these changes enticed, created and implemented? Who makes the policy changes? Do changes in policy involve policy transfers? If yes, what kind of transfers and how are they implemented?
— How do the new and emerging examples of participatory governance contribute to the sustainability of cultural development on local and national levels?

10 — Positioning the case studies locally is a logical research approach not only because of the relational, regulatory and overall power shifts in cultural policy and development but for the fact that the cultural system in Croatia is decentralised insofar that the cities and municipalities are the key actors as they are the founders, owners and only legislative decision-making bodies when it comes to the local cultural infrastructure and the arts. However, the practice of decentralisation of the cultural system in Croatia is less reflecting of the actual meaning of decentralisation, and more affirming of the 'remote centralisation', or 'dispersed centralisation'. This means that sub-national level authorities are responsible for the local cultural sector regulated by the laws adopted by the national level of authority. Accordingly, cultural planning and sustainability in the development of the cultural sector is vulnerable to political changes brought on by elections. This creates a closed circuit between the sector and decision-makers, keeping the practices of participation and sustainable governance reserved to theoretical narration and/or political rhetoric.

The overall aim of the research is to assess the distinct elements and characteristics of new and emerging governance and institutional formats in culture based on a participatory governance design, and their interrelation to (cultural) policy changes on national and sub-national levels.

In line with the aim, the research objectives are the following:

- describe state-of-the-art in dominant practices of cultural policy making and cultural governance in Croatia;
- identify and gather evidence on the development of participatory practices and socio-cultural centres;
- detect examples of existing and emerging practices of participatory governance in socio-cultural centres in Croatia;
- identify the characteristics of the civil-public partnerships in practice or in progress;
- establish the kind of cultural, financial, organisational and spatial resources/venues used for the development of socio-cultural centres and how they are used;
- assess modes of shared maintenance/management of the spatial resources/venues;
- distinguish the differences in meanings and practices of participative governance and civil-public partnerships;
- recognize the values of new and emerging socio-cultural centres for sustainability of local cultural development;
- detect the main restrictions in the policy formation for the development of socio-cultural centres;
- identify the necessary steps for cultural policy change in order to enable the development of socio-cultural centres.

The Progress of the Research

In order to obtain answers to the set research questions and attain the proposed objectives, the research evolved through several stages involving diverse qualitative methods of inquiry. The first stage encompassed identification and analysis of the relevant policy documents and legislation; setting the case study examples; creating the rationale for the on-line mapping survey; creating questions

for the semi-structured interviews with the relevant actors in selected locations.[11] These research activities involving policy considerations, analysis and setting the methodological repository were accomplished during the working sessions of the Research Team. Also, the working sessions were used for determining the structure of the publications as part of the project results due in 2018.[12]

In the course of 2017, on all seven research locations, interviews were carried out with representatives of the socio-cultural centres; with representatives of the city and regional authorities; while the survey was carried out with members of the local community.[13] Members of the Research team produced analytical documents titled *City Profile* in which every location was examined following several categories in order to detect and obtain data on the specificities of the local social, economic, political and cultural context.

In conjunction with the research activities in seven cities, one of the research project segments involved capacity building - training, experience and knowledge sharing for all relevant stakeholders: local and national decisions and policy makers, representatives of the civil society organisations in the field of contemporary arts and culture, representatives of the creative industries and cultural entrepreneurs

11 — In order to restrict and focus the research in accordance with the project provisions concentrated on practices of participatory governance, the selection of socio-cultural centres was conducted under the following criteria:

- A ”bottom-up” initiative driven exclusively or in large part by the civil-society organisations in arts and culture;
- Direct involvement of the local authority in the negotiating process initiated with the ”bottom-up” initiative;
- The application of the principles of participation in the governance/management of the organisational framework;
- The advocacy process for founding cultural institutions based on shared co-ownership;
- The implementation of decentralized cultural policy in sense of devolution of authority in cultural governance;
- Existing or prospective enactment of civil-public partnership;
- Initiatives for changes in the cultural policy structures either on local or national level;
- Examples did not present initiatives that intently or exclusively contribute to culture-led urban regeneration and/or city competitiveness through culture-based branding;
- Examples did not present initiatives that intently or exclusively contribute to the development of the local creative sector in form of public-private partnerships.

12 — The first publication/Guidebook will be deducible from the results of the research conducted in Croatia and will be produced in the form of Policy Position Paper addressing the policy and decision makers in Croatia as well as the wider Croatian public. The second publication aims at the international public and will incorporate the conference findings and conclusions, grasping international practices as well as theory. The publication will contribute to the visibility of the topic of participatory governance and the importance of those practices for the sustainable development of the local communities, cultural democracy and development of the inclusive cities. This publication will, among other, comprise selected conference papers, and it will be co-edited by Nancy Duxbury and Dea Vidović. It will be published as a follow-up activity of this project.

13 — On all seven locations, 29 interviews were carried out with representatives of the civil and cultural sector/representatives of the socio-cultural centres; 17 interviews with policy and decision makers (representatives of the city and regional authorities); and 341 surveys were completed with members of the local community.

and local communities. Within their coaching sessions[14], international experts Piet Forger, Jaap Schoufour and Levente Polyak[15] introduced their work with an emphasis on the processes relevant for the development of participatory governance, civic-public partnerships and revitalisation of unused spaces for cultural purposes. They were also engaged in the discussion about the challenges each city faces, whereby they proposed recommendations for enhancing local opportunities for sustainable development of the culture and the city by enhancing the aforementioned processes.

Knowledge sharing for the civil and cultural sectors was organised through a series of workshops for the representatives of socio-cultural centres engaged in the project. Depending on the local context and particular needs of each centre, the topic for each workshop was set in arrangement with the users of each centre.[16]

Regarding the local community, the project provided capacity building workshops with the aim to introduce the topic of participatory governance to this community, inform community members of current initiatives, detect their needs and aspirations, investigate the possibilities for including them in the development of cultural resources on multiple levels and establish a dialogue among the local community, CSOs and local authorities. Workshop implementation was envisioned within the programmes and activities implemented by the centres.[17]

In order to explore the participatory governance models and practices around Europe and worldwide, the e-mapping was launched via the project's web site.[18] The mapping was aimed at cultural spaces/venues that involve the participation of diverse stakeholders (public authorities, non-profit and non-governmental organisations, private associations, artists, local community organisations, etc.) based on a variety of models of governance and management of cultural resources. Due to the rate of responses being less than expected, the initial deadlines were extended and mapping is still open, although Preliminary data analysis was conducted, which included responses received until July 2017.

An impending activity is the conference "Participatory Governance in Culture:

14 — Nine coaching sessions for policy and decision makers were completed from September 2016 to October 2017.

15 — Piet Foger is the Head of the Department of Culture in the Belgian city of Leuven and an expert in the field of cultural policies with focus on socio-cultural centres and their role for the sustainable local community development; Jaap Schoufour is the Director of the City of Amsterdam's programme Bureau Broedplaatsen (Art Factories) that encompasses real estate market, culture, creative economy, social cohesion and urban regeneration; Levente Polyák is the founder of the international organization Eutropian engaged in urban planning, urban policies and researches aiming to enhance the processes of urban regeneration of European cities.

16 — Five workshops were organized, along with five meetings with the mentioned international experts and three meetings with the Kultura Nova Foundation's Working group for new models of cultural institutions.

17 — Four capacity building workshops for the local community have been held to date.

18 — *http://participatory-governance-in-culture.net/* (Retrieved November 10, 2017).

Exploring Practices, Theories and Policies. DO IT TOGETHER.", with the concept and programme scheme proposed by the Research Team. The conference intends to cover a number of issues and concerns about the challenges, limitations, paradoxes and perspectives that cultural research, practices and policies are increasingly facing in regards to the concept of participatory governance in culture.

Research Progress Overview

So far in the research process, both in theory and practice, it was concluded that participation is often undertaken by public authorities ritualistically, who can be more manipulative than genuinely concerned with the empowering of those that need to participate. The emerging models of new cultural institutions based on the participative design of governance are faced with power struggles (Katunarić 2004), involve contestation around the basic meaning and understandings, to straight-off lack of trust and respect that hinder the attempts to establish new forms of partnerships and participative modes of governing. The lack of mutual trust is most evident in the relations between local public authorities and civil society actors, which comes as a serious obstacle in the attempts to share responsibility. Local administrations are generally not too inclined towards inclusiveness, and openness is politically imposed or prescribed by the legislation. Also, there is general confusion and disagreement, even lack of awareness, on what arts and culture are and/or can be in the context of local cultural development, especially in terms of sustainability. These issues have a higher level of urgency in several locations where cultural resources are over-exploited with the development of the tourism and real-estate industry. Here we encountered a similar situation to that of European cities in the 1980s and 1990s in the sense of a shift towards neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism and all the controversial implications resulting with the shift, such as economic inequalities, gentrification, urban degeneration and use of cultural resources as attractive ornaments and/or economic assets.

A lot of effort was invested in reaching the city authorities in all seven cities and acquiring their interest in the project. They are generally poorly informed about participatory governance, about the different models of public-civil partnership, the importance of sharing responsibility in usage as well as in governing spaces under their jurisdiction and the role active engagement of the local community in governing, programming and production of the cultural and artistic contents may have in cultural democracy, social inclusion and sustainable city development. City authorities almost synchronically perceive the problems around the processes of civil-public

partnership rather than the solutions, often implicating the strict legislative rules and describing their position as 'unable to act', unaware of their ability to initiate certain changes. Moreover, during the project implementation, the project team observed the lack of knowledge about civil-public partnership and participatory governance among the members of the organisations engaged in the governance of seven socio-cultural centres involved in the project. In that sense, the project implemented by Kultura Nova represents a very important action for all relevant stakeholders involved in Croatian participatory governance practices.

The project team also experienced problems in reaching the local community, which emphasised the need for finding new ways to raise the awareness and interest of the local community on these issues, and afterwards, on their inclusion in governance and programming processes of the socio-cultural centres.

These preliminary findings and observations indicate a great challenge not only for future cultural policy making and planning, but for the reflection on prospective directions in cultural policy research.

Concluding Reflections

The process of research presented in this paper has opened numerous questions and issues in the area of merging participative governance practices and the relevance local structures have in cultural policy formation, decision-making and implementation. Introducing the proper principles, rules and mechanisms of participation, representation and accountability, i.e. what David Held (2006:261) called "appeals of democracy," was confronted in the process of the research with an embedded conviction in the power of the political, hierarchical, hegemonic rules and qualification of diverse positions and roles, especially in decision and policy makers. Aside from the decision and policy makers being conditioned by political agenda, the self-awareness level for civil responsibilities and possibilities in the sense of public power can be assessed as defeating. This is not only implicated in the fiat of cultural policy's civilizing and democratizing mandate that produces perpetual tensions between hierarchical and horizontal approaches in its structuring, but in the deficiencies of civic power and civilizing aspects of cultural construction in the examined Croatian cities and local communities. Although the (unwritten) Croatian cultural policy is strategically explicitly oriented towards either social and/or economic instrumentalisation, along with the global trends in culture-led development that have been going amiss in Croatia (which can be regarded as a positive development), the profit-driven urban planning is transforming urban landscapes all over

Croatia with rising gentrification, commercialisation and commodification of local public resources, which is most palpable in the cities on the Adriatic coast that are rapidly savaged by the tourism industry. The concept of participation is closely interrelated to sustainable cities, culture-based sustainably developing places identified by Hristova, Dragičević Šešić and Duxbury (2015:3) as creatively inclusive neighbourhoods, which create their own developmental logic within the city itself "but often go beyond city 'walls' by expanding their regional, national and international networks, thus offering more opportunities and cultural services for both citizens and visitors." The starting point for this type of development is that of cultural democracy 'from below' and the cultural expression of the individual self. This brings into light new challenges for the research and work ahead with the unpacking of the 'singularities', or getting to know how singularities form contemporary communities that do not have a firm collective basis in the ideological principle of shared empathies, nor negative differentiation with the other, but come together on a completely different relationality. These emergent forms of governance that map alternative shapes of power "coming into vision" propose "productive anticipation" – a "state which is both reflective and participatory but not one of indications and navigations, not one that tries to didactically point to where one might look and what one might see" (Rogoff and Schneider 2008:347). In a system that is still democratically immature, the progression of the cultural field must involve imaginary transformations and considering things before they actually exist in time, as well as taking up developments that are not yet in place (Rogoff and Schneider 2008:347). Possibly the best argument in this line is that the Foundation Kultura nova that conducts the research presented in this paper, is itself materialised social fiction, a present fact that was part of the experimental narrative in the past. This by far cannot be the pivotal part of the future rationales for extending research in analysing the nexus between new models of participatory governance and institutions, decentralisation modes and local cultural development, but it is also the fact that cannot be ignored. Quite the contrary.

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Endurance, Soft Structures and the Glitter

On *Nomad Dance Academy* and Its Potentials as a Migrating Set of Institutional Practices

—*Dragana Alfirević*

The invitation to the conference "Modeling Public Space(s) in Culture" was an opportunity to reflect on our work from a different perspective. Unfortunately, the region cannot boast with an institution for contemporary dance in the classical sense. State structures and stable financial support are also lacking, in addition to the very limited and non-transparent policy making procedures in this field. Thus, civil and non-governmental initiatives and projects take place on what is supposed to be state structure by bridging the existing practices and opportunities and consequently creating new forms of institutions, instituting new practices in what is falsely called a non-institutional framework. This text will be a partial, fragmentary attempt to address several layers of NDA in relation to the topic of the institution.

I would like to invite you to close your eyes for a moment.

Imagine a contemporary dance institution somewhere in the Balkan region, with a three year experience (in times of complete lack of education in contemporary dance and choreography) in organizing educational programs for young authors, both dancers and choreographers from the region and elsewhere, for people coming from the world of dance but also for architects, business people etc. Participants had the opportunity to travel throughout the region and, apart from taking workshops and lectures, to get acquainted with the local context in the six regional countries, inherit partly the values and ideological premises of this dance institution but also stay in touch, question and reshape these values and premises.

This institution has published five books and over 150 articles in professional and media contexts, organized more than 70 international co-productions, around the same number of workshops, and has helped institute different working spaces with different purposes in the last 12 years.

It is an institution which has established and supported over fifty editions of six different contemporary dance festivals in the region, three advocacy platforms and numerous conferences, symposiums and meetings.

The institution you are picturing sees its activity and itself within its surrounding in a holistic way, working simultaneously in the fields of dance practice, art education, theory and research, publishing, festivals and presentation programs and also advocacy and policy work.

It attends to the history behind the field it represents with the greatest care and the ambition to affirm certain aspects of this history, specifically aspects mindful of virtually everyone, not of the few privileged ones; this institution attempts to unforget and bring forward new understanding of the public realm we once had (as opposed to simplifying it through 'audience development' and similar syntagms) and directs its work to also indirectly tackle the question of the overall privatization of the public.

Imagine an institution constantly devoted to the production and sharing of knowledge and making this knowledge accessible to virtually anyone.

An institution engaged in an open and transparent dialogue with decision makers in an attempt to influence the dominant politics in an inclusive and competent way. Bear in mind though, that such an institution operates in a region where this dialogue is done mainly in private *séparées* and behind closed doors.

This institution is constantly growing without striving to devour smaller initiatives, and yet, not conceding to bigger institutions but rather always ensuring discussion and negotiation on equal terms among all parties involved.

Imagine this institution, which could be here today presented by any of its

members in a slightly or completely different manner but all equally true.

You can open your eyes now.

The institution we attempted to portray for you is Nomad Dance Academy, present for almost 13 years now. NDA was founded in six Balkan countries: Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia, moving in concentric circles and involving individuals and organizations from other regions. It operates with no substantial or continuous support by the state, private funds or by the art market since what we do for the most part is not marketable in classical sense.

It is an institution without walls, centralized headquarters, a single registered address, email address or webpage, or for that matter a bank account and without one director or one person to represent it.

I would like to examine the topic of institution and our work from three different points of view: (1) the institutional frame in relation to our work, (2) our activities in relation to existing institutions and (3) the strategies and procedures of Nomad Dance Academy operating as a possible institution.

First Example: *CoFestival*

The collaboration of Nomad Dance Academy with the Centre for Urban Culture Kino Šiška in Ljubljana in co-curating and coproducing the common project, CoFestival, is one of the possible examples where the ideas and modus operandi of NDA migrate towards other institutions, in this case a public cultural institution founded by the City of Ljubljana.

The CoFestival was established in 2012, as the natural blending of Pleskavica, a festival initiated by the local team of NDA, Modul Dance Project and Ukrep, a Ljubljana-based festival of young perspectives. From the very beginning, CoFestival was realized through an open dialogue, collaboration, questioning and problematizing and rooted in the actual needs of its organizers. Since the very beginning we have been and remained a team of 6, all together in charge for both artistic and production layers of the work.

Curating a festival of this size normally means accepting the conditions and restrictions and integrating them instead of avoiding them, making a lot of compromises without rendering this process transparent and without integrating the questions crucial for the decision-making processes. We always try to work with these restrictions in a transparent way and never stray from our main goal: showing good

dance works in Ljubljana, pointing to the actual problems and widening the notion of 'dance work'. With time, we learned that we can and should work without compromises and respect the differences among us.

Often, our mode of operation, of not taking things for granted, taking a lot of time to decide, observing pragmatic but also ethical and philosophical grounds for any decision was seen as a waste of time by our colleagues and we had to work on establishing common ground. Everybody realized that in the long run, this kind of work is more fruitful since it integrates all aspects and does not cut anything out; in this way we paradoxically have more space for creative discussions. This approach resulted with the understanding that one never has to leave part of oneself outside of the working processes, but rather that our whole self is present and in motion.

We never enforce our aesthetic principles or rule the others out, but rather create a space where we listen to one another and do not prioritize quick decision making and mere pragmatism, which, of course, is never only about being pragmatic but holds big portion of unconscious ideology practice. In this regard we can say that the structures and strategies inevitably move out and migrate from what can be considered strictly the domain of NDA into other institutions and consequent fields.

One of the important decisions when we speak of CoFestival was to never completely separate segments of creative and curatorial work versus the production and administration section; but rather to keep them in a constant dialogue, help these two lead to good decisions and not create artificial tensions between the two. Such is NDA's legacy and mindset, and practice led to consistent application during the making of CoFestival as well.

Second Example: *Advocacy Platform*

The Advocacy platform was conceived by Nomad Dance Academy in 2010, with the intention to bring closer the practice of contemporary dance and the processes of decision and policy making in the region and wider.

We have so far organized three conferences on Advocacy: 2012 in Skopje, 2015 in Sofia and 2017 in Belgrade. All three events were rooted in the values of NDA, and organized with common powers and shared knowledge. A big body of knowledge was distilled from these processes, but I would focus mainly on the aspect of dialogues with politicians, with decision makers and where I think the shifts were made. Regularly, we witness constant not transparent lobbying processes and dialogues, where the field of culture and its development is disregarded, and policies fail to generate fruitful practices or vice versa. This, I believe, is due to the status

culture holds in this region, which is somewhere between business model/creative industries and localized phenomena; as well as due to the impact partocratic and daily politics have on political thinking behind any action.

We do invite politicians, policy makers, state and city representatives to organize a process of common learning and understanding the work of others: we want to learn how politics in culture are brought about, but we also want to present what we believe to be richness of contemporary dance and its potentialities. This of course is only one layer of the advocacy process, there are many more which are related to the self-empowering and advocating of dance on various levels.

We cannot say that we have been extremely successful in drastically changing the way politics are being created, as it is a slow and steep process, but it is clear that once we all sit at the same table, the problems we raise become common problems and we all engage in solving them. There has been a huge shift from us as practitioners in the field asking for help towards us opening questions of common interest where everyone addresses them from the point of their competence, and this is a significant capital for all involved.

In my opinion, the important results so far, next to the practical results brought about by these conferences, are: (1) participants at these events being empowered and educated to make these dialogues on different levels and (2) making allies and creating liaisons in important, sometimes least expected instances; again, not allies in the processes of lobbying only for our particular interest, but bringing clarity and curiosity towards the powers and potentials of contemporary dance as such and (3) creating future capital equipped to resist civil administration issues and create continuity.

The ways of producing knowledge and experience, rooted in contemporary body practices, are egalitarian, inclusive and empowering processes, the aesthetics being a mere result of these processes. This is the crucial difference found in relation to classical or modern dance, not only the principles of movement organization, and we try to bring it forward through our daily practice.

For us, no theories or philosophical or ideological thoughts and premises are more important than the realm of practice and the two have to work hand in hand. The realm of ideas does not have a hierarchical advantage over the realm of deeds; any activity, any organization and principles of action are rooted in theoretical and philosophical ideas. All ideas are filtered and tested through our daily activities. There is a constant dialogue between the two and the activities are born from this dialogue.

Third Example: *The Strategies of the NDA Migrating Inwards*

Endurance is probably the strongest feature of our engagement, along with the potential to grow and learn from past actions. NDA is an extended family, a platform and a network at the same time, a project and a sum of elements simultaneously challenging and supporting each other. It is quite unbelievable that a coordinated set of such different activities has been persisting for more than a decade without any serious support – we could have never imagined that bridging the financial and organizational gaps would have been so fruitful to make the continuity and growth so visible.

I will for a moment reflect on some of the principles of NDA and what they lead to, in order to examine the nomadic nature of our work.

(a) *The Principle of Invitation:* Each member of the Decision Making Body, one of the central organs in the eco system of NDA, has the right to invite a new member to join NDA and this right is renewed every three years. Others do not have the right to question this invitation, so the power is undivided. In this way, we self-regenerate and bring in new knowledge and power, question our positions and also spread the existing competences in an organic way. We have attempted to bring these principles into other areas of our work, artistic and other selection processes, collaboration with other groups/platforms, and we have learnt that there needs to be a suspension of comfort and taking things for granted in order for this principle to work for us. This can be seen as an inward migration, which always is about porous membranes, allowing change on both sides of them.

(b) *Shifting Centers/Decentralized Organization:* We have adopted the principle that the centre of power in administrative, financial and decision-making domains is constantly shifting. Sometimes this shift is a process, other times it is a more clear and swift action. This leads to a state of shared ownership and responsibilities, to a shift in attention. It is never an absolutely clear and straightforward process, but it provides plenty of space to autonomous decision-making, individual initiatives, questioning the existing order of things and most importantly: shifting the attention and being attentive, and working against any kind of solidifying of the power. In a certain sense, we are the public we want to work with, and we often have to ensure there are a sufficient number of people involved, so that our practice does not implode or become hermetic.

(c) *Ownership and Belonging:* We ourselves are the owners of the processes, products and the results of our work, and whoever comes in touch and works within

this frame is also the owner of their own processes and results, just as much as we are. In these terms we do inherit, question and actualize the idea of self-management. Even though we cannot be really owners of production means in the classical Marxist terms (for our production and products belong more to the domain of the immaterial), we can contribute to it by installing something called 'relation of production'. Our work is highly relational, we relate to one another, we observe and activate how parts of the working processes relate among themselves, we relate to the outside and take care that the local and regional also relate to each other, that the management/production and artistic side of our work relate etc.

By looking at the nomadic strategies of NDA, I can see that our greatest deficiency is probably at the same time our biggest advantage: it is the fact that we are working with soft tissues and solid strategies, our time is not dispersed to taking care of big and demanding physical infrastructures and we can invest energy into developing our own processes which are mobile, responsive and inevitably influence those that come in touch with our work. In this way, our institution offers itself as a migrating set of strategies and processes, always related towards inwards but also towards everything in the environment rather than a solid, fixed immobile entity turned exclusively towards itself and its needs, to which one has to adjust constantly.

Epilogue: *On Non-Existing State Dance Institutions*

Together with Selma Banich, our colleague from the Zagreb initiative "Autonomy to Dance" we contemplated why we insist that states establish public-state institutions for contemporary dance. Why is it that we strive to attach our work to the state apparatus despite the fact that states are immersed in the ongoing process of privatization of its own resources? We failed to reach a conclusion, but there was a strong sensation that we have to insist that the state becomes our partner from various reasons: we all share the socialist experience that the state and the social are the same, we want to be engaged in the making of the public space and the public space can be secured by the state, but mostly because it is the duty of the state to secure equal rights to everyone, as well as to take care of the preservation and fostering of the public space.

More Than a Model:
The Story (so far) of the *Socio-Cultural Space Centar - **Jadro*** in Skopje

—Iskra Geshoska
—Yane Chalovski

With its formal establishment on the 27th of April 2012, JADRO - Association of the independent cultural scene initiated as one of its primary goals to work towards establishing a hybrid, not-for-profit, cultural institution established on the basis of public–civil partnership. For such an ambitious goal JADRO found a viable partner in the Municipality Centar in Skopje and in March 2015 formally announced its joint cooperation towards reaching this goal with a public presentation and a debate over the concept of the future institution. This text will attempt to give a general overview of the idea behind the Socio-Cultural Space Centar-Jadro (SCS Centar-Jadro), the first of its kind in Macedonia, which after a lengthy administrative process of over three years, in September 2017 was registered in the Central Registry of the Republic of Macedonia as

a formal institutional entity. This text reads as a collection of some of the key ideas and an introduction to the concept.

1.

The word culture, etymologically, implies nourishment, and nurturing further implies carrying, but also developing, arduous ripening and upgrading from within. In the context of the civil-public partnership institution, this nourishment is applied to the way cultural, political and social-based content is used to form collaborations and actions as modes of cooperation - one of the key signs that culture is the decentralization of the power of decision-making. That is exactly the most important mission of the independent cultural sector - to demonopolize the distribution of power in the sphere of the socio-cultural context and create leverage for the collaborative and the collective notions of critically minded cultural production to flourish. This process can further help us experience culture as a form of nourishment, a complex social practice that deals with the growth and the becoming of the aesthetic, artistic and political articulations of everyday life and the political realities of our present times. With that, it comes as no surprise that sometimes the things we can achieve and envision collectively can surpass and exceed our individual efforts and expectations.

SCS Centar-Jadro is, first and foremost, a collaborative initiative and the first of its kind in Macedonia. As an institutional model it follows the example of Pogon in Zagreb, Croatia, and it similarly too started as a result of a need for the independent arts sector to have a space that will respond to the collective ideas without necessarily being particularly well suited to replace the ‘white-cube’ or the performance for all contemporary forms of creative production (visual art, performance, dance, theatre, to name a few). Ideologically, the institution was envisioned and ultimately constituted around the concepts of collective and communal cooperation and action, organically connecting the civil sector, the local government and the citizens. This kind of cooperation is not only possible but also very much the future of sustainable cultural, social and political inclusiveness and democracy.

2.

One of the key questions has always been what is it that we want to redefine with this model? As a society with an eminent democratic core we need to be able to see the importance of this model of institutions, thus verifying its value as critical propositions to an ever evolving democratic and pluralistic society. With this initiative we would like to redefine the economic, political, cultural and other needs of the independent arts sector, but also the functions and structures inherent in the political discourse, detecting and working on addressing the way their performance presupposes efficiency, mobility, autonomy, transparency, and decentralization, and in turn affects the greater democratic capital of society. Then as a possible answer to the question, we can say that we would also like to redefine the economic, political, cultural and other needs of the sector, but also the functions and structures inherent in the change of political discourse, which guarantees greater democratic capital. As a place, it needs to respond to our need to freely express contemporary socio-cultural practices and create autonomous, self-organized content that will articulate our social, intellectual, critical and creative capital.

Furthermore, SCS Centar-Jadro will show a stable and autonomous development and a physical space in the material structure of the city as an important new neuralgic point of the critical cultural production in the city and the wider national context. It also plays an extremely important role on symbolic level, that is, in the production and communication of meanings, a place circulating the dynamic change of social and political flows evident in the ideas it will welcome in its losely curated public programs. The new model of the institution we propose is important for cultural development, but also for education, the development of critical culture and the new forms of socio-cultural communities. This kind of an institution approaches physical space and the way of its advocasy from an aspect of diversity and inclusiveness and not uniqueness, uniformity and exclusivity. Above all, the institution will promote a new model of management, which involves cooperation, togetherness, public accountability.

As this model is based on a partnership between the local government and the civil society, made up of organizations, individuals and informal groups, the management will lead to the preamble of a democratic governance model. With this model, there is a substantial decentralization of power and the limited capacity for the practices of political party influence. It is the only way to create organizational and program autonomy in the activities in the sphere of culture within the civil sector but also wider. Through this format, basic resource and institutional stability is

ensured, as well as participation in management. This model ensures long-term sustainability, resulting from public infrastructure support on the one hand, and independent programming and participatory decision making on the other.

3.

Discussions about the state of culture and the reasons and arguments of societies and the community to invest in cultural development are continuously taking place throughout Europe. In recent years, the dominant ideological position has been imposed by the one that culture perceives in a simplified, reduced economic vision. This, in an economic sense, an instrumentalized perception of culture, arises from the fact that public policies, to be considered rational, must be created according to objective and rational criteria. But one thing is certain - although rationality in policy making and political decisions should not be questioned, experience shows that public policies based on the so-called pure evidence are not always rational. First, it is assumed that the idea of what society we want is predetermined, that is, that the neo-liberal idea of society is something that is understood - which is common sense and there is no room for questioning. Secondly, because the 'evidence' of such universal rationality cannot be found in the sphere of the affective and aesthetic, which are not only important for culture but also for the social development in the wider sense, they are sought in the economic sphere. Thus, quite uncritically, a set of criteria that may be relevant to a particular type of work and production are transmitted in other fields, such as culture, education, knowledge production and the like.

Policies are mainly created on the basis of, most often, quantitative indicators that appear objective and rational, but which do not speak much about the fundamental issues pertaining to the field of culture. Such figures and data may be saying something, but this is very little in relation to what art and wider cultural and social issues bring with them. When we talk about the sustainability of organizations that work in the sphere of art and culture, we can conclude that it can be built in three ways: with market sustainability, by reliance on private donations or with the support of public funds. In our society, where there is virtually no individual or corporate philanthropy, if we want to talk about culture and art as public goods, and if we want to encourage critical culture and new art practices (and not let them succumb to commodification almost always possible as a consequence of market principles), we have to realize the potentially dominant role played by the public authorities distributing public funds.

The logic is simple - if a program or an organization responds to what is called a 'public need in culture' by its action, then such an action must be adequately supported, regardless of whether it is about institutions founded by authorities at local or central level, or if they are independent-civic organizations and initiatives.

4.

If we see the wider social context in almost all transition countries, in which the retro-nationalist concept is dominant and in which the field of culture is marked, mainly with political-patriotic discourse, we will see that in the cultural field dominated by public institutions in culture (theatres, art museums, concert halls, etc.), in which almost all public financial investments are directed. The justification of such investments in public institutions is not only reassessed but also implicit. At the same time, these institutions, according to their formal and legal structure, are controlled by the authorities - they are not only financially dependent, which in itself is not so problematic, but their governing bodies are directly appointed by the government, thus establishing control over the organizational, the management, and, consequently, the program structure.

Such a system and such practises result in uncritical acting and clienteles relationships, making culture closing in on itself so to speak, denying itself the social responsibility, and therefore, the social influence it should/must have. For this reason, systemic issues of managing public institutions in culture, new models and management modes (hybrid models of civil-public partnership) must be placed as a thorough issue of cultural policies. Thus, it is equally important to ask questions of cooperation at all levels (locally, nationally, regionally, internationally) between cultural and social activities, as well as with the issue of inter-sectoral cooperation, especially within the public and non-profit, that is, the civil sector. With this position, we insist that culture should not be treated in isolation from other social strata, but rather, completely immersed and even on the forefront of social change.

We fought against the status quo. It is now very important not to repeat the mistakes of the way culture was governed in the last 10 years and forge a new path of greater accountability and transparency. As this conference also indicates in its concept, "Without proper protective and support mechanisms, which should be established by progressive cultural policies on a state level, their cultural content and work are highly jeopardized (and) under a constant threat of their dissipation or disappearance."

So we can come to the conclusion that finding a legal way to secure a pos-

sibility of merging public sector interest and to insist on a legal frame that protects the initiative, its independence in ways it programs and distributes content, may be a good way forward and onward. Therefore, addressing the systemic issues of managing public institutions in culture will lead to finding the path for the new models and ways of governance that can be deployed instead. It is important to ask questions of how cooperation at all levels (local, national, regional, international), as well as the issue of intersectoral cooperation, especially within the public and non-profit, that is, the civil sector, will help in this process and if we are ultimately, all of us, united in the effort to critically discuss and make a change.

5.

The ultimate goal of JADRO in this cooperation with the municipality is strengthening the independent cultural sector as a social sediment that exists as a network, a web that rhizomatically spreads through various relations in society in a friendly manner, entering into solidarity with other guilds and associations in the region. The independent cultural sector points to the necessity of epistemological anarchism, of openness, which means deleting the borders between each binary opposition, and drawing the margins of some different models of action, which imply a great deal of courage, courage and alertness. One of the most important traces of the independent cultural sector is the opening of tighter horizons in terms of reading culture.

The difference in the part of the civic sector that operates in culture, called an independent cultural sector, is in a specific field of political, theoretical, artistic and activist action, which encompasses the wider socio-cultural context, striving for its de-monopolization and de-politicization. It can be distinguished by clearly defined criteria subdivided into two segments: at the organizational level and at the content level. It is an interdisciplinary way of acting and organizing its activities and contents, which are mainly hybrid and articulated in the public space by building new roads in cultural practices.

In the sphere of the independent cultural sector, those non-profit organizations from the civil sector, which recognize new critical, development and dynamic actions, are the driving forces in the dynamization of the whole cultural production, with great emphasis on the development processes of cultural policies. The independent cultural sector is recognized as a space for new models of cultural production and intersectoral cooperation. It features organizational dynamism and flexibility, and above all, direct engagement and action in the community as well as a

wider understanding of the space and the notion of culture. The simultaneous action is typical in all segments of the socio-cultural context, in different spheres of culture and cultural policies and mutual creative connection, whereby the characteristic of wider social awareness and orientation towards building new, modern policies in different segments of culture is exceptionally present and dominant, in art and society, both on a theoretical and activist level.

Thus, the independent cultural sector is recognized as a mobilizing social and political nucleus, which differs from specialist-oriented civic associations. Typical for the independent cultural at the content level is the integration of contemporary art in all activities, popular culture, contemporary theory, new media and technologies in terms of content and organization, specific forms of education for acting in the socio-cultural context, promotion of ideological models, critical and developmental contemporary cultural policies, and continuous monitoring and implementation of contemporary trends and debates in culture and art related to new social theories as well as the theories and etymologically readings of the term culture.

6.

On the road to construction of a new model of installation, European and regional experiences show exceptional success in both the content and the management concept of this model of hybrid institutions. In short, here are the characteristics of such institutions:

- Decentralized model of management and decision-making;
- Involvement of the professional sector in building the policies of the institutions;
- Enabling community program participation;
- The program of such institutions is created on the basis of cooperation, expert consultation with a large number of individuals and organizations and is an outcome interaction between several stakeholders, perspectives and creative conflicts;
- They are managed in a manner that is adapted to the principles of cooperation;
- Their spaces are an infrastructure subject to change according to the purpose and needs of users;
- They are open to new interpretations and socio-cultural processes;,
- For intersectoral and interlocal interconnection.

In a word, it is about community spaces that produce social good through direct democracy. If we want to get out of the usual rhetoric, we will allow ourselves to say that such hybrid institutions of public-civil partnership are “houses of culture that have profound social and political influence in the democratic processes.” What is innovative in the organizational structure is a democratization of resource management in a culture that rests on the principles of co-management, sharing of responsibility and co-ownership. This involves reliance on resources from the public domain for the development of civil society, whereby resources remain in the public domain but are not controlled by the authorities.

Those who are producing participate in the management. Production and decision-making for programs are for those who produce them (organizations, artists, individuals, cultural workers), and the space and partly the funds (those relating to the basic governance structure) are those who manage public resources.

With this model of the institution we will make an essential step forward in the cultural and political system. We all know that the public sector falls into a watercourse of tremendous, immovable system with a closed perspective on monitoring new management and programming practices. This is because the public sector is under the control of a single founder, which in fact means that it is under the control of the government. Therefore, we insist on a partnership between the local self-government and JADRO, that is, the organizations and individuals of the civil sector.

7.

The independent cultural sector is the productive cultural power that maintains the interference, cooperation between the public sector and the civil sector equally. Another extremely important role of the independent cultural sector is the negotiation through various models and formats (production, theoretical, activist) with authorities related to cultural and artistic activities, but also with wider social action. That is why it is extremely important that the independent cultural sector be treated as a separate field in terms of contemporary cultural policies, a separate segment, and as such to enter negotiations with other governmental agencies into greater visibility and also institutional sustainability.

Last but not least, it is important to emphasize that civil society organizations carry with them such features as dynamics, ability to react quickly, program innovation, diversity of programs, involvement in international cultural and artistic trends, interdisciplinary and intersectoral cooperation. Being aware that every institution is as good as the program it offers, we will insist that SCS Centar-Jadro is not defined

exclusively according to aesthetic criteria but also according to socially relevant topics and is therefore not bridged with sound programming; that program boundaries are dedicated to the mission of the organization and remain inclusive and never exclusive; and lastly, that the content is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary where contemporary culture and art, socio-cultural activities, work with communities and by encouraging a critical culture it will be able to flourish and become core value of not only the space, but of our society as a whole.

Civil/Public Partnerships in the Balkan Ravines: *Macedonian Scenario*[1]

—*Danilo Prnjat*

The elapsed period in the Republic of Macedonia is marked by a significant political change. The power was assumed by the coalition of the left centre SDSM (Social Democratic Union of Macedonia), replacing the earlier right-wing coalition VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity). The new government is conceived to be 'more civil', so the change of the governing structure moved toward more drastic political and organizational

1 — The text was developed as the result of my ten-day artist-in-residence program in Skopje in October 2017. The residence was based on mapping and institutional research of the field of culture in the local context. The text is based on the information collected primarily in the form of interview with different protagonists on the scene, and is the result of several factors, some of which have limited its scope: the length of the residence, my own experience of the local (Serbian and regional) cultural context, personal affinities, impressions and reasons to select the problematics that I deem symptomatic for the current institutional transformations and the like. Due to all that is stated, the text represents a potential critical observation and figures like a blueprint for further potential problematizations.

sliding between the state and the civil initiatives than it was the case before.[2] As organizations of 'independent cultural workers' were largely involved in movements and protests against the earlier ruling coalition, a large number of activists from the so-called 'independent cultural scene' naturally started to move from their higher social (civil) position towards the economic and political territories of the state. In view of the neoliberal trend that the traditional boundaries between sectors regarding the governing of society are more and more disappearing, the jurisdictions, managements, more complex relationship between the state, business and NGOs made this system less accessible for understanding.

When we are discussing the Republic of Macedonia, the role of the civil sector from the breakup of SFRY onwards was related above all else to the reform of the institutions constructed during socialism: changing the existing and building new ones. Although today the question is pressing due to the reforms currently being conducted, and they are also being propelled by a large number of cultural organizations,[3] the history of these processes is much longer and more complex[4]. Some of the first organizations that appeared acting in this domain of transforming the state institutions and building a civil society in Macedonia are: *PAC Multimedia, Metamorfozis, CIRA – Centre for Institutional Development*,[5] out of which emerged later branches as *Biro za konsalting, Centar za medjunarodnu saradnju, Civica Mobilitas* et cetera.[6] It should be stated that during the activities of these organizations, the public institution (as, besides, the social state as well) is already largely dismantled by the parallel operation of the local clientelistic-nationalist and/or liberal ruling structures in partnership with the global market. The institutional transformations these organizations just supported were focused primarily on the mapping of the resources that the region has at its disposal and can be capitalized (sold), as well as on training the local population to recognize them – in the function of planning its own future 'development', 'self-sustainability' and the European way. The conducting of the decentralization process additionally changed the relationships between state, city and region, thus enabling a new set of changes in this key. For example, CIRA mainly did projects of the public sector reform (workshops with employees,

2 — The civic movement "Protestiram", that gathers 87 non-governmental organizations, some of which act in the domain of culture, is an organizer of a series of civic protests in the framework of the so-called "color revolution" in which the regime of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE coalition of Nikola Gruevski was overthrown. See: *http://www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/sarena-revolucija-hiljade-gradana-na-protestima-u-makedoniji/jwdl8r8.*

3 — See, for example: *http://fjs.org.rs/modelling-public-spaces-in-culture-conference-in-skopje/*

4 — The scope of this text precludes a detailed analysis of this field.

5 — See: *http://www.cira.org.mk/our-mission-and-vision/.*

6 — The following of the funding flows of these organizations (which cannot possibly all be shown here), leads to a conclusion that they are being sponsored by the funds owned by private persons (*Fond za otvoreno drustvo*) and governments of primarily Western countries (Switzerland, Germany, France, USA and others.).

projects of writing the EU projects etc.) with the goal of decentralization, but with an emphasis on tourism, philanthropy and donorship, and through establishing bilateral relations with other countries.[7] On the other hand, a whole megastructured organizational scheme was coming from the top of the EU and offering ready-made solutions for the transformation of the field of culture and the revision of the state's relationship towards culture and local environments. In this key the *Forum Skopje 2008*[8] was organized, as a branch of the mega European project the *Soul of Europe*, and under the patronage of the famous *Felix Meritis Foundation*[9] from the Netherlands. The event was also realized in the cooperation with local cultural-entrepreneurial initiatives (*Public Room – Centre for Design and Innovation*) in the Macedonian Parliament (!), and attending were Doris Pack, Jelko Kacin and other cultural-political elites from the very top of the EU. The *Soul of Europe* belongs to one of the biggest networks of cultural protagonists in Europe, and chooses for its partners only the members that are strong enough economically to provide support for the funding of such projects in the local environment.[10] From the example of *Forum Skopje*, it is possible to conclude that these cultural policies were not initiated only by 'independent' cultural protagonists in cooperation with non-national and supranational structures, but that we are dealing with a transformation that had large support from the Macedonian government itself *continuously*.[11] The state supported these transformations also by setting aside less and less resources for the on-going functioning of the institutions, redirecting funds to the non-governmental sector.[12] To compensate for the difference, the institutions were being forced to commercialize, rent their spaces, reduce the scope of project activities, apply at the market of program realization projects, while the non-governmental sector was becoming stronger and stronger.

The withdrawing of state financing had almost obscene effects on the work

7 — See: *http://www.alda-europe.eu/cooperation/news_dett.php?id=818*

8 — See: *http://asoulforeurope.eu/events/forum-skopje/.*

9 — This foundation owns several cultural institutions in Amsterdam itself and is owned by the *Amerburgh Corporation*. It is the organizer of one of the biggest EU cultural-political events, the *Soul of Europe*, which is being realized with the goal of building European cultural politics.

10 — The *Soul of Europe* organizes 5 travelling conferences a year throughout Europe. The *Forum Belgrade* was realized in 2007/8 in the organization of 'independent' cultural organization *Kultur front*, registered at the address of *KC Grad*, also being run by one of the leading Belgrade cultural entrepreneurs Dejan Ubovic and Ljudmila Stratimirovic. See: *http://asfe.newthinking.de/node/1249.html.*

11 — We are talking about a big event whose realization is extremely costly, and the resources for which are procured locally.

12 — For example, for the work of the MKC – Mladinski Kulturni Centar, the City of Skopje sets aside 5 mil. MKD a year, while only the bills for the electricity, water and heating mount up to about 7 mil. MKD. The rest of the resources necessary for work need to be secured by the center itself. See the representation of the operation for 2016 at the bottom of the page: *http://mkc.mk/mk/kontakt/.*

of certain institutions like the Museum of Contemporary Art (MSU) in Skopje or the Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra, institutions that in the previous period did not have to look for additional sources of funding for their functioning. For example, the World Bank is financing the MSU project *My 3D Museum*, which aims to increase the consummation of museum attractions by approaching the audience with interactive games and entertainment – the audience is enabled to enter into works of contemporary art with 3D glasses etc. The Museum also has a general sponsor, the insurance company *Eurolink* owned by Olga Kamceva, ex-wife of the oligarch Orce Kamcev, and this insurance company also engages in collecting art. In late November 2017, it entered the museum building programmatically as well, by organizing in it its first 'cultural' event.[13] The MSU is also a part of the *Erasmus+*, an EU program covering employee education for this institution, which supports its transformation from the inside. In short, the goal of the so-called new public management is to maximally transform the activities of public institutions into activities similar to the activities of private firms capable to secure market self-sufficiency, while 'creatively' transposing the acquired cultural capital into concrete revenue. Agile cultural managers capable to find a way for a cultural institution to exist in the market without or with reduced financial support of the state became the most wanted persons for the transformation of public institutions.[14] As the majority of 'independent' cultural workers has rich managerial experience acquired in the many years of work dependent on project financing and finding ways to acquire resources, the newly established system of managing public institutions naturally converged towards them.

On the other hand, weighed down by the rising deterioration of the quality of life of the middle class (namely the class that sees itself in this way), the 'independent' cultural protagonists directed themselves more towards the state as a field that would secure them a safe market for their 'independent' services. General precarization of work, post-Fordistic models of functioning, reduction of income, less and less certain sources of financing, increase of living expenses in the city, but also the principles of free-market competition and the imperatives of entrepreneurship within the once 'privileged' field of artistic and intellectual production, motivated the independent cultural organizations to close their ranks in a way and come together towards the available model. It could be said that the actions of 'independent' cul-

13 — For more about this partnership, see: *http://grid.mk/news/514544608/eurolink-donira-nad-1-400-000-denari-na-muzejot-na-sovremenata-umetnost-vo-skopje.*

14 — A fact stated in an interview with Aleksandar Velinovski, founder and general manager of the *Public Room – Center for Design and Innovation* in Skopje. According to his words, the "most successful" directors-managers of public cultural institutions in Skopje, which provide "positive" business for their institutions, include Zlatko Stevkovski, director of MKC and Maja Canacevic, ex director of the Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra. Likewise, according to his words, as someone who is successfully doing business in the domain of creative industries, he was unofficially offered directorial positions in some state institutions.

tural organizations towards fortifying their positions were a certain form of materialization of the acquired cultural capital.[15] The managerial class of cultural workers, involved in all these transformations of the political spectre in the previous decade, has amassed significant capital in this domain, which enabled it, in a certain moment and only to a certain degree, to realize a certain, and also, as it will be shown at the end of this text, an *illusional* 'political independence' from the above stated free-market principles. Conditionally speaking, the cultural workers were enabled to 'redeem' its autonomous rights. However, in the same way, due to general deterioration of the material conditions of life for the middle class, to which cultural workers traditionally belong, this group was gradually becoming 'proletarianized' and in time began to feel the difficulties that were before immanent only to the working class.[16] It should be said that this is a phenomenon of a recent date because at the beginning the class of cultural workers showed total lack of interest for the questions of the working class, which was first affected by class stratification caused by the first privatizations.[17] Because of all that was stated, the grouping of these organizations and the creation of a joint front of 'independent' cultural protagonists could be characterized as *consolidation of the middle class*.[18]

The *Association of Independent Cultural Organizations* was founded in Skopje in 2005. The goal of this association was primarily to achieve better material working conditions – getting space from the city/state, but also *advocating rights* (namely, lobbying for the interests of its own group).[19] Advocating special rights concerning the context of global feudalization of society strongly reminds of the medieval model of the guild. Although guilds emerged in the 19th century exactly through the consolidation of the central state directorship, as the last traces of feudalism, it could be said that today this process is reversed – with the withering away of the social state, once again emerge forms of advocating special rights. As the embodiment of this struggle, Associations of 'independents' found its expression in the foundation

15 — By symbolic capital I imply here a set of acquired managerial skills for managing resources in the domain of culture, entrepreneurial self-management and what the cultural workers traditionally have, a privileged access to the so-called 'cultural capital' – a set of special knowledges in the field of culture that have to be used profitably in this new relationship constellation. The 'independent' scene also has significant social capital, namely the merits acquired in the longtime and to a large measure successful dealing with public space (different organizations for the defense of the public, for stopping the monetarization/privatizations of public goods etc.).

16 — This is the general impression from the interviews with almost all protagonists in the field of culture, whether state employed or 'independent'.

17 — Compare, for example, the social-political context of the working class in Macedonia from the beginning of the 2000s with the work of the leading artists in the same period.

18 — The middle class is an ideology of the oppressed class that is in the process of occupying the position of the ruling class; in other words, it is a kind of an emerging ruling class.

19 — Information that I got through interviews with the members of this association that were involved in its foundation.

of civil-public partnership with the City of Skopje, and the first was founded in 2012 as a new city institution – *Jadro*.[20]

The model of civil-public partnership was extremely promoted during the last few years and it signifies different spatial management and another type of content from the one in the case of private initiative and public institution, and it should also show a shift compared to private-public partnership. The logic of this formation means a new system of redistribution according to which the space for cultural protagonists is procured by the 'municipality', which also pays the bills necessary for its support and sets aside resources for the salaries of the few full-time employees, while, on the other hand, 'independent' cultural institutions provide the content.[21]

The firstling of this hybrid concept that has today gradually expanded to the entire 'independent' field of culture of the post-Yugoslav region was *Pogon – Zagreb Center for Independent Culture and Youth*, founded in 2009. This non-profit cultural institution was jointly founded and is jointly managed by the *Savez udruga Operacija Grad*[22] and the City of Zagreb, and it's the first institution registered as a civil-public partnership formed between the City of Zagreb and an association of cultural organizations from the 'independent' and non-profit scene.[23] *Pogon* is a part of the earlier established network of program platform of 'independent' cultural organizations, initiatives and non-profit clubs – *Clubture* – that has been active since the early 2000s.[24]

It should be said that Croatia started these processes before all others, and has therefore also went farthest in them. In the meantime, it passed a series of laws and regulations that legally open the way for creation of new hybrid institutions.[25] In 2011, the Croatian Parliament even adopted the decision to found another institution – *Zaklada Kultura nova*, a cultural foundation that concentrates the majority of its activities to helping other cultural organizations transform according to the same principle. Thus, the portal of these organizations is full of tutorials for new institutional models: from advice on managing cultural resources, seminars for audience development (citizens, therefore, are not ones that build things 'from below', but ones

20 — See: *http://jadroasocijacija.org.mk/ and file:///D:/Downloads/Jadro_Javna%20rasprava_Formiranje%20institucija%20javno_civilno%20partnerstvo.pdf.*

21 — If culture is "for all citizens", participative and democratic, then why provide salaries only for the cultural workers employed in an institution resting on a civil-public partnership, and not fight for basic income for all the citizens etc?

22 — *https://operacijagrad.net/savez-udruga-operacija-grad/tko-smo/.*

23 — *https://operacijagrad.net/savez-udruga-operacija-grad/tko-smo/.*

24 — For the whole history, see: *http://www.clubture.org/info/povijest.*

25 — This field is mainly defined by the *Law on Associations from 2014 and the National Youth Program from 2009 to 2013.*

that need to be built – specifically as a consumer of cultural contents, which insures that the goods/services of cultural workers will find a safe market), free developmental support for organizations, published guides for founding a cultural institution etc.

Namely, if the terms 'civil-public' and 'non-profit' nominally refer to disinterested engaging in society, it is not entirely clear what these concepts really imply, especially because the concept of society itself has also stopped being easily understandable. That is, as I already wrote about this on the example of 'independent' culture in Serbia:

> *The 'social' (following the fate of social ownership) became a pretty shapeless term, erratic and difficult to catch. On the other hand, in contemporary capitalism, all that evades state regulation has been domesticated as social, which again is not true. The confusion between the state and the society arises from the dynamics of class disappearance in a sense that the class struggle holds these two at a distance. But, because the difference is knocked out today, the society shattered became absent in its postmodernist heterogeneity, the state stayed as the only guarantor of the social. Thus, what was offered as a way out of the 'crisis of society' was – again the state. This is the main paradox of the whole situation with an 'independent' cultural scene in Serbia. Not only did it reflect these 'social problems' all the time, but it resolved them at the end by leading itself under the state. To make things even more complicated, by becoming more and more the successors of the state during this process of transition, the 'independents' became increasingly identified with the state, and thus they began to feel all those difficulties due to the disappearance of the state and the weakening of state regulations. This has become a key place from which they drew criticism and produced the dissatisfaction with state administration, while they try to point out different motives all the time. This is even truer, because by all these actions of the 'independents', in fact, there have been no narrowing of the functions of the state in relation to the private sector, just the opposite – the state became reinforced with private. The private and the 'independents' have ceased to act in this domain of extra-culturization and pre-culturization – with the state, and it became definitely included in the jurisdictional space of the state. All this led to the paradoxical position in which the state-party dominates through its declaratory weakening. In fact, the state became only formally absent, but essentially present even more than before.*[26]

26 — See: *http://dematerijalizacijaumetnosti.com/povratak-nezavisnih/.*

In the context of civil-public partnerships, society is not an unclear category. It is mostly discussed through the categories of civil representativeness, horizontality, participation of all people through civil management etc. Namely, all these categories in the liberal societies need to be structured, and since the connection between the state apparatus and the private capital in democratic societies cannot be established directly, the inclusion of non-governmental non-profit cultural organizations in the distribution mechanisms of decreased prosperity state jurisdiction temporarily means introducing an ideal mediator between the state and the market. NGO mediators are at the same time a much 'easier' solution for the neoliberal state. Supporting a government institution of about fifty to one hundred employees is certainly more expensive than employing only three workers (total staff at *Jadro*), who also have to raise funds for the institution themselves etc. It could be said that the 'independent' cultural protagonists are in fact both victims and dismantlers of public institutions whose role they take upon themselves.

Likewise, formally and legally, the operation of a non-governmental institution or a citizens' association in practice is pretty much equivalent to the operation of private firms. Operations of these structures mean a huge amount of administrative work, highly bureaucratized relationships and a hierarchy prescribed by law. Also, sponsors mostly don't cover the organizational costs for the NGOs but more the costs related to materializations of certain projects. In order to achieve self-sufficiency, 'independent' cultural activists are being forced to hyper production of projects, which only additionally increases administration and decreases the range of something that is perhaps primarily even conceived as a critical project. However, what is important to note here is the fact that these ways of operating are far better than any kind of collective work and non-hierarchy, not being underpaid, self-organization and similar, that are nominally being invocated by advocating the idea of civil-public partnership and taking upon oneself the functions of a state institution.

Likewise, the capacities of these organizations cannot by any means satisfy these requirements, above all because they are realized through projects and different temporal policy papers that have neither the stability nor the continuity necessary for a more integral comprehension of social problems. The outsourcing model of state functions is not being conducted only in culture, but also in all other socially important sectors, like education and health care, by which public sectorial linchpins are being totally broken, while the social problems actually remain unsolved.[27] Thus,

27 — Although this text is contextualized as a criticism of leftist liberals, I would like to emphasize that the struggle for influence and hegemony is happening both on the left and the right. Moreover, today these processes are dominated by right positioned NGOs in culture, philanthropy houses and similar. See on the example of the *Strategy for Cultural Development of the Republic of Serbia from 2017 to 2027: http://www.kultura.gov.rs/docs/dokumenti/predlog-strategije-razvoja-kulture-republike-srbije-od-2017--do-2027-/-predlog-strategije-razvoja-kulture-republike-srbije-od-2017--do-2027-.pdf.*

fragmented institutional basis precludes construction of a more studious strategy for the articulation and building of the social, while the dependence on state financing makes criticism of the system almost impossible.

It should also be added that, theoretically speaking, combining the NGO sector and state structures can have an even worse scenario. Additional flexibilization of actions and operations of NGOs can create new qualities of relations between business, NGOs and the state, which can appear in completely new forms, thus far not expected. For example, the NGOs in culture don't have to cooperate only with the state, but in this unstable scheme they can also cooperate with companies, private entrepreneurs and similar. Moreover, it would not be unusual that, by connecting with private companies, NGOs are first enabled to act as 'civil regulators', pointing to Government errors, problems in the market functioning, influencing the development of the so-called soft laws, building social standards, certificational and operating norms etc. In other words, by using the social capital, NGOs can now conduct transfer of localized institutional knowledge from the field of society into the field of private entrepreneurship and business, thus mobilizing collective action by corresponding between governments and firms, and in this way serve as information brokers that will connect otherwise separate groups. Besides that, the state organizes social stability in its typically 'inflexible' way – with the mechanism of coercion.

The stated tendencies do not fit into the dominating production apparatus only economically and bureaucratically but also politically. With the expansion of culture into all spheres of postmodern society, politics has become culture and culture politics (also, politics is economics, economics politics, culture economics etc, etc.). That is, as I pointed out at the beginning of the text, what we have more and more is the merging of sectors, and above all subsuming everything under culture. Thus the transformation of society is starting to be discussed primarily *in cultural terms* and through *representation*, while the crucial questions of economy and politics are increasingly staying on the secondary level and being comprehended from the domain of culture.[28] This is also supported by the fact that more and more cultural workers are getting involved in the operational space of the state, not only by way of building hybrid institutions, but also in the form of direct political engagements with the goal of attaining parliamentary power.[29] *Culturalization of politics*[30] is actually the main ideological foundation of the whole new way of managing political space

28 — See, for example: http://lokomotiva.org.mk/conference-modelling-public-spaces-in-culture-skopje-12-14-october-2017/.

29 — I am talking about the process that is evident regionally. For example, president of the association *Independent Cultural Scene of Serbia* Radomir Lazovic and the member of the board of directors of this organization Luka Knezevic-Strika are one of the most prominent activists of the citizens' association *Ne da(vi)mo Beograd*, that announced its candidacy for the city assembly of the City of Belgrade.

30 — See: *http://eipcp.net/transversal/0208/prelom/sr*

in general, and especially something that is being offered as a 'democratic' way out for the Balkan countries, so they would not get stuck into "even worse tyranny and crisis".[31]

However, what is important to indicate is that the culturalization of politics in fact means *giving up on further political struggle*. Since culture has become some kind of a radical hybrid place in which any kind of essentialism is no longer possible, things are not happening any more in a 'real' time and place, but in the field of culture. Boris Buden illustrates this contradiction between politics and culture with the following example of a postcolonial story about antinationalism, pointing to the paradox that antinationalism is always discussed from some national state: "we have the possibility to express out loud the antinationalism *cultural*, while at the same time we keep quiet politically."[32] Civil-public partnership in the field of culture and intersectorial interweaving are slow steps in the certain and 'democratic' way of the Balkan countries into the new post-political condition.

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Kino Kultura

Project Space for Contemporary Performing Arts and Contemporary Culture

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Introduction

KINO KULTURA is a privately owned building, nowadays operated as a public space for contemporary performing arts and culture, with a significant collective memory and history in the cultural and urban map of Skopje.

KINO KULTURA, an old cinema structure, is located in the centre of Skopje, on the main pedestrian street (Macedonia), 3 Luj Paster Street no.3.

Fragmented information related to Kino Kultura's foundation, programs and significance to Skopje cultural life is available in non-related research, however, not in other thematic texts with an in-depth analysis on the existence and development of this architectural and cultural site and space.

Figure 1 —
© Bruno Peagy

Due to very little information that would depict the trajectory of the historical development of KINO KULTURA as a space and cultural site, during our research we took the opportunity to assess different information we have come across in interviews and other materials. We conducted interviews with Mrs. Viktorija Kostova Volchkova, a Graduate Architectural Engineer and daughter of one of the building founders, as well as with Mr. Aco Dukovski, who was long-term manager of the Skopje cinema theatres network Gradski Kina[1] of which Kino Kultura was part.

In one of the texts published on the Okno internet portal, the journalist Zvezdan Georgiev (2013) talks about cinema "Kultura" and the effects of its devastation in present day. He explains that one of the most beautiful Skopje buildings has nowadays been totally ruined. In his description he conveys memories of the building's importance, its surrounding and the related cultural life:

> *It is not, therefore, only a cheap metaphor when one says that with the collapse of Kino Kultura began the collapse of Macedonian culture. Because, if anything ever rightly owned its name, it was cinema "Kultura", a one-of-a-kind university of film, and through it, a university of life in general. — (Georgiev 2013)*

1 — According to website of the Cinematheque of Macedonia: January 17, 1948 - The City Council of Skopje establishes a company for film showing "Gradski Kina – Skopje (City Cinema-Skopje)", *http://www.macedonian-life.com/article.aspx?artid=00320033-0041-0031-3000-460046004600*

Figure 2 —
The Old Kino Kultura

In the text, Georgiev (2013) attributes to the building the significance of a cultural monument with an important impact on the socio-cultural life and urban development.

This space has been performing its public function for decades, failing to transform according to the conditions and the needs dictated by the transition period, i.e. the reform of the market, the institutions, and their roles in the country. New technologies emerged, as well as the accessibility of the film art through video stores, which changed the focus of the audience. The denationalization process restored the building in the property of private individuals or the successors of the founders, who had no interest in continuing its public and cultural function.

Zvezdan Georgiev (2013) refers to Kino Kultura as "a monument of culture" – and relates it to numerous events in the past. One is related to the setting of the first public drama theatre performance of the future Macedonian National Theatre, in Macedonian language, staged on 20th December 1944 in cinema Uranija (later renamed in Kino Kultura). The performance was the one-act play directed by Dimitar Kjostarov[2].

2 — This information can also be found on the site of the Theatre Institute of Macedonia *http://www.mac-theatre.edu.mk/main/timeline_mac.html*

The Creation of Kino Kultura – *History*

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Kino Kultura is the only cinema-theatre building to survive through the historic deserts, socio-political, economic, and cultural transformations, a living monument or structure of Skopje cultural life since 1973.

The first construction projects for the building known as Kino Kultura (according to the documentation from the Archive of the City of Skopje) originated in 1933. There are assumptions that this is maybe the first building in Skopje planned and designed since day one as a cinema, named in the project documentation as "cinema-theatre".

A document confirms that in 1933, the enterprise "Jovan and Nikifor Kostic" submitted a request to start a procedure for obtaining a construction licence for a building designed to be a "cinema-theatre" on the parcel owned by the owners of the said enterprise, today on Luj Paster Street, number 3.

After the death of Jovan Kostic, his sons inherited the business as full owners[3]. In some publicly available information, the name of Filota Nichota appears as the owner, although he was a founding partner of the enterprise in 1936, and managed other projects. In 1938, the collaboration was terminated and he was compensated for all joint investments.

The enterprise dealt with wholesale and had numerous activities, the construction of the cinema being one of them. In 1941, the firm "Jovan and Nikifor Kostic" ceased to exist. During the subsequent war period the building was managed by the common firm of the Kostovi (Kostic) brothers, registered under the name "Urania".

The first building project was designed by the Russian architect Ivan Artemushkin in 1933, at the same time when the construction licence was requested. In 1936, the entire documentation was completed, i.e. it was elaborated according to the applicable legislation, standards and regulations. The harmonization with the urban development plan, along with the regulation and construction lines, was completed, and a construction licence was obtained. The project according to which the building was constructed is signed by the architect Kiril Zernovski, who is also a contractor of the building. The construction began on 1st September 1936, and the building was completed on 15th February 1937.

The official inauguration happened on 1st March 1937, when the building was opened and put in function under the name "Urania". From 1937 to 1945, the building Kino Kultura was managed as a part of the family business and was the pride of the firm and the family.

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3 — Jovan Kostic in 1923/24 launched a retail sale business. Around 1930, Jovan involved his brother, Nikifor Kostic, in the business. As of this moment the firm is managed under the name "Jovan and Nikifor Kostic".

The building is a solid construction, a combination of bearing walls of full bricks and reinforced concrete pillars. The mezzanine constructions are reinforced concrete ceilings. The damages made by the Skopje 1963 earthquake[4] were repaired with reinforced concrete lanes that fortified the massive walls bearing the ceiling construction of the rooms in the basement and the lobby, and the building was seismically stabilized, according to the applicable legislation.

According to the Graduate Architectural Engineer Viktorija Kostova Volchkova, the building style can be considered as neo-classicism, although it remains a subject for discussion because it can also be interpreted as a modest form of the international style originating in the 1930s, further developed in architecture cleared of decorative details, focusing on form and composition. Its façade has remained to this day unchanged. What also remains unchanged is the functional side of the central space in the building, which from the very beginning was conceived as a theatre with an entry hall and two gallery halls on the floors, linked to the stair cores placed on both sides. This space is used today as a cinema, but has been reconstructed in order to be used as a theatre space above all, but also to respond to the needs of different cultural contents, i.e. has been adapted in order to be multifunctional.

In his text, Zvezdan Georgiev comments on the initial technological furnishings and the repertory:

> *The most recent cinema-operator equipment (the German film camera "Ermenand 2") was purchased supposedly for 80 golden Napoleons. The equipment was installed by two professionals from Austria. Anyways, despite the competition, the cinema, given its modernity, became instant attraction, and before every projection a brass orchestra would play in front of the cinema while the audience stood under the "luxes" (gas lights), listening to a conferencier reading the content of the film. The films were licensed and acquired from the most prominent film production and distribution companies like "Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer", "Ufa", "Paramount", and "20th Century Fox". — (Georgiev 2013)*

In 1939, Kino Kultura signed a contract with Avala Film Belgrade for the distribution of films projected at the time in Cinema Urania. During the war period, the basement space was not functional, whereas the theatre remained active. There are documents confirming active repertory and film projection in 1939. The film program of the cinema in this period was characterized as being of a propaganda character, that is, the cinema operated under severely defined rules and, in occupation condi-

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4 — *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1963_Skopje_earthquake*

tions. Films could only be acquired from Sofia. A contract was signed for a package of films containing one or two films interesting for the audience, and seven, eight or nine propaganda films the cinema was obliged to project a certain number of times during the period indicated in the contract. The owners were not allowed to close the cinema, and had to maintain the business. The propaganda films were projected during the least attractive periods of the day – morning cinema or early in the afternoon. The Kostovi family was part of the young bourgeoisie of the pre-war Yugoslavia, therefore even in war conditions they abode by market terms, respecting the business logic and their family's survival needs.

According to archive sources, the building was declared, during this period, as a building of cultural importance for the development of a propaganda system on current activities.

With a decision of the central Yugoslav authorities at the time, cinemas were proclaimed monuments of culture with a particular importance for the new social order. As such, all cinemas in Macedonia, to the last one, were nationalized according to the same model: with an "accusation for collaboration with the enemy" they were extorted as "declarations of gift".

The building, obtained by the state, belonged to FIDIMA, whose director at the time was Blagoja Drnkov. In 1945, the building was given the name Kino Kultura, and it later became a part of the legal entity Gradski Kina, i.e. distributed according to the system of public enterprises as part of the state enterprise Gradski Kina[5], which run 18 cinema theatres in Skopje. This "state enterprise of particular social interest" had a Workers' Council composed of 24 people (out of whom 12 from the internal structure of Gradski Kina, and 12 representatives of state institutions, media, etc.). Twenty out of the total number were employed to work in Kino Kultura, according to Aco Dukovski[6].

Gradski Kina covered the overall cinema theatres' expenses solely from ticket sales, as a self-sustainable financial entity, without the participation of state or private funds (including the entire infrastructure maintenance of 18 cinema theatres, around 100 employees, overall film programme, etc.).

After 1990, Gradski Kina remained a public enterprise since it wasn't able to obtain a privatization licence.

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5 — After the earthquake of 1963 the need to open cinema theaters in several subdivisions in Skopje was established. These cinema theaters were a part of the local communities, cultural homes (their entities were not legally regulated), up until 1990 when there remained only 4 central cinemas: Kino Vardar, Kino Kultura, Kino Manaki, and Kino Centar.

6 — Dukovski is director of Gradski Kina - Skopje (City Cinema - Skopje) from 1984/85 to 2003, when he resigned. Dukovski created the main office of Gradski Kina within the building of Kino Kultura. The director before him was Kuzman Kuzmanovski.

Development and Functionality of the Building

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Due to modification in the security system, the original project (1933) was changed in the evacuation exits, with two security doors added to the cinema theatre.

The rest of the changes were not functional but were related to the programme activities developed in certain periods in the building.

The building has undergone through several stages of functional renovation: after the Skopje 1963 earthquake, there was a stage of renovation which lasted during the 1960s and 1970s, and it is considered that until the 1980s the renovation stage was completed. The restoration of the building was completed by 1964/65 (according to the documentation of the construction company "Pelagonija" that also carried out the construction work.)

The building's basement was projected to be a night bar, according to Zernovski's project. It is possible that this function was maintained until the beginning of the war in 1941 although there is no documentation to establish the validity of such a claim. During the war it was only a basement, but there is no evidence as to how this part was used after the war up until the adaptation of the Bambi/Manaki cinema.

More precisely, from the 1960s, the functional and other interventions to the building were performed in the following order: several years before the 1963 earthquake there was a conversion of the basement, adapting it into the children's cinema "Bambi". After the 1963 earthquake, construction interventions were made to restore the building. In the 1980s, the cinema theater "Bambi" was renamed to "Manaki", seizing to function as a children's cinema with the change of the programme content.

There was also an intervention on the second floor of the frontal part to the façade, while the office space was commercialized and converted into the coffee bar "Cinema". Later, the hall in front of the first gallery on the first floor was remodelled, creating the space for the pocket cinema "Paradiso".

In the eighties of the last century, the interior of the great hall of Kino Kultura was also redesigned, and the elegant retro design with boxes on the back wall of the ground floor, the seats at tables of marble, legs of wrought iron in the first gallery, and ceiling with hidden lights in a centrally located circular profilation modelled in plaster received a "modern" look with a rich colourful solution. Today this design still exists, still retro from today's perspective as well. Later the "Cinema" space was closed, and also part of the ground floor was rented for commercial activities (retail, café etc.).

In the initial idea for the building, the focus was on the social involvement of active viewers, i.e. its architecture was conceived to provide spaces for socialization of the audience. The initial object of Kino Kultura included two gallery spaces (under the current section called Cinema Paradiso), strictly for social cohesion of people, the audience, after the projection of the film content.

Therefore, it can be noted that at the time culture was understood as a cohesive factor, so the building was designed to achieve that function, i.e. in the cinema (Kino) Kultura the gallery spaces were built specifically designed for socialization. If compared with how the spaces of cinema theatres are organised today, or their location in the malls, we can immediately observe that the priority is to encourage consumerism.

Today, the building's spaces are the following:

1 — MAIN CINEMA THEATER / KINO KULTURA – 330m2 plus two balconies 240m2
2 — UNDERGROUND CINEMA / KINO MANAKI/BAMBI (or BASEMENT) - 280m2
3 — POCKET CINEMA / PARADISO - 100m2
4 — Office on the first floor / 40m2
5 — Office 2 on the second floor / 110 m2
6 — Coffee bar space / approx. 60m2

Today

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With the denationalization in 2007, the building was restored to the owners' successors, after being seized in 1945 by the state.

After its denationalization, the building was not used, i.e. wasn't rented again and remained empty. The owners sought ways to put it into function, but due to certain obstacles, it remained empty until 2015.

Lokomotiva, in partnership with the Theatre Navigator, both organizations working in the field of performing arts, had been searching a long time for a space for the realization of their activities. Among the many spaces we found, a number of them were private and some state-owned.

Having in mind that the opening of a space for contemporary performing arts, which was our organizations' idea, is of public importance, we asked for the support of the local and central authorities and failed to secure it.

In Kino Kultura we found the infrastructural suitability to perform our ideas.

Moreover, for us it was also important that this space has significant history in the development of the socio-cultural life in the city.

We believed the space could respond to the ideas and needs not only of these organizations but also to the wider cultural community.

Kino Kultura became a new space for contemporary performing arts and culture in 2015, founded by Theatre Navigator Cvetko, a private theatre company and Lokomotiva - Centre for New Initiatives in Arts and Culture, a civil society or non-governmental organization.

Only part of the space is rented, managed according to an internal model of governing we are aiming to develop.

The politics of programming are based on mutually agreed program lines described further below.

—Key questions on the model development of Kino Kultura

In order to even start deliberating on new approaches to governance and operational models, a certain set of basic questions has to be addressed. These pertain to detecting the adequate model of governance according to the standing state-of-art in a given cultural centre. To be precise, every model of participatory governance has its own logic and it is unadvisable for models to be copied from one case to another as they are highly, if not entirely dependent on the context. The key questions are the following: Who are the involved actors?, How are responsibilities delegated between the actors?, What is the governing structure?, Who has the authority of decision-making?, How are the different actors included in the decision-making processes?, How are decision-making processes defined and regulated?, In what way is communication between different actors ensured and sustained?, Who are the owners of the infrastructure?, Who is using the infrastructure?, What are the contractual conditions and relationships between the owners and users of the infrastructure?, What are the modes of using the infrastructure?, How many actors are directly and indirectly involved in using the infrastructure?, What are the internal rules and regulations on the usage of the infrastructure?, What is the typology of the infrastructure?, What is the main purpose behind the use of the infrastructure?, What are the modes of engaging the cultural and wider social community in the activities of the space?, What are the planning methods for developing the infrastructure towards enabling further programme development?, What are the safety aspects of the infrastructure usage?

—How we think of Kino Kultura

The answers to the above listed questions, the background documents and the theoretical overview of the new models of governance were the guiding markers for devising the future centre for contemporary performing arts and contemporary culture, or alternating the existing one. The particular aim is to detect three levels of functioning: governance level; organisational level; and programming level. These three levels encompassed multitude of involved or prospective actors; from the owners of the infrastructure to the organisations renting/using the venue to the wider spectre of standing and prospective users (NGO organisations, private companies, individual artists etc.); local government and local community/the public – the audiences.

Moreover, our intention is to plan the expansion of Kino Kultura as a space - in the sense of spreading the activities to the entire infrastructural capacity of 1.160m2, rather than only the current ¼ of the capacity (330m2), but also is to think of Kino Kultura as a concept that doesn't need to be related only to this certain space.

However, in this study we reflect on the first scenario.

Models through Normative Aspects and Policies

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The existing examples from the countries of the region (namely Croatia) indicate the emergence of a *civil-public partnership* model or under the law (namely in Macedonia) a hybrid or mixed institution. A mixed institution normatively is *public – private partnership* since the civil sector is part of the "private" sector by law. According to the law, private are all legal forms not public (state owned), which are: private, as profit making organizations, and private, as non-profit, or civil society organizations.

However, there is a large difference between the two sectors, private as profit oriented, and civil as non-profit oriented, which support the development of public and citizen needs.

A mixed institution is taken into consideration in the Law on Institutions[7] and

7 — Law on Institutions, "Official Gazette of R. Macedonia, no, 32/05, 11.05.2005" – A mixed institution is established with state finances, i.e. finances of the municipality, i.e. the City of Skopje and finances of a domestic and foreign legal and physical entity or an institution established with state finances or finances of the municipality, i.e. the City of Skopje and finances of a domestic and foreign legal and physical entity.

has been regulated also with another law, namely the Law on Concession and Public Private Partnerships[8]. A public – civil partnership is not considered as such with the normative acts and laws in Macedonia, but is regulated with the mentioned laws and subsequent by-laws and acts. In Macedonia, in the past, many hybrid or mixed institutions, or public – private partnerships were organized under the Law on Concession and Public – Private Partnerships only for profit oriented purposes, not for cultural purposes. Therefore such regulations have proven to have detrimental consequences for the public interest in favour of the private (commercial) one.

Additionally, beside a *Civil-private partnership*, we can also consider the perspective of a *public-private-civil partnership*, which hasn't been noted as a practice as yet.

According to the Law on Culture[9] in Macedonia, an institution is formulated as: "(1) A legal entity performing activities in the field of culture, with a non-profit purpose." (Article 18). In the next Article 19, it is underlined that an institution can be founded by a domestic or foreign physical or legal entity. An institution can perform activities in different domains in culture regulated by law. Article 20 of the Law, prescribes that an institution can be private or public. A public institution can be municipal or city (founded by the local self-government) or national (founded by the state), while a private is founded by a physical or legal entity.

Thus, under the Law on Culture, Macedonia allows for only private and public institutions, which is not aligned with the Law on Institutions, which prescribes a mixed model of institutions, or as mentioned under the Law on Institutions[10], there are three types of organizations: public, private and mixed or hybrid, namely public–private.

The normative frame for a public-private partnership as mentioned can be found in the Law on Concession and Public – Private Partnerships, which regulates the concession of public goods. The basic characteristic of this collaboration is that the private partner undertakes the responsibility to provide public service to users in domains in the competence of the public partner, and/or the responsibility to ensure to the public partner the necessary conditions for providing public services to users and/or activities in its competence.

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8 — Law on Concessions and Public Private Partnerships "Official Gazette of R. Macedonia, no. 6/201 and 144/2014". The Law defines in details a public –private partnership – "A public-private partnership is a form of long-term cooperation between a public and private partner, regulated with a contract, with the following characteristics...".

9 — Law on Culture, consolidated – unofficial refined text (Official Gazette of R. Macedonia, no. 31/98, 49/03, 82/05, 24/07, 116/10, 47/11, 51/11, 136/12, 23/13, 187/13, 44/14, 61/15, 154/15, 39/16, 11/18 and 11/18 - Decision of the Constitutional Court of R.M. U.no.196/2007 from 16.1.2008, published in "Official Gazette of R.M., no. 15/2008) *(www.kultura.gov.mk)*

10 — Law on Institutions (Official Gazette of R.M., no. 32/05 from 11.05.2005)

According to the Law, all agreements for establishing a public-private, (civil) partnership in which public partners (national, local or municipal, public institutions, enterprises and other legal entities identified with the Law) are obliged to award contracts to private partners in accordance with the principles of transparency, non-discrimination, proportionality, efficiency, equal treatment and mutual recognition.

A grantor can be the Republic of Macedonia, the municipalities and the City of Skopje, while a public partner, in addition to the Republic of Macedonia, the municipalities and the City of Skopje, can be among others, other legal entities executing public powers in the area of public authorization (In this case NGOs, associations) according to law. According to this, a Public – Private Partnership can be realized as:

1 — Contracting PPP, for which the public and private partner sign an agreement implemented by the private partner or the legal entity established by the private partner;

2 — Institutional PPP, where the public and private partner appear as co-founders of the legal entity implementing the PPP agreement.

The Law on Public-Private Partnership (PPP) in the Republic of Macedonia regulates all elements required for two partners (at least) to enter into contract. However, the Law in some crucial respects related to the development of successful contracts is not sufficiently clear and relies on negotiations between the partners. It is not much in favour of content related with culture, especially if this is not commercial, or related with non-profit making.

One may say, therefore, that this Law is not related to the Law on Culture where both private and public institutions have to be non-profit, or maybe it is the reason why in the Law on Culture there is no PPP, or a mixed institution as in the Law on Institutions. One can conclude that according to the Law, PPP can only be profit-oriented, if it remains regulated as it is, and if there is no clear distinction in the Law on PPP that it is non-profit and it can be modelled as public – private, public – civil, and/or public private civil. The clear distinction would be a public purpose and non-profit versus profit-making.

Such policy recommendation is with the aim to overcome the practical use or the needs we are now witnessing with Kino Kultura, as well as possible other models of institutions.

Within the Law of PPP (Article 5) under a public- private partnership are described all partnerships which can be developed among legal entities defined by law as public or private. Public can be assets or entities on local and national level, and private are civil society as well as private organizations, or legal entities. However, it is noticeable that the types of partnerships mostly imply involvement of the private

partner in a capacity of financing the infrastructural development and/or reconstruction. This is not limited only to infrastructure but also allows provision of services (or providing content for example, in relation to cultural and art organizations). However, in cases of provision of services, the law does not provide any guidance as to how and to what extent the public partner can participate in the design of the public service nor its monitoring and evaluation. While the financing of the infrastructural project is exact and can be easily measured, the ***provision of services*** is much more complex and requires socio-economic and cultural indicators.

In order to apply such a qualitative approach, related to provision of content or programme in case of a public – private (civil) partnership, we need to develop a specific law on public – private non-profit partnership in culture, related to the Law on Culture.

The general Law on Concession and PPP, under Article 9, regulates concession fees. It stipulates that the payments for the concessions are paid based on a feasibility study for the justification of awarding a concession for goods of public interest. While it can certainly be expected that a feasibility study is developed, the law does specify if an ex-post evaluation is needed. In addition, it does not specify what the key elements and evaluations of the feasibility study are. Such a study cannot only take into account ***the cost-benefit*** of such cooperation but also the quality and the quantity of the public services provided.

Deeper analyses on the Law are needed in order to understand that such a law is not in favour of a potential model oriented towards development of the public cultural content, or relevant for socio-cultural development or development of the public sphere in culture.

The PPP in policy is seen as a model for development and management of various public institutions and services. It arises from the need for development of a functional model ("market"- driven model) for governing public institutions, which assumes that it provides value-for-money ratio, for the services offered, which is greater than the traditional approach – a public institution delivering services. In sum, the PPP models are market-driven for optimization of monetized value of the services offered.

Kino Kultura is an initiative of civil and private actors, which also have contractual relationship with other private entities over the infrastructure.

It doesn't strive towards PPP as understood and explained above, or developed through the legal forms in Macedonia, but as a specific form of a partnership between public-private-civil entities aiming to produce public content that would reform the destroyed public sphere. The public space that will give back the possibility to the public sphere to operate politically and enable deliberation processes through arts and culture.

Current Situation

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The current structure of Kino Kultura as a project space for contemporary performing arts and culture comprises of a legal/contractual, programme and operational aspect. All these aspects influence the model and level of development of its governing structure.

—Legal/contractual aspect

Kino Kultura was initiated and developed by the *main partners and co-founders* Theatre Navigator Cvetko and Lokomotiva, as a non-existing but highly needed, public space for contemporary arts and culture, with the focus on the performance arts. After locating this space in 2015 in the Kino Kultura building, the main partners entered the negotiation process with *the building owners* (10 persons with different property share). The negotiations resulted in two subsequent rental arguments, from which the second one on 5 years, active until 2020. The rental agreement was signed between Theatre Navigator Cvetko and the building owners, which enables using part of the space (main scene, entering hall, first floor balcony and the office) for performing art and cultural programme. In order to enable equal partnership position in the governing, organisational and programme structure between the main partners, Theatre Navigator Cvetko signed an additional agreement with Lokomotiva for programme and management collaboration of Kino Kultura as a project space for contemporary performing arts and culture. The main partners decide on the organizational structure and delegation of the responsibilities. Through this structure, both legal entities are equally engaged in the realisation of the programme activities as well as fundraising that should enable the operational and programme substantiality. The main financial partner to support the idea and development of Kino Kultura was/and still is the Municipality of Centre[11]. Municipality support is received as a yearly project based grant to Theatre Navigator Cvetko. Each year the partner must apply to the municipality for the yearly funding, which doesn't guaranty the funding and the acquired amount per grant. Additionally, both partners work on enabling sufficient funds for maintaining the space through project based funding on national, regional and international level, donations, sponsorship and collaborations. Putting all this aspects in contractual relations in the realm of current legislation, we have performed contractual public-private partnership, which extends its practices to a specific *public-private-civil* partnership taking in consideration all Kino Kultura stakeholders – *main partners, space owners and the municipality*, with the potentiality of including other public and private actors as important stakeholders in the further development and suitability of Kino Kultura.

11 — *http://opstinacentar.gov.mk/*

Figure 3 —
Kino Kultura Foyer
© Pavle Ignovski

—Operational aspect

The overall space and programme operation of Kino Kultura is performed by five persons, a team formed by representatives from the Theatre Navigator Cvetko and Lokomotiva. Hence, beside their current working positions within their main organization bases, the working obligations of Kino Kultura team members were extended to structural, running and operational maintaining of the space as well as management and coordination of the overall programme within. It is an unbalanced position since on the one side, half of the team is performing extra work on voluntary basis in order to maintain the space, and on the other, Kino Kultura requires a steady full time operational personnel to comply with the need for operational and programme sustainability of the space. In order to cover this operational gap, the current Kino Kultura team is overburdened with working responsible towards maintaining basic sustainability and existence of the space. In this context, positive changes are needed to enable new partnership relations in the realm of public – private – civil partnership. For that reason, the main partners are advocating for better support from public funds on national and local level, they are applying for infrastructural funds or requirements for donations that will improve the space and technical capacities and are developing strategic partnerships, which besides the programme will also support the operational level of Kino Kultura.

—Programme aspects (goals, instruments, analyses)

Kino Kultura is a unique space in regards to its structure and programme orientations. It is a space with a distinctive programme of contemporary art and culture content, with accent on the performing arts but also a content developed by the larger citizens' community, reflecting the recent and important questions in society. It is an open space freed of top-down decision-making, a space that provides freedom of speech, diversity and expression. Kino Kultura is an open space in which artists and cultural workers have the opportunity to develop and present contemporary concepts in the field of performing arts and wider. Their programmes involve many Macedonian and international partners, networks, projects, whose primarily aim is to review the models of collaboration between artists, theoreticians, critics, cultural workers, programmers of festival etc. Thereby, it opens possibilities for audience development as well as networking between related organizations, partners and beneficiaries of the programmes.

In the two years working as a space for contemporary performing arts and culture, Kino Kultura has become a positive example of a privately owned spaced, managed by private (non-profit) cultural actors, with a public function.

The basic programme frame of Kino Kultura is composed of 4 programme lines: *Theatre Navigator, Lokomotiva* [as programmes developed by the main partners related to performing arts (theatre, dance and performance], *Open space* (programme developed in collaboration with other organizations from the independent cultural scene and from the wider civil sector, individuals and informal groups) and *Together* (animation and educational programme for creative development of the larger community).

The programme lines related to Theatre Navigator and Lokomotiva are curated, and Open Space and Together are lines opened to proposals and not regulated by a selection process or defined with aesthetic criteria or curatorial concept. Activities realised in Kino Kultura include theatre performances, performances in the field of contemporary dance and performance art, workshops for professionals and citizens, conferences, artistic researches, residences, educational programmes, different type of festivals, book promotions, concerts etc.

Aiming to test a possible aspect of participatory governing, as a base for further model development, the main partners developed the Advisory Body of Open Space. It is a temporary body composed of different representatives from independent culture and civil sector, with a mandate to develop a "Protocol for collaboration with the civil society in the frame of the Kino Kultura's programme line Open Scene". The members of the Advisory Body have different professional backgrounds and knowledge they can contribute in the process of development of the Open Scene protocol for collaboration. The Protocol comprises of two main types of collabora-

Figure 4 —
Audience seats
© Pavle Ignovski

tions: 1.Partnership collaboration - developing a space for critical reflection on social issues based on strategic long-term programme development that will support the operational - human, technical and financial aspect of the space; and 2.Collaboration with the wider community or users of the spaces; organisations dealing with culture and art, with socio-cultural themes and topics that concern the development of civil society, democracy and human rights and have an interest in supporting and having their programmes in the space where a critical reflection on social issues is being created. The protocol regulates the use of the line Open Scene in accordance with the available space, time and technical capacities. The protocol is a result of an open model of cooperation and active participation of various actors from the civil society. The Protocol will enable a defined, transparent and democratic approach in the development of the Open Scene programmes, which will strengthen the established and create new long-term strategic partnerships and opportunities to develop activities with the wider civil society. The protocol is a result of a commune work relying on the principles of democracy, equity, solidarity, participation, respect for diversity, transparency, social responsibility and care for others.

Figure 5 — Front stage
© Pavle Ignovski

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Taking into consideration all three (legal, operational and programme) aspects in the frame of two years' working experience, we faced a situation where the main partners, responsible for the contractual and operational aspect in the scope of their activity, were becoming predominantly involved in facilitating the space for different productions rather than production of their own work. This situation has to be solved through a process that should enable the needed human capacities for full operation and implementation of the current and potential programme content. This can be done though better structural funding developed on the premises of partnership, joint working and taking care of the places of common interest which provide public content. Thus, Kino Kultura is open for development of bigger and stronger partnerships that will integrate the existing capacities in the scene. So, together they will work on creating relevant, dynamic and more visible contemporary art and cultural content functioning also as a larger operational platform, which will provide the needed structural and human support.

The current governing structure, which consists of equal level of rights and responsibility, stays within the main partners and co-founders of Kino Kultura, Theatre Navigator Cvetko and Lokomotiva. However, models and plans for further inclusion of other partners on equal level are to be developed and implemented.

—Possible Models

Within the approach in the development of Kino Kultura there is a specific situation, where organizations- founders have a different legal status, Lokomotiva being a civil organization and Theatre Navigator Cvetko a private theatre company. Their purpose is to produce publically relevant art and cultural content, without profit oriented activities, although from a legal aspect, Cvetko can engage in such activities. However, both organizations are oriented toward development and rethinking of the model that would amplify the public relevance and value.

The model of governing Kino Kultura can be developed in the above mentioned directions and applied through different legal frameworks – *cultural institution; foundation*, and *company*. All of the legal frameworks have their own regulative standpoints and are open to the level of hybridisation as much as the regulation allows. According to those levels, the choice between one legal format from the other becomes clearer (i.e. the option should be the legal format that allows for most operational and governing flexibility, hybridity and adaptability).

Legal levels, as mentioned before, are not satisfactory and the development of new, relevant institutional models and public spaces in Macedonia requires a legislative change.

—Recommendations

What is the optimal way forward in developing a model for Kino Kultura as a space for contemporary performing arts and culture? Most apparent are the present obstacles related to “personalized cultural policies” and limited resources, both in regulative and financial terms. Also, the formation of a more concrete cooperation partnership with the civil-society organisations, current and potential users, is considered as premature at present, but needed in future.

For that reason, the following was concluded and could serve as a direction for further actions:

1 — The civil society partner organisations should form a Kino Kultura platform (informal) with their partners[12]. The task of the platform should be to

12 — The criteria for partners of Kino Kultura are defined with the advice of the Advisory Body of Open Scene and are included in the Protocol of collaboration

discuss and negotiate terms of cooperation between all stakeholders (founders and new partners) in the platform. This is the first step towards enabling participation and wider inclusion.

The platform's duration should be limited and should serve as a tactical cooperative endeavour of organisations that use or/and will use Kino Kultura. The proposed duration is three years. During the three years, organisations included in the platform should (possibly) take turns in leading the platform so that no single organisation has to take the entire weight of related financial, time and people management.

Within the three years, the platform should devise a *Management Plan* for Kino Kultura regulating key aspects of future operation: what type of space is Kino Kultura? What kind of cultural and art production does it support and promote? What type of organisations and what profile of cultural and artistic activity holds a priority in Kino Kultura? Who are the key stakeholders? What are their levels of involvement and responsibility? What is the mode of financial operation and funding scheme?

Such management plan is now developed by the founders, however is prone to change with the inclusion of other organizations. Thus, it is important for Kino Kultura to remain a space for contemporary performing arts and culture, or reshape in a space for contemporary arts and culture that will include other than performing arts.

In line with setting the conceptual founding of the Kino Kultura, the platform should support programmes planned by the core organisations, as well as the programmes "Open Scene" and "Together". The programme planning shall also respect the annual programmes' timetable and requirements of the two core organisations, Theatre Navigator Cvetko and Lokomotiva. In this way, the civil and programme constituency is built without harming the original production and programmes.

Long-term wise, the financial plan must be made for the restoration/renovation of the entire Kino Kultura building, in order to employ its full capacity towards cultural activities. This line of planning must be done in accordance with the owners, local government and the partners from the civil society sector. Ideally, such a restoration project should be included in the priority list of capital investments by the Ministry of Culture (the site has a 2nd degree of protection).

Special consideration has to be given to the commercial aspect of the Kino Kultura functioning. This refers to organizing the bar, bookshop, socio-creative industries shops and sales of creative merchandise, all a product of socially responsible enterprises.

2 — The platform should be formalized in an organization that according to law would be a model adequate for Kino Kultura's substantial and sustainable development.

One of the discussed models, besides a public-private (civil) partnership, is the combination of civil-private partnerships with public stakeholders in the form of a foundation. This entails founding of a private entity in which civil society actors have an equal position with the stakeholders. The ratio of this model is that the private owners invest their infrastructure in the foundation (*or the hardware*), while the civil partners invest the programme (*or the software*). Combined, this type of cooperation forms a unique instance not only in South East Europe, but also in the wider international cultural scene.

In this combination, the public authorities are limited to being partners as funders, but not as a co-founding body of the new established foundation. There are two readings to this situation. The first one is that the limited involvement of the public authorities means limited political influence over the matter and greater autonomy in developing Kino Kultura. The second one is that without the public authority, the objective of long-term sustainability can be hindered. Moreover, the inclusion of public authorities ensures "public" visibility and, in a sense, value of the whole endeavour.

Other than the proposed, Kino Kultura as an institution could be a public-private-civil partnership or a type of mixed institution, a model to be developed.

All proposed mixed, or hybrid, or public - private models has to be considered with the Law on Culture as a possible future institutional models and developed through additional normative acts.

Instead of conclusion

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Presented here is the theoretical resembling of one of the perspectives of the model development of Kino Kultura – a space for contemporary performing arts and contemporary culture. There can also be perspectives that are not related to this specific space, but to understanding this process as a "project" for advocacy of a new institution (national or local) that would continue with the concept and program that began in 2015 in this building, but might migrate in another space or direction.

All thoughts are possible only if there is context maturity, political will, and will of the private owners of the building, only then can Kino Kultura transform from a project into a space in continuity for contemporary (performing) arts and culture.

However, we need to try over and over again, and never give up in thinking the public spaces for and in culture and arts. This text is one such attempt.

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Chapter 2

Collective Instituting:
Between The "No Longer" and "The Not Yet"

Destituent Spaces: *Instituting* as an *Intervention*

—*Gigi Argyropoulou*

In the last couple of decades we have experienced radical socio-political paradigm shifts instigated by both economic and social crises. Open, competitive, and unregulated markets represent "the optimal mechanism for economic development," while neoliberal policies involve "coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention in order to impose market rule upon all aspects of social life" (Brenner and Theodore 2002:5). In the years after 2007, we witnessed a series of political events in response to the social and economic crises and neoliberal hegemonic practices. From localized struggles over the commodification of public space to occupations, mobilizations, uprisings and insurrections across different locations, people 'remained present' and questioned decision-making and participation. Doreen Massey (2005:99-101), argues that neoliberal

globalization as a material practice and as a hegemonic discourse is an attempt to tame the spatial, proposing focus on the conceptualizations of space in seeking practices of resistance. Similarly, David Harvey (2012) points that capital accumulates through the production of space, therefore we have to confront capital through that very production so that 'city life' becomes the subject and not just the site of struggle.

In the arts, with the so-called social turn during the 1990s, cultural workers sought to respond to the social conditions of late capitalism by producing structures of togetherness and participation, convivial environments and urban interventions. However, often recapitulated by dominant institutions, neoliberal agendas and urban regeneration projects, this social turn in recent years appears to have been transformed into 'a performed sociality/participation' replicating the social conditions of neoliberalism.

In 2007, the Invisible Committee, an unidentified collective, published a text under the title *The Coming Insurrection* that went viral online as a call to arms against the destructive forces of capitalism. The introduction concluded with a question, a question that seemed to be a precondition for political action and change. The question was: *Where do we find each other?* As citizens formed and deformed emergent publics, crowds and multitudes in streets and squares and other places around the world in the following years, the Invisible Committee's question seemed to be ephemerally answered as we were saying 'we' again - in squares, theatres, streets and auditoriums; even though, as Jodi Dean (2012:212) writes, "we argue over who we are and what we want". Diverse political/cultural experiments took place as citizens engaged in practices of 'commoning' and social solidarity that often functioned as complex exercises in social pedagogy.

How have these experiments and experiences of recent years forced us to rethink contemporary cultural and institutional practices? Can cultural practices initiate new modes of organization contesting the smooth operations of 'controlled participation' in "spaces that are allocated by power" (Ranciere 2007:61)? Practices that exist as constantly improvised strategies, as instances of instituting that wayfind between the "no longer" of existing methods and the "not yet" of new landscapes. How can we practice the constant making and remaking of emergent practices for cultural spaces that resist becoming abstract policies of involvement/participation but rather exist as constantly negotiated relationalities from within the strictures and needs of "here and now"?

During the years of the social crisis in Southern Europe and Greece social frameworks, funding structures and infrastructures collapsed, with an emerging diversity of self-instituted forms such as occupations, interventions, acts of institutional critique, emergent praxes, and collective platforms. The diverse cultural or political

experiments that took place questioned what is considered as 'appropriate' political or cultural practice. Such experiments brought to the fore both the challenges and potentialities of the political and the cultural while exemplifying the tension inherent in the fugitive relationship between the two. As the cultural workers that occupied Teatro Valle in Rome stated:

> *The Teatro Valle is not only a valuable space to be saved but a symbol of the state of Art in Italy. We are here to become protagonists in the political decisions that affect our industry, our work, our lives. We are here to imagine and build together the theatre that we would like. Lacking any form of dialogue and having witnessed every principle of representation ignored, we want to reclaim the places that belong to us. We want to participate in the political processes that decide the fate of our lives and the culture of our country — (Teatro Valle Occupato 2011).*

In this article I will briefly discuss two moments of intervention in a specific socio-cultural landscape as processes of social improvisation and collective instituting. Instances that practically question the established modus operandi and institutional operations in order to collectively produce unexpected public spheres. I will refer to two examples that took place in Athens, Greece during the years of the economic crisis, focusing on how these experiments produced fugitive models of cultural/political praxis that rehearsed new relations between sedimented forms, emerging practice and socio-political context.

Occupying the Theatre

On the 11th of November 2011, a group of artists and theorists, known as the Mavili Collective, occupied the disused theatre building of Embros. Instituted as a reactivation, this occupation took the form of a dense twelve-day public programme seeking to rethink the role of culture in times of crisis, specifically within the Greek cultural landscape. The programme consisted of over 291 artists, theoreticians and practitioners from different generations and from across many fields of practice aspiring to address the artistic and social conditions within the Greek milieu of the last decade. Challenging hierarchies and exclusions of the art market, the programme brought together a generation of artists and theoreticians who had been working precariously the previous decade in the landscape of Greece. Established artists, university professors, students, immigrant groups and

emerging artists co-existed without categorization and collectively participated in the ongoing production of an unexpected public space. Instead of a curatorial statement, or a single unifying theme, Mavili curated its programme by devising pluralist forms, or categories of action, in response to the cultural and political conditions, structures that others could inhabit. As stated in the manifesto:

> *Today, on the 11th of November 2011, Mavili Collective occupied the historical disused theatre building of Embros in Athens. For the next 11 days Mavilli will reconstitute Embros as a public space for exchange, research, debate, meeting and re-thinking. We act in response to the general stagnation of thinking and action in our society through collective meeting, thinking and direct action by reactivating a disused historical building in the centre of Athens — (Mavilli — Collective 2011).*

By resisting to follow the familiar/dominant models of operation both in squatted spaces and in art spaces, Embros became an unexpected, inclusive site, drawing consistently large and diverse audiences. After the initial 12-day programme, the collective continued to operate the space as a 'counter-proposal' and for a year Embros acted as an autonomous, artist-led space, hosting short residencies, festivals, performances, meetings, collaborations, community events, assemblies, political events and discussions, and a community garden. Its ongoing refusal to follow sedimented practices and form a specific identity within the horizons of expectations in the Greek milieu allowed the space to constantly rethink and produce new models of curatorial, artistic and political practice. At the same time, it also made the space increasingly precarious - both to external and internal challenges, gradually leading to changes in the mode of operation and consequently in its function, identity and rationale.

Words and Structures

On the 19th of June 2015, an unidentified collective consisting of members of the Mavili Collective, participants in Embros, artists, theorists that took part in a series of activist actions of cultural critique in this period, initiated a new cultural occupancy in a disused building in Pedion tou Areos, one of the two central parks of Athens. As stated in the manifesto:

> *Almost 4 years after the occupation of the Embros theatre in 2011 we are activating with our own means a space deserted and left empty for years by the Greek state and propose a 10-day program of cultural and political intervention in the here and now of Athens. In a struggle against cultural and artistic monopolies, 'creative cities' and their production lines of co-optation, through this ephemeral collective experiment we aim to co-imagine with fellow city dwellers, the here and now of Green Park and our city — (Green Park Athens 2015).*

The space experimented with different forms of participation, testing how a cultural space might operate, implicated in the needs of its surrounding environment in times of ongoing crisis and impoverishment. Seeking to practically examine and work through political and cultural experiences that Embros Occupation made possible Green Park experimented with instituting as an intervention, producing structures and public programs that responded to cultural and political conditions within the evolving Greek landscape, while rethinking forms of theoretical, artistic and political action.

A year later, in response to the changing landscape of Athens, both the challenges of self-instituted forms in the face of new political closures and the dominance of private cultural institutions, a DIY Performance Biennial took place in the occupied Green Park in the summer of 2016 under the title *No Future*. This time occupying the form of a 'Biennial', the event sought to critically examine the role of performance, both historically and in the present, in relation to political and social materialities and imaginaries. Engaging in ongoing disruptions between the institution and the self-instituted, between buildings and parks, between the centre and the periphery, between the urban and the rural, the event began from the occupied space of Green Park and the nearby park of Pedion tou Areos, and then travelled by boat from Piraeus to the island of Cythera, administratively located in the Prefecture of Athens. Playfully subverting the term 'biennial' into a self-organized practice, it proposed a model of self-curating, bringing together forms of artistic, political and theoretical practice and discourse aiming to question the potential of a collective refusal to a referred futurity. Each day, prior to the public programme, an assembly took place where the organisers, participating artists and theorists met and coordinated the day's proceedings. The space was collectively managed, and the labour of making things possible was not allocated to others but was inseparable from the realization of the artistic/theoretical work. Taking place in a cultural occupancy in the heart of the crisis, the project was opened to diverse attendees and constantly affected by the urgent needs of its surroundings. This transparent, unexpected and vulnerable context of Green Park, and later the public space of the boat and sites

at Cythera, gathered diverse and unexpected audiences, such as participants, passersby and locals, mixing spontaneously, reversing expectations, and the production of meaning, contesting what was taking place.

Spatial Reconfigurations

Thinking of instituting as an intervention embraces processes that remain responsive and consistently resist to be turned into fixed policies. The mode of organisation remains fluid, evolving, incorrect, affected and reformulated by the content presented inseparably from the strictures of a specific and yet ever-changing "here and now". Thus, such spaces and structures illuminate their vulnerability, ephemerality and critical limits, while at the same time seek to think through them. As Daniele Goldman (2010) writes, improvisation is not an exercise of freedom, but on the contrary, constant negotiation with 'tight places' (an ongoing engagement with social, historical and aesthetic strictures). This ongoing negotiation with 'tight places', fundamental in a process of instituting, becomes a critical modus operandi; a modus operandi that functions as an evolving method of cultural critique, making visible the practice of making, unmaking and (mis)functioning of an institution; making visible not only new potentials but also critical limits; the limits of social action, of improvisation, of infrastructure; limits of bodies and encounter; familiar and unfamiliar limits.

Instituting suggests a process, a movement, in struggle. A set of relations composed, decomposed, recomposed. Breaking away from contemporary discourses on effectiveness, cooperation and necessity, instituting is always in a critical relation to its dangerous counterpoint - destituting. To think of instituting, of 'being with, is to think those conditions and also to think of disintegration, separation. Tear apart, break, depart. Then, the holding together, this process of improvising, instituting with others, marks a constant re-assessment of movement, of purpose, and function and irruption.

Perhaps a productive way to examine artistic, educational or emergent practices at this moment in time is through what I call 'destituent spaces'. Unfamiliar, unexpected conceptualisations and uses of space (within and outside existing institutional structures) critically situated and organised in relation to the environment. Spatial re-configurations that engage in processes of instituting by rupturing existing models of spatial, social, organisational and cultural production; polemical to a specific landscape, destituent to it and yet in it and implicated; indebted; broken open; shifting methods; without antibiotic affects and therefore embracing their own telos/

end, their own insufficiency; improvising possible positions in a constant struggle between the personal and the public, strictures and making, continuity and stasis. As the neoliberal imaginary seeks to control and tame the spatial, perhaps the production of destituent spaces and reconfigurations might open up new terrains of practice to think, exercise, institute and imagine what appears as still non-instituta-ble or what we don't know how to institute in relation to a given environment. Evolving and shifting as rapidly as it does. Opening up space for what could be otherwise.

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Commons as an ***Emancipatory Tendency*** in Constituting New Institutions

—*Ivana Dragšić*

This article is a proposal for a possible new methodology for constituting new institutions, elaborated at the conference Modelling Public Space(s) in Culture on 12.10.2017 in Skopje. It attempts to bridge the concept of the commons, as studied by Elinor Ostrom and strictly in the context of natural resources, with the need to establish a new governance model within an institution, also using the dynamics of the various subcultures' handling of every-day problems within the urban commons. It mainly operates with the terms: *commons, public (sphere), sub/counter culture and institution(s).*

The discussion about the Commons in our (Macedonian) language is still complicated because of two reasons:

— the word in English represents both a noun and an adjective, translating the latter is already present but does not get

close enough to its current meaning; thus, it only comes in an adjective form in Macedonian, it has to be followed by a noun, in this context: goods, resources, institutions or something else; and

— using it in the sense proposed in the first point awakens associations to an experience that today's (post-YU) societies/countries have really been trying to distance themselves from and it simply brings up ideas that seem to limit today's individual freedoms with more obligations towards something general, hardly connected to a personal benefit.

The derivation such as *commoning* (which would literally mean creating a verb out of an adjective) sounds even more unacceptable or ridiculous in Macedonian; adds to the confusion and takes away the dose of seriousness needed when approaching the topic today. Therefore, we must look at the *commons* in the context of other words/nouns/adjectives, such as public, together, participative etc.

Commons, as a pre-modernity concept (a historical concept that can be related to the first settlements and communities collectively catering to their needs), substituted by the term *public* through various societal and political processes and usually associated with natural resources and ownership/use, has often been substituted with the concept of the public, as an adjective, at least in the more recent Macedonian history. The idea of a *public*, in this context, consists of deliberative individuals engaging in debates over policies and legislation, in relation to conflicting ideas of the public good, perhaps with a lesser note of the final decision making (therefore the concept was criticized as a concept imposed top-to-bottom).

Public

In politics, or social and political sciences, the term *public* (as an adjective) is often referred to in the context of state governance/management or ownership, something provided by the state or a state institution, of course of interest and access to the people as a whole, as a constituency of the *All*. Although there is a dimension of wholeness attached to the meaning of *public*, it can also mean a specific community generalized under a certain public policy or something of a very essential and infra-structural value to a specific public.

In this context, the state is in an ambivalent situation:

1 — The (welfare) state compensates and softens the negative effects of the market economy and organizes various forms of social, economic or legal security (post WWII welfare states). Many of the solidarity forms and funds

stemming from that historical period (today in the form of public health care, trade unions or retirement plans, for example) have come out as a result of the *commoning* needs and activities of the newly-migrated workers from the rural to the industrial or urban areas, the Fordist cities and the places of new forms of contestations;

2 — However, the state emerged parallel to market economy, ensuring political and legal framework for the market's functioning and growth, which is manifested more and more since the '70s and on. It surely seems like many nation states today exist purely to perpetuate that logic. The decay of the welfare state and the total attack on all things common/public resulted in destruction of the environment and natural resources; enclosure, privatization or commercialization of public goods such as physical spaces, natural sites or resources, healthcare, culture and education, even prison systems. On the other hand, many of them are partially still available to the citizens, but mobilized by the nation state and its mechanisms in the reproduction of internalized oppression, national myths and nationalisms, which is also usually related to private business interests, financial power or the accumulation of both.

So, the logical relation between the public and the state (on local or national levels) has been weakened, abused, if not completely disrupted. In some societies, public goods are blatantly privatized or commercialized, their price increased and accessibility limited for good portions of the public. In others, they are mobilized for the purpose of reiterating certain social relations and positions which are far from socially just and sustainable. Add to it the juxtaposition of austerity measures and bail-outs; we can freely conclude that the state actually helps the market accomplish its goals through the means of corruption, plundering, enclosure and commodification. Some of the nicest examples though, feature transformation of the struggle for accessible energy (production, management and distribution) for city residents – energy democracy – into a general struggle for redefining democratic processes (Germany, USA), the position of the citizens within and democracy into radical democracy, perhaps.

The same goes for the *public sphere*. The public sphere is a social arena, the place where sociability is constituted, social relations created, redefined and institutionalized. The public sphere is where the collective body and its institutions are created and performed, structuralized, negotiated, regulated, maintained. Without the public sphere, the public is a mass, an object, a consumer, and any resources related are endangered.

Sometimes, the strong state or the market gives the illusion of a public sphere, but they are usually places of exclusion and hierarchy. They keep the communities

very busy and engaged, while they implement and perpetuate the ideology of appropriation and plunder.

Commons

The concept of the *commons* in the context of my position and my presentation at the conference consists of:

> *a resource of any kind (material, immaterial, political, natural or cultural) of relevance to a collective, a community, governed and maintained by the community. The commons is much more than that, it can affect governing of natural environment, it can refer to agricultural resources, solidarity funds or bigger concepts such as public education, a cultural institution or an urban planning process.*

The commons too, is not always an inclusive phenomenon. Take for example national parks or pastures, where only the residents of the peripheral villages can have their cattle graze, or cut trees only in a regulated period of the year and only in limited amounts. Agricultural or bank cooperatives are governed in the same manner, they provide services only to their members. So, the commons exists when someone is *commoning* – using, maintaining, regulating, advancing, governing or defending a certain resource. Commons must be constantly reproduced, maintained or defended; otherwise it is appropriated or devastated.

Forms of commons present in our local and national context, although not always explicitly articulated as such:

1 — Struggle for the commons (social movements, initiatives, active communities for the protection of a commons under attack). Such has been the struggle to protect the Studenčište Marsh in Ohrid, or the struggle to prevent the project “Skopje 2014” from construction;

2 — Commons as a governance model (resources/spaces/institutions/processes governed as a commons in continuity). For example, several local communities in western Macedonia have constructed their own water systems and maintained governance over them, thus preserving access for all community members to potable water and for acceptable prices, while resisting local state institutions pressure to join the public grid or succumb to private companies;

3 — Self-regulated public interest or citizens'/collective appropriation and regulation of shared concerns of the everyday (Kip et al. 2015), which is probably the most common form of *commoning*, care for the neighborhood, communication for public issues through petitions, participation of representative bodies in lower level decision making institutions or processes, etc.

So, the constituency and principles of the commons consist of: 1. *something* defined as a resource (that needs to be defended; developed or governed, perhaps it's a limited pool of green grass, perhaps it's an immeasurable amount of something such as culture or language); 2. a community (a group of people engaged in commoning practices); and 3. **institutions** such as commoning practices and rules defining/regulating them.

Ms. Elinor Ostrom (1990), the theoretician who put commons on the map of today's academia, researchers and practitioners and received a Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science for the effort, detected eight commoning principles in all of the various case studies she worked on, some of which are:

- defining clear group boundaries;
- matching rules of governing to local needs;
- making sure the rules are respected by outside authorities;
- graduated sanctions for perpetrators, etc.;

This makes it evident *the commons* is not always a process or a place of agreeing and confirmation, but a process/place of negotiation, antagonism, disagreement, and often a source of dissonance, as it usually inclines to narratives, which in the political reality we live in, are contested with the market/state narratives most of the time. As most contestations concerning political and economic autonomy when governing resources (market/state tendencies, occupation of public spaces and sphere, even plundering (natural) resources and infra-structure) take place in urban areas, we are looking at the category of urban commons.

What does it mean, the urban commons? Does it concern only the City, the public spaces, the urban planning? No, because the (public) resources/spaces at stake are places of global processes that link discourses and experiences on various scales, from the national, to the individual body. Apart from the spatial organization of life, it includes economic and social dynamics, but most of all, various types of cultural, subcultural and countercultural approaches in dealing with the great topics of life and their micro-manifestations.

The urban commons, just like Harvey's City, by being used, maintained and governed is a subject to constant intervention, change and reshaping. In that manner, there is a strong relation or parallel between the proposed model of *public sphere* and the *urban commons.*

The dynamic, unstable and fluid nature of today's institutions/spaces (and old ones, inherited from dissonant political systems) is either due to the nation state prevalence in the governance model, or to the market/profit oriented powers. That's why we are witnessing a global emergence of bigger and smaller commons movements and models, many of them disappearing as soon as they are established, some of them often shifting from one topic to another and some, often transforming from a struggle into an institution. Add to it the shifting boundaries between public and private, the assimilating nature of the market, which easily appropriates and accommodates social movements, alternatives, innovations – all alternatives that citizens in contested areas develop. That happens over and over again, and the adequate rivaling or responsive practice, as dissident as this one, so far, is the commons and the commoning.

Culture, Subculture and Counterculture as a Resource or Basis for a New Economy

This model was well understood and implemented by the bourgeoisie, authoritarian leaders, advertising and propaganda moguls and neo-conservative political forces in Europe and abroad. The latter ones, fueled by market forces in perpetual mutuality, have set culture as a battlefield against its own citizens, a method of plundering, appropriation, negligence and complete taking over of the public sphere or urban commons. See the project "Skopje 2014" for example – a kidnapped public sphere, vandalized and destroyed pubic space and deranged citizens on one side; satisfied private companies and a political party with one of the greatest accumulations of real-estate and wealth in Europe on the other.

In such historical moments of major political atrocities, civil society and culture, especially the culture of the oppressed or even of the majority living in sub-standard conditions can be a significant resource of frontline knowledge and wisdom for handling the micro-representations of the state/market atrocities, protecting resources or just self-regulating public interest. This kind of culture contains social relations, bodies, art and artisanship, choreographies, rituals, knowledge, rules and other parameters that define an Institution, or at least a governance model, so why not draw knowledge from there, thus reaffirming derelict, abandoned or in-between spaces, processes or institutions. This kind of culture possesses more frontline knowledge and wisdom about sustainably governing a resource, the activities can constitute rules and regulations for a new institution, while the good in question can be either public or common.

Commoning is to reclaim and reshape the Habermas public sphere, thus abolishing the hegemonistic conditions in which it was initially established, include other-than-white-male dominant voices, create rules relative to the community, employ wisdom, guarantee sustainability and prepare basis for resilience, prepare counter-public ready to react at any moment the above mentioned is endangered.

In that manner, commoning as a practice, using culture or cultures and not market quantification and evaluation as a driving force, can make former public things (resources, spaces, services) public again. Such is the example of the national park, or certain pastures – local communities care and govern THEIR commons, but they are also a public good for ALL citizens, in relation to biodiversity, environment and air quality, rural infrastructure, etc. Such is the example of a local community struggling to block the urban planning procedure that will turn their residential neighborhood into a dynamic traffic area – the solutions coming out of that relate to the local citizens, but also to all the public that uses traffic, visits the area for business, children who go to school in that area, etc. Such is the example with the 90% of a local community being in favor of a public funding of the construction of a contemporary arts museum, but only 10% of them actually planning to visit it.[1]

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Patterns of Commoning
Ownership and Cultural Production in the Age of Automation

—*Corrado Gemini*

What does it mean to imagine and build a new cultural institution in today's society?

In my opinion, our mission goes far beyond cultural production only.

Culture is the most powerful driver of social evolution together with technology: both shape, and are shaped simultaneously, by power relations between civil society, the public sphere and private capital. Culture is the only field where a real change can come from, because despite the fact that we do not own technology totally (yet), we still have control over the main means of culture production - our brains.

Only arts and culture can help us shape a different future: restoring a proper production model is the first task to achieve, but the final goal is much wider.

To overcome the angry, apparently

This article reassembles my intervention during *Dissonant Co:Spaces* in Kino Kultura, Skopje, 14.10.2017
Slides can be found at:
https://tinyurl.com/y92gyho2

hopeless situation we're living in, we have to think of new institutions as the seed for a radical change in every aspect of people's life, rediscovering the original role of culture as a key component for society. Our new cultural institutions will be both local and global places of human and political exchange, places of relationship reinforcement, nodes in which to play collective bottom-up decision making and governance: museums, theatres, cinemas, concert halls, galleries and so on will be the starting point from which future cities will be shaped: engineered from scratch to be autonomous from capitalistic influences and political biases and fully multicultural: participated, common, queer, automated, environmentally sustainable and post-national.

Many experiences, from Asilo Filangieri in Naples below, to Mietshäuser Syndikat[1], deal with different space ownership models that approach commoning from various point of views, in and out both public and private sphere: I will not deepen my analysis about space ownership in this article because I would like to concentrate on the tools that can help interface experiences with different ownership structures in a commons-oriented way.

What I will try to do before giving an overview of some Italian experiences working on various kinds of new institutionalism is to point out the main general topics of action that, in my opinion, need to be carried on simultaneously while thinking about "how do we shape a future cultural institution?"

Let's start from economy: debt rules everything.

National states and international courts are prone to financial elites like never before: financial operations imposed by the Trojka in order to 'save' banks and whole nations from bankrupting led to brutal austerity measures by national governments and to global poverty in almost every European country. Growing retiring costs are forcing people to work until advanced age: this leads to an increased stress in life and a loss in job opportunities for younger people approaching the labour market. Labour policies are also under a double disruption action: on one side, national states are annihilating rights due to debts, and on the other a growing automation is reducing the job demand without any balancing procedure in action. In Italy, traditional workers' rights, obtained through years of struggles, are getting disrupted by a strong freelance-friendly propaganda and deregulation agenda that actually puts every risk on the worker's shoulders, with tax rates up to 50%. A huge flow of cash is extracted by a growing number of 'unicorns', extractive platforms overfunded by venture capital in order to create a service monopoly with low prices that raise after some time, shaping in this way the future 'exploded' labour market: a potentially infinite number of apps that anyone can use to earn some money by 'selling' time,

1 — https://www.syndikat.org/en/

work and services. No rights, no insurance, no contracts, and a complete atomization of workforce that makes it really hard to deal with companies in terms of unionizing workers.

All of this while the world population is growing exponentially!

In my opinion, the only possible solution to this radically negative situation is a global, highly technological action of reorganization aiming towards overturning the whole economy and the concept of work itself. We must be able to embed into our projects a totally alternative exchange system with a brand-new value-set able to stand out into this overcrowded, hypercapitalized future world.

Escaping the debt is the first goal, and this is possible only with a new, global exchange system for the commons: a new currency system that would enable transactions on a new scale of values, collectively owned and managed and safe from speculation. Many experiences are actually working on this issue: from Faircoin[2] to the Bank of the Commons[3], a cooperative bank to many local alternative currencies (e.g. the Sardex in Sardinia, Italy), we have all we need to start this siphoning process. We have the communities and technology.

The second target of action is labour: We need to build a totally alternative value-scale for work that goes beyond exchange value and extraction towards social value, reproduction value, mutualism and happiness as real factors of social and human evolution.

Post-work society is the goal: we have actually always hated working so we should make sure that we don't have to be enslaved by work in the future!

To achieve this, while we still have a Net Neutrality Law protecting us (Rushe 2017), we first have to attack the main sources of exploitation that are actually in action: extractive digital platforms. While still critical under some aspects, I think that platform coops[4] are actually the only alternative model of labour organization that can deal with extractive platforms at the same level, especially when talking about something that people actually like to do, for example cultural production. Owning the platforms today is equivalent to occupying and self-managing a factory in the late '70s, with the exception of human contact: I think that we can actually produce class consciousness through autonomy and participation, both at local and global level, from arts to food and more, if we are able to balance local/human networking with global/digital scaling. At the same time, a strong effort must be put in fighting for workers' rights in all the extractive businesses that are not likely to develop class consciousness or an autonomous movement: a great example is given by the

2 — www.fair-coin.org

3 — www.bankofthecommons.coop

4 — www.platform.coop

struggles of the food-delivery/app workers of Foodora/Deliveroo in Italy, France and Belgium that led to increased wages, insurances, contracts and so on. If food delivery is not something that anyone might want to do all their life (only a few riders are interested in self-managing a food delivery coop because they're mainly students), at least let's make the employer pay fairly for the job and respect workers' rights!

Projects like Commonfare[5], PieProject[6], Dyne.org[7] and DCent[8], FreedomCoop[9] and FairCoop[10], Italian and French CLAPs[11] [12], Deliverance Project[13] and many others are dealing with issues related to common welfare, self-governance and reputation tools, transnational administrative cooperatives and digital workers' struggles.

Another big issue is data ownership and AI: "Data is the new oil," someone said, and this is totally true. Every day an enormous amount of data is produced by humanity and gathered in private servers, and then used in two ways: one, data is processed for advertising and social/political control purposes like fake news filters, which are actually going to destroy the freedom of speech in a few years. Two huge datasets are given to Machine Learning algorithms that are going to be the first drivers of labour disruption and exercise of power in the next years. AmperMusic[14] or DreamCatcher[15] are two good examples of the potential of ML applied to creativity, with the second one already wiping out many human designers in big companies such as Boeing and others: machines are learning to recognize faces, fly drones as intelligent swarms (U.S. Department of Defense 2017), predict retinopathy (Gulshan et. al. 2016), produce targeted political propaganda (Fung 2017) and even program other ML algorithms (Simonite 2017) better than humans do. We are shifting from the old labour market to the future one based on big data and extractive platform economy: the biggest companies in the world are all less than 30 years old, and they all deal with data, software, hardware and AI. Patents, copyrights and data ownership are a focal field of action: a future without a proper AI and data control

5 — www.commonfare.net

6 — www.pieproject.eu

7 — www.dyne.org

8 — http://tools.dcentproject.eu/

9 — www.freedom.coop

10 — www.fair.coop

11 — www.clap-info.net

12 — https://www.facebook.com/clap75/

13 — https://www.facebook.com/DeliveranceProject/

14 — www.ampermusic.com

15 — https://autodeskresearch.com/projects/dreamcatcher

means a real Matrix-style landscape. We do not really want to end up being paid a basic poverty income from some 'President-Zuckerberg' (CNBC 2017) in order to spend our life clicking on 'Like' buttons or advertising! While developing open tools for common AIs, which will be inevitable in the future, we are under constant exploitation. There is actually an ongoing debate (Lomas 2017) about the need of a license for machine-feeding purposes of copyrighted data, but it's a long run. Unfortunately there are only two possibilities to protect the data we produce: building an alternative internet or setting up p2p and encrypted networks. Cubotto.org[16] is an interesting project that is working to build an open source, international, encrypted p2p network of archives. On the intellectual property side, Copyright Law and Digital Rights Management tools (Doctorow 2017) are actually used not only to prevent any use of protected products, but to annihilate competitors in a market that is getting monopolyzed quickly: in the near future it will be almost impossible to stream a movie on a different browser than Chrome/Safari, or even play an mp3 outside a licensed computer/mp3player/car stereo. Given that piracy doesn't particularly harm sales, as a 350,000€ research commissioned by the EU discovered few months ago (van der Ende et. al. 2014), the standard position of an author (big or small) about copyright is: "if I can collect royalties from commercial uses in a transparent and smart way, I don't care about chasing teenagers for downloading my album via torrent:" this opens up a big opportunity. What we totally need to do is to build and promote a system that enables authors to properly collect royalties from Creative Commons licenses. These licenses, which keep culture open while controlling commercial uses and legally protecting against exploitation, are the only alternative to the Copyright/DRM slaughterhouse: Cultural Commons Collecting Society (C3S)[17] is a German-based project working in this direction: hopefully, and maybe with some help and networking, the first European cooperative collecting society for CC's will be up and running in near future. CTRL (more info below) is also working on this issue. This will allow authors to fully enjoy the freedom of copyleft while still collecting royalties and protecting contents from exploitation.

In conclusion, we must stand together, develop common tools and dream big.

Imagine being able to make, distribute and perform art, culture and research in a global network of common spaces and means of production without being enslaved by standard sustainability schemes, using common currencies and platforms that allow not only culture, but also goods and services to flow across communities of producers, in a human environment based on mutualism and cooperation: this is, in my opinion, the future common institution we are looking for.

16 — www.cubotto.org

17 — https://www.c3s.cc/

Will we be able to make it, together?

Below, a brief description of some Italian spaces and projects which are actually working on some of the topics above.

— **Ex-Asilo Filangieri**, Napoli - *www.exasilofilangieri.it*

Ex-Asilo Filangieri is the former base of the Forum of Cultures in Naples.

Since March 2nd 2012, the building is open to the citizenship in an open process of collective governance of a public space dedicated to culture and research, in line with the Civic Use Institute. An open community of citizens and art/culture/research workers share projects and live the spaces of Asilo, running them through a public assembly: a different fruition of a public good, not assigned to a private entity but opened to the participation of everyone, in a horizontal and transparent way. The Collective and Urban Civic Use Declaration (Asilo 2016) was written by activists in Asilo and officially recognised by the City of Naples on December 29th 2015. Since then, the resolution was applied to seven more spaces in the city (Scugnizzo Liberato, Lido Pola, Villa Medusa, Giardino Liberato, Ex-OPG, Santa Fede Liberata, Ex-Schipa)[18], making Naples the biggest commoning laboratory in Italy's history.

The main activities in Asilo are performing arts, theatre, music, video/photo production, scenography, visual arts, and a strong research group about commoning: since the Civic Uses Resolution is actually recognized only by the City of Naples, a change in the city administration party might mean the end of this experience (it's just a city resolution, not a national law). For this reason, activists from Asilo are working to 'export' this Resolution to other Italian and European cities in order to enlarge the coalition of spaces and city administrations accepting this new model of governance.

A broad number of experiences and a strong, continuous action are needed to enscribe the Civic Uses Resolution into National Law Code.

Asilo is also promoting conferences, think-tanks and a general action of networking that is gradually shaping a wide front of discussion and exchange about commoning.

In the course of 5 years Asilo deeply worked on the spaces and means of production actually building a fully functional theatre/concert hall, a rehearsal/performing arts space, a professional scenography workshop, a tailoring lab, a darkroom, a cinema, a library/co-working, a public garden and so on.

18 — https://www.facebook.com/ScugnizzoLiberato/ + http://www.lidopola.eu/ + https://www.facebook.com/villa.medusa.occupata/ + http://giardinoliberato.tk/ + http://jesopazzo.org/ + https://santafedeliberata.jimdo.com/ + https://www.facebook.com/casa.benecomune/

— **Macao**, Milano - *www.macaomilano.org*

On May 5th 2012, a group of artists, activists and citizens occupied one of the most iconic buildings in Milan, Torre Galfa.

The building, which is a 31-floors skyscraper, was recognized by the city as an example of bad governance: owned by a multi-condemned family of building speculators and real estate brokers, it was abandoned for more than 10 years, and since then it stayed rotting in the city centre, just near the Central Train Station.

Immediately after the occupation, thousands of citizens rushed to the tower, and gathered in a semi-permanent-general-assembly (plus various thematic 'tables'), which lasted for 10 days. The main claim was the need of spaces for an open cultural production that goes beyond capitalistic market towards social change, independent political critique, and a new production model. After 10 days, the building was evicted by the police following a direct order from the Ministry of Interior. Macao spread through the city for 3 weeks, gathering in public spaces and opening new buildings to the city, then settled in the former City Slaughterhouse's offices in Viale Molise 68. Following Asilo's Collective and Urban Civic Use Resolution, Macao wrote a similar document in order to discuss it with the city administration, with no practical results. The building is actually part of a selling procedure by SoGeMi, a city services company owned 99% by the city administration. The community of Macao is still waiting to speak with the city administration about the future of the building, with no answer to their questions.

Macao is actually working and collaborating with FairCoop and Commonfare on alternative models of economy and governance: CommonCoin is an alternative currency which was set up about 1 year ago in order to stimulate participation and regulate exchanges and accessibility to the space and its means of production.

Basically, it works through a 'central bank' (Macao) that gives a fixed amount of CommonCoins (CC) to anyone who opens a digital wallet.

CC's can be used in many ways, from booking a date for a concert to using a space/laboratory for personal purposes. From maintenance and cleaning to theoretical work, from a night-bar shift to communication duties, every useful activity is rewarded with CommonCoins which are 'added' to digital wallets monthly.

This creates a circular economy in which accumulation is algorithmically punished (negative interest rate on holding CC's) and participation is rewarded: at the end of the month, a Universal Basic Income (in Euros) is given equally to anyone who attended a minimum number of assemblies and actively contributed to collective duties.

Macao is running a concert venue, a multifunctional room, a small cinema, some ateliers, a library/co-working, two performing art spaces and a small recording studio.

— **Cavallerizza Reale**, Torino - *https://www.cavallerizzareale.org/*

Cavallerizza Reale is a wonderful 30,000 square meters building from the 18th century in the centre of Turin.

Listed in Unesco Heritage buildings since 1997, it was put on sale by the administration in 2009 to pay off huge city debts.

Home of the Teatro Stabile di Torino until 2013, it was then left empty and rotting.

On May 23rd 2014, a group of citizens under the name of Assemblea Cavallerizza 14:45 gathered 10,000 signatures to save the building from sale, and then occupied it.

Many intellectuals and researchers, including Gustavo Zagrebelsky, Paolo Maddalena, Ugo Mattei and others signed the petition and contributed to the first theoretical steps of the Cavallerizza experience.

The space today is ran by a community of citizens, activists and artists: regular tasks and various kind of productions are organized through thematic groups. Once a week, a general assembly is held between the working groups: another weekly assembly is dedicated to maintenance and logistics, with one public city assembly every month.

All of these are open for participation.

Cavallerizza is actually running two big, fully equipped theatres, one concert hall, a Fablab, many ateliers for visual arts, a kitchen/restaurant, scenography and construction labs.

Since 2016, Cavallerizza is holding HERE[19], a 10 days + residency contemporary arts festival: more than 15,000 people came to visit HERE during its second edition, with more than 200 artists involved.

In 2017, Cavallerizza started an institutional process with the city administration for the application of Collective and Urban Civic Use Resolution with the help of Ex-Asilo Filangieri lawyers and researchers.

— **CTRL Project** - *www.ctrlproject.org*

Created in 2014 inside Macao and cofounded by the author of this text, CTRL is today a process involving many activists and spaces around Italy. The project moves from a wide analysis of music market and intellectual property related issues, which can be synthesized in the following points:

19 — http://artivisive.cavallerizzareale.org/here.html

1 — The copyright market is not necessary anymore. By copyright market, we mean both the 'All Rights Reserved' model and the sale of property and economic rights in the production, publishing and distribution of contracts between industrial labels and authors (or between bankrupting labels and majors taking them over). Enforcing copyright is useless, has extremely high costs and produces actually no value for the real authors. Streaming pays off nothing to artists, and the real cash comes from TV/radio transmission, sync and live that can be managed also with copyleft licenses.

2 — The only fixed role remaining in music are the authors and public: everything else is exploded. Recording studios disrupted by professional home studios, vinyl/cd plants and records stores disrupted by distribution and streaming platforms, press offices and promoters disrupted by Instagram and Facebook, capitalistic funding paradigm disrupted by crowdfunding and so on. As a consequence, everybody is doing everything: from radio stations organizing festivals to major labels producing talent shows, from self-promoting musicians to clubs opening record labels.

3 — In 2016, the three Major labels plus the aggregate Merlin still hold 70% of the global market share, private platforms were making billions of dollars out of music, all of this while authors still had the lowest position in the chain.

What we believe is that collective ownership of platforms, a proper copyleft system and a strong push to mutualism and cooperation makes up a fully sustainable environment for music and other arts.

CTRL aims at launching a platform that will be opened to any worker in music and to the public. Authors, artists and producers, labels, recording studios, record stores, venues and clubs, promoters and so on: through the platform, a rich number of tools will enable a totally new way of working with music, from production to distribution, from promotion to exhibition. Direct engagement between operators and administrative automation, together with a fully customizable workspace centred on self-governance, will promote interaction and responsibility in the community. The music published through the platform will be distributed under Creative Commons licences: a proper collecting society, owned and governed by the members, will take care of royalties collection for commercial uses. The platform itself will be owned and ran by the members through a European cooperative in a tight one member/one share frame: the project is also open to a future of cooperation with already existing alternative economic and administrative systems, other than promoting mutualism with other forms of art. The project is still looking for proper funds with which it can

give a sprint to the developing phase: in the meanwhile, CTRL is promoting workshops[20] and conferences[21] related to intellectual property, cultural labour and music market issues, hackatons and other initiatives. Many of the spaces mentioned above have been touched and involved by CTRL, in a process of mutual enrichment and cooperation.

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Building Collective Public Space Responsibly: 'Conflictual' Artistic and Curatorial Practices

—Ivana Vaseva

"Sometimes, all-inclusive democracy has to be avoided at all cost. In order to make decisions within any given collaborative structure, network or institution, conflicts can ultimately only be overcome and turned into practice if someone assumes responsibility"

— (Miessen 2010:13).

The Empowerment of/by the Collective

The starting point of this elaboration, as some kind of a theoretical postulate for it, as well as the activities that will be presented further on, is the research,

and later the internet text version summarizing this process titled “Collective Decision as a Political and not Organizational Decision” for which Filip Jovanovski and I received the Ladislav Barishic Award of the Macedonian branch of the AICA critics association (2016).[1]

In this research we considered the art groups, i.e. the groups in the broadest sense of the word (including initiatives, formal groups and informal associations) in the area of visual art in the last 70 years (fine art) in Macedonia, where we tried to raise several topics. First, we examined the impact of the political and organizational within the groups from the standpoint of the reasons for their establishment and the problems of artistic organization. The organizational in this research implies that it is not always political, because it sometimes exists only as mutual help among the members for their individual production and exhibiting, while the political aspect in establishing a group is examined as an intent to change or affect a change of the circumstances they are creating under, in order to originate a new climate for production and perception of art thus creating new constellations. In this sense, we also distinguish between ’politics’ and ‘the political’. ‘The political’ is the dimension of antagonism which is constitutive of societies, while ‘politics’ is a set of practices and institutions creating order, which organizes human coexistence in the context of the conflict enabled by ‘the political’ (Mouffe 2005).

Furthermore, in this context it may be worth to mention that this research does aim to supplement the more recent initiative of several authors of historicizing certain practices that had been marginalized, censored or suppressed, and consequently forgotten, but did happen in the countries of former Yugoslavia, once again omitting the events from this country (the reasons for this non-engagement may be due to insufficient information on the part of the authors, insufficient representation on the concrete scene in other environment, or the general cultural policy of the federation, but it also may be due to the insufficiently inspiring projects developed in this country). This, however, is not the subject of this research.

For the presentation at the conference “Modelling Public Space(s) in Culture”, Filip and I examined collective actions, which strive to make a change in the established and most often listless societal, social and cultural context, actions that we have produced by engaging with many collaborators. In this sense, we articulate the initiatives as collaborative and engaging artistic and curatorial endeavors which speak about the importance of several spaces created in the past as places for socialization, sociability, subjectivisation, as well as an exchange, which does not emphasize the repetition of the old ideas, but reconsiders these models as stimuli for new models of spaces in art and culture and as value units which could serve as an example in the present.

1 — See full text at http://www.aica-macedonia.org.mk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/I-Vaseva-i-F-Jovsanovski-nagrada-AICA-2016_skratena-Eng.-v.-lektura.pdf

In this sense it is worth mentioning here that these projects[2] are also important because the relations they establish, with regards to the medium, are of immaterial and often of a discursive nature, creating intersubjective places; they are collaborative, based on relationships and correlations rather than specific productions which are as well difficult to document (and in that sense are antimarket) and in the world of art are a process in themselves – oftentimes based without strict parameters. As Claire Bishop points out, intersubjective relations are not an end in themselves but rather serve to unfold a more complex knot of concerns about pleasure, visibility, engagement and the conventions for social interaction (2006:183), as well as the convention and tradition on how to stimulate the political dimension of art in unveiling other realities in the production and reception in contrast to art's representational character.

Collective Artistic and Curatorial Actions

Consequently, my colleague and I presented some of the practices shaping broader initiatives, such as the *Railway Workers' Building* in Skopje (built towards the end of the 40s of the previous century by architect Mihail Dvornikov as a unique example of collective housing architecture for the employees of the Skopje Directorate for the Yugoslavia Railways), *KUC Textile* (space for the textile workers in Shtip, as a reminiscence of Arts and Culture Association Makedonka (KUD Makedonka) which functioned in the period 1952-1991), and an initiative to shelter and protect the *Officers' House* in Bitola (built at the start of the previous century for the army and civil elites, afterwards serving as a venue for ceremonial receptions, entertaining, leisure, balls etc.).

All of these activities are part of this presentation due to several reasons:

— The buildings are cultural heritage of a certain period (the Yugoslavian socialism) which promoted workers' emancipation through culture and art, and in this sense they are offering specific segments such as an extension to housing, i.e. they have certain supplements to the household layout (in the case of the cinema theatre in the Railway *Workers' Building* in Skopje as a collective space and the

2 — When I speak about the following activities in the sense of naming or defining them, i.e. the lack of adequate naming, most often I use the term 'project' or initiatives or activities. They are named according to the manner of their production and conception methodology.

initiative produced *If Buildings Could Talk*[3]) or are an extension of the industrial and ideological self-governing background of industrial development by creating amateur cultural associations within Yugoslavian factories (the textile factory Makedonka in Shtip and the existence of the cultural and artistic association by the same name which afterwards turned into the initiative Cultural Art Center Textile[4]). Within Yugoslavia there were also photo clubs, libraries and literature sections, mostly of amateur character, which sometimes enabled avant-garde experimenting in the spirit of social self-governance[5].

To this we can also add the research on the *Officers' House* in Bitola as the place of a cultural memory of the city, but of an elite character; during the JNA period it was closed for the wider public. It was built as a venue for receptions and balls and towards the start of 2000 it also served for various cultural events, festivals and movie screenings or classical concerts as well as events from the area of contemporary visual art and music, many of them organized by the AKTO Festival for Contemporary Art[6]. In this context the *Officers' House* is presented due to the initiative for protecting this building as one of special importance for the city and its contact zones, and not within the old city core of Bitola and seek the most adequate model for its functioning and content – above all artistic content important for the community promoting democracy, equality, solidarity, collaboration etc. which was

3 — *If Buildings Could Talk* is a two year research process (2015 – 2017) made in Skopje, Belgrade and Zagreb, comprised of workshops, lectures, exhibitions, performative action, a two panel discussion and a publication. The people involved in the whole process can be seen on the following link:
http://akto-fru.com/en/%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B5%D0%BA%D1%82%D0%B8/ibctif-buildings-could-talk/

4 — Cultural Art Center Textile-Shtip organizes activities designed in cooperation with many inhabitants of Shtip, and aims at treating subjects linked to the local industrial branch – textile. The main axis of this center, which was the start of its functioning, was the two week program that shaped an artistic concept designed by the artist Filip Jovanovski in 2016. This program included several discussions on the workers' rights and the forms of trade union association, workshops for children, discussion meetings, music events, etc. through which it sought to encourage a platform for reflection and sharing of experiences, as well as to create relationships. One of the main activities of the center, from the start till today is also the work of the organization "Loud Textile Worker" which seeks to promote, encourage, and address the rights, and the ways of organizing of the textile, shoe-maker and leather workers in Shtip and in the region, in order to improve their labor and life rights. It was founded by Filip Jovanovski, curated by Biljana Tanurovska Kjulavkovski, in collaboration with Ivana Vaseva, and in association with the GLASNO (LOUD) organization which later on became re-branded into Loud Textile Worker (Kristina Ampeva, Denis Ampev, Simona Zhivkova, Blagojche Dishoski).

5 — For further reading on this topic follow the text by Bojana Piškur and Stevan Majstorović. Some of them: *https://schizocurating.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/self_management.pdf, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001341/134196eo.pdf*

6 — AKTO Festival is organized by FRU – The Faculty for Things That Can't Be Learned, co-managed by Vaseva and Jovanovski. More info www.akto-fru.com

done for AKTO 12 in 2017.[7]

Artistic and Curatorial Strategies: *Engagement* and *Research*

Engagement not participation

In this sense, I will build on some of Markus Miessen's views on the concept of participation i.e. the alternative forms of participation and the various interpretations of the concept of democracy in the context of today's world. Adding to the views of Chantal Mouffe, and provocatively naming some of his books as *The Violence of Participation or The Nightmare of Participation,* he states that:

> *Participation is often understood as a means of becoming a part of something through pro-active contribution and occupation of a particular role. However, it seems that this role is rarely understood as a critical platform of engagement, but rather based on romantic conceptions of harmony and solidarity. In this context, I would like to promote an understanding of conflictual participation, one that acts as an uninvited irritant, a forced entry into fields of knowledge that could arguably benefit from spatial thinking — (2007).*

In that sense, and relying on his views on conflict that can lead to change, but also through which the participants become active agents and in which participation becomes critical engagement, I will propose the usage of the term engagement, especially when I'm talking about the abovementioned initiatives. In this context, I will also mention the curator Edi Muka, who introduced the concept of engagement as specific practices in order to make a distinction from participation precisely in terms

7 — AKTO Agora presented in the frames of the project Cultural Spaces for Active Citizens (jointly created with the partner organization Lokomotiva Center for New Initiatives in Art and Culture), which was a presentation of the several months of research of a working group in Bitola. In AKTO Agora, besides the key note speakers: Kristina Biceva (Cultural Heritage Protection Office in Skopje), Odisej Jovanovski (working group Officers' House in Bitola), Biljana Tanurovska Kjulavkovski (cultural manager) and Nataša Bodrožić (case study Motel Trogir), participated: Robert Alagjozovski (Minister of Culture), Pavle Bogoevski, Ivana Tufegdzic, Irena Stefoska, Vasko Kovachevski (MPs of Macedonia), members of the City Council of Bitola and a lot of citizens.

of their connotation of opening new fields of thinking, acting and action.[8]

Bishop (2006) also contributes to the so-called uninvited irritant or the involved outsider (artist) who with critical involvement and unlimited interest interrupts the status quo, in order to effectuate change and innovation. She points out to practices of certain artists who make discomfort and frustration along with absurdity, eccentricity, doubt or sheer pleasure (being the art works' aesthetic elements) as a non-ethic choice without the incapacitating restriction of guilt so stressed by others who embrace the ethical choice, throwing off the very aesthetics that appears in those kind of attitudes.

Research as artistic and curatorial practice

All these specific actions are, in their essence, research based art and curatorial endeavors that set up experiential knowledge, visibility and dissemination of the issue by initiating further projects / ideas / initiatives, and not always specific facts. They are all initiated jointly by an artist (Filip Jovanovski) and curator (Ivana Vaseva) and different interested groups/ communities and individuals (residents of the *Railway Workers Complex* in Skopje, textile workers in Shtip, interested citizens in Bitola and peers and colleagues from different research disciplines) all invested in the same 'place of desire'. This kind of practices are rarely initiated in our country and rarely reflected upon due to lack of respective knowledge, connoisseurs or time.

The research is not only implied in the initial phases of the projects but is an integral part of them; the research is almost always qualitative and analytical but also conceptual and focused on producing new kind of knowledge. The public presentation is sometimes an art work and sometimes a discursive platform, aiming to stimulate new ways of production that can interrogate and offer another institutional ecology based on the principles of solidarity, emancipation and community.

8 — He mentioned this as part of his lecture in the frames of the discursive – educational program *The Perfect Artist*, curated by Ivana Vaseva in Skopje in June, 2017.

The Importance of Emancipation and Responsibility

When it comes to the connection between the self-governing system in Yugoslavia and culture and art, in this context it would be appropriate to make a parallel to the values that were promoted in the past as opposed to the neoliberal logic of the 'creative industries'. The market value of art and culture (as opposed to its political and social agency) penetrated not only the institutions and European cultural policies, but also through the 'products' of the art market with its culture of eventfulness and theatricalization through various biennials, megalomaniac exhibitions, happenings and new artistic productions. However, even in this framework, there are very sharp and bold initiatives that invert the given and embedded circumstances that give us hope for a different future.

Namely, on the topic of how culture could be a political issue within society, or a cultural policy that can be social fostering of culture, Antun Žvan, within a debate published in the 1973 Cultural Worker Magazine writes:

> *First of all, culture in a socialist society becomes a real political subject only when the question of the cultural transformation of the people gets in the focus of the issue of politics, when it starts from Lenin's loud opinion according to which the proletariat is entitled to the highest trends in the human spirit. Socialist cultural policy must, uninterruptedly, on daily-basis and in every practical action aim at achieving that high ideal. That goal must not and cannot be postponed for the future; it must not be conditioned by anything.*
>
> *Secondly, socialist cultural policy must strive to overcome the historically conditioned gap between the way of life of the oppressed class that has been alienated from the sphere of culture because that class did not possess neither the spare time, nor the material conditions and necessary education in order for it to be able to gain for itself the highest cultural values and way of life to the ruling, unbusy class whose property and social status enabled them access to cultural goods. The proletariat historically, to a certain extent, was largely omitted from a part of the cultural life. Socialism must do everything to correct this*

historical injustice — (1973:20).[9]

All tackled case studies - the *Railway Workers' Building* in Skopje, *KUC Textile, Officers' House* in Bitola - are places of socialization, subjectivization and emancipation of workers and the broader community, but also places where the issue of responsibility appears as the 'elephant in the room'. The issue of responsibility arises in the publicity and responsibility in the work process, especially in the case of the Railway Residential Complex (as a building that housed all workers in the Railway company) and with KUD Makedonka (as a space for the workers in the textile industry Makedonka). The responsibility is social (collective responsibility, which is also in part personal) responsibility and is personal responsibility. Vladimir Koščević writes: "Because without its publicity, work does not retain its self-governing character, but takes on the shape of 'internal' accountability of the lower to the higher classes, most often in the hierarchical system" (1972:89).

In all three cases it is clear - if it is self-aware and motivating, then the community itself would function or in other words the working people are (or should be) directly responsible to each other and to the social community. Koščević continues:

> *With this principle mutual responsibility is established for the entire personal work of the working community and the society as a whole, which is an expression not only of the solidarity due to mutual work or interest, but also of the dependence of the work of some groups to the work of others. This type of responsibility extends further in the direction of social usefulness and coherence of the activities of the working and social communities as well as to each individual with the interests of the social community as a whole — (1972:89).*

If that doesn't happen, according to Koščević (1972), personal irresponsibility occurs due to lack of morals and there are no criteria for evaluating morals and looking from the point of view of the socialist ethics, the irresponsible individual is immoral.

9 — He furthermore writes:

The third condition, that the socialist cultural policy is faced with, is the overpowering/overcoming the contemporary division of 'elite' and 'mass' culture, a division that emerged in the modern civil society and which basically amounts to the fact that what is designed for the masses, primarily for the working class is from the area of the so-called mass culture. In our society, 'mass culture' is also present as a result of the fetishization of the market, the uncritical application of the market model of cultural life and the discrepancy in the civil ideologies.

Finally, it is a question of the social and economic conditions of creation. By this I am not referring to the palliative solutions like those when recently, for example, 300 million denars were reserved for writers of literature, but to creating stable and lasting conditions, both social and material, for the flourishing and fostering of creation (Žvan 1973:20).

A perfect example here is the *Railway Workers' Building* which, in my opinion, witnesses how collective housing architecture could look, but due to the irresponsibility of many tenants and due to acoustics, it has many problems in its functioning.

The irresponsibility also can be attributed to the state apparatus since all spaces are left by its respective organs to systematically collapse, they are ignored or they are left to oblivion. The systematic destruction of the cultural heritage of any type is a result of the market economy, personal business interests and the interests of private investors as well as the government which dramatically changed the attitude towards the public in the past decades, turning it into private and thus suppressing any idea of a collective spirit.

At the end, all three cultural heritage case studies can serve as a basis for reviewing the current housing policy in a sense of privacy, individuality and isolation of a person in their home or workplace, which is reducing their sociability. They can be starting points for examining the much neglected analysis of the privatization processes that created a vicious circle of dissatisfaction and produced the status of 'permanent unemployment'. And it can invert the lack of care for the surroundings, for the place where people live and act.

But, only if the collective assumes responsibility.

These initial activities were produced in 2016 and 2017 but are one of FRU's strategic commitments and continuation of some of the initiatives such as Living Libraries: archives of civil disobedience, the AKTO Festival and 111 theses on GTC and are aimed to preserve 'dissonant' spaces by collaborating with the competent institutions (Municipality of Centar, Bitola Municipality, Ministry of Culture) and its strategic partner Lokomotiva - Center for New Initiatives in Culture and Art. They are also preparation of an appropriate module for functioning that would lead to sustainability and longevity.

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Artistic formats and institutions: (re)articulation, (re)presentation, and (dis)placement

—*Ingrid Cogne*

Depending on the role one has (artist, choreographer, curator, researcher, dramaturge); Depending on whether or not it is a co- (which form of co-? how many are involved, etc.); Depending on the intention(s) of the proposal one has (its layer(s) of complexity, its relationships to others – audience, peers, passers-by, etc.)… --> A specific relationship/ contract/way of working needs to be created.

In other words, the focus is not on artistic formats that need to be instituted by institutions, but on communication and ways of co-operating between the ones who are linking artistic formats and institutions.

Words

- Situation (setting) there/then, here/now
- Dis-/tance/place
- “Essayer”
- “Faciliter”
- (Re)negotiate

To start? This text is a rewritten improvised lecture performance.

—

I have a bit of material everywhere.

I work with distraction when doing an improvised articulation.

—

Distraction is a strategy I use to create space(s) – for myself and for others – in between different activities. I believe that the amount of information co-present(ed) contribute to (re)articulation and (co)circulation.

Dissonant Space 1: I am putting into circulation 3 objects.

Object 1 is the PhD thesis I wrote [and defended in November 2015), Entitled "Displacement(s) as Method(s)". This A4 blue object is not a publication but the required format I had to deal with. I decided to explore this printed, bound matter to present a (im)materialization of my PhD re/search (2011-2015).

Objects 2[1] and 3[2] are publications that I consider relevant – I am not "in" them.

Yesterday and today[3], when being here, I was thinking "epistemology": is a "new"[4] language needed? Or a careful attention to wordings, to the way in which things are worded?

How does one position oneself regarding the way(s) in which one uses a particular notion?

How do I deal with the notions I am using?

1 — Hlavajova, Marija and Ranjit Hoskote, eds. 2015. *Future Publics (The Rest Can and Should Be Done by the People): A Critical Reader in Contemporary Art*. Utrecht: BAK.

2 — Habib Engqvist, Jonatan, Annika Enqvist, Michele Masucci, Lisa Rosendahl and Cecilia Widenheim, eds. 2012. *Work, Work, Work, A Reader on Art and Labor.* Berlin: Sternberg Press.

3 — 12-13th of October 2017

4 — *"New" is a bit problematic for me.*

Dissonant Space 2 — Juxtaposition of two quotes – an invitation to another space of dissonance.

I read "A place between is spatial, it is a mapping of the topographies between here, there, and elsewhere. A place between is temporal, it pays attention to time, to the ways in which we locate the then from the now, the now from the yet-to-come, for in our writings of history, our placing of the past in the present, we are already positioning possibilities for the future. A place between is social, it is an articulation of the place of dialogue, ongoing discussion, between one and another" (Rendell n.d.:221).

I read "institutions and ways of instituting (meaning, subjectivity, legality, and so on) appear as a more or less coherent whole, as a unity, but appear so only through praxis and belief. But as an ontological proposition it means that a society must always be instituted through creation, and that there cannot be more or less creativity. If a particular social imaginary comes to be viewed as inaccurate or obsolete, false even, it will mean the collapse of that given society, the way that historical empires have crumbled and fallen, only to be replaced, in turn, by another imaginary order of society" (Sheikh 2011).

The notion of instituant practice – on which I am definitely not informed enough – caught my attention, due to the multitude of declinations one can find: institute/-ing/-ion/-inalization. What does moving/the movement(s) from one to the other notion(s) allow – from an entity to a place or another? It is all about movement.

I move to "methodology", which is one the main focuses of my different (professional) activities.

Dissonant Space 3 — **Series of keywords** is another strategy that I have been developing both in "Displacement(s) as Method(s)" (PhD research and thesis) and in *Six Formats* (post-doctoral research). Even while listening to other speakers I dialogue with what I am listening to with series of keywords, using ",", "/", "vs.", and "–" as tools.

Positions one can have.

I started my career as choreographer when I moved to Sweden /displaced myself from my initial context/ where I started from scratch. “You have 2 masters, just do your Art.” At that time, academia was not a possibility – too early in the phylogeny(/fashion) of PhDs in practice in Stockholm.

Once, while having my daily training as professional dancer at Danscentrum Stockholm, a person approached me and asked me a (challenging) question: “Who are you?” (Who am I… I don’t know who I am – I thought – even if I was aware of (i) where I was from and (ii) the conditioning I went through). “What do you want to know?” (I answered). Anna Koch invited me to the place where she was artistic director. I found in Weld a space where to (create/)place my work – choreographic proposals that, I realized, did not correspond to what was identified as Dance in Stockholm at that time (2007).

Esthetics, (re)presentation, and projection… The way one moves – deals with one’s body – might be confronted with the canon into play where one is, has (dis) placed oneself. Does one want to fit in? I did not. To respect my vision and interests was crucial (where one has been, the paths of thinking one took, the focuses and references one has). Borderline.

Dissonant Space 4 — *I have to be careful with my time.*

Walls. I moved from the freelance world in Sweden to a PhD in Practice in Austria. Not being a job, this (privileged) “academization” did not provide financial support and deprived me from financial support as a freelance choreographer in Sweden (there, PhDs – art-based, in practice – are paid).

I became a student instead of becoming a researcher, just to say.

Yet, I was willing to explore another position in another space of functioning as an artist. Going back to the academia (before moving to Sweden I was already an academic – circulation, movement, and displacement – *move and be moved*), took/gave me time. Before completing with my PhD research, I initiated the art-based research project that I am currently running.

I explored the liminal zone of a frontier. The iceberg is a model I use – not to create dialogisms between visible and hidden, above and under, inside and outside, but – to focus on the variable zone water is caressing. “Ressac”.

Six Formats – hosted at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna and financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, PEEK, AR291-G21) – aims to approach and question formats that are used to communicate (in the application the verb "present" was used, after the first year of the project it became "communicate", since a few months I am willing to change to the verb "circulate") knowledge articulated in art-based research. One of my statements is to claim that format is knowledge (as much as the content presented in publication, exhibition, symposium, lecture-performance, screening, workshop).

The research is conceptualized, one could say, the other way around, moving from the format Publication (that is often approached at the end of a process or in addition to another manifestation of a research) to the format Workshop (that is often a tool used when – even before – starting a research). *Six Formats* follows a protocol combining/is developed in a matrix of processes, (more or less) institutional partners, invited researchers, circles of meetings – a flexible geometry that moves and is moved between the points of references of the vision of the overall project, and challenges and is challenged within/for each of the formats approached. *Six Formats* is full of filters. *Six Formats* is an institutionalized practice of research that circulates within/between institutions – that are more or less institutionalized. "Doing" is at the heart of the research so I reflected on the frontier/relationship between institutions. My proposal/strategy is to have in the team of co-researchers gathered for each format someone working at the institution hosting/welcoming/collaborating with *Six Formats* to facilitate communication, access to knowledge of each particular context – background, history, interest, politic, archive.

Doing not only for doing, "not doing one more nice exhibition (or other format)", but doing "something bigger than oneself" – toward a win-win situation for both *Six Formats* and the place. The person has a double position: co-researcher and filter. This filtering through a mediator is part of the methodology I try to implement in order to ease the circulation of information.

Communication is one major element to be considered: Who are you? What is your point of departure? To whom are you talking? How are you talking? Etc. quickly one can notice if there is (a bit) of permeability, or not. What I want to say, even if I hear that sounding a bit naïve, is that everything is a question of meeting(s) – my master thesis was titled, if I translate literally, "Dance and Visual Arts: a story of meetings".

To activate movement and circulation:

- read the context,
- create a situation,
- identify specific parameters (such as the values carried by the project),
- think possible connection/inscription in larger perspectives.

Six Formats methodology – (a series of) **Circles of participation**. The inner circle corresponds to researcher(s) of the main team of the overall art-based research project *Six Formats*. A second (larger) circle appears during the pre-process of one format involving the *Six Formats* researcher(s) and the filter-researcher from the institution. During the pre-process a third circle involves (a few or all) the specific format co-researchers, in order to develop the ways in which the group will (co-)work – refining the relations between *Six Formats* and the institution partner, between the questioning of the format and the identification of an appropriate content in order to implement a situation of re/search (that aims to be) positive to each of the elements involved (from context, project, format, team, content, to individual). During the process, the co-researchers have a work meeting at the location of the institutional partner – the process varies from 5 to 10 working days; depending on the format it can be split in two parts/processes, which generates an in-between process and possibilities to pursue the articulation via online communication before meeting again at the institutional partner.

As *Six Formats* focuses on formats used to present/communicate/circulate knowledge, the moment of meeting between the knowledge gathered and a larger circle (peers, visitors, spectators, others) is at the heart of the project. The latest is, according to my perception, an area that has until now not been thought enough within the different formats and co-researching groups involved, often left to a last minute "fixing": a moment of meeting when the circulation of information is supposed to happen… shall we talk about fear? This why I decide to have a post-process for the format Lecture-performance on "Event vs. moment of meeting: articulation and circulation".

A post-process only happens when the format(s) concerned require a re-questioning, the deepening of what and how a research group worked on – for post-processes the persons involved can differ from the third circle – or *Six Formats* has/finds/needs opportunities of presenting/communicating via diverse means.

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From the past

Möte09 (a collaborative project, 2008-09) dealt with formats of meeting audiences, was implemented in four institutions in four cities in Sweden, gathered 31 invited practitioners – each place, location, architecture offering variable relations between the project and audiences.

The price of a coffee – a choreographic proposal I conceptualized back then in order to facilitate the drop-in the processes when passing by the space(s) … "invitation" and "proposal" were as well at the heart of the choreographic project.

Spectator (a re/search at the House of Dance Stockholm, 2010-11) dealt with "position and positioning" of both artist(s) and spectator(s) (in) between black box and white cube, (in) between "interaction, activity, and activation". One of my focuses was, with a choreographic approach, to question the position of a freelance artist in the specific context of a "big" institution, while proposing an alternative format of meeting with a selected audience – based on the format of one-on-one conversation – in order to combine theory and practice in an accessible format.

Two notions remain central in my work: "invitation" and "facilitation".
What are the ways in which one creates an invitation and facilitates a situation?
[both involving more than one, being more than oneself]
How does one formulate an invitation?

Dissonant Space 5 — **To finish,** I will take 30 seconds to talk about time: from the moment I have an idea to the moment I can move it to something bigger, the idea might be obsolete. Snap! Now. Not tomorrow. Something (idea, need) identified today can rarely be (implemented/performed) within an appropriate delay. "A few months later" is often already too late. Re- became a tool, to pursue, re-formulate and re-cycle a line of thinking, re-frame, re-define a situation within different dis-positions and "dis-ponibilités". Re- creates potential for transformation, it allows to (re)activate the circulation of something at different times. In "Displacement(s) as Method(s)" recycling is addressed in relation to a matrix of (multilayer/ed) works: where is the focus placed? And when? One put into the light one element (keyword/positioning). It does mean that the other elements are excluded, they are still in relation(s) within the matrix. A spiral. The relations between the re- and time being impacted differently by the more or less institutionalized contexts one finds oneself.

I consider that nothing happens without initiation/or, and no movement without follower(s).

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ETMAC
The Extra-territorial Ministry of Arab Culture

—Adam Kucharski
—Adham Hafez

ETMAC

"I always have to perform 'Arab-ness'. I am forced to tell the same story of migration or revolution in order to get grant money. I can't just do art about everyday human experience - only trauma sells."

— A Tunisian artist in Berlin.

* * *

"For the first time, I was made to feel poor."

— An Egyptian artist reflecting on artistic practice in Stockholm.

A Story of Decline:
Privatization, Dysfunction, and Co-opting of Institutions

Public cultural institutions, particularly national ministries of culture marked by socialist and statist histories, have largely fallen into disrepute. And one can hardly blame artists and cultural producers for their disillusionment. The decline of these institutions follows from a number of interwoven, secular trends.

In some cases, the ministry's mission is delegated to the private sector and international donor community in the name of efficiency and cost effectiveness. This displacement of institutional responsibility effectively removes control of a nation's cultural life from any semblance of representative governance. At the same time, the privatization of culture has often proven to grossly over-promise innovation and cost savings, with the same dysfunctional models 'shopped' from one country to another by those consultants who have best perfected the art of capturing value. In other cases, ministries are beset by dysfunction resulting from long-term reductions in funding, broader declines in the competence of civil servants and in the desirability of jobs in the civil service, and a decoupling of public sector job tenure from performance. This is compounded by a general delegitimization of the arts as a proper recipient of state support. In still other cases, institutions' missions are co-opted for political legitimacy. Of course, on some level all public institutions participate in the legitimization of a particular political interest. But while many institutions have engaged in a project of becoming (for better or worse) 'customer-centric,' others have retreated from any kind of citizen-facing services and purely serve the brazen legitimization of regimes, becoming propagandist tools.

In this environment, cultural institutions lose their legitimacy in the eyes of cultural producers and intermediaries. Moreover, cultural producers lose a substantial resource base. Precariousness ensues, as producers must seek inconsistent venues and be subject to the vagaries of private commissions. Artistic and cultural production withers. Priceless capacities are lost, both in the ability of the state to effectively support artistic production (through the death of functional bureaucracies) and in the ability of citizens to produce art and culture (through brain drain or the abandonment of production entirely). Over time, priceless artistic and cultural objects themselves are lost through outright destruction, piracy and sale, or otherwise inexplicable disappearance.

The Arab Middle Eastern Case: A Study in Institutional Crisis

Ministries of culture in the Arab Middle East have suffered all three of these afflictions. However, these trends, pernicious as they are, have been drastically accelerated by geopolitical events. In the wake of the 2011 Arab Spring (and, in the case of Iraq, the 2003 American invasion), a preponderance of Arab Middle Eastern nations have either descended into war, experiencing the functional crippling or even outright destruction of ministries, or have weathered the regional political turbulence through a massive curtailment of freedom of expression, a doubling down on the co-opting of artistic production for propagandistic aims, embargoes of incoming and outgoing cultural production, and the imprisonment of artists and cultural producers who do not acquiesce to regimes (or who are simply convenient scapegoats).

The loss of capacities and of objects has reached a crisis point, with an exodus of cultural producers and products to a number of global 'safe havens' – Berlin, New York, and Stockholm, to name a few – that have become extra-territorial hubs of Arab cultural production. The emergence of this survival mechanism is a tribute to the tenacity and bravery of this diaspora. Yet, this new model of geographically distributed performance, production, and preservation is deeply problematic. It is contingent upon the benevolence of the host-nations, which themselves are wrought by electoral uncertainties.[1] Support is often temporary and ad-hoc, with migrants' lives marked by economic precarity. Insofar as this model depends on the benevolence of donors, it is beholden to those donors' agendas, compromising artists' autonomy in exchange for survival.

At a time when Arab countries are bleeding away their creative capital with the departure, emigration, or exiling of pioneering intellectuals and artists, one wonders about the future of their practices and legacies. We pose a question: can the institution of the ministry of culture be rehabilitated to serve this new diffuse community of art producers and serve as a locus of cultural production outside of the traditional boundaries of the nation? Can the institution evolve to meet the needs of an artistic and cultural community that is, at least temporarily, extra-territorial? And can it help to rebuild shattered national ministries on artists' terms?

1 — In 2016 to 2017, elections in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Austria resulted in gains by right-wing parties that campaigned explicitly on confronting a perceived globalist consensus on open trade and borders, and which tend towards cultural nativism. This trend is likely to continue.

Performatively Imagining a New Kind of Institution

— ETMAC is a ministry consisting of artists and policy makers from our portfolio countries. 350 part-time and full-time staff distributed across our global offices. The Minister is appointed for four-year terms by a council of Arab diaspora artists representing the countries in the Ministry's portfolio.

INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION مقدمة

The Extra-Territorial Ministry of Culture (ETMAC) is an imagining of what such an institution might look like. We explore the idea through a slide deck presented by two 'career bureaucrats' in a performance of deliberate, even banal, bureaucracy (refer to the accompanying figures, presented here with relevant portions of the presentation script). Set in 2021, four years into the future, the performance imagines a fully formed and operational Ministry, actively administering to a global diasporic community of Arab artists and cultural producers. The deck, a quintessentially bureaucratic communiqué, describes the mission and vision of ETMAC in phrases that, though institutional in their verbiage, are highly focused. The performance uses bureaucratic and corporate mental models – a map of where the Ministry operates, an organizational chart with functional verticals, a 10-year strategic plan – to root ETMAC in actual institutional practice. The functional verticals reflect what we believe to be the most urgent needs of the Arab art community, both globally and in their home countries. A *policy advisory* vertical produces critical guidance and consultancy to rehabilitate damaged cultural institutions when war ends. A *collective bargaining and artist advocacy* vertical directly addresses the living conditions and precarity of diaspora artists by channelling resources. A *repatriation advisory office* assists artists in navigating emigration processes as well as facilitating the voluntary return of artists and their output to their home countries as conditions improve.

— ETMAC was established in haste to meet the challenge of an extraordinary moment in the history of the Arab World; namely, the tumult of the Arab Spring and subsequent collapse and hollowing out of its cultural institutions. Recognizing that the furtherance of contemporary Arab art and culture, let alone its preservation, became impossible (and, in some cases, genuinely dangerous) within many Arab nations, ETMAC emerged as a unique ministry of culture – operating outside of any of its portfolio Arab countries and relying on a global diaspora of Arab artists and cultural administrators.

ETMAC is an exercise in political hope, at once both utopian and entirely legible. By resorting to dreams, we are pursuing ideas that are not framed by the real conditions of scarcity, fear, unrest, or nomadism. By working on addressing what previous models have failed, we are also able to think what models could work. Keeping in mind the history of highly centralized decision-making from statist institutions, ETMAC was deliberately created to be decentralized and displaced. With departments and branches in various cities around the world, the Ministry aims to disperse the decision-making process and to create a viable model of inclusion. Maintaining a distance from representative assemblies or nationalist cultural propa-

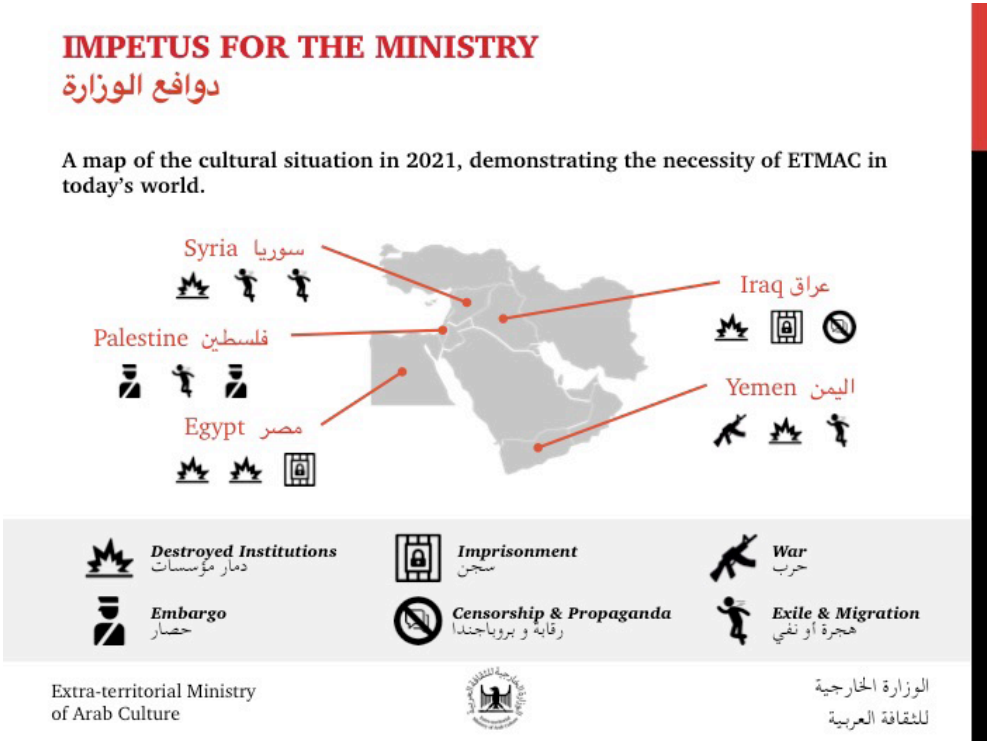
ganda, ETMAC is about individual practices. By giving room to individual practices and guaranteeing basic conditions of work, ETMAC can allow culture to be produced and safeguarded, rather than produce culture itself in the sense of existing Arab ministries of culture. The institution thus retreats from a creative or curatorial role and instead operates on levels of policy, financial economy, and logistics. This model is suggested as a way to revisit and problematize the role that ministries of culture have played over decades within the Arabic speaking region[2].

2 — Egypt offers a particularly instructive example. The present Egyptian Ministry of Culture was initially called The Ministry of National Guidance, a body which operated under the directorship of Egypt's former head of intelligence. As this would suggest, the ministry's centric statist position cared more for the project of remodeling Egypt's identity at times of anti-colonialist struggles rather than for Egypt's cultural diversity. Already in the 1950s, fleeing artists and art entrepreneurs in Egypt were left with no means to continue their practices. The sudden exodus of many threads of the Egyptian cosmopolitan cultural social fabric left a direct impact on the country's cultural economies and means of production. The scene was left in a drab condition that could be easily monopolized by the state institution, where practicing culture 'outside of the lines' was not allowed. Decades later, many artists continue to fight with such stale structures and policies in a post-Nasserist ideological vacuum.

— At the time of inception of the Ministry, it became clear to its Founding Committee that decentralization of offices is crucial to the mission and vision. Cities were chosen based on international bids, and on pre-existing Arab diasporas and networks.

We envision a post-local strategic future to what is seen as seemingly local practices. We envision continuing to create methods of protecting Arab contemporary culture, but also allowing it to grow and morph on its own terms and conditions, rather than conditions dictated by Western funding policies.

The problem addressed by ETMAC is not ideological, but rather economic and practical. How do we create platforms for artists to continue work when they leave their embattled homelands? And how do we allow for communication between their work and new audiences, as well as continue sustaining a relation to the local scenes 'back home'?



— Governed by conflicts, scarce resources, shuffling power regimes, and crackdowns on critical thinking, the Arab region's cultural operators are unable to present their work in their homelands. ETMAC comes as a radical institution that proposes extra-territoriality as a way of protecting, promoting, disseminating and archiving Arab contemporary art.

The fictitious ETMAC aims at creating these work conditions in the hope that one day, when artists can voluntarily repatriate to an Arab world more replete with possibility, ETMAC would not be needed. It is a unique institution framed by the hope that it will one day cease to exist. Furthermore, it is an institution that is not interested in permanence of crisis, unlike much of the current economies within which nascent Arab art markets are born. We continue to see crisis tied with the presentation of Arab arts in the West, without much attention paid to aesthetic value or cultural capital that is displaced. While ETMAC critically sees this form of crisis-fetishism within its late capitalist context, the Ministry is not set to fight capitalism nor defend socialist pasts. On the contrary, the Ministry encourages new business models that would allow these artists and practitioners to achieve a certain degree of freedom in their practice outside of their homelands.

— Beyond an institutional reality shaped by censorship and fear, our Ministry supports its patrons artistically and also legally against prosecution or deportation on the basis of their critical output. Within an intra-war phase, we would like to assert the need to remember previous mass immigration ruptures and what they have provided to global cultural practices and our collective artistic heritage as a human race.

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Motel Trogir Project: Protecting Croatia's Post-WWII Architecture

—Lidija Butković Mićin
—Nataša Bodrožić

Abstract

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The Motel Trogir project was launched in 2013 by Loose Associations – the platform for contemporary art practices, and its associates (Nataša Bodrožić, Lidija Butković Mićin and Saša Šimpraga, with the local support of Diana Magdić) - as a civil campaign focused on the motel built in Trogir in 1965, designed by Ivan Vitić, one of the most prominent Croatian architects of the 20th century. Vitić's motel is a rare example of outstanding modern architecture in Trogir, a mid-Dalmatian coastal town with approx. 13,000 permanent inhabitants, of which approx. 1,000 live in its historical centre inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1997. The project

consists of many activities and has developed a specific methodology which can be described as a combination of civic activism and scientific, publishing and educational work, including curating and producing contemporary art projects. One of the main project goals was to ensure the motel's formal recognition and protection by the proper authorities, which was successfully obtained: the motel in Trogir was included in the List of Protected Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia in 2013, while in 2015 another motel in Rijeka, a variant of the same original design by Vitić, was added to the list. By insisting on the qualities of this architectural concept and its significance for the history of tourism in Trogir and for the town's community life, the project seeks to oppose the dominant media narrative which views the motel area strictly in the light of its present, dilapidated state, thereby implicitly advocating the radical solutions conforming to the appetites of potential investors. In this respect, the Motel Trogir project also broached the subject of the social valuation of the still often stigmatised Socialist era's tangible heritage - not only for the purpose of canonizing specific structures or architectural complexes, but also in order to preserve the cultural memory and social affirmation of (Yugoslav) Modernism and its influence and current significance.

The Motel Trogir Project / Origins

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Late Modernist architecture dating from the highly productive period between the 1950s and the 1980s, during which Croatia was part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), became a subject of interest to the state monument protection administration only in the last ten years - an interest expressed albeit sporadically and primarily in the larger urban centres. For instance, the City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Nature of the City of Zagreb has so far placed approximately thirty representative examples of post-WWII Modernism under its protection, thus taking the lead on national level in terms of the number of protected monuments. Whereas in Split, where a more systematic registration of the structures dating from the interwar Modernist period has already been carried out, the registration and protection of more recent architectural achievements has only just begun. This part of the architectural legacy is still neglected - *a heritage without an heir*[1] - and all too often subjected to inadequate adaptation or accelerated decay due to insufficient (or non-existing) formal legal protection, unde-

1 — The term was coined in the 1960s by Milan Prelog, Ph.D. (1919.-1988.), a prolific Croatian art historian and an outspoken advocate for the preservation of historic architectural monuments endangered by the large infrastructure projects and urban development in Croatia's coastal towns and villages due to accelerated economic growth. It has since become widely used in public debates aiming to point out any part of Croatia's national heritage that has succumbed to neglect by the proper authorities or/and the general public.

veloped social awareness or questionable privatisation procedures which took place in the 1990s. The situation is especially difficult in smaller towns, particularly those with a rich architectural heritage where experts and conservators are focussed on monuments from earlier historical periods, leaving the overlooked Modernist architecture vulnerable. The Motel Trogir project of the non-governmental organisation Loose Associations[2] has become part of the activities in the domestic non-institutional arena undertaken by civil society associations that have recognised the need for stronger engagement in this field, primarily in order to compensate for the lack of institutional care, but also to broach the subject of the social valuation of the still often stigmatised Socialist era's tangible heritage. This was done not only for the purpose of canonizing specific structures or architectural complexes, but also in order to preserve the cultural memory and social affirmation of Modernism and its influence and current significance. The direct incentive for the cooperation of the participants of the Motel Trogir project was provided by the publicity campaign for inscribing the former *Sljeme* motel in Trogir, built in 1965, on the List of Protected Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia, which proved successful. The motel in Trogir was granted the status of a permanently protected cultural good of the Republic of Croatia in 2013. The same status was granted to a motel in Rijeka in 2015, a variant of the same original design by Ivan Vitić, whereby it became the first architectural monument under formal protection built after World War II in Rijeka and its surroundings.

Case Study: Trogir and the Sljeme Motel by Ivan Vitić

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Trogir is a mid-Dalmatian town with approximately 13,000 permanent inhabitants (including its immediate surroundings), of which approximately 1,000 live in its historical centre. In 1997, it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List owing to the preserved condition of its original medieval urban matrix and its architecture ranging from the Romanesque to the Baroque period, with mini-

2 — The project was developed in 2013 by Loose Associations – the association for contemporary art practices - and its associates (Nataša Bodrožić, Lidija Butković Mićin, Diana Magdić and Saša Šimpraga), with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, the City Office for Education, Culture and Sports of the City of Zagreb and the Kultura Nova Foundation. Information on the project activities is available at the official website of the association *(https://slobodneveze.wordpress.com/)* and the project *(http://moteltrogir.tumblr.com/)*. The first publication has also been released, under the title *Motel Trogir: It Is Not Future That Always Comes After,* Zagreb, Loose Associations, Eidhoven, Onomatopee, 2014.

mal interventions of a more recent date. The existence of an exceptionally well-preserved medieval centre has undoubtedly deferred the reception of a more modern type of architecture. Architecture with proto-modern and modern characteristics appeared just before World War I, first on the neighbouring island of Čiovo (the tobacco processing plant administrative building) and in the city's land surroundings (privately owned villas with Vienna Secession characteristics), as well as a result of the investments of the Italian administration in social housing (the so-called *Case minime* on Čiovo, by architect Amedeo Luccichenti, 1942/43).[3] Architectural Modernism fully took on only after World War II, spurred by a wave of Socialist modernisation, that is, by public investments in the construction of industrial, residential, educational, health, cultural and recreational facilities. The transformation of the Trogir riviera into a tourist destination was an important pillar of social prosperity. Its final precondition was fulfilled with the completion of the Adriatic Highway in 1965, which marked the opening of the coastline to a mass tourist flow and the reorientation of Yugoslav tourism towards the foreign market. Simultaneously with the completion of the Highway's final sections, along its route, i.e. in Preluk near Rijeka, Biograd and Trogir, motels were opened, owned by the domestic agricultural industrial combine *Sljeme* and designed by Ivan Vitić (1917-1986), one of the most distinguished Croatian architects of his generation. He designed the first project, which will become the blueprint for this series of motels, in 1962 for an investor in Trieste. The Trieste project was then altered for the purposes of the *Sljeme* combine, most notably by significantly reducing the scope and number of different elements.[4] The motel in Trogir is located at the western entrance to the city's historical centre and consists of a spread-out spatial ensemble of several low-rise volumes connected by covered walkways and driveways. From today's perspective, the value of this achievement is particularly evident from the balanced relationship with the environment - derived from the sustainable model of land management in the former system of public ownership - that is, from the low level of development of the land plot and the positioning

3 — Further reading: Stanko Piplović, *Graditeljstvo Trogira u 19. stoljeću*, Split, Književni krug, 1996, Dražen Arbutina, "Architectural Work of Italian Architects Amedeo Luccichenti and Vincenzo Monaco in Croatia", *Prostor*, Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, 2012, 296-309.

4 — Vitić's Adriatic motels have recently been the object of keen scientific interest instigated in large part by Motel Trogir project's efforts. Further reading: Tomislav Pavelić, "Vitić's Motels – Trieste, Umag, Rijeka, Biograd, Trogir", *Arhitektura*, Zagreb, Croatian Architects' Association, 2006, 95-103, Melita Čavlović, "The motel and the Adriatic highway", *Motel Trogir: It Is Not Future That Always Comes After*, Zagreb, Loose Associations, Eidhoven, Onomatopee, 2014, 20-39, Lidija Butković Mićin, "Between the Road and the Sea".

Figure 1 —
Trogir and its surroundings.
The motel *Sljeme* by Ivan Vitić in the foreground
© Croatian State Archives, Rendulić, 1966

of the motel complex away from the coastline.[5] ***(Fig. 1)*** Furthermore, although the motel is undoubtedly a modern work involving abstractly pure stereometric elements and a rational approach to the project task, it does not lapse into sterility and formalism, but makes reference to the local conditions by co-opting elements of the regional architectural tradition, such as stone masonry and wooden blinds. ***(Fig. 2)*** During the 1950s and 1960s, Vitić became known for designing some emblematic examples of the creative extension of the environment of Dalmatian cities through bold, modern architecture, his approach moving between adaptation and contrast with respect to the given context.[6] For the *Sljeme* motels the author received the annual award of the Borba daily paper for the best architectural achievement in Yugoslavia in 1965.

5 — Urban planning on the eastern Adriatic coast and its tourism-related development during the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been extensively covered in Croatian and foreign publications. See: Vladimir Mattioni, *Jadranski projekti: projekti južnog i gornjeg Jadrana: 1967-1972.*, Zagreb, Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Croatia, 2003, Luciano Basauri, Dafne Berc, Maroje Mrduljaš, Dinko Peračić, Miranda Veljačić, "Constructing an Affordable Arcadia", *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism*, Zagreb, Croatian Architects' Association, 2012, 348-369, *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950–1980)*, (ed.) Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor, Budapest-New York, Central European University Press, 2010, *Holidays after the Fall: Seaside Architecture and Urbanism in Bulgaria and Croatia*, (ed.) Michael Zinganel, Elke Beyer and Anke Hagemann, Berlin, Jovis, 2013.

6 — Vitić's prominent interpolations include those in his native city of Šibenik: the Simo Matavulj (today Juraj Šižgorić) Elementary School (1952), the Jadran hotel (1957-1959), the City Hall (1952-1960) and the Yugoslav People's Army Garrison (1960/61). Further reading: Vera Grimmer, "A Radical Dialogue", *Arhitektura*, Zagreb, Croatian Architects' Association, 2006, 79-93.

Figure 2 —
The motel *Sljeme* in Trogir by Ivan Vitić built in 1965
© Trogir City Museum

Creation of a Public / Project Strategies

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The publicity campaign for the protection of Vitić's motel emphasized the inherent qualities of this architectural project and its significance for the history of tourism in Trogir and for the town's community life. Its purpose was to inform the local and wider public, the Trogir city authorities and even the potential owners (who are resolving disputes over ownership in court) about the unquestionable architectural and cultural value of Vitić's motel and its special status as one of the rare examples of outstanding modern architecture in the city. By insisting on the positive aspects, the campaign sought to oppose the then dominant media narrative which viewed the motel area strictly in the light of its present, dilapidated state, thereby implicitly advocating the radical solutions conforming to the appetites of potential investors.

Figure 3 —
The former motel *Sljeme* in Trogir, current condition
© Duška Boban, 2015

(Fig. 3, 4) One of the project goals was to enter the motel in the List of Protected Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia, thus ensuring that the motel and its surrounding area are understood and treated as a single monument whose renovation would have to be carried out according to the principles of the conservation profession, i.e. respecting the original architectural plan and the existing spatial relations. By employing the strategy of obtaining support from renowned experts, informing the public via the media and social networks and partnering up with local associations involved in heritage activism[7], efforts have been made to shift the public discourse towards constructive ideas and the articulation of a socially responsible position, as opposed to the privatisation of spatial policy management. The project has developed a specific methodology that can be described as a combination of

7 — A permanent partner of the Motel Trogir project is Radovan - Society for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments of Trogir, founded in 1988 (Danka Radić, Ph.D., is the current president), which publishes its own magazine, analyses and, if necessary, critically reacts to, current urban-planning and conservation plans, as well as construction projects in Trogir's historical centre and surroundings, in an effort to prevent the urban degradation caused primarily by the excessive exploitation of the city for the purposes of tourism.

Figure 4 —
The former motel *Sljeme* in Trogir, current condition
© Duška Boban, 2015

civic activism and scientific, publishing and educational work, as well as curating and producing contemporary art projects. An important part of our preservation strategy is the continuous production of cultural events and multiplying the image of an endangered site through social media, publications and public posters for these events, in order to oppose the prevailing "strategies of decay" nowadays towards liberating the ground for possible new construction. In 2014, an international public call for proposals on the production of several site-specific artworks was launched. The artists were invited to undertake an engaged examination of the problem of public spaces in Trogir, focusing on the town's identified neuralgic points, i.e. the motel area and the adjacent former camping site Soline, devastated since the late 1980s, and also the Garagnin family's neoclassical garden that is severely neglected despite it being formally recognized as a cultural monument since the 1960s.[8] The emphasis on art events continued with the help of international partners which

8 — In November 2014, a one-day art event open to the public was held featuring site-specific projects by the artists selected through the open call: Marko Gutić Mižimakov, Ana Zubak and Neli Ružić. With the support of Goethe-Institut Croatia, in June the following year, a fictional city tour/performance was organized by Katharina Zimmerhackl.

resulted in a research residence for six domestic and foreign artists, for the purpose of presenting their work at *Mediterranea* 17 *Young Artists Biennale* (BJCEM) in Milan in October 2015 (the *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* project).[9] The collaboration continued with the project *The East is West of the West* the following year; five newly produced artworks were presented at the Biennial of Young Artists in Tirana, Albania, in May 2017.

Through this kind of exhibitions and other platforms of promotion and contextualization, for example by presenting the project at the 14th international DOCOMOMO conference in Lisbon (September 2016), the intention is to internationalize the problems regarding the protection of modern architecture of the Central Dalmatian region, general awareness raising and linking with potential partners of coherent thinking and goals.

A review of the artistic production of the Motel Trogir project 2014-2017 was presented in the Zagreb gallery VN in November 2017 under the title *When Architecture Becomes Reminiscence (of a Long-forgotten Experience)*. When asked about how we see art production within the MOTEL TROGIR project, we responded that every time we try to articulate some form of community "Art production is part of the MOTEL TROGIR civic campaign for critical re-evaluation and preservation of the mid-20th century architectural modernism, but NOT necessarily its illustration." Here we come to a complex territory where it is very important to clarify what we actually produce, how, and what are our starting points and (political) views. So the initial input is pretty clear, but further on, we have no control. When artists start to work on a particular idea, the MOTEL TROGIR project team serves only as a support, both conceptually and organisationally. We do try to influence the outcome of artistic research in terms of encouraging dialogue, but at the end of the day the artists themselves shape their work, assume responsibility for it, and we treat them as part of the Motel Trogir community.

Meanwhile, two art works produced within the Motel Trogir project became part of two public museum's collection in Croatia: *Stolen Future* by artist Neli Ružić entered the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb and *Koteks Gripe* photo work by Duška Boban the Museum of Fine Arts in Split (Galerija umjetnina).

Furthermore, public discussions and lectures were held along with guided tours for citizens and exhibition projects aimed at familiarizing the local public with the modern architectural heritage of the Adriatic region. In 2015, the Trogir City Museum hosted the critical historical exhibition *Tourism During Socialism and After*

9 — Croatian and international artists have been invited through an open competition to reflect on the topic of motel Trogir as a modernist building and the social context which formed it. The selected artists were Igor Juran, Bojan Mrđenović, Ana Zubak, Nuša Jelenec, Gaja Mežnarić, Sandra Fruebing and Sonja Jankov. More information available on Mediterranea 17 official website: *http://mediterraneabiennial.org/17-no-foods-land/motel-trogir-alice-doesnt-live-here-anymore/*

by Michael Zinganel (presented earlier in Graz, Berlin and elsewhere, including Rijeka in Croatia) and *Modern Architecture of Trogir* by Lidija Butković Mićin proposed and funded through the Motel Trogir project. The latter is the result of pioneer work on the documenting and scientific analysis of the Trogir architecture in the period 1945-1990 and mapping the coordinates of the significant urban development after World War II. This exhibition project was motivated by a desire to add a broader perspective to the ongoing public dialogue about the future of Vitić's work, as well as to raising public awareness and valuation of the modern architecture of the Trogir area, and to propagate the need for systematic research and preservation of this part of the town's architectural legacy. By the time of the project's completion, we would like to see a statement such as "Vitić's motel in Trogir is as important part of the local environment's identity as the medieval and Renaissance monuments"[10] become a self-explanatory fact.

Motel Trogir: *Echoes*

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The local engagement is always the primary focus of the project, and through the artistic events and exhibition projects the domicile audience is again sensitized for the modern architectural heritage of the Adriatic region. This sort of field work generates media and active space for the participation of the local community in the decision-making processes in questions of the built environment and creating conditions for more equal status of modern architecture. Following the engaged approach of the Motel Trogir project in the local community, an independent activist group - Citizens Action Trogir (GAT) – was established, focusing on the spatial problems and public properties of the city of Trogir. Some of the joint actions launched include the initiative for the reconstruction and maintenance of the historic park of Garagnin Fanfogna, the return of public fountains and the struggle to preserve the directly endangered green zone of 'Soline' in the immediate vicinity of Vitić's motel.

Since its beginnings, the Motel Trogir has served as a referential point to many researchers, students and also engaged citizens, who often ask for advice or collaboration in relation to their own local platforms for affirmation of mid-20th century modernism and public space issues.

From the very beginning in 2013, the Motel Trogir project has been commu-

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10 — Statement from a letter of support to the project from Silva Kalčić, Ph.D., art historian and the executive editor of a monograph on Vitić (*Arhitektura*, Zagreb, Croatian Architects' Association, 2006).

nicating internationally, with a special focus on post-socialist and Mediterranean countries. Following the Motel Trogir activities abroad, especially its work on the establishment of the Mediterranean Modernism Network, by inciting collaborations in countries of Northern Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia), a new organization in Morocco was founded on the model of the Motel Trogir project. After our meeting and exchange, architects around Ecole d'Architecture de Casablanca founded an organization named MAMMA_ Memoire des Architectes Modernes Marocains with similar goals for the preservation of the 20th century architectural heritage in their country.

The scientific and educational potential of the Motel Trogir project is not realized exclusively with public campaigns and exhibitions, but also with independent research of the project team and invited experts. The production of knowledge about architectural objects in the focus of the project's activities, as well as the reconstruction of the social, material and general context that conditioned their performance and further life, is necessary for the historicalization, affirmation and preservation of these monuments, and thus an integral part of the project's activities. The results so far were collected in the book "Motel Trogir: It's Not Future That Always Comes After" (edited by Nataša Bodrožić and Saša Šimpraga, publishers of Slobodne veze and Onomatopee, Zagreb and Eindhoven, 2016). Currently we are working on two new publications about the complex Koteks Gripe in Split and about the history of Trogir's post-war architecture.

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Chapter 3

Archaeologies of the Future

Images of *Past* as Images for the *Future*

—Isidora Ilić
—Boško Prostran

Doplgenger

"Every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns, threatens to disappear irretrievably"
— Walter Benjamin.

In History with Cultures of Memory

In 2001, Doplgenger artist duo started an ongoing project called *Fragments untitled*[1], whose aim was to re-examine the politics of media images that had been instrumental in developing the historical narratives

1 — More at: *www.doplgenger.org*

in the region of former Yugoslavia between 1980 and 2000. This period is marked by a sequence of changes in social relations, economic-political crisis and events that contributed to the breakup of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The trauma of identity rupture for many generations, and those we belong to, is placed in the time frame of this period - the violent shifting of two ideologies, from communistic to capitalistic, has been presented to us and institutionally supported as a gradual transition while in the lives of individuals it represented a shocking cut[2]. Historical narratives about the end of Yugoslavia for the most part rest on the collective memory of events in which most of the population did not partake - to which we indirectly bore witness. The breakup of the Yugoslav project, officially understood as a singular event and not as process consisting of various actors and events, was collectively witnessed through the media. Our personal memories of the last decades of Yugoslavia, constructed by television images and mediated in this way, represent the basis for collective memory. To put it differently - media images, as an important ideological state apparatus, became the foundation of our personal and then collective memory and the basis on which we were going to build our subjectivities and create the historical narratives.

Hence, our drive in this research and appropriation of images has been both personal and political - we needed to revise the foundations of our collective memory and to understand the absence of institutional interest in knowledge production about this topic. What is it that we remember and what is it that reminds us?

History and memory are the subjects of this project. Although both rely on the process of selection, their relationship is dynamic and frequently antagonistic. History is always the critique of social narratives as well as our collective memory. The work of ideology is visible in each and every historiography. History as an ideological narrative about the past tends to conceptualise the narrative of the future. On the other hand, the cultures of memory that are growing ever more popular tend to democratise, that is to colonise, the past. They rely on collective memories in which the ideology is hidden in and by a multitude of interpretations, where it is reduced to individual identities and cultures. Cultures of memory defend the *status quo* of private property – my memory, memory of my family, of my culture, of my nation. The memory as private property supports the ruling neo-liberal ideology. The particularity of cultures of memory is very suitable to the free market which regards the profitability of certain historical narratives as being more valuable than any truth about the past.

The question we ask ourselves as a (post-)Yugoslavian generation is: how did

2 — The *transition* in software for digital video montage is a synonym for the double exposition or blending of two or more shots at the same time. In the grammar of film language every cut is a shock, a strike, an awakening, and transition - especially the long one - is hypnosis, putting to sleep.

we and how do we still react to the variously opposing “montages of memories” to which we were and still are exposed? We must recognise the politics of presenting the shift of two ideologies as a gradual transition from one matrix to another as “the montages of memories” and the sides of the cut[3]. History is not a shifting of generational aspirations and hopes but an account of permanent class struggle. Keeping this in mind, we review and reinvestigate words and images from the past in order to respond to contemporaneity.

Shot – Counter-shot

The “montages of memories” are always related to the status and the origin of the image – what is the image like and to which archive does it belong? The archive is a censorship[4] - a rule which allows one to speak about something in such a way that the speech forms a series i.e., a narrative. According to the same rule, this sequence or a part of it can also disappear because the archive resides in the space between tradition and oblivion, between eternal truth and anarchy. According to Foucault[5], this constant attempt to bring the archive into the light is archaeology. Archaeology is not a quest for the origin, rather it is questioning of the un-said, of a discursive product to which the archive belongs and of the general archival system to which it is related. Archaeology puts into question the discursive practices within the body of the archive.

When recalling important events, we take TV-footage which is the trace of an event and a document contributing to the creation of a narrative. The documents confirm the history. But the aim of the project *Fragments Untitled* is not the forensic procedure of establishing the truth, of finding the new document which will either confirm or refute the historical narrative. We are interested in confronting the process of remembering according to which something remains forgotten. Agam-

3 — The Soviet school of montage teaches that film structure, based exclusively on the montage of images, can produce different effects on spectators. The film-montage experiments of Lev Kuleshov were the first to demonstrate the emotive power of the connection which is established in the cut between two shots, thus creating a point of view and continuity in film narration; Sergei M. Eisenstein developed this concept through the radicalisation of the relation between two shots and through the investigation of intelligible and emotional consequences on the spectators.

4 — *Arkhe* (Greek) – beginning, origin, authority, law, power.

5 — See Foucault, Michel. 2002. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. London and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1969).

ben[6] thinks that *the forgotten*, as something that cannot be preserved as a memory, requires a different approach. The act of forgetting is a force which operates in a different way to that of remembering and cannot be accumulated as knowledge. *The forgotten* does not allow itself to be remembered and commemorated. It remains within us and through us it is forgotten. It is in this way that it inexists as *unforgotten*. The attempts which are made through archiving and monuments or through the construction of yet another history of the oppressed or defeated in order to recall to memory what is forgotten are all inadequate. *The unforgotten* insists on remaining within us and existing only for us and not for itself. The only historical responsibility there lies in responding to such an insistent demand.

The documents remind us and force us to review our stocks of images again and again and to question ourselves and the discourse about them. After repeated readings, we present TV-images as fragments from the field of the forgotten, translating them into a memory for the future. In line with Agamben's[7] conception, these TV-fragments exist within the domain of the forgotten, they do not aim for commemorativity. They are singular but represent multitudes and rely on collective memory. As *unforgotten* they are what is un-said and thus un-named, they are the collective sediment which we keep within ourselves.

Resolution

Fragmented images of our oblivion, of our forgetting, are not something which is supposed to be found again. As unforgotten, they are with us all the time, repressed. They want us to bring them back into memory so they could live a minute more before they return again into oblivion. As an invisible accomplice, they exist impressed in the images we remember, but which underwent ideological filtration. These are television images which we perceived collectively, but which are physically marginalised.

The post-socialist and postcolonial transitions of national states give rise to new paradigms and renounce old ones, i.e. the socialist ones, so that gaps emerge in the archives. Due to technological impossibilities and political resistance, the abandoned film and TV images circulate on the Internet or are doomed to disap-

6 — See Agamben, Giorgio. 2005. *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans.* Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press.

7 — See Agamben, Giorgio. 2005. *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans.* Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press.

pear. Today, no post-Yugoslav state cannot or does not wish to inherit TV images of the breakdown of Yugoslavia. Those remaining in semi-privatized state archives and public services are marginalised, unimportant, non-profitable. They become miserable, poor[8]. Even in technical sense, their resolution, size and sharpness become weaker, images of collapse in collapse.

The TV format of direct broadcast, which was deemed to be television per se, was of utmost importance for the collapse of all the socialist states, not only of Yugoslavia. Harun Farocki and Andrei Ujica showed, in the film *Videograms of Revolution*, how the coup in Romania in 1989 took place on state television in a direct broadcast. In those years the direct broadcast[9] was at its historical peak, especially in socialist countries because it opened a public field for the struggle for representation of the respective historical moment – between the old, conservative, bureaucratic communist order and a new, liberal, democratic, capitalist one[10].

The images which nowadays freely circulate on the Internet have their material origin in a (recorded) copy. Most images of the collapse of Yugoslavia were recorded on VHS tapes by citizens. At the end of 1980s, in circumstances of an open free market and strained ethnic relations, they obsessively recorded television programmes in their homes on recently imported videocassette recorders. A large part of the news broadcast which is present today on YouTube was accidentally preserved on video cassettes after one's favourite Hollywood spectacle was recorded for the home video collection. Today it is possible to find any old Hollywood movie in various copies and formats, but a concrete news broadcast on an actual VHS cassette and its possible YouTube stream may be the only preserved recording of some event.

Moving Reflection of History

To deal with an archival film means to deal with the montage of images that were not recorded exclusively by you. To deal with an archival film means

8 — The 'poor image', according to Hito Steyerl, is an image that has no value in a class society, though it can be found everywhere in the digitalised world.

9 — Today, the direct broadcast exists in two ways: in the form of private auto-streaming on social networks as a continuous series of self-representations of narcissistic individuals, and on television channels as 'reality shows'.

10 — On the eve of the fall of the Berlin Wall, Vilém Flusser, in the lectures he gave throughout the cities of Eastern Europe, spoke precisely about transmitting information in real time by filming from several points of view, thus criticising the produced polyvalency of views at historical events and advocating their critical-textual description.

to deal with images of the past. This is a threefold political act – it implies the ecology of the image, the historical responsibility and an activist attitude. Increasing digitalisation and accessibility to moving images necessarily demand the existence of a certain ecological consciousness in relation to an environment already saturated by the inflation of images. Why should we film new images when there are so many old ones – accessible with a single click of the 'mouse' or a touch of the screen? The artistic procedure of appropriation and the ready-made, as the using of already existing images, demands an answer to the question "who has the ownership over remembrance" and this, as a demand for the expropriation of images and an opening of the archives, is a matter of the public space. This fact necessarily requires a certain activist dimension regarding the issue of intellectual property, that is of the privatisation of remembrance. The possibility of the re-examination and (re)interpretation of the past through the montage of various narrative and pictorial fragments from different historical and subjective situations is in fact a historical responsibility.

The immersion of *Fragments Untitled* into the archives of anonymous people is a demand for egalitarianism which is related to the very procedure of the treatment of these images. The invoking, that is, the reviving of forgotten images is nothing else but an attentive looking at the image which stands in place of our memory. The memory consists of images, fixed and purified experiences which are transformed by the work of the unconscious into a deceitful time-space construction – the sign. The procedure of abstracting, reducing, simplifying is necessary for us to have memory. The uncertain status of testimony, which for us today is embodied in TV images from the past, as that which constitutes the memory and as that which stands in place of the memory, demands a new, repeated review or a survey. This moving image is a recording of history at work. It is a document. What is behind, beside and outside the image? What is it that is omitted from the image but is an intrinsic part of it? Bringing to life the forgotten part of the image is an awakening by way of a cut through which the repressed parts of the image burst, thus causing a short circuit within ourselves. The establishing of new regimes of known, familiar images enables a new sensibility in the spectator, an involvement which is erroneously apprehended as first-hand experience. This feature of moving images, of the film as a system of codes, also provides a way of understanding to the spectators, for whom these images do not represent a part of the memorative collection. Being pulled into experiencing is an act of participating in a repeated review of the memory, not to form a new one but to represent the process itself according to which remembrance functions. The procedure applied in the works of *Fragments Untitled* is not a mere 'translation' of television into film, of the document into fiction; it is rather an actualisation of the present through (un)forgotten images of the past. The 'translation' does not relate to realism, nor to credibility or the truth, but rather to relationalism – mak-

ing things present – and thus to the transformation of social, historical and material relations at the present moment.

"History Does Not Repeat Itself, But It Often Rhymes" [11]

The images that originated on the eve of the catastrophe, when observed posthumously, appear quite predictable, almost directed. This act leaves in the mouth the bitter taste of "the truth we understood too late," but it also opens the space for realising how similar they are to today's images, reports, broadcasts in which we do not distinguish the work of history from propaganda, inundated as we are by the current course of events. We feel that there is a rhyme. On the line of conflict between universal history and singular memory is an ambivalent point which is simultaneously disposed towards a poetico-critical position regarding the horizon of the future. History always acts as if it is unreachable because it takes an eternity for the two closest temporal points to be merged. It is a horizontal line along which the events flow. The memory is vertical. History deals with events without being within them. The memory is within them and cannot escape from them. And while history deals with soot and ashes, the memory should be the memory of a flame that still burns – the redemption of the past. According to Benjamin, the task of the historical materialist differs from the task of the historian. While the latter supplies the eternal image of the past, the former has to start the experience of history which is *proper* to each and every new 'now'. This experience in the case of today's Western Balkans region, which from being in the semi-periphery of Europe became a semi-colony, is a repeated experience of socialist Yugoslavia and its history, an experience directed towards the future.

> *"If the images of the present don't change, then change the images of the past." — Sans Soleil, 1983.*

11 — The quotation is attributed to Mark Twain, although there is no precise evidence for such a claim. Twain died in 1910 and is mentioned for the first time in 1960 as the author of this quote in the columns of the literary magazine *The Times Literary Supplement*. The truth is that Twain used the first part of the quote in his novel *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1874), relying on the metaphor of kaleidoscope: "History never repeats itself, but the Kaleidoscopic combinations of the pictured present often seem to be constructed out of the broken fragments of antique legends."

Neoliberal Appropriation of Public Space in Post(*anti*)socialist Macedonia

—*Goran Janev*

The recent etatist assault on public space in Skopje and the establishment of a new symbolic order is actually a neoliberal appropriation of the public space. Stigmatization of all things socialist, including the cityscape of the Macedonian capital and the socialist symbolic landscape expressed in the Modernist style of the monuments from this era was a screen that hid the capitalist appropriation of public space. This appropriation by dispossession, as these processes were defined by David Harvey, was only possible with a dormant and underdeveloped public sphere. Reactions against the symbolic reordering were sporadic and successfully ostracized and engaged the public imaginary away from the relentless capitalist appropriation of every inch of space for construction of residential and commercial buildings that overcrowded the city of Skopje. Revisiting

the sites of memory constructed during socialism, on the other hand, raises the question of not simply socialist heritage, but a need for a due attention to the socialist legacy and urges for a reevaluation of symbolic and ideological undercurrents of monumental aesthetic, then and now.

All periods of great social transformation are accompanied with changes in the symbolic order of the built environment. The built environment helps shape our sense of belonging, our belonging in a place, but most of all, our belonging in a community. Thus, we must acknowledge the agency of the symbolic landscape for its capacity to shape political identities and define the boundaries of a political community. Since the emergence of the early civilizations, monuments and memorial sites have been designated containers and disseminators of social memory and were and still are utilized to shape our political identities. By bringing together these two premises, the active role of the symbolic landscape in the construction of a society and the sense of belonging to a community defined by it, we could determine how inclusive or exclusive it is. This identitarian component of the symbolic landscape will guide the following analysis of the two successive symbolic orders in Macedonia. Particularly, the focus of analysis will be on the assessment of permeability of the identitarian boundaries contained in the symbolic order for creation of a political community in this immensely diverse society.

The grandiose project "Skopje 2014" has marked the decade-long rule of the nationalist government of the Republic of Macedonia (2006-2017). It was a materialized expression of the nationalist ideology that was otherwise openly articulated, shamelessly promoted, and imposed in every sphere of society. I have elsewhere proclaimed this period as ethnocratic regime in which the two dominant ethnic groups, Macedonians and Albanians were represented by nationalist political parties who sought to divide the power and the society along ethnic lines (Janev 2011; Janev 2016). Unlike the ethnocratic model proposed by Yiftachel (2006) in which one group dominates the other group/s, the Macedonian ethnocratic model is not singular, but dual in terms of promoting two dominant ethnic groups. The power sharing did not bring integration but further divisions, extended to territorial division as well. Already divided by administrative boundaries designed by political gerrymandering in the post conflict period after the ethnic Albanian militant rebellion in 2001, the ethnocratic regime intended the division of territories to be reaffirmed by symbolic means.

The infamous project "Skopje 2014" was invented, imposed, and implemented in the capital city with that divisive purpose as it symbolic load, which is doubtlessly exclusivist, mono-national, pardon, bi-national at best. Almost any level or angle of analysis will confirm it as a striking, odd, excessive project, but all this is eclipsed by the identitarian component of the project. Clearly designed to install in

the public space and the public consciousness the Macedonian historical national heroes, a great many of them still dubious and controversial, this project is best described as nationalist history textbook in 3D. However, the bulk of the public, media, and academic attention goes to the Macedonian part of the project, with an Albanian counterpart that is by no means less blatantly nationalistic. Monuments that were installed as part of this project are aligned in space as to mark and guard ethnic territories, thus creating internal borders in the city, creating exclusivist nationalist public spaces.

It could have been expected that the VMRO-DPMNE's second ascend to power was to bring some intervention in the public space as the imposition of new public space symbolic order inevitably must provide a break with the previous order. Also some of their practices were already exercised during their first term in the government office (1998-2002) when they installed the big Millennial Cross overlooking Skopje from the top of the mountain Vodno and razed a mosque to rebuild a medieval church on top of city of Ohrid. Since there was little or no intervention in the public space order in the first two decades of Macedonian independence, the break with the socialist past came delayed. So delayed that it seems anachronistic as these processes had been finished for quite some time in the former socialist countries. So delayed that it seems as an irrelevant and unnecessary intervention. But this headlong confrontation with the socialist past allows us to now compare the two symbolic regimes, especially their symbolic load and therein contained possibility for community creation.

The Republic of Macedonia owes its existence to the emergence and collapse of the second Yugoslavia. In the first Yugoslavia, a monarchy with a Serbian dynasty as a sovereign ruler, Macedonia was treated as Southern Serbia, nothing more than a territory to be assimilated by the most numerous ethnic group in the Kingdom. The socialist revolution organized simultaneously with the resistance to the occupation by the various fascist-Nazi forces in the WWII granted Macedonia its statehood within the frames of the Yugoslav Federation. The period of socialist Yugoslavia was a period of unhindered and state sponsored nation-building for Macedonians. The collapse of the socialist federation promptly exposed independent Macedonia to the challenges of statehood, challenges of its sovereignty emerging both internally and externally.

Even a glance at the material symbolic order of the two last periods, or the two phases of Macedonian statehood as expressed in socialist and nationalist monuments built during these periods reveal the main differences in the identitarian component of these two 'projects'. The first one are the recently revisited and now fashionably famous socialist modernist monuments and the second one the notorious project "Skopje 2014" that only ended with the change of government in the summer

of year 2017. A brief analysis of these two symbolic orders will reveal the underpinning problems of defining a political community on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia and the uneasy establishment of undisputed sovereignty on its territory.

Already in the late 1950's, the Yugoslav artistic expression was liberated from the shackles of Socialist Realism and embraced Modernism. Arguably, it was made on purpose to distance Yugoslavia from the Soviet Bloc (Kolešnik 2012; Kulić, Mrduljas, and Thaler 2012). It was a gradual process, but quite intentional one and aimed to directly influence the social memory and to educate the new generations in the revolutionary spirit by "humanizing the revolution" through artistic engagement (Horvatinčić 2011:101-102). The newfound artistic liberty and push away from the formalities of Soc Realism towards Modernism created numerous extraordinary abstract landscape art projects that transpire their symbolism as one that is future oriented and not backwardly soaked in memorialization of victims. Rejecting the victimhood and embracing the glorious future prospects, these monuments still emanate their supranational, cosmopolitan, and optimistic messages mostly through their polysemic quality of the abstract aesthetics. The political community that was desirably created under their influence was of inclusive nature. Certainly, without being 'used', visited, utilized as sites of cultural performances they cannot perform their role and with this understanding many of those monuments were designed as such, providing a platform for cultural events (Horvatinčić 2011:101-102).

The "Macedonian national renaissance" was the political platform of the ruling nationalist party and the monumental and architectural intervention in the heart of the capital was clearly a part, the most visible part of that project. "Skopje 2014" was grandiose and extravagant and backward oriented aiming to provide continuity with the glorious past of Alexander the Great and everything in between. Hundreds of monuments and sculptures are pinned in the body of the city like in a voodoo ritual to cleanse the public space of all foreign elements and to make it express the Macedonian national history exclusively. These monuments installed in the central part of the city are hard to avoid and should reprogram Macedonians to become proud, dominant citizens in Macedonia. As the Macedonian model of ethnocracy is dual, not singular, a separate space was designated for expression of the Albanian national identity. The political community that is possible within this symbolic order/s is certainly exclusive.

Simultaneous with this projects that appropriated the public space by the nationalist ethnocratic state there was an unhindered and even unnoticed appropriation of the public space by the private construction companies that relentlessly constructed new commercial and residential buildings. The construction boom was finally met with some grassroots resistance in the past two years. Dispersed in different parts of the city and the country ("In defence of Debar maalo", "Green

Taftalidze", "For Karposh", "Ohrid SOS", and others), they have failed to organize themselves on programmatic level to resist the capitalist appropriation of the public space but are rather narrowly defined on local, eventually municipal level. However, this resistance is incredibly important for the fact that it is undeniably self-organized. Regardless of their re-active, rather than pro-active nature, these urban movements could become incubators of better organized social movements that would object not only the neoliberal appropriation of the space by dispossession (Harvey 2005) but would also object the exclusivist boundaries set in the ethnocratic symbolic landscapes.

Here enters the re-evaluation of the cultural heritage from the socialist period as a harbinger of inclusive, supranational values that could be reintroduced in the public sphere. After the collapse of the universalist narratives maintained with the Cold War and the reduction of the ideological battles to particularistic populist movements around the globe (Laclau 1994), there could be a moment of reflexion for revisiting the positive aspects of the socialist past. This process should be opened not for the sake of nostalgia for the period of relative stability and prosperity enjoyed during the socialist period, but for the ideals of solidarity that transpire nationalist boundaries. For Macedonia these forgotten and neglected values are crucial for its existence. The negligence these monuments suffer is indisputably indicating the absence of those ideals in the public sphere.

For Macedonia, it becomes obvious, the management of its diversity is decisive for the future. It has always been a country of immense diversity, as illustrated by the fact that the name Macedonia has been domesticated as a metaphor for mixity and diversity (for French speakers it is a salad of mixed vegetables, for Italians and Spaniards it is a desert made of mixed fruits). The dual ethnocracy in Macedonia imposed a divisive symbolic order that rips apart the Macedonian diversity. The inclusive narratives contained within the socialist monuments could and should be released again in order to provide opportunity for creation of a new inclusive political community. On ideological basis it could be inspiration for combating the neoliberal forces. Without romanticising this past, it is doubtlessly a period of social praxis and artistic expression, it is a legacy to learn from that as much needed for improving the basis for a creation of unitary and integrated Macedonia.

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Dissonance - A Pretty Harsh Term to Define

Towards Understanding the Importance of Safeguarding the Pluralism of Heritage Meanings in Public Spaces[1]

—*Milica Božić Marojević*

Introduction

I started writing this paper on a *very special date*, very dissonant date – Friday the 13th. Some people consider it as a *bad day which brings bad luck*. It is *very popular in horror movies*, so many kids are afraid to go to school on that day. Even though 13 is a *symbol of rebellion* in the Bible, in China, for example, this is a *lucky number.* Hence, we can agree that *different people see it differently.* However, its legacy is sort of *intangi-*

1 — This research is conducted within the project *Tradition and Transformation - Historical Heritage and National Identities in Serbia in the 20th Century* (Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Serbia; No. 47019).

ble and not that important for people to seriously argue about it. But, when it comes to the things and situations that can or should shape our identities, that are by nature sensitive or becoming like that due to the circumstances – we need to say: "Huston, we have a problem!" and it is usually linked with presentation, interpretation, communication and management of contested past(s).

Joking aside, this example is a very convenient way to introduce such a *serious and complex term* like dissonance. When we say *dissonance*, in the context of heritage we usually think of the *diversity of meanings attached to it*, or so to say *of non-existence of the agreement* in the manner that heritage is *remembered, represented, understood and interpreted* by different actors (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:20-33). Still, knowing that doesn't end our troubles, not just because we borrowed the term from musicology, but since dissonance is a quality that exists in every heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:97; Ashworth and Graham 1997:381; Silvén and Björklund 2006:263). From that point of view, another question naturally arises - if that feature exists in all of our inheritance, why do we bother to emphasize it? Well, sometimes that dissonance is *vague* and not so problematic, because we have a long-term arrangement about what certain heritage is, what it means and represents. But if it comes to the situation that circumstances are changed, that new standpoints are found (whether they are scientific/factual whether political/ideological in nature) and some other meanings detected, it becomes more evident. Then, as a result, we can have discordance which can lead to political struggles, national tensions or regional confusions. In those situations, certain efforts have to be made so we could be able to talk about variety of meanings of the mentioned heritage (Božić Marojević 2014b:39; Silvén and Björklund 2006:263; Harrison 2006:154-196; Laclau 1994).

According to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), there are several different situations when dissonance is really visible. One is when heritage within itself has *opposing messages, which consumers need to integrate to create its meaning*. The other is when the *message is received in a different way than anticipated.* The third situation occurs when we have some *political changes*, since heritage messages are dependent on the values that certain society has. And finally, we have that dissonance caused by the undesired heritage, or so to *say negative legacies from the past* (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:29).

In the past, the dominant approach was to overcome it, to reduce that dissonance and to consult professionals that were going to create one and only truth[2]. That kind of approach, but also the fact that dissonance was mainly considered in the context of war legacies, has ascribed to it a negative connotation. However,

2 — More on this issue and especially on "authorized heritage discourse" (AHD) in: Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage.* London and New York: Routledge.

recently, we started to insist on the pluralism of meanings and we are accepting dissonance as a driving force for heritage safeguarding (Božić Marojević 2014a; Arendt [1951]2017). As complicated as it sounds, there is no one and only truth, and how we see it often depends from the perspective we take. Therefore, the ways we preserve heritage and its dissonant layers teach us, in fact, something much more important – how to accept others, their different opinions, to respect and understand their attitudes, how to improve mutual communication skills through argued dialogues and how to critically observe over and over again existing answers. From this perspective, heritage interpretation, presentation and memorialisation, from emphasizing one truth, are turning into a well-grounded re-examination of a certain political moment, and spatial memorials become its active incentives too[3].

Where Do Dissonance, Heritage and Public Spaces Overlap?

If we would like to describe public spaces, we wouldn't have a lot of problems. We are familiar with them and a lot of our usual activities occur in those places, since they are owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free, without a profit motive and any purpose other than contributing to the overall quality of urban life[4]. They can have many spatial forms, including parks, streets, marketplaces, beaches etc. That does not mean that all public spaces are simply 'open spaces', because a library, some school or other public facilities are also considered as public spaces.

Even though we also interact with heritage on everyday basis, its defining is much more complex, since the nature of heritage in the perception of the general public is more inconceivable. Some of us would say that there is no term or phenomenon that is directly related to museology and heritology, and that has so many different definitions and a wide range of uses, such as *patrimonium*. Although it originates in the Roman period, its popularity has become more intense in the past 40 years or so. Whether we name it as heritage, inheritance, a cultural good or with some other related term, it is a phenomenon that existed longer before its conventional, although still not standardized, name. Logically, then the question arises: when, how and why did *patrimonium* start to be more than what was inherited from

3 — More on this issue in: Božić Marojević, Milica. 2015. *(Ne)željeno nasleđe u prostorima pamćenja: Slobodne zone bolnih uspomena*. Beograd: Centar za muzeologiju i heritologiju.

4 — The Charter of Public Space, UN Habitat Document.

the parents? Definitely the crucial moment is the French Revolution which led to a modern understanding of the nation and public interest, but the foundation for that was certainly given by the Enlighteners and the cultural and political climate that preceded the upheaval. Consequently, by forming Louvre as the first museum that people could visit free of charge, *patrimonium* gained the role of a promoter, but was also the tool for realizing national ideas and interests. Thus, the diversity of what is to be inherited, and at the same time important and transferable to the future, expanded. With time, folklore, industrial and scientific heritage was integrated into it, thus this concept began to imply all natural or man-made objects and values made, either tangible or not, regardless of time or place of creation, and whether they were inherited or collected (Božić Marojević 2015).

The fact that the space is a 'mental category' as well as 'constructed reality' is an important factor which affects values and meanings both of that place and its heritage. So the link between these two categories is not that elusive. Although the physical aspect of inheritance makes us see it at a glance as unchanging, its meaning, in fact, is never fixed, but it is agreed and subjected to change. As such, 'memories on spaces' do not survive due to their material objectivity, nor only because of their own aesthetics or symbolism, but above all because of the active role they play in the process of building collective identities. That is why heritage is more than a construct or representative. It is a cultural tool that nations, societies, communities, and individuals use to express, facilitate or build a sense of common, and the role of place itself is to provide a physical reality to those experiences (Smith 2006:74-75).

When spatial surroundings begin to change, the landscape changes too. The division of the state, as well as the lack of material artefacts (monuments, churches, factories, bridges, shops) weaken the connection with local heritage and undermine the collective value and memory. This happened also with the public spaces of the former Yugoslav republics.

Heritage is related to the semiotic approach to places in three different ways. Monuments, objects, events and personalities from the past, along with their ways of interpreting, are often the basic means by which places create a separate, characteristic identity. From this perspective, new towns lack identity just because they are irrelevant in this context. Secondly, by preserving the material objects of the past, we inevitably keep their accumulated messages. Finally, as heritage is an intentional creation of the ruling elite, then its production is an effective medium for the transmission of messages between rulers and those in power (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:18).

As Miroslav Tuđman (1983) wrote not so long ago, the dominant knowledge in modern Western society is determined by public knowledge in the public space. That means that a person who controls public space also controls the flow of knowl-

edge, and in that way, he or she can also ensure the dominance of messages. Although the cultural monument is part of social knowledge, it cannot be separated from its public life. In this sense, cultural monuments are part of the organization of public space and therefore their coded message is part of collective memory and at the same time public knowledge (Tuđman 1983:77).

Concluding Remarks

I started this article with the phrase "Houston, we have a problem" as in the movie *Apollo 13.* Many people actually do not know that the origin of this sentence can be traced to the phrase "Houston, we've had a problem here" that was used by the moon flight crew to report a major technical problem back to their base. In other words, they had a problem and they solved it. I often wondered why this sentence became sort of a general saying and additionally why it was wrongly interpreted. For the movie creators it's logical – who would want to see a movie with a title that reveals everything in advance? Anyway, I used the misquoted one on purpose, to show that the fact that something is *more present* in our lives doesn't necessarily mean that it is *more accurate* or true. On the contrary, it just means that it is *more acceptable*, and the reasons for that are as simple as ignorance, lack of interest or perhaps too much interest on the part of leading elites.

Debates over public memory and valorisation of history are often complex and politically provocative or to say dissonant. However, in extreme cases, they are frequently pretty straightforward. For any controversial theme, the first question we should ask is: how did the subject earn a place in our public spaces of remembrance? We do not negotiate about Holocaust or antifascism etc.

I do not argue that professionals seem to be tired from different so-called EU terms, unclear and general recommendations, a vast number of conventions etc. Nevertheless, when we think about heritage, taking into account different point of views and diverse values can only be a plus, and not a burden. Opposite meanings within (cultural) heritage, critical approaches, evaluations and discussions are normal, necessary or even welcomed. They create our inheritance, our identity, through understanding of all of its layers and help us to further develop and apply new models of integrative heritage safeguarding practices based on multidisciplinarity and participativness. However, the core issue stays within our work – we seem to lack a proper agreement on cultural heritage safeguarding standards and terms. If we solve that obstacle, we will be able to consider all these harsh words as useful tools for explaining or defining our field of expertise and not just as a nine day's wonder.

'The problem' or *pluralism of meanings* will always exist, even as a recollection, even through different interpretations that led to that 'problem', through ways it is solving or could be solved. What remains to us is to decide what we are going to do with that knowledge now, today, and whether the awareness of its existence is going to help us to initiate a dialogue (not necessarily and a consensus) on the burning social, political and cultural misunderstandings that our everyday life is full of.

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Pioneer City in Belgrade

Legitimate Oblivion or Non-Culture of Remembering

—Milica Božić Marojević
—Marija Stanković

Introduction

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How do you manage youth social life in a proactive, positive way; how do you organize children's free time; how do you enrich the cultural offer and educate kids from poor families; how do you help them overcome health issues; how do you teach them to be responsible citizens; how do you disguise social differences and is such a comprehensive project economically viable? An answer to these questions was given through an example of similar practice in former Yugoslavia, through a specific and complex project named Pioneer City in Belgrade, built in the last century. Yet, a response to the query why it was essential to have such a project is even more complicat-

Figure 1 —
Private archive, 1966. Property of Miloš Jurišić.

ed and really hard to explain to the present generations of youngsters.

Pioneer City used to be Belgrade's independent educational institution where primary school children from the city and other parts of the country would spend their free time. An active vacation in Pioneer City aimed at filling pioneers' free time with educational, cultural and entertaining contents so that children would not stray from the right way but rather choose the path of developing (communist) consciousness. The goal, as in every organization in charge of upbringing, was directed towards successful development/cultivation and life in accordance with social norms (Duda 2015:12-22).

In the communist state, ideology was a factor of integration. Ideology, or a system of ideas, beliefs and practices, was also a mechanism for interpretation, adaption and transformation of reality as well as instigating individual identifications and orientations in that reality (Doknić 2013:10-11). Members of the new society were linked by the events from the immediate past. The joint experience of war, the anti-fascist struggle and the revolutionary aspirations for life in a better, different world, were spread throughout all levels of society, from the youngest to the oldest (Duda 2015). How did it affect children who matured in such an environment? How did that affect those children who had no memory of the war and the revolution?

The first pioneers grew up in the militant, partisan and guerilla context that glorified the partisan war in which the mythologization of children-fighters was pro-

filed. This childhood awareness was filled with a communist collective memory, at the expense of the child's subjective memories (Todić 2015:129-134). Pioneers were taught to use rifles and bombs and became fighters, scouts, bombers and couriers. In the first days of the uprising and revolution, a number of pioneers were proclaimed national heroes for their merits in the struggle, binding them to defend their homeland with their life if necessary (Duda 2015:62). All of this was an important context in which Pioneer City was formed, leading to the conclusion that Pioneer City served as an "important component of social goals and objectives of education" (Program rada 1970:8).

Although the demands of the new educational policy had its place within the school system, they also reached to other organizations such as the Union of Pioneers. New revolutionary institutions, as well as the school system/educational system, helped maintain that ideal by fostering a memory of the National Liberation Battles and Partisans. All of the children learned to recite and sing revolutionary and partisan songs, to march and participate in long and boring spectacles for adults, organized in honor of public holidays (Todić 2005). The idea of fraternity and unity along with strong bond to the party and Tito, created specific emotional relationship among people and made them believe in utopian image of the world. By connecting honesty, sincerity, perseverance, diligence, good behavior, respect for advanced ideas, love for the country, its political doctrine, and the willingness to work for it, a desired set of qualities created the figure of the pioneer (Todić 2005:59).

Focusing on the significance of children refers us to one intention, and that is the building of a new man, so that on the day of becoming a pioneer one entered a process of becoming a new socialist man – a man who will serve as the foundations for a new state (Duda 2015:61). Successful shaping of the youth, among other things, required placing them into the new, separated, safe places which would function as the spaces of utopia (Duda 2015:26). Pioneer City was imagined as a utopian city, with the purpose of "creating better conditions and possibilities for a more complete fulfilment of the social goals pertaining to the upbringing and education of the youngest" (Program rada 1970:8).

The discordant existence of Pioneer City in the contemporary age is the result of the disinterest of the ones responsible as well as the inability of those interested in preserving it. Preserving something means it is valuable not only due to its original merit but also because one can recognize the potential for using that value in the present/The value in preserving something is not always in its original merit, rather it is in the potential that value has in the present.

After 70 years and several transformations of its usages, from housing for refugees to a recording studio for reality shows, today, this complex with rich but unrecognized inheritances is underused, largely devastated, and has lost not only

its former glory but also its primary role in society. Moreover, potential future users of this public property are still unknown. Assuming that remembrance and memories from the past are an inseparable part of each of us and that in this sense they shape and create our identity in the present as a pledge for the future, in collaboration with the Foundation "Jelena Šantić" we have done a research on Pioneer City in order to recognize and transmit its values in a larger socio-political and cultural context today. Additionally, we investigated how this space could be reaffirmed through cultural and artistic initiatives (among others). Since that process should include both preserving memory layers as well as citizens' participation, we organized a workshop and conference to examine relations, tensions and possible alliances between activists, artists, scholars and institutional representatives.

Biography of the Space

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Why do some spaces and places slip into oblivion while some others become common? When, how and why should we reactivate them? Are there any ways to use their socio-political and cultural significance? Is that a matter of public interest? What are the advantages of exploring innovative cultural management practices? Can we motivate citizens to participate in these processes? Can EU policies help us? Which obstacles and contradictions emerge in this process?

Pioneer City was founded 70 years ago on one of the highest points in Belgrade within the Košutnjak area where the sanatorium for children was situated during the 19th century. At the time, it was a place where children used to come to recover and improve their overall health. Dense forests and the 'air spa' effect of Košutnjak provided ideal conditions for recovery, hence, it was an attractive location for construction of summerhouses. During the reign of Prince Milos Obrenović, Košutnjak was used as a royal hunting ground. The layered history of Belgrade in the slopes of Košutnjak goes in support with the fact that during World War II Košutnjak was used as the location for German military headquarters in Southeast Europe. After the war, Pioneer City was built with the voluntary work of 'youth work brigades' in 1947. During the Czechoslovak crisis in 1968, parts of the Yugoslav National Army (YNA) units were relocated in this area. It is possible that the existing shelters that could be found nearby were built at the time in question.[1]

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1 — More on its history can be found on the Pioneer City official website: http://www.pionirskigrad.org.rs/; Dušan Jović's Project Proposal (internal document available upon request); the Archives of Yugoslavia: *http://www.arhivyu.gov.rs/* the Museum of Yugoslavia: *http://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/*

The construction of Pioneer City was entrusted to the architect Rajko Tatić, which was quite expected having in mind his studious approach to the resolving of the project task as well as his previous experience in modelling specialized institutions intended for children. His architectural contribution covers five decades of work in different socio-political and cultural environments. He spent most of his career working for the government, while at the end of 1930s he became a counsellor and architect at the court of Queen Marija Karađorđević. His work for the queen represents the testimony of his architectural upbringing which reflects an architect's approach towards nurturing local tradition in construction. This approach tends to fulfil the functional needs of the object's purpose while recognizing the needs of the contractor. After World War II, his work focused on elaborating and spreading new architectural ideas about economical constructions in residential and standard buildings. The most significant works in the post-war years are Pioneer City at Košutnjak, the Summer stage at Topčider and the City Hospital at Bežanijska Kosa. His work on design and planning was equally focused on aesthetical aspects as well as on functionality, whilst keeping in mind the broader vision of the future building (Mihajlov 2007:124).

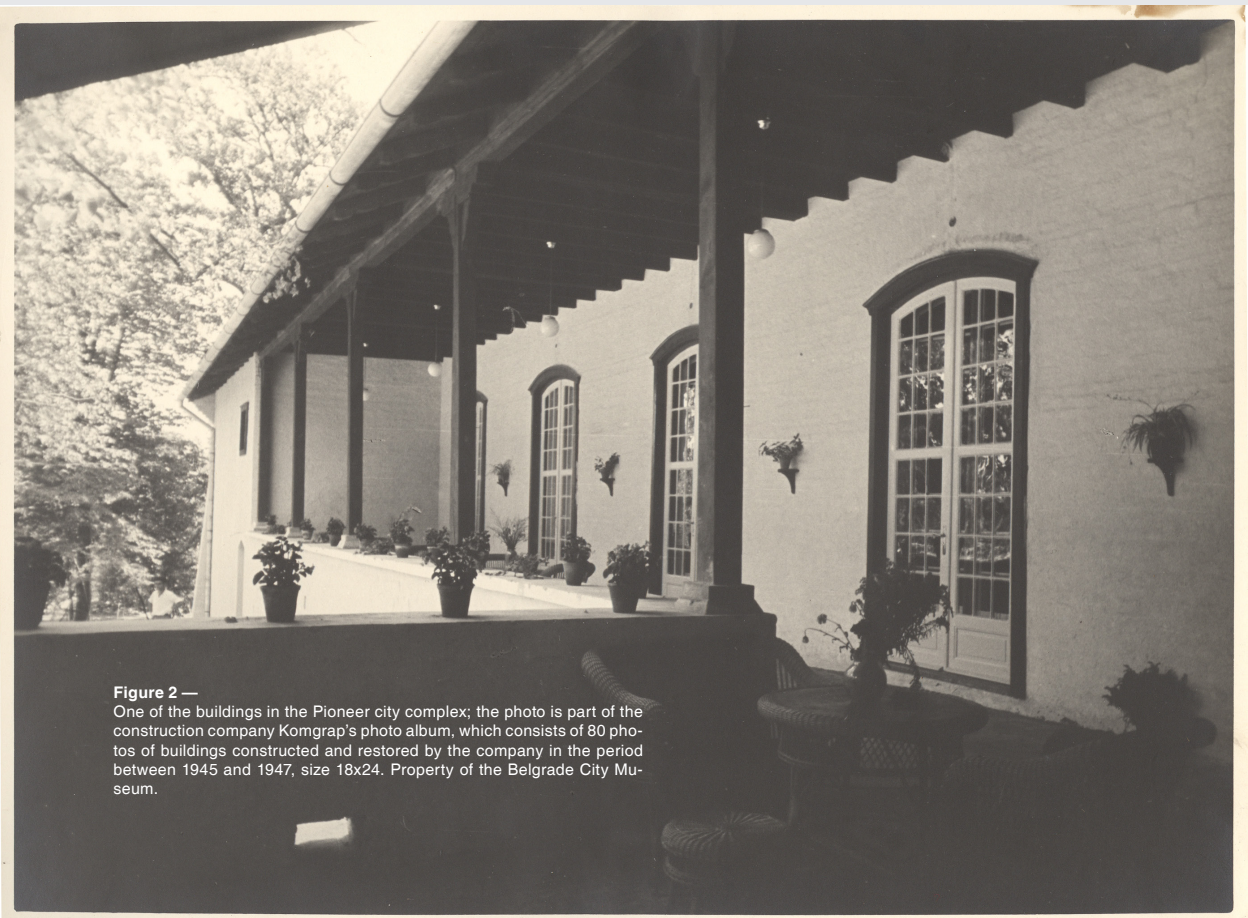

Figure 2 —
One of the buildings in the Pioneer city complex; the photo is part of the construction company Komgrap's photo album, which consists of 80 photos of buildings constructed and restored by the company in the period between 1945 and 1947, size 18x24. Property of the Belgrade City Museum.

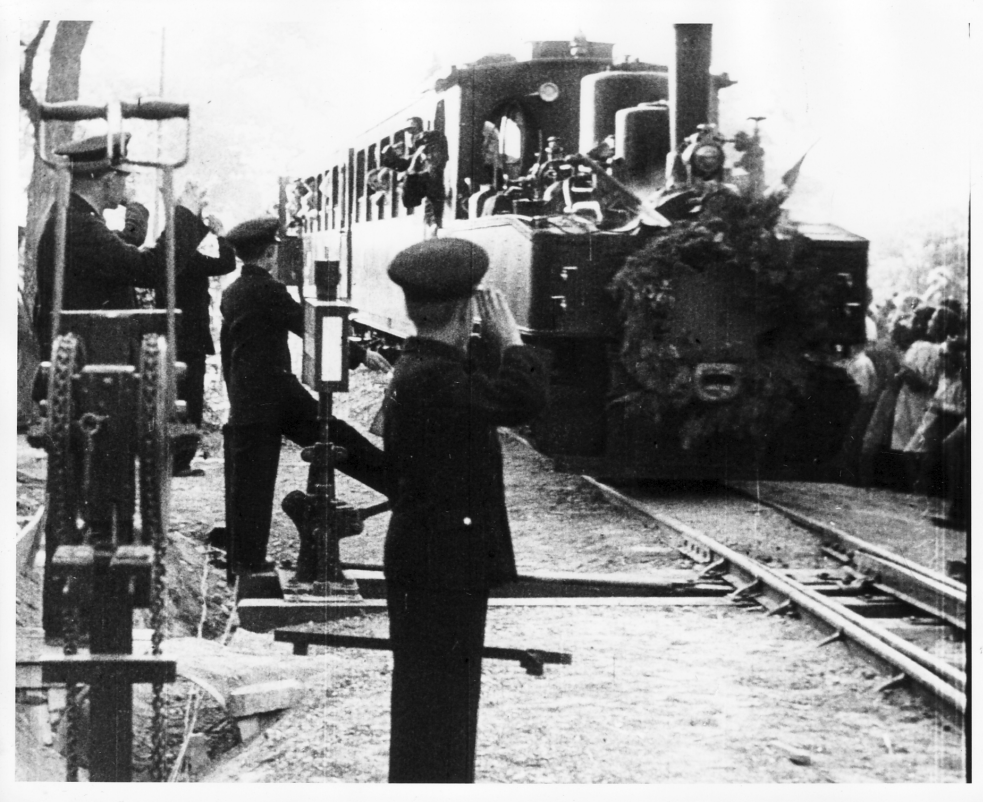

Figure 3 —
Official opening of the Pioneer Railway at Košutnjak,
21. IX 1947. Propertyof the Museum of Yugoslavia.

Pioneer City was built as a children's colony of a pavilion type, with the interspaces in the form of a park, with sports terrains, children's playgrounds and a summer stage. The complex consisted of a main building, central pavilion (with a theatre and a dining room), nine ground residential pavilions built in a mountain-lodge style, which matches the milieu of Košutnjak forest, a summer exhibition pavilion, museum, sports' facilities, telephone exchange and a post office.[2]

Originally built on a small area, Pioneer City covered around 9 hectares. It expanded to almost 19ha in 1961, for the occasion of The World Championship in Athletics when the adaptation of residential pavilions took place. Another two pavilions were built, in addition to the existing nine; some of the old ones were replaced by the new, architecturally shaped in the same manner as the original ones. The next adaptation occurred in 1969, when the board of Pioneer City made the decision to connect all the layers of construction into a single meaningful whole, in accordance with the general concept of the original project.[3]

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2 — See in Mihajlović, Saša. 2013. *Rajko M. Tatić: 1900-1979.* Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda.

3 — See in Mihajlović, Saša. 2013. *Rajko M. Tatić: 1900-1979.* Beograd: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Beograda.

The fact that Pioneer City included even a railway indicates that the project was ambitious and ahead of its time. The railway started from the foot of Košutnjak and spanned to the present neighbourhood called Kijevo. The children's railway had three stations: Kosmaj, Sutjeska, and Jastrebac. The train consisted of a locomotive with three cars, while the whole process was managed by specially trained pioneers. These children railroaders were also present at the train stations. Unfortunately, due to lack of maintenance as well as the large expenses in the sixties, and also because of the unrealistic ambitions to make children deal with these complex and heavy jobs, this railway stopped working. Its remains can still be seen. However, it is interesting that a similar railway existed in Russia, Hungary etc. and that several examples of the Children's Railways are still working today and are a tourist attraction.[4]

Pioneer City, although ambitiously conceived, never got to be fully realized with all of its projected facilities and activities. At the time when a new central building was built, the plan also included the following:

- Community Centre – a central building, facilities for pioneers (i.e. radio station, post office, souvenir shop), a large square for celebrations;
- Residential area – a pavilion with a capacity of 400 beds;
- Playgrounds - turf, green ground, tracks for scooters and skates;
- Sports Centre – a football field with stands, running tracks, tennis courts, gymnasium, swimming pool, autodrome for traffic - technical education etc;
- Nature Centre – a natural history museum in the central part of Pioneer City, with an orchard, flower garden, vegetable garden, summer classroom, forest stage, bridges, fountains; the ambiance was supposed to be complemented with an artificial lake with two creeks and a zoo;
- Technical Centre – a building with a planetarium and observatory, a space exhibit of different models of rockets, interplanetary spacecraft, aircraft and other facilities;
- Fun/attractions zone – a small castle, amusement park, maze, Robinson playground, a historical village (old Slavs, an Indian settlement…);
- Entertainment - cultural part – a summer theatre stage (with 800 seats and all of the necessary facilities);
- Pioneer Railway.

4 — From the documentation of the Railway Museum in Belgrade, available upon request.

From the above listed ambitious plans intended primarily for children and youth, today the Sports Centre Pioneer City includes:

- An amphitheatre hall with a capacity of 400 places for theatre performances, film screenings, seminars, lectures, promotions, various celebrations;
- A restaurant with 500 seats, used for various occasions such as celebrations, cocktail parties, family celebrations etc;
- A disco club - closed type, with a capacity of 300 students, mostly used for children's New Year's celebrations, birthday parties, graduations, promotions etc;
- A club - used for workshops (for younger pupils) and social games such as chess, dominoes etc. It used to provide provided refreshments and a variety of snacks for different occasions including birthday parties;
- Computer cabinet - 15 computers;
- Fitness centre – a specific space with equipment designed for recreational training and remedial gymnastics. When fully functional, the Centre had the capacity of approximately 25 users under the professional supervision and instruction related to physical activities;
- A sports hall the size of 250m² containing ten tables for table tennis, opened for children, young people and all other recreation enthusiasts who wanted to play table tennis every day in a very pleasant environment and excellent conditions;
- An outdoor football field, one handball, two basketball courts and a volleyball court. One ground used to be covered with artificial grass, while other courts had an asphalt surface. There was a circular paved track suitable for driving scooters and roller skates with length of 333m; athletics track of 110m; cross - track of 800m;
- An indoor football field with artificial grass and other outdoor football fields and tennis courts with artificial grass;
- A "Skvošlend" - three squash courts;
- A 'Fun Zone' equipped with seesaws, swings, climbers, a central mansion with obstacles for climbing, pulling, slides, leisure activities for children.

Košutnjak, well-situated and surrounded by traffic routes providing good communication with the entire city, nowadays represents one of the favourite excursion sites for people from Belgrade.

Pioneer cities also existed in other parts of Yugoslavia. However, Zagreb and Belgrade had a special status. All of the Pioneer Cities, made with the same purpose, were similarly planned and constructed. The Pioneer City in Zagreb is the first implemented project of the architect Ivan Vitić, whose heritage in this publication is represented by Motel Trogir. Other Yugoslav republics, as well as Serbian cities, also had Children Railways, whose fate was not much different from the fate of the one in Belgrade.

Previous Researches, Obstacles and Dilemmas

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Pioneer City has not been explored as a phenomenon yet. There is no record of a monographic, historiographic or any other type of publications regarding Pioneer City. Considering that Pioneer City is still a viable, existing institution, its documentation is not stored in the archives. The institution itself does not possess its own archive and since Pioneer City changed its purpose several times, lots of data was lost during that process. Even when we discovered that several institutions (now mainly in private ownership) have some interesting information, the high prices quoted for the insight into the documentation were another difficulty for our research. Finally, the biggest problem was the inconsistently entitled documents' title - materials referring to Pioneer City in the documentation of other institutions are often of quite impoverished content or kept under a wrong name. Namely, within the little material that was available, often two terms interfered, i.e. two existing spatial papers with similar title - Pioneer Park (a real park in the heart of the city centre) and Pioneer City. In fact, it often occurred as if certain events and activities were taking place in Pioneer City, but in reality we were misled by the name Pioneer Park and vice versa. Moreover, even citizens and participants in our research were confused and they would provide the wrong name to actually identify this place of memory. All of this points to a condition of lethargy within the culture, in this case depicted in the 'status' of Pioneer City that is under no protection as (cultural) heritage of any kind, even though Košutnjak as a complex is. That is to say, no institution for protection of cultural monuments has undertaken the responsibility to preserve Pioneer City.

Many topics nonetheless remained partially handled, for example concerning the comparative analysis of the pioneer cities in the region and their former cultural policies. The reason for that was the impossibility to establish comprehensive regional cooperation at the moment, which led to the lack of adequate materials for future research.

Methodology and Research Processes

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The Foundation "Jelena Šantić" started the preliminary research within the project Dissonant (Co)Spaces in September 2016. During our examina-

tion, several different perspectives were introduced. One assumed a historical context focused on memory view, revisionism and why and how we remember Pioneer City, the other was from the perspective of the decisions makers and current employees who are supposed to manage the space. We included an artistic point of view and artists as potential users, then tourism and trade with a broader economic standpoint and finally we considered heritage practices, narratives and their role in the current cultural context seeking to identify, understand and valorise common heritage within EU policies. With the idea to motivate the economic empowerment of this institution, we created several suggestions for its better usage that should help its connection with the interested public and different stakeholders.

We carried out fieldwork as well as desktop research. We collected materials from public institutions, museums, libraries, archives etc., in addition to conducting interviews with focus groups and stakeholders. A particular challenge was represented by the fact that it was a completely unexplored area and therefore the material was ungraded and rarely available. The research process, in the first phase, involved preparatory work, a construction plan and research methodology. In the second phase we identified the institutions as well as individuals who would be able to obtain the relevant material. The third phase consisted of exhibit research. There were photos, documents, videos, manuals, pioneer newspapers. During the fourth phase, researchers worked in the field and special attention was paid to the monumental heritage as part of Pioneer City. At that stage, the Foundation “Jelena Šantić” included several students of MA Heritage studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at University of Belgrade. One of them dealt with the historical and artistic analysis of the Pioneer monuments in Pioneer city. Moreover, she wrote her final master’s thesis on the topic of a certain photo album from the Museum of Yugoslav History (today Museum of Yugoslavia). The fifth stage of our research marked the discussions with stakeholders and individuals. And finally, the last phase was the aggregation and processing of collected findings that were presented later during the project, at the workshop, conference, blog and social networks.

Findings

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- During the research we discovered that the documents, found in the possession of private individuals and various institutions, have to be systematized and digitized. This documentation should be submitted to Pioneer City and possibly published on the occasion of the jubilee;

- This public enterprise should deal with the preservation, communication, interpretation and presentation of all dissonant memory and history layers within the site and not just the desirable ones;
- Greater investment in infrastructure is necessary because the buildings are in poor condition. The same applies to the monuments located in the park and not listed or even properly labelled;
- There is a need to submit a proposal for the inclusion of Pioneer City in the register of cultural goods of the Republic of Serbia;
- There is a need to further think about 'restoring' this space to young people, and in this regard to think about organizing daily care, additional educational, cultural, sport and other extracurricular activities, summer and winter camps etc. that could be free of charge;
- Pioneer City could function as a cultural hub for young people who have ideas but do not have the space or technical capabilities to implement them elsewhere;
- All of this is important in order to preserve the memory of Pioneer City, its reinterpretation and contemporary usage accordingly.

Existing Initiatives and Ideas for Pioneer City's Revival

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Even though Pioneer City has lost its previous glory, some of its employees still consider its reaffirmation. They have had several ideas and have written suggestions in that direction. Some of them include initiating international cooperation and creating pavilions dedicated to different countries and cultures while others consider establishing scientific centres etc. In October 2016, one of the employees, Mr. Dušan Jović, who has been active as a Programme Coordinator at Pioneer City for more than twenty years now, made a proposal for its revitalization. Why Pioneer City deserves that and what the advantages of its development would be, Mr. Jović (2016) stated in the mentioned document the following:

> *The future of Pioneer city can only be seen through the return of Pioneer City to its original purpose, which is the accommodation of children. Of course, this definition implies that it must be in line with today's and future needs of the child. This means that accommodation must be harmonized with today's quality accommodation standards, which means that there must be facilities and programs that will meet*

the needs of today's children. Why Pioneer City? It has a very good infrastructure, position and natural environment that can be rarely found in large city environments. It is recognized by the older generation as an original brand. It has a large number of sports fields, the greatest tradition and experience in working with children. It is equipped for various program contents and has suitable spaces for it. All listed is in functional state, but requires reconstruction in a technical sense so it could be in line with today's world trends and in line with the needs and demands of today's child.[5]

Mr. Jović's idea is based on the ambitious reconstruction of the space and does not imply its legal or cultural protection in the context of heritage preservation. It is a kind of practical approach that does not emphasize the importance of preserving all memory layers from the rich history on which this area reflects.

Nevertheless, Mr. Jović suggests the creation of new accommodation capacities concentrated in one narrow zone that could be called a Residential Zone. The Residential Zone would extend in the surroundings of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th pavilion. The area where the 6th, 7th and 10th pavilion would be demolished. The capacity of the accommodation should include 400 beds for children. Within one of the pavilions, an ambulance should also be designed. Moreover, one of the pavilions (built on the site of the 7th pavilion) would require higher standards, a type of studio or a four-bed apartment that would be suitable for accommodating youth groups, study tours, youth athletes etc. In addition to the newly built pavilions, the third and fourth pavilions are intended for various daily and evening activities for children. The forth is meant to be used for workshops, and the third is seen as a possible space for a museum of science. Construction of a new sports hall, gym, pool, several teaching cabinets, adventure park, mystery room, summer classrooms, but also a memorial room, restaurant, gift shop etc. it is also predicted.[6]

In his proposal, Mr. Jović underlines focus on teaching in nature, multi-day excursions for children from all over Serbia and from the surrounding areas. In the summer period, during the summer vacations, Pioneer City would be ideal for training junior athletes. At the same time, various camps can be realized, and family daily visits too.[7]

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5 — From Dušan Jović's Project Proposal *The Pioneer City – Place to Collect Best Memories for Lifetime*, Belgrade, October 2016.

6 — From Dušan Jović's Project Proposal The Pioneer City – Place to Collect Best Memories for Lifetime, Belgrade, October 2016.

7 — From Dušan Jović's Project Proposal The Pioneer City – Place to Collect Best Memories for Lifetime, Belgrade, October 2016.

Mr. Jović's propositions are based on his huge experience in working with children and also on research of similar practices in the world. The suggestions are certainly a good base, but they have to be set into the larger socio-cultural context. Larger expert and public debate has to be conducted in order to overcome the potential flaws that could be created by non-taking into account multidisciplinary approaches and professional opinions.

Contribution of the Research

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During this research process, several important findings occurred. The participation of one MA student in the project Dissonant (Co) Spaces as a result had the creation of a seminar paper about the sculptures of Pioneer City in Košutnjak, Belgrade, as well as a master paper about the photo-album of the pioneers from the above-mentioned Pioneer City, which was a gift to Jovanka Broz from the collection of photo-albums of the Museum of Yugoslavia. This section is going to be a textual space that will attempt to encompass thematic and temporal fragments which were crucial for this research.

The beginning of the research about the sculptures of Pioneer City is marked with unsuccessful attempts to identify the silent sculptures whose neglected appearance seems not to have deserved the attention of both the 'locals' of the Pioneer City and the leading experts in the field of sculpture. That should not be surprising considering the fact that Pioneer City itself has not been thoroughly examined as a phenomenon. Thanks to certain professors from the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, as well as the curators from the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, we have succeeded, for start, in finding the book (Šarenac 1995) which has served as a map for further research of the sculptures.

After the Second World War, sculpture was, like any other artistic medium, a depiction of a new ideology, conditioned by the political and social factors of the new society. In the 1950s, there comes about a new period in aesthetic, cultural and political sense whose characteristics permeate sculpture as well (Protić 1975:9). One of the peculiarities of sculpture could be "the time which acts as space, where sculpture, due to the movement of light and shadow across its surface, acts as a sundial measuring the passages of time" (Protić 1975:9).

The sculptures of Pioneer City in Belgrade depict the thematic and sculptural tendencies of its time. Along the main path there are sculptures *A Boy and a Girl with a Book* by Milan Besarabić, *A Game of the Pioneers* by Jelena Jovanović, *A Boy with a Pot* and *A Buffalo* by Matija Vuković, as well as the undiscovered *Bull* by Milorad Stupovski and *A Choir* by Mira Sandić.

A Boy and a Girl with a Book by Milan Besarabić is a sculptural depiction of a couple absorbed in reading and discussing in passing the book which the boy is holding in his hands. Darko Šarenac, author of the above-mentioned book, states that the sculpture was made in 1948. The figures are shaped in the spirit of poetic realism, with emphasis on the lyric temper which has a moral and didactic function. The sculptures have their role in conveying the ideas of diligence and learning, in defining the pioneer identity as a symbol of "the ethical child" (Duda 2015:42). The figural depiction of *A Boy and a Girl* by Milan Besarabić does not refer to the visual identity of pioneers, as opposed to the sculpture *A Game of the Pioneers* by Jelena Jovanović. Šarenac (1995:120) characterized this sculpture as a "dynamic composition in harmonic stylization," and added that this work speaks of the goal of education as a shaping of character. The compactness of the mass and the fighting rhythm of the pioneer game can bring us back to the initial ideal which is to be found behind the appropriated utopian image of childhood. Idyllic childhood entailed the idea that one fights and dies for the fatherland, that alongside the development of the qualities such as sincerity, honesty, diligence, chastity, and persistence, one should nourish patriotism as a form of life's totality and communal spirit, whereby childhood is to be shaped according to the tenets of socialism (Duda 2015:59-62).

A Boy with a Pot and *A Buffalo* are the works of Matija Vuković. *A Boy with a Pot* is an idealized sculptural depiction, made before 1962. The sculptor highly esteemed the great artistic achievements of ancient Greece and the Renaissance, which explains the supple, outstretched, and muscular body of the boy (Stanković 1986:38). The body of the *Buffalo* exerts tremendous inner tension which spreads through the form and emerges from its pedestal. The sculpture is made of rock. It dates from 1969. There is yet another sculpture of a buffalo, made of bronze which is to be found in New Belgrade (Vranić 1986).

The undiscovered sculpture of *A Bull* by Milorad Stupovski is one more depiction of an animal in the children's city. It is a subject typical of this sculptor, who, unlike other artists of his generation, devoted himself to this subject, even though its formal solution differs from his usual formal shaping.

The sculptural depiction of *A Choir* from 1974 is considered the most monumental composition from the opus of Mira Sandić. This sculptural composition consists of eleven figures of children. In the upper part there are the heads of the children looking up, with a slightly archaic form, led by a conductor invisible to us. The subject of choir used to be a very rare topic in art, but nevertheless it certainly did not wind up into Pioneer City by mere accident. Choirs were an intrinsic part of school's music sections, as well as an indispensable part of school performances, which were often held in Pioneer City. The distinctiveness of a choir reflects in a multitude led by a conductor, which could serve as a metaphor of the Yugoslav state

apparatus where the state is in fact a unanimously harmonized composition. “The foundation of every state is the education of the youth,” Darko Šarenac notes by the sketch of this sculpture. This sentence makes one ponder upon the sculptural composition of the choir as a formation that with its pedestal metaphorically directs one towards the foundation of the state which is in the hands of the children. The future of every organized state relies on the youngest future members, in which case children are “the symbols of society’s hope for better future” (Duda 2015:12).

It should be emphasized that none of these sculptures are in any way marked or identified. Even though they have coalesced with the environment, they possess their own identity, their own past, inseparable from the time of their origin. Taking into consideration the traces of time (in the form of negligence and youthful rebellious interventions), we wonder if the condition of these sculptures, and Pioneer City itself, is merely a reflection of a silent present or the recognition of capitalist unprofitability of the heritage from the past?

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While doing research in the Museum of Yugoslavia (at the time Museum of Yugoslav History), we discovered one photo album which served as the subject matter of a master paper, defended recently at the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. It is originally titled *From Photo Album to Museum Object: The Photo Album of Pioneers’ Lives from the Museum of Yugoslavia’s archives* and written by Marija Stanković.

The master paper consists of two parts that describe the album and its role from two perspectives. The first one follows the coming into being of the photo album as a collection of photographic reality, whereas the second deals with the photo album as a museum object, approaching it as a heterotopia on the one hand, and as a space of memory on the other. Asking ourselves who the ones that (apart from former pioneers) remember Pioneer City today are, we are led to reconsider nostalgia as a phenomenon present in post-Yugoslav society, a phenomenon which is, in this case, interpreted as a driving force with a critical potential for the interpretation and transformation not only of the past, but the present and the future as well.

In perceiving the photo album as a collection of photographs, we encounter the collector as the first in line of those who gave the meaning to the photo album. In the essence of conscious collecting of objects, in this case photographs, there is a desire for envisaging a permanent system against oblivion (Elsner and Cardinal 1994:1-2). The process of selection itself depicts an inner tendency towards a certain world order that would follow the collector’s own logic. When someone is a collector, he is, above all, a collector of his own identity. In his essay, *The System of*

Figure 4 —
Visit of the Mexican President Matheos: Jovanka Broz and Eva Samano de Lopez Matheos in the Pioneer City, 30.03.1963. Josip Broz Tito Archive, propertyof the Museum of Yugoslavia.

Collecting, Jean Baudrillard (1994:7-24) views an object (a part of a collection) as an object of a passion. An object can have two functions, "to be put to use and to be possessed." Inasmuch as these two functions are mutually exclusive, possessing is viewed as a passionate abstraction of an object from the world of utilitarian values into the mental vastness of the collector on whom depends the meaning of the object deprived of a function.

The collector chooses and collects the objects which, according to their own features, belong to a whole that must be meaningful. A collection is not merely a set of randomly accumulated objects, since those objects have mutually intertwined qualities, gathered with a specific purpose (Bulatović and Lukić 2015:178). Considering that what we have in mind was a gift to Jovanka Broz, who, despite never having an official political function or being a part of the political oligarchy, was nonetheless a significant part of the communist establishment as the wife of Josip Broz Tito, this present was certainly not thoughtless since any gift bears with it a feedback and it is a giving followed by expecting (Douglas 2002:x-xi).

Perceiving a collection as a narrative (Bal 1994:100-101), we deal with certain facts and personal views. The order of events is presented subjectively, which leads us to conclude that a collection does not represent itself but above all the narrator, although it is shaped by the language of the one to whom it speaks. However, "when an individual finds something important and valuable, he inescapably calls for an existing system of values, so that, through the individual activity of the collector, collective values and a tendency to preserve them by collecting objects which testify about them are reaffirmed" (Bulatović and Lukić 2015:180). Though Baudrillard (1994:12) speaks about the fact that a collection is always devoted to itself (it is invariably oneself that one collects), narratives are never exclusively personal but also inseparably linked with wider historical, cultural, and social contexts, so that the collector, by telling his story, always speaks of a multitude of phenomena pertaining to its history, society, and culture. It tells us that collecting should be approached as "an intricate epistemological problem which is at the same time a political hybrid, complex, since we cannot negate it as ethically insignificant and politically irrelevant" (Radić 2012).

In the narrative of coming into being of this photo album as a collection of photographic reality, the photographs gain a specific and quite different meaning, their nature is redefined, and the process of redefining becomes "an event where the collector, by developing a narrative, transforms objects into signs" (Radić 2005:203). The photographs of the pioneers are, above all, photographs of playful children in very pleasant surroundings dominated by a cheerful atmosphere. It could be said that the photographs created a utopian world of Pioneer City in the photo album. However, "the naturalness of the world apparently revealed in front of a camera is a mere delusion since objects in front of camera have already been used in the creation of meaning, and the photograph has no choice, it must deal with those meanings" (Burgin [1982] 2016:53).

A photograph is still a certain statement, it either carries a message or it is one (Sekula 2016:90). Photographs gain authority with their supposed truthfulness, and hence are considered to be testimonies, irrefutable evidence that something did happen, but, photographic patronage over reality being just a slide of fragments of (captured) reality, a photograph would, in that sense, represent a fragmentary testimony (Sontag [1977] 1982:73).

In perceiving the photo album as a reflection of Pioneer City, we encounter problems in defining these two equally real and, at the same time, equally unreal spaces. On the one hand, Pioneer City is a concrete place where the past has its own embodied utopia, whereas the photo album, as its reflection, though being a material, a photographically justified testimony, it is in fact a space which is "completely other compared to all the arrangements which it reflects and speaks

of" (Foucault [1967] 2005:31). Approaching "places within space as places within time" (Božić Marojević 2015:44), Pioneer city is interpreted as a concrete place with visible remnants of the past, inseparable from "human fate, experiences, and memories," whilst the photo album of the pioneers is a space which can be "remeasured and remodelled, a space which contains a potential of planning the future" (Božić Marojević 2015:45). The intertwining of temporal and spatial elements in the Photo album could be explained with a concept of heterotopia found in the essay *Of Other Spaces* by Michel Foucault ([1967] 2005). The other space or heterotopia can be understood as a place out of place, but whose location can still be really determined (Foucault [1967] 2005:31). It could be stated that the photo album showcases Pioneer city from 1963, but being its reflection, it is in fact much more than that.

Thinking about the memory, the potential of 'our' photo album is based on the research of Jan and Aleida Assmann. Acknowledging the social dimension of memory by Maurice Halbwachs[8], Jan Assmann nevertheless emphasizes that the individual is the one who is endowed with memory. Communities have no memory but they define it for their members, who cannot reach it without knowing it (J. Assmann [2005] 2011:33-35). Individual and collective memory is always intertwined in a man (A. Assmann [2006] 2011:20-21). In our case, we can discuss the memory of pioneers as a sort of a generational memory whose horizon spans within the generation and is consolidated through interaction. Essentially, generational/social memory can circulate for three generation at most, as long as the bearers of memory live (A. Assmann [2006] 2011:25-30). Although this kind of memory relies on mediums such as photo albums, Aleida Assmann ([2006] 2011) considers this kind of medium "unable to expand the range of living memory." It most likely is not, but what happens with the memory span of a photo album when it *finds itself* in an institution (of public memory) which guarantees its continuance and enables its communication? In that case, a photo album, as a model of memory, becomes a *symbolic medium*, a material representation of cultural memory whose firmness and permanence is enabled by a museum.

From today's point of view, when photography is omnipresent, dominant and doesn't represent a special or rare kind of gift, the justified question is why did we give this study so much space? Well, immediately after the war, the function of society's transformers originally had an apparatus for agitation and propaganda founded by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The tasks of the newly established institution were diverse, but from the perspective of ideology kind of uniformed. From the organization of cultural life in cities and villages, through the control of work at the university, to the planning of the repertoire in the theater - the essence was the same

8 — Maurice Halbwachs was a French philosopher and sociologist known for developing the concept of collective memory.

- to propagate communism with all means of mass culture. In that world, photography, as a language of visual communications, gained a prominent position (Todić 2005:23-26). Utopian tendencies in the representation of the ideal society were accompanied by numerous celebrations and events held in honor of important dates, i.e. milestones towards a revolutionary society. Photography, as the faithful notary of these events, was suitable for selecting images, for manipulating reality (Todić 2005:35). However, photographic testimony can never identify events because there can be no evidence of an event until the event itself is named and characterized. What constitutes an event is determined by ideology (Sontag [1977] 1982:27-28). Events in Pioneer City can be interpreted as one kind of communist consciousness. Participation in events leads to the development of communist consciousness in children, that is, the identification of the world view according to the communist matrix. Bearing in mind that this is a monolithic ideology, the totalitarian regime was creating a picture of itself, embodied in the cult of Communist leader Josip Broz Tito, i.e. they were creating an image/pattern for all layers of society.

Communicating the potential of the photo album is within the hands of the Museum of Yugoslavia but it can also be a part of future Pioneer City's heritological development. In that sense, nostalgia could be a relevant precondition for the potential communication of the photo album. Nostalgia is personal and collective, an intricate and changeable story with an emotional charge, an ephemeral and fluctuating form of social awareness which oscillates in time and space among various generations (Sontag [1977] 1982:34). When we speak of nostalgia, we are not talking solely about the intimate grief for the irrevocable loss of the past, inasmuch as that past, yearned for by nostalgic people, never truly existed as such. It is "a longing for something that never was, a dream of bygone dreams" (Velikonja [2008] 2010:173). A question which poses itself is whether dreams about dreams are dreamt in museums, or "if a life can be seen, certainly a former one, in a museum, or its antonym – a simulacrum is in fact the legitimate one?" (Bulatović 2014:641).

That nostalgia has latent motivational force of revaluating not just our case study, but the whole society, since via its active and affective practice social emotions can be understood as "embodied semiotics which stem from dealing with the past" (Bulatović 2014:641). In this manner, by critically evaluating the past, and by understanding the subversive strength of nostalgia, it becomes active in the present as well as a process which faces the future (Boym 2001).

Concluding Remarks and Future Perspectives

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As a part of our project activities, a very constructive workshop[9] was held in Belgrade, in April 2017. The workshop began by defining goals and non-goals, i.e. what we really want to do within Pioneer City, what the possible future of this space is and what the things we would like to prevent from happening are. Around 20 participants from various fields set the distinct goals in the following way:

1 — Valorisation of Pioneer City as a cultural heritage;
2 — Space activation by introducing potentially new contents;
3 — Networking with the local community.

As far as the non – goals, we pointed out:

1 — Monopoly of some public enterprises that are currently situated in the main building;
2 — Possible privatization of the Pioneer City complex;
3 — Non-transparency in the decision-making on the future of the complex.

This workshop also helped us recognize the competent institutions: the Government of the City of Belgrade, the Secretariat for Youth and Sport; the existing Pioneer City recreational centre; the City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. In addition, we realized that some of them are also partner institutions that could help in the realization of our initiative, such as Pioneer City; the Centre for the Promotion of Science; the Ministry of Education; the Ministry of Culture; the Secretariat for Culture, Čukarica Municipality, the Faculty of Sport and Physical Education Belgrade, the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade; the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and the Faculty of Forestry; while potential partner organizations could be: the Centre for Museology and Heritology, Docomomo, Evropa Nostra, the Serbian Scout Association, the Belgrade Flower Festival etc. A lot of people could benefit if Pioneer City is brought back to life, like the local community, pre-school kids, primary school children and their parents. Considering content, we

9 — The workshop was moderated by Iva Čukić, PhD, an architect by vocation and experienced professional in the field of advocacy of public spaces.

had many ideas and some of them included contemporary cultural-art practice, use of space for art residences, workshops for old crafts, sport-recreational activities, eco schools etc. Additionally, we underlined the following activities as important: further scientific research concerning the valorisation of complexes, walking tours as promotional activities, bicycle tours from the city centre to Pioneer City, public debate on the future of the complex - including expert co-operation. What participants particularly emphasized as an advantage in the coming period are the elections for the City Hall of Belgrade because of the opportunity to meet and negotiate with prospective future leaders since they could be interested in gathering political points before the announced 2018 elections. Another benefit would be a celebration or simple annotation of the 70th anniversary of Pioneer City and the opportunity to organize events in partnership with the mentioned institutions, organizations and users to reaffirm the potential of this complex.

As it was already been pointed out, Košutnjak is a place with many identities. Due to its effect of an 'air spa' in the nineteenth century there used to be a sanatorium for children which served as a place for recovery and general health improvement. It also served as the court hunting grounds in the time of Duke Miloš Obrenović. During the Second World War, German military headquarters for South-Eastern Europe were situated in Košutnjak. Then there was a socialist utopian children's city. In the 1990s it became an abandoned and partly functional facility which refugees used as shelter. Today it is a sports-recreational centre with a functional space for children's activities, though it should be emphasized that within the complex there is a kindergarten, parking service public enterprise, cafes and a multitude of unused, derelict pavilions, as well as an unmarked monumental heritage i.e. sculptures.

Pioneer City needs to be (re)branded. Therefore, our suggestion relies on the common need to use and transform the potential Pioneer City contains, by treasuring, at the same time, all the identity layers of the place. The transformation should be a process of adapting the space into contemporary context, respecting the very core values that it has created in the past. In observing Pioneer City as a social, political, and architectural fact of an era, it is vital to examine the gap which came into being in the meantime so that we could understand its quietness in the present and try to change its status of a forgotten city.

Although its original utility has been lost, Pioneer City has a vast potential which could be used creatively. It should become an activated space of communication with a (desirable) reconstruction and revalorization, above all, as a place of memory. At the same time, this gigantic space, thanks to the significance it bears from the period of the former Yugoslavia, could be a part of the Belgrade tourist offer. Moreover, Pioneer City, could offer, among other things, a model for organization of children's lives. Possible sustainable models could be different forms of educational

platforms for schools, like ecological gardens, that could include a lot of participants from various targeted groups. Likewise, it could serve as a platform for the creation of new artistic spaces that could become a part of a network for contemporary cultural events, and thus be used as a meeting point for various occasions according to what the society needs at any given moment. All of these models emphasize the ideas and arguments directed at enriching the quality of community life, which does not necessarily include arguments facing the economic aspect.

In the times to come, we are hoping that researchers, experts and decision makers are going to be inspired by our work to further develop potential models of sustainable maintenance as well as fruitful initiatives able to bring Pioneer City back to life.

Nota Bene

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MODELLING PUBLIC SPACES IN CULTURE
Rethinking Institutional Practices in Culture
and Historical (Dis)Continuities

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