

RE-THINKING LOCAL CULTURAL POLICY: NEW IDENTITY AND NEW PARADIGM

Edited by
Violeta Simjanovska

*Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy:
new identity and new paradigm*

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PAC Multimedia

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Regional Conference

RE-THINKING LOCAL CULTURAL POLICY: NEW IDENTITY AND NEW PARADIGM

17 | 19 September 2010
Skopje, Macedonia

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in the Western Balkans

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Forward

Throughout the world history, cities and municipalities were the initiators and carriers of cultural development. Within the space of socio-cultural centres (which not always coincide with cultural institutions), people discover and develop their talents, actively involving themselves in cultural activities. In these centres, social cohesion, interaction, solidarity, providing help among neighbours, participation in the life of the neighbourhood, cultural heritage preservation, etc., are encouraged and strengthened.

The basis of the twentieth-century society was established upon industrialization, but the twenty-first century society has moved beyond knowledge and information as its bases, and progresses along the lines of creativity. This indicates that creativity will take a central role in society. In referring to such changes, the twentieth-first century will be the era of “city” (particularly the cultural or creative city), whereas the twentieth century can be called the era of “nation”.

A city’s culture is its seal - a unique collection of distinctiveness, resources, skills and assets that make it different from any other city. City’s culture could be the key to the provision of an improved quality of life for the citizens and visitors. Everyone has something to contribute to the cultural development of its own city. It is the diversity, skills and ideas of the community that could make each city an interesting one and a place where people want to live, work and visit. Culture touches all of us in our daily lives and can make a real difference to our future. Culture can make a significant contribution towards achieving the city’s objectives. It can have an impact on the economy, employment, crime, health, education, the environment, transport, etc.

Culture has become an increasingly important contributor to the revival of cities. Successful cities have a rich and varied cultural offer which improves quality of life and marks them out as desirable places to live, work in and visit. The broad range of cultural sectors – arts, heritage, sports, leisure, built environment, tourism, natural environment and the creative industries - form the distinctive features that contribute to the success of contemporary city life. None is significant on its own, but their collective contribution is multi-faceted and very powerful.

The majority of the European Cities from London, through Amsterdam, Barcelona and Venice, are significant entities in their own countries and regional powerhouses with impact far beyond their society. The same is already happening in Eastern Europe with cities like Prague, Budapest or Ljubljana regaining their historic importance in the wider world. Many other cities, particularly of the Balkans, are already polished and restructured into the world's perception. Many of those images of the Balkan cities are good and some are still bad. And this, the process of re-imagining, re-thinking and re-defining of those cities is exactly what the city policy should be about.

Unfortunately, most of the cities of the Balkans and yet of the Eastern Europe have hardly been equipped by systematic and clear cultural or city development policies. At the moment, their restructuring and development is rather chaotic. The non "existence of cultural policy" is based on short term projects that depend on decisions usually not based on serious professional reflection or promoted by the majority of citizens, who might be able to influence democratic procedures in the decision making process. There are still many problems that reflect on city development as well as chaos in urban planning processes, poor traffic systems, poor conditions of the cultural centres, low level of human resources that deal with culture, etc. There are still some examples of successful and less successful local cultural policies for cities in the Balkans.

All above-mentioned was the trigger for organizing the Regional Conference that was held in Skopje in September 2010, organized by PAC Multimedia in partnership with ODA Theater from Prishtina, where many issues related to local cultural policy were discussed.

The main theme of the conference was: **Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy: new identity and new paradigm.** The conference's star-

ting point was the presumption that Culture is not just some kind of an extra option to the Municipalities in the Balkan region, but that it is an essential component for social regeneration, improvement of the life quality of its citizens, as well as of its economic development. During the conference, intensive discussions and debates took place where more than 80 people from the Balkan region were present as well as academics, cultural operators, artists, public administrators, students, etc. At the end of the conference, a list of conclusions were developed that we are presenting at the end of this publication as well. As a part of this particular conference, a call for papers on the same theme was announced and ten articles were collected.

This publication is not a cultural policy manual, guide or list of cultural tools and indicators *per se*. Rather, its central ambition is to present the thoughts towards City Cultural policies from experts, academics, cultural operators, artists from the Balkans.

The articles assembled in this collection touch upon other pertinent issues representing a kind of intellectual approach that supports the process of re-contextualization of city challenges: culture becoming a resource for development of our societies and the importance of re-defining the local cultural policies in this respect.

This publication is addressed to a number of constituencies – to policy-makers and practitioners in the field of culture and development, to institutional and community-based researchers, to “stakeholders in the cultural field” in the broadest sense – and we are probably all members of that group.

It might serve as a generator for further dialogue and discussions.

The Editor

About the project

CULTURE FROM/FOR ALL: policy cooperation between Kosovo and Macedonia

The project is based on the presumption that culture is not just some kind of an extra option to the municipalities in the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Kosovo, but it is its essential component for social cohesion, an improvement to the life quality of its citizens regardless of their ethnical, religious, educational, social, gender background, as well as to its economic development.

If culture is about identities, lifestyles, conduct, ethics, governance and the ways in which we go about our daily lives, this should not be too difficult to countenance. If we agree to have policies about culture or link culture to development objectives, then we are also consenting, explicitly or implicitly, to logic of planning. Planning, that is to say, is not just about “hard infrastructure” but also about soft and creative infrastructure: people and their needs and visions.

By building strong partnerships between civil society organizations and local governmental institutions, as well as by building up cultural and artistic network with a focus on promotion of arts and culture, we hope to ensure systematic interaction and mutual confidence, joint and coordinated activities at all levels.

This project will be implemented under the partnership agreement of Performing Arts Center Multimedia [www.multimedia.org.mk] from Skopje, Macedonia and NGO “ODA” [www.teatrioda.com] from Prishtina, Kosovo.

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in the western balkans



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...towards common values!



Collection of papers from the conference

***Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy:
new identity and new paradigm***

Skopje, 17-19 September 2010





***Concepts and Models of Cultural Policy:
State versus City***

Violeta Simjanovska

Abstract: In this paper, the author provides outlines of the principals and models of Cultural Policy on State (national) and City (local) level. After giving an introduction related to the term Cultural Policy, the author is presenting the overview of the models of Cultural policy that exist worldwide. After reviewing the Cultural Policy situation on state level, the models of City Cultural Policy are presented. The author concludes with principles that each process of creation of the Cultural Policy should take into consideration.

Key words: cultural policy, model, concept, principles.

Introduction

This soil of culture is rich, and at the same time very complex. The British English critic Raymond Williams once observed that the word 'Culture' is one of the two or three most complicated words in English language. There have been many attempts to define the term, though they as such need not concern us here. Yet, it is a pre-requisite to cultural policy to define the parameters of the cultural domain itself. In some countries culture is accepted almost as being the same as art, and cultural policy in those countries tends to focus only on the arts (visual and performing, literature, cultural events, festivals, etc.). On the other side of the spectrum, the view of culture is everything we do not have to do. In this concept, art is only one of the many manifestations of the unique cultural identity of one place and its citizens. In this case, cultural policy includes all sorts of things, from folk music to local clout or food tradition, from street life to contemporary museums.

In practice, the responsibility of the cultural policy makers includes any or all of the following areas: performing and visual arts, architecture, libraries, museums, sports, festivals, film, print and broadcasting media, adult education, community and voluntary cultural activity, parks and gardens, traditional and minorities' cultures, digital media, fashion, commercial design, historic buildings and landscapes, food, folk dance, and music, and much more.

According to the *Balancing Act: 21 Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy* that was issued by the Council of Europe, the definitions of the cultural sector are the broadest, and further policy distinctions and priorities are inevitable given the different responses demanded by these very different areas of activities. Whether the concept of culture is wide or narrow it will therefore shape cultural policy itself. (Matarasso and Landry 2000: 12)

The existence of the culture itself does not imply that the direction of its development is specifically determined in a form of series of goals and objectives, which should be carried out through the assistance of certain measures, tools and activities, and exactly all these things define the Cultural Policy concept .

Many people from the academic world tried to define the term Cultural Policy, but as Oliver Benet said: "Cultural Policy in general is one of the least studied but possibly most important domains for understanding what citizenship means and how it works". "Studies of Cultural policy", argue Meredith and Minson (2000: xi- xii), "are centrally concerned with modes of neo-liberal governance, which work between public institutions and private lives and at both national and international levels, shaping civic or civil habits, tastes and dispositions in ways that are all the more effective for not being experienced as obtrusive..."

The problem with the term Cultural Policy is that its meaning is never stable. The broader conception of culture is always acting as a kind of challenge to the narrower one, and we move backwards and forwards from one to the other. The parameters are never fixed, which means that Cultural Policy is always questioning its own terms of reference. A debate about Cultural Policy quickly becomes a debate about values.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Cultural Policy for the first time became an "agenda item" for the institutions of governance. Later on, at the beginning of the 21th century, "when culture has become newly strategically linked to industry, communication, identity and simply "cohabitation", citizenship is what Cultural Policy is or should be", according to Colin Mercer. (2002: xix) Cultural Policy is about citizenship because it is about the resources which define, enable, constrain and shape (both positively and negatively) that most fundamental of human capacities: *Identities*. (Ibid.) Nowadays, Cultural Policy presents the totality of measures adopted by both central and local governments to support or regulate various elements of this sector. As such, cultural policy (or its absence) has a strong influence on the production and distribution of sounds, images, words by which impressions we all make sense of the world. The rapid development of new cultural technologies and the accumulation of power around them, makes the central questions, which studies of cultural policy make us impose, even more

urgent: what is being produced, why, by whom, for whom and who, and how have those productions been supported?

The task of the cultural policy is not only to programme arts and cultural production, but also to organise all cultural resources and to develop conditions for diffusion of cultural values. Therefore, according to A. Moles, the fundamental aim of cultural policy is, above all, to create an operative definition of “the ladder of means for use”, that is, if it is simplified, to define cultural infrastructure and resources that we can use in function of the cultural development and to ensure their uniform distribution throughout the territory of a community.

Any cultural policy, that is, any action, assumes use of appropriate instruments that assist the carrying out of the changes according to the set out goals.

It is undeniable that supporting the pluralism of orientations and concepts (value and idea-oriented instruments), as well as planning of cultural development (organisational instruments), and the positive law-making that protects the cultural and artistic ambience (legal instruments) or the political support for cultural and artistic projects, have a positive influence on the overall cultural context of a community, and they enrich the cultural life of people.

The opposite process is also a fact that the restricting instruments such as censorship, unfavourable law-making, political pressure, as well as lack of planning and an unfavourable tax policy lead to stagnation and eventually degradation of a cultural ambience.

No matter what instruments of cultural policy are in use and no matter how well they are being put in use, it is impossible to plan certain results to the end and in full precision. The official bodies that govern the cultural policy in a state, whether they are national or local, can make an effort using the stimulating instruments in the cultural policy to create conditions for achieving certain results, i.e. they can move in the direction of the desired goals.

And those who govern the cultural policy should certainly be prepared to answer a lot of questions and dilemmas arising within the cultural policy.

Models of State Cultural Politics (Historical approach)

The analysis of the history of cultural politics and related historical documents confirm that it is possible to identify classifications and groupings of various models of cultural politics. These models are often not clearly defined, even though they describe the most significant characteristics and the functioning of certain cultural models.

Cultural policies in general, and in particular in the European countries, have been developed through multilateral communications between the countries, which have resulted in the introduction of various concepts and models of these policies. The concepts and models of cultural policies are also subject to constant improvement and adjustment to the changing political, social and other related conditions.

Large number of classifications of cultural policies have been developed, considering the essential parameters used for grouping of cultural concepts and models, as well as considering the undertaken approach towards them.

Chronologically, there are four major models of cultural policies.

Historically, the cultural policy as a constant striving for the spiritual needs of individuals and for the cultural development of society exists since the time of Ancient Greece. Plato's "Republic" could be considered as the first coherent system of cultural policies which was established on the "old continent". In the Middle Ages, the approach taken by various kings and their patrons towards creative individuals confirms the existence of a system of cultural policies. The presence of such a system is more evident during the period of the Renaissance, when cities had a more organised cultural policy. The modern system of cultural policies is associated with the establishment of the cultural institutions and cultural sectors, which are controlled and operated by Governments.

The establishing of the public cultural sector introduced the first model of cultural policy – ***the model of national emancipation***. The essential values of this approach in cultural policy refer to the expansion of authentic national culture, but also to the expansion of basic cultural values, and the education of the public. During the 19th century, this model was introduced in all countries which were going through the

period of radical socio-economic changes (National Republics). In the 20th century, this model was associated with the country where cultural freedom and the return of their cultural traditions were dominant issues, and these were the reasons for many anti-colonial wars. Today, this model still exists in the countries of the so-called “third world” (Kazakhstan, Senegal, Peru, etc.), but also in some of the countries of Southeast Europe, (Moldavia and Kyrgyzstan).

After the Second World War, the second and the third models of the cultural politics were introduced, ***the model for democratisation of culture, and the model of cultural democracy.***

The model for democratisation of culture was established in 1959. It was introduced after the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in France, which was at the time headed by the French writer A. Malraux. The essential concept of this model was the proposition that there is no sufficient level of cultural demands and established cultural models among the public. This model also considers the proposition that elite art could not be communicated with the wide majority of the public. In the light of this, the model insists on a concept where art and culture could be made accessible to the wide majority of the public, and where all members of the public could have the opportunity to enjoy elite art. The realisation of this concept was only possible with the establishment and the development of the network of cultural institutions (cultural centres, libraries, museums, galleries, concert halls, etc.). Behind such development of cultural institutions, this model also considered the introduction of incentives in order to attract a wide majority of the public. Such incentives included a compensation of the costs differences between the price of the entrance tickets for elite art performances, and the ticket price that the wide majority of public was able to afford. However, it was confirmed that the model for democratisation of culture, which allowed contact of the wide majority of the public with elite art, did not create the required level of cultural patterns and cultural demands for this art by people who were previously socialised with the different forms of art and cultural events. Consequently, the explanation for the insufficient level of success of this model was found in the fact that for the communication with the elite art it was necessary to have an adequate level of knowledge and education. It is understandable that not everyone has such level of knowledge and education, and this was in many cases considered a right of individual choice. In addition, there

are some instances, even though this model is a so-called “model for democratisation”, where in the view of many the concept of the model was criticised as non-democratic and inadequate. This took into consideration the fact that elite art, which was appreciated by one group of society, attempted to dominate and influence all other individuals who belonged to other society groups.

Furthermore, in 1972, a new model was established, the model of cultural democracy, also called *the model of cultural pluralism*. The creator of this model is A. Girard. This is the model that has recognised the existence of many cultures within a society. The new approach in this model is that the ultimate goal is not the actual result, but rather, the model is focused on the process. One of the primary approaches towards the achievement of the goals of this model is the cultural animation. However, this model has also faced criticism in the course of time, first of all because of the cultural relativism, which is widening the boundaries of the relevant cultural activities and creates conditions for the introduction of a much wider range of cultural activities. The danger arising from this model is that the aesthetic values and criteria are neglected. In summary, this model neither sufficiently supported the real artists nor established conditions for a wider participation of the individuals from the public in the cultural activities. This model was also found to be quite expensive for a long term application.

The fourth model of cultural policies is *the eclectic model*. This model presents a balanced variation of the previous two models. In this model, there is an attempt to reduce the identified problems in the previous models, as well as to emphasise and improve the identified qualities of these models.

However, in general, currently there is a crisis of the cultural policies concepts. The fast transformations of the socio-economic conditions, such as globalisation, neoliberal concepts of society development, the political and economic integration, represent challenges that are standing before the establishment of any new concept of cultural policy.

Apart from this group of four models of cultural policy, it could be confirmed that every country has its own specific model of cultural policy. However, it has been accepted that there are at least six models of cultural policies that are operational on a state level in countries with

substantially different socio-economic development, different political systems, and cultural traditions. These are: ***the liberal model***, which in essence promotes the neutral position of the state towards the culture. This model is based on a concept that places private ownership above any support for creative work and diffusion of the cultural inheritance in order to promote an understanding that the state should not have any influence on the development of culture for the sake of not imposing a threat to its autonomy. In this model, the most important role has been given to the private foundations and to philanthropy as a way of thinking. This model is commonly used in the USA. Further, there is ***the state bureaucratic educational model*** of cultural policies. This model is different from the previous one, and allows for complete control of the state over the culture. This means centralisation and budget financing of cultural events. This model is associated not only with the socialist countries, but also with some social democratic countries, such as Sweden. This model is also called "***the Latin model***" or one of the variations of this model is called ***the state prestige model***, as it is applied in Italy and France. In this model, the treatment of cultural issues is similar to the other models. They have centralised establishment and planning. In some countries the most important influence is coming from the institutionalised culture and the traditional cultural institutions, which impose a threat to the creative and innovative dimension of the culture (China).

Further, there is ***the semi-state model*** of cultural policy, which is common in Great Britain and Ireland, or it is also called the Anglo-Saxon model. This model is established on the basis of the "arm's length principle", where the State provides finance for the culture, but the distribution of these funds is decided by independent bodies, such as Art Councils. It is important to note that the members of Artistic Boards are nominated by the State secretary for the Arts on the basis of merits, considering their recognition in the field of art. However, these members could not be associated, or represent any external or Government institutions. It is considered that Artistic Boards are professional and not political bodies. The specific form of this model is the decentralised cultural policy in Germany, where the State is transferring its duties to the Regions and their Secretariats of Culture. Taking this into consideration, in Germany, there is a large number of different autonomic cultural policies, which sometimes substantially differ one from another. (e.g. Saxony and Bavaria). However, the only common element in the

German cultural policy is the City, which is considered as the fundamental supporter and organiser of cultural events.

The public model of cultural policy is similar to the Anglo-Saxon Model, which includes Artistic Boards that in this model have an advisory role. The decision about the funding of cultural events is made by the Parliament.

In ***the federation-confederation model*** of the State cultural policy, the State responsibilities for the culture (on the Federal level) are transferred to the lower levels of governance (Regions, Councils, etc.). This model is common in the multinational societies with different national cultural traditions. This model exists in Switzerland or Belgium.

In this context of cultural policies, the Canadian authors H. Hillman-Chartrand and Claire McCaughey, have developed a concept in which they differentiate four possible roles (models) of the cultural policy. These models, on their own, could be seen as idealised projections of one cultural policy, so in practice there are always some combinations of these four types of models. These are:

– The role of the state as facilitator/moderator

In this model the state does not give any support for the Arts and Culture. Instead of supporting these fields, the state develops a mechanism for stimulation of this sector with the introduction of taxation for those who invest in the sector. The goal of such a model is to promote the creativity and diversity in artistic creations. This model has also been criticised because the state in this model does not support the quality of the artistic works and cultural events. This model exists in the USA.

– The role of the state as a patron

This is, in practice, similar to the previous model. It applies “the arm’s length principle”. In this model, the state has some funds for art and culture; however, the Artistic Boards decide upon the distribution of these funds. This model has been criticised because it could only exist through the promotion of elite arts. This model is common for Great Britain.

- The role of the state as an architect

This model is common for countries that have Ministries of Culture, which support art and culture. In this model, the process for determining the funding is done by bureaucrats, and the final decision is made by the politically nominated individuals. As an “architect” of the art and culture, the state supports arts and culture as part of its social policy. This model is criticised for the quality and professionalism in these fields, which were getting the secondary roles, considering that the model was mainly oriented towards other segments of society and in some way neglected art and culture. According to Westheim, there are two existing sub-variations of this cultural model: its centralised version and its decentralised version. The common example of the centralised system is France, while the Scandinavian countries are more common examples for the decentralised variation (Denmark, Norway and Sweden). In the decentralised system, the Regions make their own cultural policies.

- The role of the state as an engineer

In this model, the state is engineering the cultural development, which means that it approves funding of all art projects and cultural events. In this model, the state is self represented and it promotes its own political goals. This model is criticised because creativity is neglected. And the most intense criticism of this model is about the lack of independence of culture and its criticism of society. This model was common in the Soviet Union from 1918 to 1932, and in Romania during the time of Ceausescu, or Albania during the time of Enver Hodja.

According to Dragičević Šešić and Dragojević, currently in the international cultural context there are three main types of cultural policies and models of cultural action. The three models are summarised here in relation to the following key parameters: objectives of the models focus of attention, dominant cultural-economic function, dominant cultural context and scope of activities. The three models are as follows: *cultural diffusionism, cultural functionalism and cultural mercantilism*. (Dragičević Šešić and Dragojević, 2005: 23)

The first one, cultural diffusionism, is based on the tradition of nation-state building from the 19th century, reinterpreted in the 1960s by Andre Malraux (Minister of Culture of France at that time). The main

purpose of this model is to create the conditions for cultural creation, including its diffusion and communication, in order to strengthen the national cultural identity.

The second model (cultural functionalism) is developed by international organisations in the field of culture in the 1970s and 1980s. They created this model by evaluating the national cultural policies. The purpose of this model is to create conditions for bigger democratic life by allowing greater participation of all groups which constitute the cultural diversity mosaic of a given society. This model also puts an emphasis on incentives on the part of the state and inter-sector activities.

The third model (cultural mercantilism) is based on the idea of economic liberalisation in the art sector. To be more precise, this model reflects the view that artistic products are the same as any other product and their value is measured by their success on the market place.

City Cultural Policies

The city is the most all-embracing, complex cultural artefact shaped and created by human effort. It represents the clearest physical and interactional embodiment of how people have addressed opportunities and functions of their place, and at the same time developed a set of values, attitudes and approaches to guide its development. The way the city is shaped, feels like, and projects itself, is based on its local culture – the combination of shared values, shared ambition and shared vision based on common assumptions, norms and habits of mind – “the way we do things around here”. Each city has a culture responding to its local conditions as well as to its external environment. This culture is etched into its urban landscape, buildings – old and new, the way the city is put together, attitudes to public space, social life, food, products associated with it, symbols and rituals of significance; its songs, dance, painting, writing and language; its attitudes to its past and the future, and even the way the city is managed and organized. (Landry, 2003)

Nowadays, each city needs to respond to this globalized world and each one can make more out of its potentials. Each city has its own crucial moment where they should re-assess and redefine their ima-

ge and identity. One of the main tasks of the city public policies is to (re)define the city identity based on collective memories of people, cultural heritage (built and intangible) and a vision for the future, which had succeeded in gathering consensus among main political agents, but also among public opinion makers (intellectuals, educators, media practitioners, etc.). (Dragičević Šešić, 2007)

And definitely, this is the moment, particularly for the cities in Eastern Europe and especially in the Balkans as the arguments being outlined above have largely been absorbed by the Western European cities. This process of re-positioning and re-defining the city cultural policy requires a move in ambition, goals, state of mind and organization as well as an understanding that strategic synthesis between creativity and creative thinking, culture, economy, urban design and the arts can evidently help in defining, reinforcing and projecting their identity. This process of redefining the city cultural policy could also support their economic and social vision.

However, it should be emphasized that this process is not a short term process and it will consume some time to open out in its fullness. According to Landry C., maximizing the power of culture as a centre of one society involves a number of steps, including the provision of evidence that culture counts on; persuading the unpersuaded; harnessing resources and putting words and ideas into practice.

Creation of local cultural policy depends on cultural resources that in a way are defining the city identity, and even more, the future of the city, its vision and aims. Cultural resources are the rare and in a way extraordinary materials of the city and its value base. Creativity is the method of exploiting these resources and helping them grow. One of the main tasks of cultural planners is to recognize, manage and exploit these resources correctly. Cultural resources are not only buildings, but also skills, talents, symbols, activities and the tremendous diversity of local products (crafts, services, etc.). Cultural resources are also the historical, industrial and artistic heritage (architecture, urban landscapes or landmarks), local traditions of public life (festivals, rituals, stories), amateur activities, language, food, clothing, etc. And at the end, cultural resources are the range and quality of skills in the so-called “cultural industries”.

Taking into consideration those varieties of cultural resources, it could be concluded that each city can have a unique niche; each city could be a world centre of something, of course, if it tries hard enough.

Models of Local Cultural Policies

Local cultural policies should be in close correlation with national ones, and at the same time they should emphasize local specifics, which do not always present national interests. They should be the drive force of local development.

Planning the local cultural development is one of the key instruments of local cultural policy. The plan for culture development of one municipality presents an indicator of the cultural state of that environment. In order to prepare the plan, analyses of current and general challenges of cultural life and needs of the citizens should be included. From a practical point of view, the basis of the planning process or programme preparation is the research. Cultural planning, primarily, means a research of cultural needs and predicting their development.

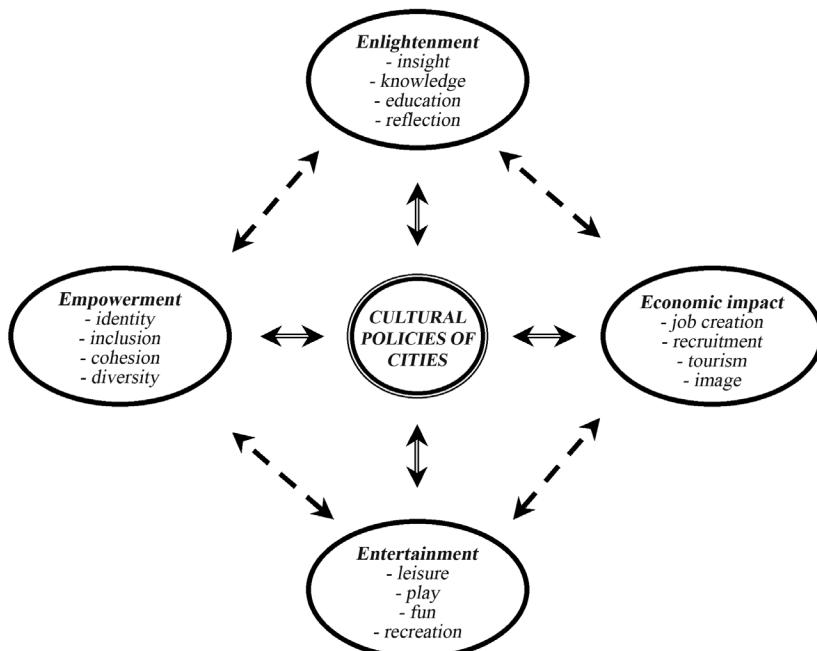
There are many models of local cultural policies, but here in this article, four are presented.

The first model: *The 4 E's*, according to EUROCULT 21 – is a model for the Analysis of Rationales in Urban Cultural Policy. This particular model is based on the following postulates: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economy impact and Entertainment. (EUROCULT 21, 2005)

Thus, according to this model of local cultural policies, culture and arts should be in relation with and among these four postulates. For example, amateur arts should find itself between Enlightenment and Empowerment. Furthermore, what business can do for culture and arts in relation of what culture and arts can do for business, should find itself in the relation: Enlightenment and Economic Impacts. According to this model, Enlightenment and education should serve to strengthen the democratic process and knowledge of art, whereas culture and cultural heritage can offer a contribution to this process. Public cultural

policy, more precisely, local cultural policy, emerges from Enlightenment thinking, which builds on humanism, reason and development.

Scheme 1: Model 1 – The four E's model of city cultural politicy



Empowerment, as a postulate of this model, is interconnected with the strategy for cultural democracy (1970's concept). As opposed to the effort to support high culture, the purpose of cultural democracy was to promote self-expression of sub-cultures, that is, culture should be used for confirming the identity and self-worth of groups and communities. Based on more pluralistic concept of culture, the idea was that all forms of culture should be considered equal (women, workers, gays, ethnic minorities, etc.). Culture should give new identity to the marginalized and oppressed groupings. The tendency to see culture as a route towards empowering citizens has received its place in the cultural policy related agenda as a strategy for achieving social inclusion and nurturing local citizenship.

Public investments in culture in the 1980's have been justified increasingly on economic ground. John Myerscough's The Economic impact of the Arts and his related city based studies were influential everywhere in Europe: "In a period of de-industrialization he sought to demonstrate that Investments in the arts had an effect in stimulating economic activity in general terms. The interest in demonstrating the relationship between investments in culture and regional and urban development derived from both the cultural sector itself, which searched for renewed arguments for arts advocacy in times of financial cutbacks, and from politicians who were looking for new areas of development and opportunities for development in a time where global competition has created an intense race between the cities when it comes to attracting businesses, employees and tourists." (Skot-Hansen, 1998) Probably entertainment is not viewed as a truly formulated goal for public cultural policy, but it is rather related to the capitalization by the market of our needs for playing and relaxing. The entertainment value of culture has had a great implicit impact on the cultural policies of the cities. In city cultural policy, the entertainment rationale could be found when centres of culture give a strong priority to play at the expenses of learning. The tendency of prioritizing entertainment above enlightenment in museums corresponds to changing audience expectations. It is also outside the realm of cultural policy to subsidise activities that are experienced as fun and recreation, as for example: circus, parks, playgrounds, skateboard parks, etc.

All these four postulates and their relationship are instruments for, and focus on, the question what culture does, and not what culture and arts are. In a practical manner, this model is a good starting point that reflects the discussion on the process of rationales or on legitimization of the cultural policy in European cities and urban areas. This is a model which could be seen as a platform for further discussion and analysis.

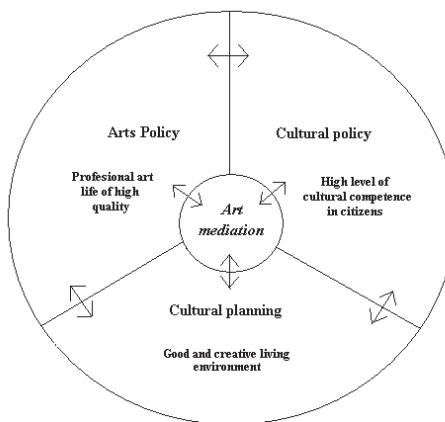
The second model is the ***Interactive model*** (first time promoted by Kulturnamnden, Göteborg Stad) which is based on three main departments.

The first sector is the arts policy, which should aim to promote and develop artistic perspective. The main responsibility and task of the

arts policy is to offer citizens an artistic provision of high quality and to create circumstances favourable to the arts.

The second sector is that of cultural policy which should be focused on developing the cultural competence of citizens. The aim of the cultural competence is to raise skills in thinking, planning and acting culturally with regards to the city. The ultimate goal is to create a complex city that is creative and rich in contemporary cultural life, but also one that reflects the power of cultural heritage. This can be achieved by gaining an understanding of shared knowledge and encouraging the imagination of the citizens. Therefore, the main task of this policy is to ensure that cultural considerations are taken into account in reform work, affecting other social policy fields – education, employment, youth and social welfare. In practice, the cultural policy sector of this particular model should put the needs and potentials of the citizens at the very centre of the whole process of planning.

Scheme 2: Model 2 – Interactive model



The third sector is that of cultural planning. This model takes into consideration that cultural planning policy requires a holistic belief and has the collective resources of the City as its basis. Cultural planning implies an extensive, anthropological definition of “culture” as “a way of life”. This model is based on multilevel and multidisciplinary approach in which knowledge obtained from different sources is brought together in a holistic view of the town as a living environment. The aim of the

cultural planning sector of this model is to develop the most important and effective strategies for generating an innovative and creative living environment.

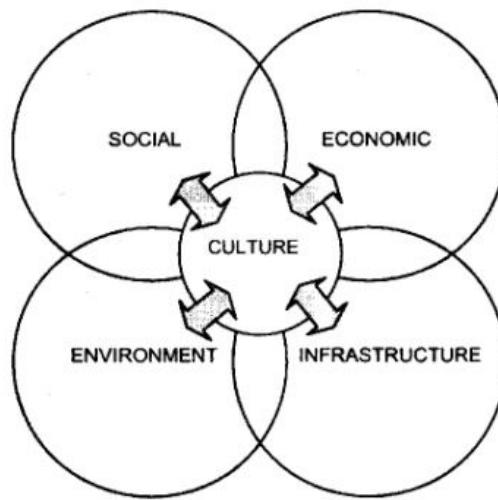
A matching and common part of all three sectors is art mediation, i.e., the mediating link between artistic creativity and the general public. Art mediation is necessary in order to expand interest in, and knowledge about, the art that is available. The term is used in this model to indicate the professional supplying of art works. The aim of art mediation is to make available resources, to raise levels of knowledge and understanding, to reach target groups and to improve accessibility. This model emphasizes that professional art mediation is a necessity for a living cultural environment. The interactive importance of this sector is indicated by its position at the centre of the diagram.

This model is applied in the City of Göteborg, and in the Strategy of Cultural Policy of Göteborg it is written that: "...this model brings two advantages: a clear division of responsibilities and an interactive process in which the parts collaborate and reinforce one another." It is also written that "this model provides better chances of expanding the interested public without suffering any reduction of quality". (Ibid.)

The third model – “*Planning culturally*” is the model presented by Richard Brecknock in his book “Intercultural City” and is based on the work of the American management consultant Margaret Wheatley.

While explaining this model, Brecknock R. places culture at the centre of all urban development processes. According to this author “Culture is what gives meaning to our lives then everything we do will have a cultural dimension”. (Brecknock R: 2006) Starting from this point, he explains that culture should be at the centre of thinking about cities and not be focused only on our social or civic life, but also on the environment, infrastructure and economy of the city. Following the idea that culture is important in the planning process in all fields in our societies brings us to the conclusion that still too often an afterthought or luxury is added on. On the other hand, we have the so-called administrative thinking which puts the technical and practical requirements in the first place, and then maybe cultural thinking and social context could be taken into consideration.

Scheme 3: Model 3- Planning culturally



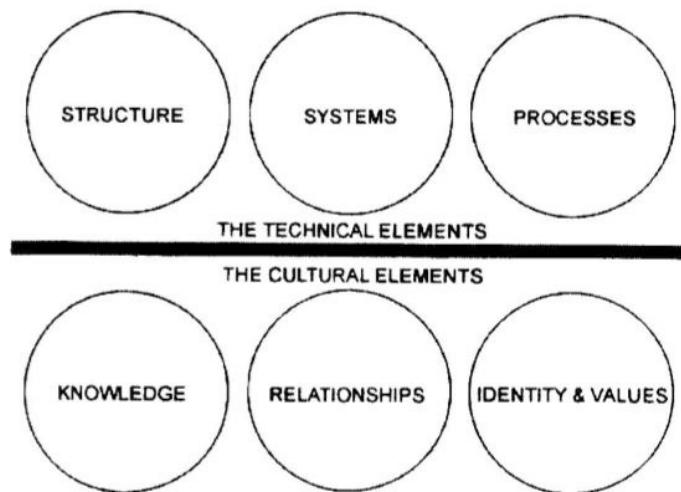
Brecknock R. argues in his book that technical and practical requirements can actually be resolved only when the cultural context is understood.

The main question related to this model is: "How do we plan culturally and how we develop the skills required to plan and design cities that can speak to many people at many different levels and express multiple cultures in ways that are crass and literal?" (Ibid.)

By seeing things culturally it is possible to plan with a cultural perspective which will lead to the development of more inclusive and culturally sensitive outcomes. It is of crucial importance that Cultural Literacy is introduced and later on gained by policy makers, planners and designers working at all levels in the city so that decision making is based on building a cultural capital for the community through the processes of development.

To come to this point, we should firstly slowly transform the traditional planning process into cultural planning.

Scheme 4: Model 3 – Margaret Wheatley's



The model shown above identifies the key technical elements as well as the structure, quality of the efficiency system and implementation process and groups them as “rational” and practical consideration of a planning process. Below the line, Wheatley groups the “emotional” elements of the organization such as information and knowledge, relationships between people and identity and values. Getting the right balance and interconnections between above the line and below can mean the difference between success and failure in terms of planning and building an environment in some community or city.

The fourth model is based on the concept of *Cultural citizenship*. This method is based on the presumption that there is a strong correlation between culture, democracy, citizenship, coexistence, participation and creativity. The main aim of this model is to secure to all citizens opportunities to participate in the cultural life of their community and to feel free to express their cultural identity. AGENDA 21 for CULTURE (Barcelona 2004), is one of the tools aimed at reinforcing the cultural dimension of our cities and improving the “local cultural strategies” through

implementing two crucial concepts: transversallity and participation. (Landry, 2004; http://www.comedia.org.uk/pages/pdf/downloads/Rethinking_the_creative_city.pdf) Agenda 21 for culture has significantly contributed to the creation of local cultural policies and should serve as a principal document for public cultural policies. AGENDA 21 is also defined as a document that should serve as a basis for cultural development of humankind. AGENDA 21 is a document involving 67 principles that should contribute to the self-sustainable development of cities and municipalities.

Conclusion

When the state or city cultural policy are to be created, several principles should be taken into consideration:

- being in close relation: state and local cultural policy and yet, keep the specificity each one is bringing;
- being based on the needs, demands and aspirations of the various communities of interest which the municipality and state serves, be guided by a locally distinctive vision for culture of their area that ensures fair access for all and not be driven only by the political elites;
- development through inter-sectorial approach; the state and cities should lead the process, but also work in partnership with other agencies from all sectors;
- take a holistic rather than a service or department, viewpoint, and not be bounded by the responsibilities of a specific department or committee;
- make clear links with other strategies and plans on state and city level, setting out the roles of the different plans, and clarifying where the urban cultural strategy informs and fits into those other plans;
- central to the cultural policy is to ensure active participation of a wide range of organizations and local people, both users and non-

users of services. This ensures common ownership. Many, if not all, cultural activities are managed by community organizations, the private sector or by other public agencies;

- take account of the wider state (central) and regional governmental context, including the objectives of central government, sponsored agencies, such as those concerned with heritage, tourism and external promotion. These include the cross-cutting agendas for public health, community safety, social inclusion, environmental sustainability, regeneration or lifelong learning;
- be focused on strategic choices, priorities for resources and action, defined outcomes, forward planning, mechanisms for implementations, mechanisms for monitoring and review.

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Policies for Culture, European Cultural Foundation – <http://www.eurocult.org/uploads/docs/577.pdf>; <http://www.policiesforculture.org/downloads.php>.

Recycling as a Model for Participatory Local Culture:

Re-thinking the Skopje Cultural Brand

in the Context of Primitivism

Vangel Nonevski

We start with an axiom: *Culture is (or, at least, it should be) an open-ended human creative platform*. Therefore, because its existential core depends on promotion and sharing of different creative discourses, arts, skills, values, worldviews, etc., its involvement in the processes of building participatory local cultural identities is to be seen almost as an oxymoron: the terms “culture” and “open participation” are to be read almost as synonyms. If the case is that the local cultures in the Balkan cities are oblivious (or negligent) to participation and sharing, then social exclusion becomes “only” a collateral damage of that lack. Local culture in itself is to be understood as an open medium for development of creative urges and as a forum for building vibrant local identities. Culture’s full (and perhaps only) justification becomes apparent only by fulfilling those potential characteristics.

However, cultural globalization continues to play an active role in the blurring of that preconception: more or less, major cities around the world all look and sound similar, in an increasing degree. Hopefully, my analysis will show that the problem of cultural blurring arises from the confusion between the concept of hybridization of local cultures, on one hand, and the culture of recycling, on the other. Hybridization of local cultures relies on and utilizes cultural globalization, while the culture of recycling is to be seen as a potentially liberating form of local cultural dialogue. Hybridization depends on a cultural centre, which would be inclusive only in the sense that it encapsulates different cultures under the umbrella of an overwhelming and dominant Culture, and which, in the best case, is indifferent to local and regional cultural particularities.

On the other hand, the discourse of the culture of recycling (which, in my opinion is the one we should strive for) also enables a mixture of, and a dialogue between, cultures. However, unlike hybridization, in this case, local and/or regional cultures do not lose their authenticity after the hypothetical dialogue, because recycling enables them to “return”

to their origins after they interpenetrate with each other, not to be lost in the huge cultural melting pot of the cultural hybridization/globalization. Local cultural identity (and its autonomy) is hopefully there to be shared, but also preserved and nurtured, not to be lost in the global cultural mishmash. After all, recycling in culture is to be associated with a reversible process of re-contextualizing and restructuring, not with a fixed state of equation with the centre of the cultural hybrid.

Hybridization/recycling differentiation

In order to get where we want to be, we must first determine where we currently are. So let's start our examination in the field of music, as our chosen paradigm/leitmotif. According to the renowned Australian aesthetician and cultural philosopher, Sean Cubitt, recorded music, unmusical sounds, film music and special sound effects – in other words, contemporary auditory perception – and their dissemination through space and time, create the necessary conditions for so-called *diaspora cultures*: cultures which rely on arts without a fixed space-time continuum, arts which can only be compared to a nomadic way of life. According to his words:

Diaspora cultures treat messages as what they are: relationships. Beats might originate in Jamaica, be remade in Senegal, get transformed in New York, find a new modification in London, catch another inflection in Cuba or Brazil, and so on and so on. [...] Central to diaspora circuits is that there is no closure to the loop, because there is far less emphasis on the integrity of the messages. Instead, the emphasis is on an improvisational bricolage embroidered on the incoming sounds before they are sent off on their travels again. (Cubitt, 1998: 146)

The overwhelming logic that stands behind diaspora cultures is rooted upon the belief that the open-ended flow of cultural particularities is superimposed in relation to the particularities themselves. Therefore, we get the notion that unrestricted cultural dialogue is Cubitt's weapon of choice. And that is good. He consequently continues by stressing the importance of having no "closure to the loop" of cultural mixability. That is, also, good. However, he reaches his point by concluding that "there is far less emphasis on the integrity of the message. Instead, the emphasis is on an improvisational bricolage embroidered on the incoming sounds before they are sent off on their travels again."

(Cubitt, 1998: 146) In my opinion, that is not so good. The nature of cultural open-endedness and participation is to be associated with mixability and improvisation, rightfully so. It's far more than a purely legitimate and potentially liberating standpoint; it's a necessary worldview. Therefore, we are more than welcome to be focused on the improvisational cultural bricolage¹, but not if that means disregarding the integrity and the autonomy of the auditory message, in the first place. According to Cubitt, diaspora cultures enable and enforce a dissemination of a digitally mediated, hybridised music, whose origin can not be easily located, because its origin is, in essence, nomadic. If we want to hear an authentic music of a remote African tribe, or music of Vietnamese peasants, or music of some East-Macedonian rice cultivators, we would probably be disappointed, because we would hear (nine times out of ten) music adapted/modulated to the standards of contemporary auditory perception. That is what diasporic mixology is all about. Yes, we would hear traditional music, but it would not be authentic, as it would be adjusted to the sensibility of global Space and Time.² That's a music, which

¹ Bricolage is wonderfully described by the famous French anthropologist and cultural philosopher, Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-2009):

"Wild or mythical mind acts like a home craftsman, *bricoleur*, and its basic action is *bricolage* – a patchwork. Compared to the real craftsman – the specialist, the expert of the craft, who is skilled in his own specific work and has particular, for specific purposes built tools – the home craftsman is not a specialist for particular crafts and hasn't got specialized tools. All he has is his resourcefulness and good will, so he tangles around with the tools he has gathered from here and there, as his life has lead him. However, with those tools he can complete all the necessary tasks that destiny forces upon him – *because neither his tools, nor his craftsmanship are specialized for any particular work*. The specialist is excellent in his line of work, but he isn't trained for any other work. His tools can't be used for anything else, other than the functions they were meant for. The home craftsman has no particular skills and therefore he can tackle anything." (Мочник, 1999: 50)

² A similar approach, but from the stand point of an all-embracing real time, can be found in the writings of the contemporary French architect, aesthetician and philosopher Paul Virilio:

"The implementation of real time through new technologies – whether we like it or not – represents an implementation of a time which is not in a relation with the historic time. [...] Contrary to that, history is constructed through local times: the local time of France, the USA, Italy, Paris, etc. The interactive capabilities of instant interaction enable any action to be started in one time, a time which refers to the universal time of astronomy. This is an event unlike any other. [...] The new technologies of information are placed in a web of relations, and as such they clearly transmit the perspective of a unified humanity, but also of a humanity reduced to uniformity." (Вирилио, 2003: 15-6)

according to Cubitt, is driven by a process of diaspora mixology; a process in which sounds migrate from one microculture to another and create constantly changing sound spaces; a process, which brought to its head, inevitably results in hybridization of local cultures.

Hence, the concept of *hybridization of local cultures*, according to Cubitt, presupposes a much wanted dialogue between and a mixture of local cultures (that's the positive aspect), but as a sort of *constantly transforming biochemical symbiosis* (a blur in a constant state of flux). The result of that symbiosis is a culture which embraces dialogue, but at a price! This imposition of a perpetual, multifaceted, multiended, universalized cultural mixture is, in fact, overwhelmed by the whole process of dialogue, at the same time being negligent and oblivious to the constituents of that process. The constituents are there only to be (mis)used by the irresponsible enforcer of the diasporic mixology, which is the primary thing that should be important to him. The conclusion is inevitable: diasporic mixology disables the constitutive parts of a hybridated culture to be properly recognized, since they are blurred in the mix. They can't return to their native sources, because the sources are centralized in the Source of nomadism. The diaspora Source becomes their *sources*. So, local sources become irrelevant, increasingly so. Now, you might think that is not such a harmful thing to do. But think again!

Unlike hybridated cultures, the concept of *interpenetration* between cultures (the culture of recycling), which to me is more preferable, also allows a mixture and a dialogue between cultures. However, unlike Cubitt's concept, in this case, the cultures hopefully do not lose their authenticity after the hypothetical dialogue, because just as they would be able to interact with each other in the beginning, they would be able to "return" to their sources afterwards, and to be experienced and remembered as they were, before their interpenetration. The distinction is subtile (and possibly vague), but very important. What's it all about?

A fine example about this distinction is the film *Dust*, by Milcho Manchevski. Everyone who has watched the film has noticed that the story about the Macedonian liberation (komitadji) movement in the 19th century is told in such a way, that a relation with the American western film aesthetic is being discovered and used. Therefore, the goal – the depiction of the Macedonian liberation movement and the life of the Macedonian people in the rural regions in that time – is accomplished

by using the cinematic narrative of the American western. An American bounty-hunter comes to Macedonia to “earn” money and, against his will, gets involved in the local context. To cut a long story short, a world famous cinematic paradigm is successfully employed to tell the story about the common Macedonian in the 19th century.³ American western poetic is put through a process of catachresis⁴, in a Macedonian way. Manchevski tells the Macedonian komitadji story (probably with a lot of inaccuracies, false comparisements, inconsistencies, etc.) so that everybody can understand it, not only the Macedonians in Macedonia. With that sort of creative discourse at disposal, the Macedonian film art, personified in the film *Dust*, enters in dialogue with a dominant cinematography, and tries to find its “place under the Sun”; it tries to maintain its autonomy, not losing the dialogical character of the process; it attempts to accentuate its own distinctiveness, but not by wiping away the participatory nature of the whole process without which it would become pointless. That can’t be regarded as hybridization, because in this case, the final goal of diaspora mixology and flux is not superimposed (i.e. it doesn’t stand for realization of some sort of cultural symbiosis under the flag of globalization), but is free from such directives and norms. Hence, cultural dialogue is being accomplished, but not tutored. According to Cubitt’s terminology, but contrary to it, the integrity of both messages – the western aesthetic and the story about the Macedonian liberation movement from the 19th century – stays intact, but at the same time, it’s not suffering from lack of cultural dialogue and participation. On the contrary, they are being embraced as key factors in the process of culture clashing.

No doubt, the same can be stated (more or less) about the music of Anastasia, Arhangel, Mizar, String Forces, Kiril Dzajkovski and many other Macedonian musicians. By using (adjusting, manipulating, exploiting...) the auditory perception of western music forms, they transmit (affirm, enrich, expand...) our own music expression, and present the Macedonian traditional music the right way – as a music that is open

³ Similar approach in the film making process can be found in the work of the Japanese film director Akira Kurosawa, who – in some of his films (*Seven Samurai*, *The Hidden Fortress*, *Yojimbo*) – tells the stories about Japanese samurai from the 15th and 16th century, by adapting them according to the standards of the American western film from the 40s and 50s of the 20th century.

⁴ In short, catachresis means deliberate false reading or interpretation for a greater good. (cf. Саркањац, 2001)

for dialogue (migration, interpenetration...) with other music forms.⁵ But, not in a dialogue in which the traditional music is being lost in the diasporic mixology. This *interpenetrated dialogue* is rather far from the notion of hybridized traditional music, which is “ready, willing and able” to be put in a global melting pot. On the other hand, it’s very near to the notion that music and culture gain the most, when they are put through the processes of *recycling*.

Contrary to that, there are a large number of cultural artifacts which serve as a testimony about the validity of the concept of hybridized arts and cultures. An example of hybridized music is the unconvincing attempt for conceptualization of “panbalkanic” music, personified in the ambitious, but actually utterly pathetic and unsuccessful project: Balkan Horses Band.⁶ Macedonian jazz guitarist, Toni Kitanovski, describes the difference between the two concepts (hybridization and authenticity) in a very simple and clear way. In an interview, he states that:

There is “world music” and ethno music. The difference is that ethno music has local character and the playing of music is traditional, as it was played in the past. World music, by contrast, has universal character; it is understood everywhere in the world. It represents many styles mixed in one style; a fusion of different types of music, mainly improvisation. (Китановски, 2005)

Hence, the following equation is forced upon us: world music = music with global space-time coordinants = music with diasporic/nomadic identity = music which doesn’t carry the challenge for exploration of its origin, but only the artificial challenge for falling into its “exotic charm” and lustfulness: exactly in accordance to the preconceived,

⁵ Examples of such migrations of music forms in contemporary music are plentiful: Talvin Singh and Nitin Sawhney are musicians with Indian ancestry, who treat Indian traditional music employing modern digital production techniques. Similar things are being conducted by Amon Tobin and DJ Krush with the Brazilian and Japanese traditional musics, respectively. (cf. Ноневски, 2005)

⁶ The band was comprised of the ‘biggest’ Balkan musicians, from several Balkan states. The goal was to make a fusion from all Balkan traditional music forms in one ‘panbalkanic’ music – some sort of satiated multiethnic mishmash. Nevertheless, regardless of our opinion about the successfulness of the project, the inevitable conclusion is that more than anything else, it was an elitistic manifestation of the virtuosities of the musicians – a melting pot of ‘everything and anything’ – whose final consequence was a forced elitistic professionalism. In other words, it was an attempt for implementation of a pointless multicultural aesthetic.

stereotyped Western version of the Orient and the Balkans.

With regard to film art in the Balkan cinematographies after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the trend of producing films which are preoccupied with creating a twisted, frightening image about the Balkan people is rather noticeable. As if on the Balkans nothing happens except fratricidal, interethnic and civil wars. As if cultural characteristics which provoke curiosity do not exist here. As if all the people on the Balkans are primitive savages without a sense for beauty, etc., just as the Western unconscious wants them to be: Balkan feature films to be viewed and understood as documentaries!⁷

Contrary to such arts (no matter if we speak about world music or Balkan films which create a twisted image of its people), the catachrestic, recycling and interpenetrative art works *can* and *do* induce further initiation with the authentic, unmediated art forms on the part of the public, which is extremely important for the cultural emancipation and affirmation of the 'small' local and regional cultures. In this case, cultures still retain their peculiarity. Therefore, what we are dealing here with – i.e. the evaluation and analysis of *recycling as a model for participatory local culture* – are some potentially empowering processes of appropriation and free playfulness with the Western aesthetic paradigms by the witty local aesthetic mind.

No subtitles please!

What is art? OK, that's a big question, with no straightforward satisfactory answer. But then, what is art that we can relate to? What kind of art fulfills, excites, enriches people? Can it give "sustainable" meaning to our lives? Or should we, in that context, talk about culture, in general? In this part we shall discuss the ways in which culture penetrates us; the ways in which art enriches our urban lives; the modes through which it becomes (or can become, if it still hasn't) a vital part of our lives. Hence, here we attempt to find out whether culture can play the role of a live (not fixed) force of life.

⁷ Most noticeable examples of this selfdefeatist trend in the Macedonian cinematography are the films *Balcan-can*, by Darko Mitrevski, and *Before the Rain*, by Milcho Manchevski. No wonder that they are, at the same time, commercially the most successful Macedonian films.

Having no short satisfactory answer and bearing in mind that the question about the nature of art remains complicated and multifaceted (to the extent that we are forced to abandon it in this case), we will have to ease ourselves with a somewhat functional answer to the same question. In short, it's the notion that art almost always acts in the very sites of our most secret communings, not in the spheres of univocal multi-media semantics. Art is never obvious and univocal: it's always open for new interpretations. Secretiveness and openness to multiple interpretations are its main characteristics, if we are to view art from the standpoint of the "lured" recipient. Therefore, as Cubitt stresses, "it relies less on the machinery than on the ability to interface old and new technologies and crucially to converge the visual and the aural not as unity but as dialogue." (Cubitt, 1998: 121) Indeed, through dialogue between the old and the new, between the visual and the auditory, the potentials of secretiveness and openness to interpretation become tenable. In doing so we truly promote a concept of cyclic cultural recurrence (instead of the corporate concept of closure and coherency), which encourages multiple hermeneutics of hidden and inconsistent relations between the past, the present and the future. Contrary to the straightforward concept of the arrow in the philosophy of history of art (G. W. F. Hegel), in which we can easily determine the relations between cause and effect (the concept which can also be tied to the politics of corporate advertising machine), the concept of cyclic cultural recurrence (most notable in the work of Oswald Spengler; cf. KepHC, 1993: 359-86) is not based on predictable causality, on maintaining the formula of beginning, middle and end in narration. Instead, it's driven around an arbitrary process of finding relations between different and inconsistent, distant and almost unconnectable points of cultural intercrossings.

Consequently, "the new spatial arts of movement will be global, increasingly so, and the massive act of translation which is now beginning to reestablish the relations between audio and visual is a key to its understanding." (Cubitt, 1998: 121) Notice that Cubitt, in the context of cultural dialogue emphasizes the need for translation, which can also be understood as a need for adjustment: adjustment of the local, traditional arts to the global spatial arts of movement. After all, without the mediation of translation, the concepts of diaspora cultures and the hybridization of cultures would be theoretically and practically unfounded. However, it has to be reasserted that the concept of hybridization of cultures is too restrictive and culturally depersonalizing, to be able to

establish a true, dignified dialogue between local cultures and to promote cyclic recurrences, which are to be understood as crucial factors of counterbalance to the straightforward concept of the arrow in the history of art. That's why Cubitt needs translation: because it's the key mediator between cultures and arts that have different space-time and cultural coordinants. The need for translation originates from the need for availability and control over *all* of the cultural artifacts and art works, adjusted according to the language and cultural context of the globalizing cultural matrix. If their meaning cannot be translated, adjusted, fine-tuned, than it can't be put on a leash. In context, the need for control is conditioned by the all-embracing processes of cultural globalization and with the coherency and the exclusiveness of contemporary "kill or be killed" capitalism, in which Cubitt most explicitly locates cultural oppression.

However, instead of translation, as a mediatory technique between the cyclic, interpenetrative cultural constituents and processes, a much more appropriate concept would (again) be *recycling*. It functions independent of translation, because it doesn't necessarily rely on the dominant cultural hybrid, for whose needs the arts would have to be translated, adjusted or blended in the cultural melting pot. The processes of recycling – visible, for example, in the already mentioned films of Kurosawa and *Dust* by Manchevski – can function independent of the semantic domination and normativism of translation. Therefore, recycling is to be understood as a process of adjustment according to the local (personal, cultural, national...) sensibility, not the other way around. That's the main reason why recycling as a cultural practice functions with difficulty in hybridized cultures. It cannot (or has a hard time to) rework, rearrange, recontextualize, if there are cultures which, after their interconnections, remain in inseparable, "biochemical" relations to each other, so that they are forced to undergo processes of translation. Therefore, recycling represents a worldview, which for the purposes of the concept of cyclic recurrence is much more acceptable than the concept of hybridization, because the much needed dialogue (conversation, cooperation, partnership) between cultures and arts can be carried out, only if they are free and dignified; only if after their prior dialogue (after the prior interpenetration), a strain of authenticity is being preserved among them; only if arts and cultures are able to "return" to their origins after their journeys. That can be carried out only if the local cultures are not adjusted or translated according to the dominant, globalizing,

all-embracing cultural hybrid; only if they are not lost in the translation by the cultural matrix. Hence, in my opinion, recycling satisfies Cubitt's (and mine) need for "convergence not through unity, but through dialogue", much more efficiently, than hybridization ever could.

Therefore, the concept of recycling is (better yet, it can be) put forward to provide the conditions for a live and vibrant urban culture of life. Recycling does not enforce or endorse *blurs*. It encourages dignified cultural dialogues with equal participants. It can't function if the role of the participants is to be dissolved in the process of cultural hybridization. Recycling can not even begin to be a model for participatory local culture, if that is the case. It can, however, be fruitful if the differentiation recycling/hybridization is clearly elaborated and accentuated, as (I hope) it was. If it was successful, now we can move on.

The Skopje case

The City of Skopje is a fine example of a local microculture that vibrates (and has done so in the past) through the discourse of cultural recycling. We can view Skopje as a respectable "forum for cultural contest between people", as the Macedonian national and cultural revolutionary, Goce Delchev, once put it. Different regional and local cultures from the past, as well as some Western subcultures more recently, were thriving and are still "alive and kicking" today to interpenetrate each other, instead of being biochemically fused together, according to the wants of cultural hybridization. And yes, that's also true about the contemporary corporate consumerist culture, personified by brands like *McDonalds*, *Nike*, *T-Mobile*, etc., which can be seen on our streets and billboards and which penetrate our daily living so much that we are to believe that our lives would be pointless without them (!). Finally, there are the cyber-world and the cyberspace of the diverse digital culture, which caught the late train (according to many media experts, one of the last trains) to Skopje. But, now the virtual train's here and it's here to stay! Skopje is on-line and no one is turning the switch off!

Consequently, we can safely conclude that different cultures live together in Skopje, but more importantly, they exchange ideas, values, worldviews, arts, crafts, cuisines, etc. However, it has to be reasserted that they do so, because they are not lost in translation. On the contrary,

Skopje is an outstanding example that cultural translation is not needed, in a place where local cultures interpenetrate almost unmediated. They communicate, but that communication is not centralized, according to a presupposed notion of a cultural matrix. Nor are they blurred, mishmashed, dissolved, as cultures become when they're put through the wheel of hybridization. Recycling enables cultures to be enriched by each other, but to still preserve their strain of authenticity in the process. They can intermingle, and they can retrieve afterwards, if they want/need to. However, there has to be no illusion that local cultures remain intact, unmixed, pure and clean over the years, as they once were, in "the good old days". They most certainly don't and they shouldn't. But, on the other hand, if they continue to hybridise unrestrained (with hyperspeed), than all we will end up with would be a *glocal cultural hybrid*: pseudolocal mishmash, where local particularities are there only to serve 'the greater good' – free, unrestrained cultural hybridization.

The general feeling is that Skopje is starting to show signs of hesitation in this respect. It hasn't made up his mind yet! Is it going to continue to be a forum for free cultural communication, or is it going to blend with the trend? Is it going to go with the flow? Or, in the worst case, is it going to simply ignore all this, and find a path of its own?

"Skopje 2014": Savages R'us

The answer to the above-stated questions means that this is where the fairytale about Skopje ends! Yes, the title of the architectural-urban project that the Macedonian government prepared for us in 2009 is equally frightening as the first thought that comes to mind when you hear the title "Skopje 2014" – namely, that it represents a title of a dystopian science fiction film.

Much argumented criticism has been delivered against this project: from different points of direction and directed to different aspects of it. So, my job here won't be reassertive. However, a few key aspects should again be stressed.

The main problem with the "Skopje 2014" project, in my opinion, is that it offers a notion of a fixed, hermetically closed local culture, centralized in its "glorified history" – a sort of mummification of cul-

ture. If we agree with the image of Skopje as an integrative, participatory, recycling local culture, then no one, in their right mind, would go on and stand behind a project that offers something quite opposite. Namely, what “Skopje 2014” puts to the fore is a notion of a local culture, which is governed and tutored, rather than left to flourish under its own integratory terms. The paradigm, the central axis under which that tutorage is to be implemented is the glorification of the Macedonian history. In other contexts, that doesn’t have to be such a bad thing to do. But, in this case, it is, because Macedonian history is to be represented as a history of *one* ethnos, rather than a history of intermingling of different nations, religions, cultures and worldviews. Therefore, what is to be expected from the symbolic representation of the future buildings and monuments in Skopje is an assertion of the Past (its mummification), rather than an integrative mode for promotion of unrealized cultural potentials. Instead of providing projects or solutions to existing problems, the Macedonian government creates new ones.

The next problem that should be emphasized is that the project is overwhelmed with megalomania: almost every planned building or monument in it is huge, compared to the surrounding urban-architectural context. Needless to say that Skopje is one of the most unsuitable places for such experiments. On the other hand, the megalomanian aspect of the project is indicative of the psychological complex of inferiority on behalf of its orderers, i.e. the Macedonian government. The psychoanalytic approach can’t help but notice that if one is not able to produce real and decent living conditions for its citizens (economic growth, high employment, standard of living, integration in the EU and NATO, the rule of law), they simulate welfare through megalomania; they turn to the virtualization of the real; they “travel back” to past times when “the nation was glorious”. “If we are unable to give you your bright future, we can reproduce your spectacular past.” That’s how our leaders really think! These are the ways which, in effect, are given with the intention to foster only the low, tribal, primordial, primitive urges of the citizens of Skopje, not to promote the inherent participative character of its local culture.

Last, but certainly not least important, “Skopje 2014” represents a curious kind of “experimental ready-made culture”. It was simply thrown on our TV screens as a simulated, five minute long video clip. It was presented to the general public as a “done-deal”, without a prior

debate comprised of architects, art historians and aesthetic experts and specialists in the given field. “There, we want to do this, and there’s nothing you can do about it!” It was with that kind of impudence that its orderers threw it in our faces; there was nothing we could do about it. Therefore, the inevitable impression is that “Skopje 2014” can be read as a sort of ready-made art object, prepared to be placed in the centre of Skopje, as in a big gallery. The major difference, of course, is that art can and should be experimental, because after the exhibition is over, artworks get purchased or given back to the artist. On the other hand, no one can take “Skopje 2014” back after its completion – as simple as that. Therefore, local culture (and culture in general) is not a field that should be experimented with. Rather, it’s a field that, among other things, should *provide the necessary conditions* for experimentation in art. (Local) culture is a sort of infrastructure for art. But, if its aspirations are to substitute art, as they clearly are in this case, then they are both losers.

Therefore, because the project represents a notion of local culture as a fixed, hermetically closed system; because it wakes primitive urges among its citizens through megalomania; because it’s exclusive and closed to discussion; it is a major threat to the participative, integratory character of the Skopje local culture. After all, *culture*, in essence, is *communication*. Sadly, “Skopje 2014” is a monologue. It’s not even a poor example of a concept of hybridization of cultures. Today, we wish it was!

Ideologizing the problem: moving from bad to worse

The idea of the prior subchapter was to point out that cultural discontinuities (which in essence are to be welcomed) in Skopje are beginning to be treated *ideologically*. Every architecture, of course, is burdened with ideology: it means something; it represents an idea, a political vision, a market system... For example, when a big business or residential building, bank or shopping mall is to be built, most noticeable is the neoliberal ideology (or the ideology of free market and unstoppable consumerism) at work, masked in the “need” to live in the capital city. Even in the case of modernist architecture of post-earthquake Skopje, ideology manifests itself (although with a small intensity) through a materialization of a certain freedom-loving, cosmopolitan spirit (which, for part of its citizens, still remains misunderstood and unwelcomed).

However, it is very dangerous when an architectural-urban planning of the Skopje centre approaches pure or total ideology. Macedonian right-wingers (shortsided to the max) feel serious problems for the “unestablished” national symbols in the Skopje centre! They are far from able to comprehend the simple truth that Balkan cultural identities are multifaceted. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that “Skopje 2014” is loaded with ethnonationalistic burden, whose job is to recover the anachronistic national ideology. Also, we should not be surprised that the subsequent protests of the First Archi-brigade were violently suppressed on the 28th of May 2009, and that the public debate that followed afterwards was diverted towards discussions about human rights and freedoms. The ideology of false belief walked away with victory! The aggressiveness of the whole ideological-architectural project in Skopje today is, by far, more emphasized compared to the one from post-1963, when there was the excuse that reconstruction was put forward because of the destructive earthquake, which demolished many buildings in the city centre. In what earthquake today can we find the excuse for the devastation of our urban space: the ridiculous Memorial house of Mother Theresa, the photocopying of the buildings of pre-earthquake Skopje (45 years after their demolition!), the announced uncontextual monuments that are being built in the city centre (as we speak), the “new” buildings in antique style, etc.

The conclusion is inevitable. Skopje architecture and culture, in general, should be *deideologized*: the sooner, the better. That way, the voice of resistance won’t be directed solely on inadequately situated churches and monuments (anti-nationalistic ideology), but, also, against shopping malls and tall buildings on inappropriate locations (anti-neoliberal ideology) and against multiple grotesque formations (anti-provincial ideology). That way, our architecture and culture would be freed from ideological tutorage and would be left to work its own functional, integrative and participatory ways and modes of evolution.

But, who are we kidding? Is such a democratization of our culture even possible?! The obvious answer today is: definitely not. Let’s see how it could eventually be achieved in the future.

Culture as antidote or culture/state secularization?

I don't remember anyone suggesting to my parents to create realistic art, so that their work would be more understandable to the general public. In those times, artists and politicians had mutual respect and didn't meddle in each other's business. But, on the other hand, there were many hidden games and obstacles in the process, so in the four years of its construction, my parents faced many problems and disputes: allegedly, that they were making a monument that no one would empathize with. You know, small number of people understand the contemporary form, because in order to do that, one should have appropriate education. That's how things stood before, and today it's the same. However, my parents managed to pull it through and create something that was truly timeless and, by the majority, misunderstood.

Lira Grabul (daughter of Jordan and Iskra Grabul,
architects of *The Macedonium* in Krushevo)

The famous German poet and leftist, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, once gave a very optimistic statement, in which we can find a glimmer of hope. He said: "Happy is she/he who can be persuaded that with the help of culture, society can be vaccinated against violence." (Клер, 2001: 18) However, the statement is only seemingly optimistic (after all, it's pulled out of context) because it doesn't take into account the possibility that culture itself can be violent. That reminds me of another statement, given by the famous American hip hop artist, Ice Cube. On his album *Lethal Injection* (what a coincidence!), he says: "In every country, prison is where society sends its failures, but in this country [he means the USA], society itself is failure."

Therefore, the situation in Skopje is in that sort of hopeless condition, that many opponents of Skopje's cultural failures still believe that culture, understood as a sort of subversive vaccine, will solve, by itself, the problem of cultural deviations. But, what do we do when local and national culture is structured and organized in such a way that it doesn't vaccinate, but, on the contrary, spreads infections? What do we do when violence presents itself as culture ("Skopje 2014")?! The only excuse for the apathy and the defeatism of our intellectual elite in regard to the project "Skopje 2014" can be traced in that godforsaken belief that culture (in the end) will take care of its own stillborn creations; that it will triumph over violence masked as culture! So all of us still believe that a miracle will occur and that when 2014 finally arrives, Skopje's centre

will not be filled and saturated with the ridiculous buildings, monuments, sculptures and churches that are planned; that it won't become an amusement park for the faintminded and the lightminded. Let us see how much longer we can fool ourselves!

So what do we do then? Reversing or stopping the project now seems ludicrous. The only thing that we can do is slow it down and/or take measures that will prevent from something similar ever happening again.

A possible direction towards finding a mode for resistance to the cultural obstinacy (to the amazement of the Macedonian right-wingers) can be found in our “communist” past. Therefore, we should have no dilemmas about what Lira Grabul is saying in her statement, which I took as a motto of this subchapter. Yes, she is talking about secularization in culture/state.

If the state is intervening too much (and “Skopje 2014” is a prime example for that) in spheres where it doesn't have the needed flair and sensibility, then – similar as in the case of religion in the religion/state secularization – art and culture become the biggest losers.⁸ When culture doesn't have the necessary natural flow of evolution and autonomy, but is tutored instead, it becomes the greatest loser; and the state isn't far behind it. Therefore, culture falls in a subordinate relation to the state, instead of leaving it to evolve on its own, with as little intervention (for example, appropriate infrastructure would be more than enough) as possible. What the state should do is provide a space for free manifestation and actualization of culture's potentials, not to approach it as a marketing agency for sucking daily-political profit. So, without a shadow of doubt it has to be asserted: if the Skopje local culture was free (at least, a little more free) from the pressures of its government's

⁸ One could argue that art, particularly architecture, can't be met in a secularistic way, because it is most unsuitable for such a treatment. According to that stance, architecture is situated nearest to the profane (worldly), because it should be functional: to serve us for our living and material needs. So it shouldn't be secularized from it. Although there is truth in such an approach, still, the “Skopje 2014” project can't be affiliated with that sort of architectural reading, since a large number of functional imperatives are neglected in it. On the contrary, it is doubtless that the project is directed towards creating a total (or totalitarian) work of art, in which the priorities are focused on the external, “triumphant” look and the symbol, not the architectural unity form=function.

political primitivism, it would be far more suited to manifest its participative, recycling tendencies. This way, it shall remain “free” to manifest its worst univocal, totalitarian manifestations.

It has to be stressed that free manifestation and actualization of culture’s true potentials can’t be achieved if the only things that are supported are the dead or dying art forms of rigid art realism and romanticism. Culture’s evolution can’t flourish if what the citizens are presented with are only forms which they can understand. That way, the citizens are doomed to a state of cultural status quo. No effort – no gain!

Here we touch upon the second point that Grabul accentuates – namely, the misconception that glorified architecture and monumental art should be realistic and understandable. The popular belief is that if we were to thrive towards creating avant-garde sculpture and modernist architecture (in the context of post-earthquake Skopje), they would not be appropriately understood by the general public, bearing in mind the level of our general aesthetic education!? That’s what we are expected to think: the general education always stays (or, better yet, should stay) the same!? On the other hand, however, if we insist only on creating realist, univocal, easy-to-digest art and culture (what is, in effect, given to us in the project “Skopje 2014”), then what we’re expecting from our citizens is a continuous stagnation and even degradation of their urban aesthetic sensibility. In such a climate, we shouldn’t expect flourishing of an urban spirit that would be based on a positive critique of its aesthetic reality. Instead, what we should expect is a spirit that would be in a constant state of consent with the actual: whatever it is, however it is. It would be a spirit that wouldn’t be in a constant search for new challenges, because it would be in a subordinate relation to the mediocrity of the stagnant general aesthetic education.

Conclusion

Today, the aftermath of the cultural univocalness – i.e. what is in effect presented in the project “Skopje 2014” – on the future generations can’t be clearly anticipated. What can be concluded, however, is of negative nature. Those generations (mine included) won’t be lead to foster their aesthetic flair, since they will indulge themselves with simple forms, which don’t acquire contemplation. They won’t nurture their spirit and

won't aspire to become more than they are, because they will be more than happy with the actual cultural reality, ignorant of the possibilities of potential local cultural identities. Such stagnancy in the embrace of unquestioned consent can, in perspective, be extremely dangerous, since it will continue to be enslaved by the "always true" consciousness of ideology, oblivious to the complex, multifaceted reality.

In the end, I leave you with the following. Since up until now, Macedonia hasn't been a place where even the basic principles of the religion/state secularization have been consequently respected, it's hard to imagine that new informal principles can be implemented (no matter how positive they might be), which would be counterproductive to any right-wing government. But, if something doesn't happen soon (at least on public consciousness level), when 2014 finally arrives, it will be too late to comprehend the need for culture/state secularization, because art (architecture, above all) will be discredited to the point of irreversibility. So much so that it will probably set new local trends of *cultural closure*, unless we are able to encounter the defeatism of irreversibility in time. If that doesn't happen, local culture won't be the biggest loser. The real loser will be the *actual need* for participatory local culture.

P.S. Someone mentioned recycling and hybridization? What the hell was that?

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Re-thinking the Cities: Creativity and Politics.

Architecture - designing politics of cultural permanence

Dimitar Samardjiev

Abstract: This paper constitutes an attempt to explore and re-interpret certain aspects of the cultural and political role of architecture in a reconfigured context of streetscapes crippled by urban blight. It aims to offer some possible scenarios for residents to reclaim areas by collaborating in a series of community design workshops and experimenting with models for a sustainable community — in social and cultural aspects, as well as in environmental and economical terms. It might be considered as an invitation to take an absolutely pragmatic leap into everyday-life improvisations of the permaculture principles, to extract from it something that expresses cultural fertility and which could afterwards be used for the purposes of constructing a sustainable way of life in the present and for the benefit of life in the future. The implementation of the suggested actions could be aesthetic insofar as it involves connecting communities to the creative life of matter and social energy. The articulation of such efforts is also political, because they engage, displace, and reorganize the very conditions that constitute the sustainability of design, pushing architecture into the background so that the vitality of social life can move into the foreground. Finally, it constitutes an attempt to reevaluate concepts such as: design, culture, permanence and sustainability, by questioning the political and corporate commodification of lifestyles based on such concepts. This paper occasionally transgresses academic discourse and is oriented creatively precisely because culture (creative ideas in practice) is involved with the construction of new realities.

Keywords: architecture, politics, culture, permanence, design.

What might be the story behind architecture, language and politics?

If one makes an attempt in pinpointing the words *architecture* and *politics* by applying semantic etymology in order to clarify the basic terminology used in this text, then one might end up speculating that architecture is a political act by design. Even the word architecture itself, bears the marks of a mindset that promotes the domination model. The prefix arch- is infused with the sense of “principal, -in-chief, superior”, and the suffix -arch is used in nouns denoting a ruler (monarch, patriarch, ethnarch etc.). Architecture could represent an attempt to politically distort time with interventions in space since architectural structures appear to have the perfect memory of materiality. Therefore, it inherently serves as an evidence for the existence of the ability and power to construct a building, which by itself might easily be interpreted as accomplishing of a political goal. The other two key words that emerge as the foundation of this speculation are the ancient Greek word *polis* – the city-state as the birthplace of both politics and architecture, and the Late Latin word *burgus* – the fortified town as the birthplace of the bourgeoisie and consequently capitalism.

Nevertheless, this interpretation, as any other, is in the domain of language, and the association between architecture and language has been established in the collective human consciousness in the early historical period. In addition to this interconnection of architecture politics and language, there are clay tablets with inscriptions typical for the Sumerian culture, which resemble the bricks they used for building. It is not hard to imagine the rituals of placing bricks with “magical” inscriptions within walls in order to ensure the permanence of the building. Furthermore, we have the basalt stele from the 18th century B.C. on which the law code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi is inscribed, so one may consider this as a clear connection between architecture, lan-

guage and politics. The following paragraph might seem as a digression into anecdotal discourse, but I find it necessary to point out that the relation between architecture, politics and language was also mentioned in the biblical text concerning the Tower of Babel:

In short, the story is about a group of people that agree on constructing a city and a tower in order to reach to the Heavens so they could speak to God directly, thereby acquiring an identity for them before spreading across the face of the Earth. However, the ultimate architect, the absolute designer – God, disapproved of this (political) act, and by inducing the confusion of tongues prevented the completion of the building.

My interpretation of this story is that people were trying to question God's authority by designing such a project, which might have promoted dialog by means of direct democracy. From a political perspective, the project of the city and the Tower of Babel may be interpreted as a democratic initiative of a community, aimed at making a significant statement for the collective identity by constructing an architectural structure.

There is a strange folk version of this story in Macedonian language, that has been recorded by Marko Cepenkov, a 19th century collector of Macedonian folk tales. It portrays a king who was afraid of getting drowned in a possible second (Noah's) Flood; so he ordered his subjects to build him a tower reaching for the sky where he could take refuge from the Flood. He was so cruel, that he did not let the people do their domestic work until the tower was finished. So the people prayed to God to save them from the tyranny of their king. God showed mercy to the people and induced the confusion of tongues, thereby sabotaging the king's architectural project.

From a political perspective this version of the biblical story may be interpreted as a project initiated by a single powerful figure subduing a larger number of people in order to reach a political goal – the construction of an architectural monument conveying an image of one's own dominance over others, such as in this case.

Each version of the story represents a political statement that is actualised by architectural means; the messages that are intended for the public differ, but both end up in the confusion of tongues. This is a direct result of the way their designs were interpreted even before the projects were completed.

Buildings in general, could also be interpreted as attempts to contain our lives and our civilization. The reason for this is the fact that buildings loom over us and most often persist beyond us. This poses a problem that is also very personal because, at first sight, buildings look so static. "When we deal with buildings, we deal with anonymous or well-known predecessors and lose. The best we can hope for is compromise with the *fait accompli* of the building". (Brand, 1997) The whole idea behind architecture is permanence. In certain key Islamic buildings like the Alhambra, the reiteration of *dhikr* (remembrance) as calligrammatic text becomes the very definition of built space as mnemonic device or "Memory Palace" – not ornament, but the very basis or crystal-precipitation-principle of architecture. What might be the "Memory Palace" in reality? Perhaps an institution that we usually refer to as the Library – a civilisation archive uniting architecture and language in a single structure?

What languages does architecture speak?

If architecture is to be classified as language, we have every right to ask what is being said and who is being addressed. The word "building" contains the double reality. It means both "the action of the verb *build*" and "that which is built" – verb and noun, the action and the result, simultaneously. Whereas architecture may strive to be permanent, a building is always building and rebuilding. This might seem like a paradox, but here the ideas (architecture) are rigid and the facts (buildings) are flexible, at least to the extent of tearing them down. Could the ideas be revised in order to match the facts?

Excellent buildings should speak to the entire environment: to other structures, to the animals, to plants, to people, and to everything. For the comfort of their occupants, in hot humid climates, buildings should strain every ear to catch the wind. In cold climates, buildings need deep eaves, thick walls and as much sunlight as possible. These are internal matters, but they should avert any new International Style. From a planning standpoint, it is what buildings say to the external environment that matters the most. Entire settlements can be designed to bend their backs to the wind or hold up their hands to the sun. Thick walls say: "We believe in the conservation of energy".

For those who can read the language of settlements, oblique aerial photographs should say: "Hot humid climate", "Hot arid climate", "Temperate windy climate" or "Cold arid climate". It would be boring if all the streets said the same thing but, given a choice, most probably the residents would wish them to convey this message. In fact, most modern settlements say: "We are internationalist. We have passports. We could travel anywhere in the world without being recognized as the inhabitants of a local culture or land". One can only hope that this attitude will cease to exist once the novelty of international travel has worn thin. Some buildings are designed and managed as a spatial entirety, none as a temporal one. Sim Van Der Ryn, former State Architect of California suggested that there are three different kinds of buildings, which he thought changed in quite separate ways – commercial, domestic, and institutional. Each kind of building has different internal dynamics.

Buildings whose business it is to make money have to adapt quickly, often radically, because of the intense competitive pressure to perform, and they are subject to the rapid advances that occur in any industry. Commercial buildings are forever metamorphic. Corporate architecture acts as a signifier of the myth of the efficient and powerful corporation; it is the physical symbol and public face of that corporation. The crass seething of commerce is something that institutional buildings seek to rise above, and that homes seek to escape.

Institutional buildings act as if they were designed specifically to prevent change for the organisation inside, and to convey timeless reliability to everyone outside. Institutional buildings are mortified by change. But, after all, most institutional buildings are simply offices, and offices are infamously high-changing environments, and so they are self-violating. When forced to change anyway, as they always are, they do so with expensive reluctance and all possible delay. Institutional buildings house bureaucracies, which are not allowed to fail, thus being unable to resist the outgrowing of their space. Consequently, some activities awkwardly overflow into nearby buildings, thereby invading public space which implicitly mediates their display of power onto domestic/private space and targeting the individual.

Domestic buildings are a successful sanctuary only when property values are constant, which is seldom. Domestic buildings directly respond to the family's ideas and annoyances, growth and prospects. The house and its occupants mould to each other twenty-four hours a day,

and the building accumulates the record of that intimacy. That is far less the case with renters, who must ask permission from landlords and have no hope of financial gain from improvements.

The three kinds of buildings deliberately differ from each other. The difference between style and form is the difference between a statement and a language. “An architectural statement is limited to a few stylistic words and depends on the originality for its impact, whereas a vernacular form unleashes the power of a whole, tested grammar.” (Brand, 1997)

Since architecture is public, all languages used by the architects should be translatable into local tongues. It will then be established that buildings have a different messages to convey. Moscow’s Kremlin seems to have always declared that: “Here is the seat of absolute power. Beware.” The designers of book jackets for Kafka’s Castle have agreed that it was a high building, raised above the city, without a clear plan and with very confusing elevations. These are grand examples of talking buildings.

This speaks of the basic relation between architecture and politics, which appears to be that of power. Consequently, the architects that didn’t comply with the politics in power never got to realize their plans; therefore there is no historical record of their work. Whereas the architects that channel their need for self-realisation through becoming commissionaires, reduce themselves to mere instruments displaying the political power established at a given time and place. Foucault uses Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon as an explicit example of how architecture and power are entangled. The panopticon is a circular prison with the guard in the middle, which might be there, but also might not be there; nevertheless, the prisoners feel his gaze and are therefore disciplined, follow the rules and obey. According to Foucault, architecture can and must be seen as an instrument of power; architecture is forcing bodies into obedience and discipline, its business is the making of docile bodies.

Foucault is not the only one who defines architecture as an instrument of power. Bataille identifies architecture with authority in a text dating from 1929, where he refers to the taking of the Bastille during the French revolution: “The taking of the Bastille is symbolic of this state of things. It is difficult to explain the movement of the crowd, other than by the animosity of the people against the monuments which are its veritable masters”. In the same text he also writes, “the great monuments are erected like dikes opposing the logic and majesty of authority

against all disturbing elements. It is in the form of cathedral or palace that Church or State speaks to the multitudes and imposes silence upon them. It is, in fact, obvious that monuments inspire social prudence and often real fear". This is Bataille's viewpoint on architecture that is clearly political and needs no further explanation or comment.

Besides Foucault and Bataille, one could certainly add other authors pointing out that architecture can and must be seen as an instrument of power, but there are such people like Bernard Tchumi who think that it is possible for architecture to find a way of subverting authority and power. He takes the theories of Foucault and Bataille, as the substrate for his opinion that architecture can be transgressive in the sense of negating "the limits that history has set for it". As for the term *transgression*, it has been used earlier by Bataille, not for architecture, but in his discussions referring to literature, philosophy and erotics. The design project for the park La Villette in Paris represents Bernard Tchumi's attempt in applying his ideas by constructing little red buildings along a grid pattern, which were left for the park authorities to decide upon their eventual usage. These designer follies were not functional, rational or univalent; they were developed out of a deconstructivist formal language, probably with the intention of subverting and transgressing the academic architectural discourse at the time. One can not conclude with certainty whether Tchumi succeeded in translating his ideals into the environment, since the architectural design is not the only factor that decides the fate of a building.

What power lies in architectural design?

Architect Peter Calthorpe says it is as if architecture suffered a stroke after World War II, lost its language and intelligence, and could not articulate real buildings any more, so it just made boxes. With postmodernism, the profession was finally beginning to manage a few words again, but it still could not handle sentences or paragraphs; instead of settling down to real homework, the postmodern movement increasingly fragmented into shards of self-consciousness. Obsession with such distractions as French literary criticism, culminated with a suicide dive into blatantly "postfunctional" deconstructivism.

However, it is not just because of impractical design that archi-

tects are only involved in 5 per cent of new buildings. The architect is being marginalised by the pathological fragmentation of the building professions and trade. Is the architect a generalist, a maker of buildings, or a specialist, a mere artist? That question haunts the profession, because students are attracted to architecture as wondrous calling for great souls guiding huge projects with all-embracing talent and skill. After graduation they encounter a tawdry reality – architect as a disempowered minor player who is increasingly being left out entirely.

Nevertheless, according to Basar Shumon, “architecture is a poisonous mixture of power and impotence. The project of architecture, if it is to survive intact and potent, must transcend its former self: it has to wake up and realize that the true and only important task is the vigilant corruption of the chain of causality that begins with ‘client’ and ends in ‘building’. The most powerful effect of impotence is the desire to find the cure”. (Shumon: 65)

The architect’s actions and discourse imply the conception of the architectural project as a political act, taking into account the fact that forms are ideologically neutral, and only acquire meaning according to the way they are used. By nature, architecture and urban planning, as initiated in so many cases we are familiar with today, constitute a political act and entail a political position. This is most often left unnoticed – we are captivated by the intrinsic qualities of the designs, and we give less attention to the wider context and meanings. “...[I]f design is merely an inducement to consume, then we must reject design; if architecture is merely the codifying of bourgeois model of ownership and society, then we must reject architecture; if architecture and town planning is merely the formalization of present unjust social divisions, then we must reject town planning and its cities ... until all design activities are aimed towards meeting primary needs. Until then, design must disappear. We can live without architecture...” (Natalini, 1971)

If you look at the history of architecture as a profession, it was always around distinctions of “art” that architects distinguished themselves from mere “builders” starting in the mid-19th century, when the profession emerged, and continuing to the present day. “Art-and-Architecture” are always clumped together. What is wrong with that? Few modern artists approve of anything static, artistic architects should be the most accepting of all interactivity with their audience. The problems

of “art” as architectural aspiration come down to these: Art is proudly non-functional and impractical; art reveres the new and despises the conventional; architectural art sells at a distance.

Art must be inherently radical, but buildings are inherently conservative. Art must experiment to do its job. Most experiments fail. Art costs extra. How much extra are you willing to pay to live in a failed experiment? Art flouts convention. Convention became conventional because it works. Aspiring to art means aspiring to a building that almost certainly cannot work, because the old good solutions are thrown away. The roof has a dramatic new look, and it leaks dramatically. However: “I also see all art as political, whether by commission or omission... The choice of what to focus on is a political act, to choice of what to reveal or conceal is a political act, the choice of what to assert or deny is a political act. ...Encouraging people to not only listen and hear, but also to use their own voices to critically examine their selves, their lives, and the world around them, is a political act”. (Devorah, 2005)

A building’s exterior is a strange thing to concentrate on anyway. All that effort goes into impressing the wrong people – passers-by instead of the people who use the building. Only if there is a heavily trafficked courtyard or garden do the building dwellers notice the exterior at all after the first few days. Most often they do not even enter by way of the facade and big lobby; they come in by the garage door. Yet, ever since the Renaissance, “the history of architecture is the history of facades”. It is a massive misdirection of money and design effort, considering how badly buildings need their fundamentals to be taken care of.

Architects and interior designers revile and battle each other. Interior design as a profession most often is not even taught in architecture departments. At the enormous University of California, Berkeley, with its prestigious Environmental Design departments and programmes, architecture students can find no course on interior design anywhere. They could take a bus several miles to the California College of Arts and Crafts, which does teach interior design, but no one takes that bus. Interiors change radically while exteriors maintain continuity. The space plan is the stage of the human comedy. New scene, new set.

Sullivan’s form-follows-function misled a century of architects into believing that they could really anticipate function. Churchill’s ring-and-then-they-shape-us truncated the fuller circle of reality. First

we shape our buildings, then they shape us, and then we shape them again – ad infinitum. Function reforms perpetually. Buildings steady us, which we can probably use. However, if we let our buildings come to a full stop, they stop us. It happened in command economies such as Eastern Europe's in the period 1945-1990. Since all buildings were state owned, they were never maintained or altered by the tenants, who had no stake in them, and culture and the economy were paralysed for decades.

It is a commonplace that architecture reflects the ideas and values of a given society. More accurately, perhaps, it is an expression of the distribution of power within society, reflecting the shifting fortunes of individuals and institutions, cities and classes. The appearance, function, layout and location of buildings change as society does, sometimes imperceptibly, sometimes in startling leaps. The institutions of our cities provide interrelated roles and relationships for our day-to-day activities, expected behaviors, and usual outcomes. The private ownership of productive property, markets, and corporate hierarchies of capitalist cities produce and reproduce class rule, social segregation, and hierarchy. Housing is stratified by income, so poor people are ghettoized, their communities are living in decomposing buildings and neighbourhoods. Residences with nice houses, safe streets, pleasant views, and clean parks are often reserved for rich and upper class communities. Communities from separate ethnic backgrounds often live in separate ethnic quarters. Sex and gender development in society has evolved into spatial patterns founded on the myth that the women's place is either in the home or out shopping. Spatial functions often exclude consideration for those with mental or physical barriers. Patterns in our built environment have evolved into patterns facilitating mass consumption and competitive production.

Are there any alternative scenarios?

In 1924, Kasimir Malevich declared in his Suprematist manifesto also referred to as UNOVIS, the following: "The new man's provisional dwellings both in space and on Earth must be adapted to the aeroplane... Hence we Suprematists propose the objectless planets as a basis for the common creation of our existence. We Suprematists will seek allies for the struggle against outmoded forms of architecture..." (Malevich, 1975)

Malevich fuel was technologically political, immersed in his epoch, responding to the present by envisioning the future of a newly formed society spellbound by progressive ideals. He aimed for the materiality of a social project, abolishing everything that did not correspond to its needs. The Suprematists were not alone; they were a nodal point in the network of the avant-gardes of the last century. By our epoch's definition, this pursuit for a radical change in the way of life is nonexistent in today's culture producing western world. On the contrary, we are being engaged on a recycling process where nothing happens anymore and everything is being stacked back again into the system.

Buildings keep being pushed around by three irresistible forces – technology, money, and fashion. Technology offers, for example, new double-pane insulated windows with a sun-reflective membrane, which is expensive, but which will enormously reduce the energy costs for the building, and you will get political points for installing them. By the time their defects become intolerable, even newer windows will beckon. The march of technology is inexorable and accelerating. This also might be a set for some dystopian scenario where people are stacked in enormous anthill-like structures where artificial ecologies and virtual communities are designed in real time with the aid of ubiquitous computing in a self-sustainable reproduction of human resources readily available as global capital.

Form follows funding. If people have money to spare, they will mess with their building, at minimum to solve the current set of frustrations with the place, at maximum to show off their wealth, on the reasonable theory that money attracts money. A building is not primarily a building; it is primarily a property, and as such, subject to the whims of the market. Commerce drives everything, especially in cities. Wherever land value is measured in square feet, buildings are fungible as cash. Cities devour buildings.

How is it possible that until very recently, after decades of capitalist driven banality, architectural discourse is only softly re-engaging in the political production of space; with a few exceptions, most current architectural design is without question anachronic. I believe that our epoch is in severe political and cultural crisis: we are living again in vexed times that require urgent shifting. The current state of global affairs has completely hazed any vision of social inconformity – the masses are “high on information”, indifferent to anything that does not

affect them immediately; future is a lost word. What happened to humankind's hopes and expectations?

This poses another difficult question that should be answered by each architect or designer individually with reference to each commission s/he is about to consider during her/his work. That is: Should architects not engage in politics, and confine themselves to aesthetical considerations? The answer depends on the ethical and ideological background of the architect, but is it really possible to confine to purely aesthetical considerations? Alternatively, why should a person confine oneself in the first place? There are examples of more libertarian approaches to architecture that even incorporate a utopian element in their proposals; unfortunately there are only some more recent reinterpretations of those theoretical initiatives.

From the 1950's to the 1970's, social movements rose that sought to break away from older traditions in the classical Left. Among those who attempted a complete break, proposing a radical departure were the "Situationists". Inspired by the DADA and Surrealist art movements, and playing an agitational role in the Paris uprising of 1968, Situationists proposed "...truly grand public visions of constructing whole new revolutionary cities...much more ambitious than those...of [other] artists."¹ (Wollen, 2001) Broadly, Situationists' visions were comprised of concepts of "psychogeography" combined with workers' councils, self-management, poetry and art to construct a "revolutionary every day life". The concept "psychogeography" was defined as the "study of the precise effects of geographical setting, consciously managed or not, acting directly on the mood and behavior of the individual". (Situationist International, 2001) With this concept, they experimented with the "*dérive*", "An experimental mode of behavior linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique for hastily passing through varied environments", where people would drift perpetually through separate city quarters. (Ibid.)

The Situationists also developed a theory of "Unitary Urbanism", a "theory of the combined use of art and technology leading to the integrated construction of an environment dynamically linked to behavio-

¹ This is a good outline of the sources contributing to Situationist ideas, theories and concepts of architecture, urban space and the city. [<http://www.newleftreview.net/NLR24206.shtml>]

ral experiments".² (Hussey, 2002: 151) Unitary Urbanism was the basis for the development of situations, as a game and as a serious way of building a freer society. Unitary Urbanism means that the social and aesthetic could not be separated on the level of every day life. Instead of being organized, designed and controlled by the needs and demands of commerce, industry, and the circulation of traffic, in short capitalism, unitary urbanism sought to make the city a free space, open for play and adventure. (Chtcheglov, 1981)

Ivan Chtcheglov developed an early proposal that later inspired many Situationist visions of cities. In his essay "Formulary for a New Urbanism", Chtcheglov imagined a city with a "Happy Quarter", "Historical Quarter", "Nobel and Tragic Quarter", etc. Chtcheglov's architecture was constructed out of labyrinths, covered passage ways, mazes, ramparts, and stairways which led nowhere.³

Other Situationist proposals included the "New Babylon", a city designed by the utopian architect Constant Nieuwenhuys. This city abolished town planning for a continuous drift, perpetual movement between spaces or "sectors" such as a "floating city", or "hanging sector" which was suspended over the movement of traffic. "New Babylon" was not, of course, a feasible project, Constant himself admitted as much. (Hussey, 2002: 153) Its function, like much fiction, was to provoke the imagination, to think of architectural possibilities and how we could actually incorporate grand vision into every day life.

Although many of these proposals provoke our imaginations about spatial design and spatial reorganization, they are vague at best, since they do not specify any guiding rules, procedures, or institutions for how architecture, design or social space could be allocated in a democratic way in day-to-day life. They do not outline how people choose what it is that they want to consume and why. They do not propose how things get produced and why. They either leave open the possibility of using markets or abandon allocation all together. They don't address

² It should be noted that the Situationists themselves eventually abandon many of these concepts. They are noted here for their insights into the intersections between social life and the built environment, architecture etc.

³ New Babylon was later rejected by Guy Debord and denounced as "pre-situationist". Constant was also expelled, or resigned, from the group. See Kristin Ross' interview with Henri Lefebvre: "Guy Debord and the Situationist International". (McDonough, 2004: 275)

better ways of organizing worker and consumer life, or any other sphere of social activity. The consequences of all this would be to leave the door open to the reemergence of capitalism or some other horrendous system. Some of these visions, if pursued, would mean potential human catastrophe on a grand scale. Others have lots to offer that we can learn from.

There are volumes of already existing research and decades of activism making links between capitalism, our built environment, corresponding modes of social relations, and their consequences. That the institutions within our city space can produce and reproduce racist, sexist, classist, and authoritarian social relations within our society is not controversial. The challenge for sustainable urbanism in this context is how to engage the creative lines of flight defining the social field as a whole; working to connect the micro with the macro, the public and private, and the physical conditions of the city with the flows of economic markets and political materialities (policy, ideology, history), all in an effort to effect new social, economic, political, cultural, and ecological conditions. What is controversial is to suggest concrete values, procedures, and defining institutions about how cities of a new society might be built.

Therefore I will try not to suggest anything concerning the construction of a hypothetical new society, but it is important to remember that architecture is much more than a “mirror”: it also plays an active role in shaping human behaviour and social practice.

Do outsider architecture, nomadism, slums and squatting offer some answers?

The potential flexibility of architectural language offers a weakness in the grip that architects and corporations have over the users of space. This is where outsider architecture, nomadic lifestyle, illegal housing, slums and squatting might offer the material bases for rethinking the way to reinhabit and reconstruct the infrastructure of power. There is an important parallel between the temporal, mobile, and social “architecture” of structures for activism and the social deployment of these structures in temporal and mobile ways. The world wide web of communications in the Internet has provided a tool for activism since the 1990s. This activism has also provided a demand for indeterminate, mobile, temporary and rapidly deployable architecture, which has been found in the

form of tents. The tent is a choice of architectural strategy which is not merely pragmatic. Ideological reasons also underpin the uses of these kinds of structures, contributing to their significance as architecture.

In the Western world of the late twentieth century, tents and collapsible architectures have also become familiar features in the context of protests and demonstrations, increasing with the global activism of the 1960s. European avant-garde architects contributed to peace and protest movements in Europe with collapsible and mobile architecture. The Austrian group, Haus Rucker Co., the French Utopie group, and others promoted temporal and portable architecture through inflatable designs. In Australia, the architectural revolution appeared in a politically important, but apparently architecturally unpreserved domain, the protest camp. This suggests that the connection between these ways of employing tents in the Western world, and the vernacular uses of tents by nomads, is not a coincidence, but that it each rather relates to architecturally significant features of the tent.

In addition, there are the gypsy camps, as an authentic form of nomadism that is still present. The Italian artist, Giuseppe Pinot Gallizio, had played an important role in his hometown in northern Italy in defending the rights of gypsies to set up campsites. This defense of nomadism became an important element in the Situationists' thought. The Belgian artist Constant, another early Situationist, designed a gypsy camp as an architectural project, creating a maquette of a complex that could be taken apart, transported and reassembled. These might be the ways to a new political system specialised in creative reuse, hence implying that subversion of power might indicate turning the complexity against itself. The language that architects and corporations employ is a very fragile thing. The aim is to produce an oral architecture, which critiques the architectural space and re-contextualises it.

The theme of the "Global City" has been widely discussed at conferences and urban forums. Global slums, the result of transnational economies and the neo-liberal economic policies of industrialised nations, have been overlooked. The barrios or squatter cities are the product of migrations from the countryside and the growth of a "city inside the city", unattended for decades by the authorities. These settlements, built on public property or illegally on privately owned land, house 60 per cent of Venezuela's population. Because the local government has no housing alternatives to offer, it looks the other way.

However, the barrios represent a single highly democratic building process that promotes qualities that are not found anywhere else in the city. The metabolism of the informal city is impressively positive. Less trash is produced than in any other area of the town. The high-density low-rise buildings offer a positive alternative to the high-rise developments promoted by the formal construction industry. The selection and use of building materials is in direct response to the climate, with low environmental impact and equally low investment costs. The barrio houses maintain a microclimate that is far superior to structures of comparable density in the formal city. Pedestrian access and its dependence on existing topographic elements are currently treated as negative characteristics but can be easily viewed as creative responses to a difficult problem. A building process absent of architects; the barrios exist as a myriad of small overlapping cities inside a bigger city. One could say the barrios are a grassroots movement without a manifesto and only with pure necessity in mind. The degree of self-organization, improvisation and inventiveness produced by the anonymous builders of the hillside mega project is outstanding. They are the antithesis of a master plan or of authoritarian academic paradigms.

On the other hand, Caracas is experiencing some of the same urban developments and problems that occurred in Europe 200 years ago. The economic and social borders between classes manifest themselves in the city's housing, real estate politics and the way people live and move in the city. The individual houses and buildings of the wealthy are heavily armed against rebels, robbers and strangers. These precautions give way to a fragile confidence, and security is guaranteed by private police forces and 24 hour video surveillance. Each house has its own security service, walls and high-voltage fences, and surveillance. A medievalization of the formal city is in process. It is clearly expressed by the fortification of its buildings against any possible invader and the relative anarchy of the periphery and the countryside.

The progress from illegal to legal usage is also worth studying, because it shows how communities learn from their buildings. A financially and socially brittle community was made broader and more adaptive by second units. They gave the families flexibility to stay in their homes, because there was a place for the aging parent, the au pair, and the growing teenager. Rent from second units reduced the cost of primary homes. They provided affordable housing for city staff, local

nurses, local shop employees – the town's whole support population. Parts of Europe encourage second units. Neo-traditional town planners are even incorporating second units into new construction, sometimes as a flat over the garage on the alley.

Suppose the kind of close study expended on shopping malls were applied to a couple of barrios. What does their rampant improvisation have to teach formal design? What does their responsible illegality suggest about amending property laws? In Peru, writes Hernando de Soto approvingly "First, the informals occupy the land, then they build on it, next they install infrastructure, and only at the end do they acquire ownership. This is exactly the reverse of what happens in the formal world which is why such settlements evolve differently from traditional urban areas and give the impression of being permanently under construction". (de Soto, 1989: 17)

Amateur building tactics refer to the myriad practices of self-building that occur across the world without the input of an architect. These practices are usually the result of the need and will to survive and are typically located in what are variously termed as informal settlements, shanty towns, *favelas*, shacks, *katchi abadi* etc., settlements that are built on left-over and neglected pieces of land, on steep hillsides, by the side of railway tracks or at the edges and interstices of cities. Characterised by dense and rapid growth, informal settlements are unplanned and indicate a failure of governments to keep up with the housing needs of their citizens. Although it is difficult to define these collectively, as they occur in vastly different contexts, informal settlements are often grouped according to their legal status. This is problematic as legality is based on capitalist and neo-liberal definitions of property, which means that much of the debate around informal settlements concerns issues of land ownership.

It may therefore be better to define informal settlements not through their relationship to an external system but through their own context; one such way would be to examine the different tactics involved in building and organising such settlements. For example, the *geçekondu* of Turkey take advantage of a legal loophole, which means a structure cannot be removed without legal proceedings if it is already inhabited, leading to makeshift houses being built collectively overnight. The minimum required structure to qualify as a house cannot be completed

alone; so, it requires a joint effort of a group of people. It also means that self-builders not only engage in a very fast building process, but in one that is continuous, starting with just a room and growing steadily to accommodate more people and activities, often over a number of years and generations. Another collective building practice that occurs in Brazil is named *mutirão*, meaning “collective effort” in Portuguese, where a group of family and friends get together to help the building of a house for one of their group; the favour is being returned to others when needed. The principles of *mutirão* are now also being applied to the provision of social housing across Latin America. This type of self-building in informal settlements often occurs in a self-organised manner with a number of services being provided within established settlements. For example, the architect Arif Hasan has supported and utilised such grass-roots initiatives in the upgrading of the *katchi abadis* of Karachi.

Whilst the standard response of many local governments has been to evict inhabitants from such areas and to relocate them to newer neighbourhoods that conform to legal and planning standards, it is now widely accepted that this is not an adequate response. It disperses established communities, where people are often moved from sites close to city centres to the outskirts of the city, where there is little chance of earning a living. In recent years, some governments are taking a more progressive attitude, looking to provide services within these communities, but due to development pressure this is still a highly contested area with many communities being regularly evicted.

However, most new communities in the USA seek to pre-empt any such adaptivity by repressive, fiercely enforced “covenants, conditions, and restrictions”. “These are the dread ‘CC & Rs’ that homeowners’ associations use to control such details as what colours you may paint your house, what pets (and in some cases what children) you may keep, how your lawn will look, your roof, your fence, your driveway (no campers, trucks or car repair), your backyard (no drying laundry or unstacked firewood).” (Garreau: 187) Any neighbour might report you. What if you ignore or defy such rulings? The homeowners’ association can take your house or send you to jail. Joel Garreau points out that these organisations have all the powers of government – the ability to tax, to legislate, and to police – without the usual restrictions of democratic representation or being answerable to the US Constitution.

The homeowners' associations keep growing in numbers and power. In 1990 there were 130,000 of them in America. They are obviously desired, but are they desirable? What makes homeowners' associations so viciously conservative? Market value is determined not by how well a house works, but how it looks in the context of its neighbourhood – "curb appeal" as it is called.

On the other hand, it would be an intriguing project to design some houses and small commercial buildings specifically to be serviced and maintained by their users. This might try to answer questions such as: How important is local control? For this hypothetical project only amateur skills would be required, and everything that needed work would be self-obvious. No outside expertise or special materials are necessary. Maybe this is the secret of high longevity at low cost.

Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) is a transnational NGO founded in 1996 and currently registered in South Africa and the Netherlands, with its member countries ranging across the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It represents "federations" of the urban poor and homeless groups who have organised themselves at a city or national level. In contrast to the prevalent post-war attitude of governments being best placed to deal with issues of poverty and development, SDI emphasises the need for the poor to be able to help themselves. They have developed a number of mechanisms or "rituals" that facilitate this and which members have to adhere to. These focus on issues of governance and leadership with one of their key tactics being the encouragement of daily saving as a way to not only collect funds, but as a pretext for neighbourhood organisation. The daily interaction of people living in the same area under similar conditions encourages dialogue, raising opportunities to meet, discuss, and mobilise together. Although not only an organisation for women, SDI places a fundamental emphasis on their participation, contending that women's involvement is crucial to the success of initiatives based around issues of household finances and housing needs. They also highlight that women's movements have historically tended to be non-party political, whilst affecting change on a social and political level.

Organised as a network, SDI's pedagogical approach is based on horizontal exchange where members learn from each other's experiences rather than relying on the detached and often inappropriate knowledge

of “experts”. The members organise a savings group, gain land tenure regularisation, improve settlement infrastructure, or complete income generation and housing projects, as well as travel to other locations to meet those attempting to do the same. The growth of the SDI network increases its power and ability to influence governments and donors; the grass-roots organisation thus gains strength through numbers and is quickly becoming a large-scale social movement. It has recently become only the second NGO alongside Habitat for Humanity International to join the Cities Alliance, an organisation consisting of donor governments and the World Bank. Herein also lays a critique of the SDI, which is seen to be aligning itself more and more with neo-liberal forces, and for some becoming *the* voice for the urban poor. Nonetheless, SDI have managed to create a space for local action and mobilisation at a time when governments and political parties have failed to act.

When it comes to low cost, using amateur skills for re/de-construction and maintenance, or exploring potential ways to nomadism – mobile homes are the contemporary designer an-archetype. They typically cost a fourth to a half of what comparable site-built houses cost. That is why 10 per cent of all houses in America are mobile homes, housing at least 12.5 million people. These numbers come from the thorough study by Allan D. Wallis. (1991: 13 and 230) His book is maybe the only one that researches this type of housing, and it begins as follows: “The mobile home may well be the single most significant and unique housing innovation in twentieth-century America. No other innovation addressing the spectrum of housing activities – from construction, tenure, and community structure to design – has been more widely adopted nor, simultaneously, more widely vilified.” (Ibid.) They began as travel trailers in the 1920s, creatures of the American highway. Nevertheless, a mobile home is an instant house. You wheel it in one day, hook up to the local utilities, and you are home. Everything works – plumbing, wiring, and heating. It was all assembled in one smooth operation at a factory out of light wood frame on a steel chassis, clad with aluminum sheeting. The roof of white enameled metal reflects the sun and sheds rain better than most site-built roofs. Half of all mobile homes are in specialised parks, among the last real communities in America, drawn together partly by physical closeness, partly by the need for political solidarity against enemies.

Mobile homes are constantly being attacked: by aesthetes for

their appearance; by bigots for housing the “wrong” people; by the construction industry for “unfair” competition; by the local government for paying insufficient taxes. In fact, mobile home park operators usually provide services such as sewage, water, garbage, and thorough fares that government is spared paying for. Many countries simply outlaw mobile homes. Nevertheless, that has not yet stifled the creativity of mobile-home dwellers. The low initial cost and severe boxiness of mobile homes invites elaboration. Full-length shed roofs are added, first as a kind of porch, often later closed in to become new interior space. The need for storage, acute in mobile homes, customarily leads to the purchase of a “Tuff Shed” or other small metal structure.

Sometimes, in unregulated rural areas, a whole normal house is built around the “seed” of a mobile home. More often, additional mobile homes are added to form an informal compound, well daylit and loosely adaptive. They demonstrate vividly that as much as buildings may be sold as a product, they are lived as a process.

What about squatting already built, but vacant buildings? Could occupying an abandoned or unoccupied space or building, usually residential, without owning rights, rent or any permission to use, be interpreted as creative spatial and body politics that articulate basic human needs? According to author Robert Neuwirth, there are one billion squatters globally, that is, about one in every six people on the planet. (Neuwirth, 2004) Yet, according to Kesia Reeve, “squatting is largely absent from policy and academic debate and is rarely conceptualised, as a problem, as a symptom, or as a social or housing movement”. (Reeve: 197-216) However, many squatting communities develop their own peculiar cultural traits, to name but a few of those in Europe at least, that transformed into cultural or artistic centres: Ernst-Kirchweger-Haus in Vienna; Au in Frankfurt; Rote Flora in Hamburg; Villa Amalia in Athens; Csoa Forte Prenestino in Rome; Blitz in Oslo; Metelkova in Ljubljana, etc.

Moreover, there is the example of Christiania, also known as Free-town Christiania [Danish: *Fristaden Christiania*] which is a self-proclaimed autonomous neighbourhood of about 850 residents, covering 34 hectares in the borough of Christianshavn in the Danish capital Copenhagen. From an official point of view, Christiania is regarded as a large commune, but its relation to the authorities has a unique status

in being regulated by a special law, the Christiania Law of 1989, which transfers parts of the supervision of the area from the municipality of Copenhagen to the state.

In lieu of a conclusion: Could a toolbox of some kind be improvised, in order to systematise the means through which such actions or products could be achieved?

Appropriation tactics could include the taking of another's property for one's own purposes (either legally or illegally, short-term or long-term), or through highlighting abandoned or unoccupied space, as grounds for creating new political realities. Dissemination as a tool is about the way knowledge is distributed, how it is spread and to whom, as well as about the opening up of discussions for a wider debate. Empowerment as means of allowing others to "take control" over their environment, being participative without being opportunistic, is an instrument for building a community that is pro-active instead of re-active. Networking could be a way of working where a core group of people expands according to each project and the expertise it requires, or a core group that builds its projects around its networks; these are hardly ever static groups and they are highly interdisciplinary and collaborative in nature. Subversion is also a tactic/strategy that uses existing policies, guidelines, buildings, etc. for purposes other than those they were designed for.

The next question would be regarding the site of action or production. In that sense, communities should also take part in the creation and dissemination of knowledge. Outputs should be aimed at the architectural discipline itself or a broader public; they might be DIY publications, exhibitions or take other web-based formats. The organisational structure of a community itself could be the field of spatial agency. This means that the very set up of practice defines the parameters within which projects occur. Examples might include workers and other co-operatives, practices which work in explicitly collaborative and interdisciplinary ways, groups that start with an overtly political or ethical agenda.

Furthermore, physical relations to everyday life within a certain spatial context should favour multi-use spaces, structures that are adaptable, projects that privilege the passage of time and acknowledge the

realities of users' changing needs and the inevitable transformations of space. In dealing with the temporality of the site, they should consider aspects that are rarely accounted for in a profession that sees its responsibilities limited to here and now. The social relations that are also in the field of spatial agency are probably next in the line. While addressing social relations, practices should seek to change power relations through subverting and challenging private claims to space.

One may also question the motivation behind a group's action. It could certainly be ecological, where the overriding motivation should be to work with the environment, to acknowledge human impact, and to focus on the interdependence of the environment, economics and the social factors. Actions might as well be initiated to take an ethical stance regarding architecture in the sense of "being for the Other", to "assume responsibility for the Other" – with the Other being a "mix of builders, users, occupiers, observers of architecture". Basically, any action on that concerns those entities affected by the production, construction and inhabitation of architecture. Pedagogic techniques should not be neglected, since that is a more sustainable approach that allows for replication, for example, knowledge of how to negotiate legal systems or of how to understand spatial representations could be reused in other contexts. Moreover, a practice that truly valorises the diverse knowledge and skills of its clients, users or collaborators would not only be imparting knowledge but would also be learning. It is therefore an inherently empowering and bottom-up approach.

Of course, one should also point out political motivation as a driving force for groups or projects, indicating the existence of a strong desire to inform and subsequently change decision making processes of governments, academic or other institutions. Since the resulting projects should be situated on more strategic levels (top), these projects should have a longer time-scale and should be more permanent in nature. Questions of power, about who has the right or the privilege to claim space should become paramount in this context. Finally, certain groups could emerge out of the desire to challenge the normative modes of architectural practice; they may do this through their operational and organisational structure, for example by setting up non-hierarchical systems, co-operative structures or through a specific political position such as feminist, anarchist or simply activist.

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***Representation of Diversity in the Public Space of
Societies in Transition:
Case Study of the City of Skopje***

Katerina Mojancevska

Abstract: Today the reality in most European cities is that they have grown to become places where diverse realities mix, social interactions happen and cultural expressions materialize, generating conflicts related to multiculturalism. Management of cultural diversity at city level positions two dilemmas. The first relates to the tension among the cultural expression of the state culture and the recognition of groups with political demands and cultural expression different from those of the majority and the second, the subversion of the equality principle when rights based on group identities are claimed.

How can cities accommodate cultural difference? What kind of practices of the public domain and shared public space should be developed so that the participation and representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their cultural right take part in defining and redefining city's boundaries, use and management?

The paper looks at these questions from the point of view of the City of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia and its urban practices which profoundly cut and pasted fragments of its history, image and identity.

Introduction

The access to publicly shared space and achievement of cultural diversity in shared public spaces poses a great challenge for multicultural post-socialist societies with experience of violent inter-ethnic conflict. The transitional process taking place during the last decade of 20th century and the beginning of the millennium in the countries of the Central and South-Eastern Europe was characterised among all with severe social changes and value breaks (ideologically and politically) within the individual and the collective matrices of identity through which people and social groups had been functioning for generations. The value-vacuum inflicted social misbalance and distortion of the democratic institutions (which were designed in constitutions and desired in political programmes of parties) into a new practice of collectivist identification. (Frčkoski, 2000: 1) As a result of the equilibrium of floating values and practices in post-communist societies, a magma of confused identities and fear for the future induced collective paranoid attributes subjected to populist manipulations and nationalist communitarism. (Ibid.)

In such context, the dominance in the public realm was utilized by the groups in power (in the context of SEE the ethnic majority group(s)) and its management and symbols represented the vision and standards of that group(s), setting in such way a framework for understanding reality. Cultural forms and expressions not fitting into the agenda as those of the minority interest groups and ethno-cultural minorities were excluded from the representation within and the identification with “the public sphere”.

As a result, the “public space” had become increasingly “un-shared”, introducing on one hand, constraints towards democratic exploitation of multicultural society, while on the other, leading to a need for more open debate on the management of diversity.

This becomes evident on a city level. The cities are described as “the best place where mechanisms and practices leading towards multicultural society in the context of liberal democracy can be developed”. (Tatjer, 2004: 248) Tatjer assigns such an important role to the cities in the prospect of their capacity to accommodate cultural difference and facilitate coexistence among different ethno-cultural groups. Both pose a driving force for cities’ social and economical development. Moreover, in her views, cities can create opportunities and mechanisms for ethno-cultural minority groups to address difficulties that the state has not foreseen and allow for existence of sense of belonging that does not clash with different cultural identities. (Id.: 249) However, she argues and reminds us not to idealise the capacity of cities or to propose a panacea for the conflicts that the presence of ethnical diversity can create in the society. (Ibid.) Therefore, taking insight into the mechanisms that facilitate integration at city level and improve the social interaction and intercultural sociability in the public space is fully justifiable and essential learning for the cities of difference in which we live today.

Today, the reality in most European cities is that they have grown to become places where diverse realities mix, social interaction happen and cultural expressions materialize, generating conflicts related to multiculturalism. Management of cultural diversity at city level positions two dilemmas. The first related to the tension among the cultural expression of the state culture and the recognition of groups with political demands and cultural expression different from those of the majority and the second, the subversion of the equality principle when rights based on group identities are claimed. (Tatjer, 2004: 248)

How can cities accommodate cultural difference? What kind of practices of the public domain and shared public space should be developed so that the participation and representation of different ethno-cultural groups and their cultural right take part in defining and redefining city’s boundaries, use and management? The paper looks at this question from the point of view of the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia and its urban practices which profoundly cut and pasted fragments of its history, image and identity. The city of Skopje is undergoing a massive architectural reconstruction titled “Project: Skopje 2014”, setting as the final target new makeover of the country’s capital until 2014.

As usual, this story has two sides. While the proponents of the

project claim to make efforts to lastly transform Skopje in a metropolitan city and an architectural and urban integrity, the picture is much more complex. In fact, the project intertwines the city's cultural image with the Macedonia's national identity, thereby compensating for the political battles that the Macedonian Government is unable to triumph. The project is labeled as mono-national, gender insensitive, defensive, and past-oriented and haunted by the romantic myth of cultural creationism. As in other cases, the re-imagining of the city of Skopje is an expression of fear and aversion, fear of change, particularly, of the changing ethnic composition of the neighborhood, which Sandercock argues to grow and are increasingly becoming constitutive elements of planning practice in cities of difference. (2000: 15) How might planning and management process respond to such fears?

Actions taking place in Skopje surely support the need for setting a critical context for managing cultural diversity in shared public spaces that could work towards democratic and diverse society.

Introducing diversity research into management of public space

Traditional diversity research has been largely focused on business-related aspects such as employment policies, organisational identity, productivity, customer relations, business ethics, etc. An important aspect in introducing diversity research into management of public space, hence, mainstream diversity management into city development studies is reconsideration of concepts as, social dynamics, public space, governance, integrating diversity. Further, a short intro on these concepts follows.

Social dynamics in public space

The studies of public space and the social dynamics happening within have been developed in direction of providing a greater understanding of its potentialities as a structural element of cities. Several authors, such as Lynch (1960), Jacobs (1961), Portas (1968), Lefevre (1973), Borja (1977), consider that "the city is the public space", leading to consideration that the public space plays an important role regarding formal,

economical, social and environmental issues. (Pinto, Remesar, Brandão, Nunes da Silva, 2010: 1)

While public space is usually considered neutral ground, which is open to all citizens, in practice, it varies widely in the ways it is used by different groups and individuals, making the concepts of "public" and "space" both being open to interpretation and contestation. (Briggs, 1963; Sennett, 1974; Habermas, 1989; Goheen, 1998) Individual usage and social interactions in public spaces are influenced by many factors, including how the spaces connect and the design, maintenance and management of the natural and the built environment. (Holland, Clark, Katz and Peace, 2007: 1)

The public space plays a key role in the urban structure and city life, becoming a privileged element in order to promote territorial cohesion. It thus becomes possible to think of public space as an element able to promote continuity and order the territory, but also with a natural ability to create and maintain strong local centrality, environmental quality, economic competitiveness and sense of citizenship. (Borja, 2003; Pinto, Remesar, Brandão, Nunes da Silva, 2010: 1)

Claiming social space and being seen in public becomes a way for social groups to legitimate their right to belong in society. Yet because they can be used by everyone, public spaces are frequently considered contested spaces; places where opposition, confrontation, resistance and subversion can be played out over "the right to space". (Mitchell, 1995; 2003) These contestations may involve people from a range of social groups based on gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability, social class and so on. (Valentine, 1996; Malone, 2002) They may centre on the different meanings attached to different spaces, or draw on deeper struggles about social representations, or collective "myths", about spaces. (Cresswell, 1996, according to Holland, Clark, Katz and Peace, 2007: 1)

The demand for cultural diversity, in practice, often results in greater segregation and differentiation. These unexpected effects are combined with the dimension of antagonism in the "Us and Them". Nevertheless, one of the functions of culture, in its widest sense – as a way of being, doing, feeling and saying – is to shape the relationships between individuals and groups, in order to build common sense.

Diversity management: understanding of the concept

Diversity management is considered to be the latest development in policies and strategies across the world aimed to get excluded minorities better represented in the public life. The concept of “diversity management” originated from practitioners and academics who concerned by the business purpose and market advantage undertook researches related to diversity of the workplace and the workforce. The basic business logic of this approach is to encourage working environment of cultural diversity where peoples’ differences are valued, thus enabling people to work to their full potential, be more creative and more productive. (Wrench, 2007: 3) According to Wrench, some of the advantages of diversity management lie in the more positive approach towards diversity as opposite to avoiding transgressions of anti-discrimination laws. In his view, diversity management approach avoids some of the “backlash” problems associated with affirmative action, as unlike previous equality strategies, diversity management is not seen as a policy solely directed towards the interests of excluded or under-represented minorities. Rather, it is seen as an inclusive policy, and one which therefore encompasses the interests of all employees, including white males. (Ibid.)

The practice of diversity management in the USA is by definition multidimensional and the dimension of ethnicity is generally near the top in priority for managers in organisations. This is also the “angle” which has perhaps most stimulated interest in the subject by practitioners and politicians in Europe. European governments are becoming increasingly concerned about issues of the social inclusion and exclusion of immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities within their borders. (Wrench, 2007: 5) In that respect there is need to shift the conceptual framework from a business model to a people-based model and to consider integration in a wider social context, as cities and communities.

Approaches to cultural diversity in a wider social context

There are varieties of policy models for approaching cultural diversity. They originate from different countries in a different political context, national self-understandings of power, place in the world, culture and the position of others, all of which framed the concept of thinking and policy-making related to cultural pluralism in the era of nation-state

building and colonialism. Today, these conceptions shape the way the states are dealing with economic reconstruction, consumer capitalism based on a mass migrant working class and a new international order. (Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2004: 50) Bloomfield and Bianchini identified five distinct policy approaches to immigration, integration and citizenship, as:

- corporate multiculturalism in Britain and the Netherlands;
- civic integration in France;
- the “melting pot” approach in the USA;
- ethnic nationalism and the *Gastarbeiter* system in Germany;
- The Southern European laissez-faire unregulated regime in countries of former emigration, and its shift to a restrictive regime as countries of new immigration.

They also consider “transculturalism” (a paradigm derived from international organisation, as UNESCO) as a sixth approach to cultural diversity which has greatly influenced cities in Europe. (Ibid.)

From a critical point of view, it is legitimate to ask how applicable are the existing diversity management models to the management of public space in post-conflict societies and do the local contexts, politics and culture create unique situation that makes the attempts towards more universal model superficial and in that sense, a specific model based on sustainable social dynamic in public space more feasible?

Maja Muhić (2004) emphasises that these multicultural models are highly contextualised and an off spring of different analytical and historical framework in the countries, and therefore, in her view, “it is highly questionable if not dangerous to try to apply these models” in the Balkan region. She further claims that much of the supposedly successful models in the Western democracies or immigrant nations are functioning because they had none of the difficulties that the countries in the Balkan region have faced. In her view, the pressure towards countries in the Balkan region to apply and adopt Western models of multiculturalism are expression of their neo-colonial pretension and perils and proves that today, the world enters into a worldly, planetary *international capitalism*. At the same time, adoption of Western multicultural models and minority rights is set as accession criteria for entering the

European Union. Muhić concludes that the historical complexities and the multifaceted layers of cohabitation in Eastern and Central Europe may prove that the practices of post-socialist countries are far more instructive for the future theoretical understanding as well as practical application of multiculturalism than those proposed and imposed by the Western democracies.

Models of cities that integrate diversity in governance

In general, there are two main approaches in dealing with multiculturalism, a partial and a universal one, different at both normative and conceptual level. At conceptual level, a communitarian (partial) and liberal theories (universal) collide; the former, defending a society based on community and on allegation of group over individual rights, and the latter, positioning the individual as the sole source of legitimacy. (Tatjer, 2004: 249-50) At normative level, this conflict is translated into law and defines the ways in which universalism and partial approaches conceive mechanisms of regulating multiculturalism. While universalism proposes accommodation as the guiding rule in the public arena, the partial approaches propose establishment of specific approaches for specific sectors. The universal approach accommodates difference in each of us and the recognition of difference rules out genuine integration of ethno-cultural minority groups and serves as a means for avoiding a discussion on the inequalities of the capitalist paradigm. This approach is also criticised for benchmarking Western cultural norms as the standard to which other cultures should adjust to, primarily those which assume equality of all members of a community. (Fenster, 1999: 148, according to Sandercock, 2000: 17)

Conversely, while the partialists risk the loss of a more general vision of regulating multiculturalism, they see the recognition of difference as a means to achieving justice and equality and claim that different civilisations have different cultures which need to be understood and judged within their own terms which means acknowledging gender and class inequalities as part of those cultures. (Fenster, 1999: 148, according to Sandercock, 2000: 17) Then again, they are silent to the idea that ethno-cultural minority groups have to adopt the dominant culture and privatise their culture as a condition for integration (Tatjer, 2004:

250); moreover, this approach is criticised for taking stance of cultural relativism where acknowledgement of, and respect for, cultural difference can be in conflict with the realisation of human rights and poses a dilemma of how much policies can offer flexible solutions which may be amenable to change over time, as cultural values are likely to change or what Tovi Fenster (1999) terms as “mapping the boundaries of social change” (according to Sandercock, 2000: 17).

The discussion over the particular and universalism brings forward the question relating to which integration model can accomplish the goals of multiculturalism/interculturalism and will it work in the cities? (Tatjer, 2004: 250) Furthermore, a particular dilemma of “co-existing in cities of difference” poses the question of what it might mean to manage difference in ways that could be transformative rather than repressive .(Sandercock, 2000: 13) Furthermore, Sandercock (22) asks whether by framing the issue of cultural diversity in the language of “managing” (cities of) differences are we still trying to dream the rational city? Does “management” always imply, as Foucauldians would have it, containment, control, manipulation?

The right to difference and the right to the city

Urban segregation on ethnical, cultural or other basis is harmful for city cohesion and it is why new models of diversity management are needed. Emanuel Castells is among the authors who believe that increased cultural and ethnic diversity in the city will essentially compel city administration to essentially manage cultural exchange arising from ethnic difference and to solve situations of inequality caused by lack of integration. (Tatjer, 2004: 252) In this respect, citizen's participation is regarded as an important aspect of city governance; furthermore, promoted social dynamics and sociability in public space could accommodate the demands of the ethno-national minority groups. (Tatjer, 2004: 253) The understanding of public space in this paper is similar to the syntagma “intercultural space”, based on the idea of single shared diverse public space rather on organisational and socially separate spaces. According to Bloomfield and Bianchini (2004: 39), equal access and participation to a single public space which reflects the diversity of the citizens in addition to the obligations of citizenship can lead to overcoming of ethnic

segregation. Kymlicka and Norman's "theories of ethnic conflict" pose a multicultural integration based on the existence of common institutions which respect ethnic identity. (Tajter, 2004: 253)

All these questions will again be touched upon through the analysis of the urban practices in the City of Skopje.

The city of Skopje: The political, economic and social image of the city

The City of Skopje is the capital of the Republic of Macedonia. On July 26, 1963 the city was struck by a catastrophic earthquake that left the city in ruins, and destroyed almost all city's cultural sites. The solidarity of peoples from all over the world rebuilt the city and today it is the largest political, economic, educational and cultural centre, and it is renewed. According to the 2002 Population, Households and Housing Census of the Republic of Macedonia (State Statistical Office, 2002) 506.926 inhabitants live in the city.

It is estimated that Skopje has approximately 750-800,000 inhabitants; its composition reflects the multiethnic and multicultural character of Macedonia with a population comprising of 66.75% Macedonians, 20.49% Albanians, 4.63% Roma, 2.82% Serbs, 1.7% Turks and the rest of Vlachs, Bosnians and others. (ibid) The minorities are represented with more than 50% in three municipalities, Albanians are minority in two municipalities and Roma are the minority population in the third municipality.

Situated along the river Vardar, which threatens to become strong geographical, historical and psychological border among cultures, Skopje is labeled as "the most desired place to live in Macedonia". Therefore, heavy urbanization, strong migration from the centre to the periphery and the slowly but visible merging of the city's urban parts with the neighboring rural municipalities along with trend increased poverty, social exclusion, as well as the polarization between rural and urban population are some of the characteristics so of the city. Despite its problems and advantages, Skopje is growing into a multicultural, multi-ethnic centre.

Public policy on diversity at national and city level with particular focus on application of diversity management

The process of decentralisation and reforms of the local government were initiated in 2005. The increased powers of local structures of governance are linked to the greater prerogatives of communities to self-govern themselves. It is why it was expected that the decentralisation process would lead towards improvement of the inter-ethnic relations on local level and would promote the participation of non-ethnic Macedonians in the public arena. Moreover, it was expected to upgrade the implementation of the principle included in the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) – *equitable representation of ethnic communities in the public arena*.

Almost ten years after the signing of the OFA, the decentralisation process is rather advanced. However, regarding the inter-ethnic relations, physical segregations can be noted, be it in local administration, primary and secondary schools, professional and cultural associations and CSOs. Policy decisions and changes are made without the political and ethnical consensus, although it was promoted as the basic element in decision-making processes on both national and local level. The latest examples taking place in the City of Skopje, where, among the other, several conflicted decisions in the educational field shed light on the level of competences and skills held by the public administration for management of intercultural dialogue in ethnically heterogeneous communities. Such events lead towards ethnic polarisation of the citizenship, and further segregation may threaten the cohesion of the state, if this process is not accompanied by building common values and a common vision for the future development of the country, which are crucial preconditions for a sustainable multiethnic state like Macedonia.

This poses a challenge for the institutional, political, social and cultural setting on local level to provide policy responses sensitive to multiethnic issues.

Why considering the project “Skopje 2014” as a case study for reviewing democratic representation of minorities?

The selection of the “Project: Skopje 2014” as a case study for the current review has several reasons. The project came as a tornado on the political, economical, social and cultural scene in the country. Along the politico-economical debate over state priorities, the meaning of the phrases such as “capital investments” and “unproductive revenues”, the socio-cultural dimension of the project gave rise to questions related to the importance of the identity policy in current times for the country and the role of the state in its creation, the need for revitalisation of the cities, the dividedness of the society on ethnic, religious, faith and political affiliation and the fragmentisation of the civil scene and disempowered citizens to fully participate in the city.

The project received considerable media attention, initiated numerous opinions pools and *pro at contra* discussions. Public debate over city management and imagining were missing for a long period, so the current situation had potentials of a deliberative and participatory democracy based on opportunities for equal participation of all citizens. But, was it really like this? Were the solutions an aftermath of a debate or vice-versa?

Initiated in 2008, in a period of two years, all legal procedures were made, tenders announced, architectural designs instructed, winning solutions selected, integral video animation of the project proliferated through YouTube and the debate was initiated only after these events. In such an atmosphere, the criticism given by citizens and professionals was perceived as cacophony which transformed the debate in a useless investment of time, which did not result into any changes from the initially drafted project plan and ending only as a simulation of democratic participation.

How it all began?

There is an anecdote in the Balkan region about politician’s imaginary of the cities, as seen through the statement of Božidar Vučurević, a mayor

of the city of Trebinje which in 1991 served as rear area for the then Yugoslav Army during the siege on Dubrovnik, a UNESCO world heritage site. On one occasion, Vučurević stated: "If needed, we'll create an even more beautiful and even older Dubrovnik!" This vividly shows the anachronism and lack of imagination that politicians hold for the city's image.

In the case of Skopje, the aforementioned statement complements the actual intentions of the governmental authorities. There is alignment of neoliberal and conservative ideology expressions through which an idea of "more beautiful and older Skopje is built". And it was all only written in the election programme of the currently ruling Demo-Christian party, so "We", the citizens of Skopje should have known what was about to happen. But did we? No. The citizens of Skopje learnt of the decisions after the fact! Only after dozen of bulldozers and building blocks occupied the main square and the pedestrian sidewalks of the river Vardar and intruded the usual urban scenery.

New commercial centers, new hotels, new governmental administrations offices, new philharmonic hall, new justice building, two new bridges, a bridge bedecked with statues of lions, new museum and new theater, a triumphal arch are all springing up, transforming the centre of the town. All in neo-classical and baroque style along with hundred monuments of Macedonian historical and cultural figures, topped with a 30 m high statue of Alexander the Great and different statues, all in radius of 2 kilometers and along the central area of the banks of the Vardar river.

The procedures were done in silence with the citizenry, and at narrow line of legitimacy of decisions taken both at national and local level. There was an announcement in a national news paper with least popularity, known also as a supporter of the current government; there was a commotion in the process of gathering public opinion and organising the legally prescribed public debate scheduled, there were changes in laws which allowed the local self-government of the central city district – the Municipality of Center, to take over a portion of the building projects as its Annual Programme of work (as a reminder, the current mayor of the Municipality of Center is supported by the ruling Demo-Christian party) and finally, there were citizen's clashes among supporters of the project and citizens united under the auspices of "First Archi-brigade" (students in architecture) and "Ploshtad Sloboda" [Freedom Square] (civil association) which culminated in March 2009.

The project was announced to cost 80 million Euros. However, the realistic projections made by the oppositional parties and the media are exceeding 200 million Euros.

Disorientation of messages (conceptually and ideologically) sent by the central city area

The government decision to rebuild several buildings, hallmarks of pre-earthquake Skopje, in their original form and location in the central area, together with the decision to rename streets, highways and buildings with names of ancient Macedonian figures was presented as a project for reconstructing the authentic identity of Skopje.

Identity is a social construct and as such can be interpreted through the local culture, art, architecture and other forms. However, art and culture can also assure new city identity. Looking from this perspective, Suzana Milevska (2010), art historian from Macedonia, highlights the Solomon Guggenheim museum in Bilbao as a good example of how a city with a new architectural attraction can become recognisable, although the concept doesn't have any direct link with the oppressed Basque minority identity¹.

Further in her views, Milevska emphasises that although art and architecture can represent a metaphorical echo of the identity and can serve as active creators of new identities, unfortunately, they do not have the potential to resolve fundamental ethnical problems that arise in multiethnic societies. (Ibid.) In her opinion, identity politics and ideologies are much more complex than aesthetics and both exceed the domain of art and culture.

This questions the potential of "Skopje 2014" to establish itself as a statement of new identity of citizens living in Macedonia and to resolve the identity problems which represent burden of the state in the last twenty years. The current debate of the role of culture, art and architecture in the "Project: Skopje 2014" can only be simplified in what Chin describes as "...politics, power and the ways in which culture is embedded into the social matrix ... representation, people's feeling of

¹ Interview published at <http://okno.mk/node/4932>.

infringement (or oppression) and exclusion". (1992: 1) The reason why the project's critics are so painful is that they strike at the very heart of who people think they are.

The project intervenes into a nation-state building process that itself is rooted in negotiating political realities with almost all neighbors and an understanding of multiculturalism as constitutional category acknowledged after the events happening in the country in 2001. The project promotes the past and the tradition in a way that Nebojša Vilić, an art historian, illustrates as only "a shelter for the fearfulness, uncreative and close-minded spirit towards risky changes – a safe walk on the way over established and accepted values". (Вилиќ, 2009: 17)

The values inscribed in the urban vision of Skopje are in Sarjanjac' words (2009) an expression of ideology of confronting with the past and not building new values. In a context where the oppositional reactionary ideology lost power as rectifier of the governing ideology, the urban vision of Skopje can only be an outcome of the conservative ideology. (Ibid.: 18)

Art historians, architects and a group of citizens interpreted these ideas as a pathological resurrection of the past and creation of a new "reality and truth" which will propagate the supremacy of one ideology over another (the Demo-Christian over democratic ideology). The participants of Forum-Skopje 2009 – a meeting of architects, artists, cultural workers, sociologists, philosophers, theoreticians and city planners which took place in Skopje between 8 and 14 June 2009 alerted that there is a lack of a structured institutional discussion concerning the semantics and symbolic meaning of the project's elements; moreover, there is un-visionary urban plan where churches and contemporary kitsch architecture are promoted as identity milestones. The conclusion of the Forum was that all ideas concerning city development and branding, hence the means used for their appropriation, should be critically folded and observed in light of the spatial, historical and social context of the city.²

As an effect, the renaissance of the authenticity of the cultural past had its impact on the process of revising the notions of national identity and national culture and gave rise to a myth-making process of

² For more information, visit <http://forumskopje.com>.

the cities' cultural image while underestimating the power of contemporary culture in city branding. The current ideological and instrumental view on culture, the domination of the ethnic majority and the exclusion of different minorities from the public sphere, the aggressive surveillance and expected congruity and subjugation to the governing parties will have strong cultural and psycho-social effects on the new image of Skopje; a new image build upon the conservative ideology that the current government promotes. (Вилиќ, 2009) The cultural practices in Skopje, as Nebojša Vilić, an art historian, describes them are a "schizophrenic wandering between the instrumentalised past, the politicised present and a future lacking ideas". The paradigm based on non-proactive engagement and the lack of novelties in any form, produces complete cacophony, code noise and disorientation of the cultural message. These are an expression of an era without ideas, in which Skopje lives and creates non-progressive view of the future. (Вилиќ, 2009) The idea to re-brand Skopje into a city of public sculptures while putting up 30 sculptures at once into a 1.5 km long walking zone, in Vilić's view, is not only distasteful but equals to madness. From his point of view, we get an art that we deserve in a sense that it reflects the society in which we live in.

As a protest to the reshaped and visually violating cultural image of Skopje, an anonymous group of architects, urban planners, artists and cultural workers under the pseudonym of Pavel Shatev³ placed a golden toilet bowl in the centre of Skopje and titled the work "Discharge".

How open the city is?

In the 1960s, after the catastrophic earthquake, the City of Skopje grows out of the solidarity of the world which was severely inflicted in the Cold War, divided into pro-Eastern and pro-Western countries, Berlin was hermetically divided city and under threat of a nuclear war. Significantly, these reconnecting events gave the opportunity to the city to serve as a therapy for all aggressive feelings during the times. As Milan Mijalković, an architect and co-author with Katarina Urbanek of the book "Skopje – The World's Bustard: Architecture of the Divided City",

³ Controvert Macedonian revolutionary, 1882-1951, whose political ideas on Macedonia are today in part translated in the political ideology of the governing party VMRO-DPMNE.

states with little exaggeration: "...one can say that Skopje, the plans and visions for the city saved the world in some way".⁴ (2011)

In that time, the planning process led by an international team of experts was strongly oriented towards the future. The city was declared an open city, city using the benefits of new technology, a world symbol of solidarity. Then it was believed that the planning area is huge tool to achieve utopia.

Today, however, there is obviously a disappointment regarding the partly realized plan since the 1960s. Skopje is certainly not a divided city as Belfast, Mostar or Mitrovica from our closest surroundings, but the fact is that Skopje is divided among Macedonians, Albanians and Roma, divided by age, language, alphabet, religion, but also through architecture. Each of these groups has its own media, political and educational structures, special centers. Discussing the heterogeneous and multifaceted character of Skopje, Mijalković (2011), concludes that urban and architectural Skopje failed to become a unity.

Some of the practices in the past have deepened the gap between communities. On one hand, the residential living was guided by the belief that all people, regardless of their ethnicity, have same needs, and on the other, the struggle to create a center that will be a symbol of utopia. Mijalković considers both decisions as errors from an architectural standpoint and a path towards segregation in the city. (2010) Today, Skopje is struggling with housing segregation based on ethnicity while the city central area is a fragmented buffer zone between the two parts. Although this part of the planning process has high potential for integration and coexistence, the project "Skopje 2014" in some ways complements this buffer zone. The focus on just one story and only one identity for the city wakes reactions, memories and desires for other truths. Mosque versus church, square "Skender-beg" as opposed to the central square where central element is Alexander the Great.

During 2010, several agencies and media were interested in the public opinion related to the project "Skopje 2014"; whether the citizens support it, what they think of the buildings and monuments and the amount of money spent on this particular project. The daily news-

⁴ <http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/NewsDetal.asp?vest=52511956209&id=26&prilog=1&setIzdanie=22291>

paper *Dnevnik* in the period from 12 to 15 March 2010 conducted an opinion poll on representative sample of citizens from the country and documented that 39 percent of the citizens support the project, out of which 19 percent totally, and 58 percent of the citizens were against the project. Moreover, the survey showed that the project has more support from citizens living in Skopje than from other cities in Macedonia who are not satisfied with the idea of the national budget being spent centrally in Skopje. The survey also showed that although the media had an important role in informing and developing critical attitude towards the project, the citizens did not receive a clear idea of the project through the media.

Moreover, the study reports a great division in the views Macedonians and Albanians have regarding the project "Skopje 2014". The results showed that 49 percent of the Macedonians fully or mostly do not support this project, while the percentage of Albanians who said they do not support is almost double – 86 percent, out of which 82 percent reported that they fully do not support the project. The building of the National Theatre is supported by 61 percent of the citizens, the Philharmonic building 55, the Constitutional Court 52, the House of Officers 49 percent, the monument of Alexander the Great 47 percent, while the bridge Eye has support from 41 percent of the citizens. Thirty-four percent believe that if we build a church on the square, we should also build a mosque there, and just as we should have a church but not a mosque. Almost one in three respondents (28%), however, thinks that we should build neither church nor mosque.

Despite the analysis and citizens views, the Government and the local authority of the Municipality of Centar, under whose territorial jurisdiction the make-over is made, continue with their initial plan.

Conclusion

As in other cases, the re-imagining of the city of Skopje is an expression of fear and aversion, fear of change, particularly, of the changing ethnic composition of the neighborhood, which Sandercock (2000: 15) argues to grow and are increasingly becoming constitutive elements of planning practice in cities of difference. How might planning and management process respond to such fears?

The vision for the development of Skopje should be created through a forum for the identity of the city. As Mijalković (2011) concludes: "through use of history in the public area, the city accidentally awakens a potential where space, in this case Skopje, would be a mediator in these regional conflicts, without exaggerating the influence of history". In this pursuit, urban processes should be reassessed, new public functions are to be implemented and new residential functions are to be applied. The city needs defining of its geopolitical role, which it will play in the European context, one that is realistic and desirable, and at best, original. In the process of determining the future role, it seems that it is especially important to evaluate the different origin of the "bastard" and space to maneuver as it "opens".

The main conclusion of the paper is that: Increasing diversity challenges intergroup relations in the cities and the social dynamics in the public space. The expectations and demands of the ethnically diverse citizens are of concern for both city representatives and different ethno-cultural groups. Successful management of the dynamics among diverse stakeholders taking place in the public space lies in the development of solidarity practices, city consultation processes and institutional reform, participatory process of local governance, intercultural competence and intercultural sociability which enhance citizenship, inclusion and interaction among citizens in the public space.

Finally, governmental authorities and institutions should reconsider the democratic governance they practice, to accept public debate, discussion and exchange of ideas. A critical discussion over these historically and socially important issues is needed for the future and not only for the presence of the city.

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*Professionalising Culture:
The Role of Producer and Manager*

Janko Ljumović

Abstract: In this article the author notes some of the key factors that affect transition in systems of culture within the Eastern European countries, with particular evidence from the Balkans and Montenegro. He argues that it is necessary for systems of culture to recognize the importance of training and fostering cultural management staff to respond to challenges introduced by the changed social and economic climate.

Key words: arts management, arts funding, management roles, culture management, transition, culture professionalism, Creative Balkan, creative industries, Montenegrin culture.

The recent global economic crisis has shaken up the sector of culture in a profound way, and brought the matters of financing of arts and culture back on the agenda, proposing the policy makers the challenge to re-adjust and respond to turbulent economic conditions. The funding policies have always been closely linked to the questions of the role that artist takes in a society, and the social environment in which artistic production takes place.

Let us first remind ourselves that it was only with the development of civic society that culture and arts gained institutional support. Recognition of arts and culture as endeavours of public interest allowed them to develop independently from state and church authorities, which up to that point acted as patrons, with private patronage being the dominant model of funding arts and culture. The opening up of these sectors through public funding models brought about the debates of presentation and accessibility of arts. This model purported democratisation of arts, making it available for wide public, and claiming it for the community from the privileged elite. A complex set of circumstances and factors allowed audiences to diversify and grow, which in turn went hand in hand with changes in arts production. Different audiences gathered around different hubs, each group having their own style, artists, peers, theory, media and funding sources. The change of the funding model allowed decentralisation and democratisation of culture and arts, especially with the emergence of independent scene, or third sector, working outside, or against the institutions. The independents' funding model fostered entrepreneurship and development of what we now call culture industry, with management skills taking an important role. Artists and arts institutions took the challenge and adopted management style from the independents.

The official cultural policy makers consequently recognised the role of market and consumer-oriented practices as important for the

overall functioning of system of culture. In some cases this was interpreted as withdrawal of public funding for culture. What was actually taking place was a process of redefining the gained rights and introduction of new financing models, which stipulated that artists themselves had to participate in the income-making economy. How?

The solution is in the system of governance, and the matter of running a successful business is a matter of 'surviving' on the market. The problem referred to in my introduction is one of the key questions of modern cultural policies on the Balkans: for the most part, the countries of the region have not completed the process of transition, and professional engagement in production of arts and culture is still shortcoming.

Culture management and the need for engagement of professionals is one of the key changes brought about by the changed paradigm and the culture itself. As of the 1980s, these concerns permeated all spheres of society and one of the dilemmas of cultural policy was: *Managers or Artists?*

This dilemma was described in the Council of Europe's study *Balancing act: 21 strategic dilemmas in cultural policy*. According to the study, management was seen by some as "vital injection of professionalism, while for others it was an irritating fad".¹ One of the key issues to be noted here is that the idea of cultural policy prioritising support to artists over management is appealing only at first sight. Sustainability and development of the system of culture, especially in the countries that we describe as undergoing the process of transition, is impossible without trained culture management professionals. The Montenegrin Law on Culture profiles culture manager as a person who completed graduate level education and occupies the position of director, artistic director or business director in a cultural institution. It also postulates that a manager should either be a practising artist or an experienced *culture expert*. In the law, *culture expert* is defined as "a person with appropriate professional background, employed in science research, theory and criticism, education, production, arts advisory, specialist technical or organising role".²

¹ Matarasso, Francois i Charles Landy (2000) *Uravnoteženje delovanja: 21 strateška dilema u kulturnoj politici*. Beograd: BalkanKult.

² *Službeni list Crne Gore*, br. 49-2008.

We can examine the importance of the roles of the cultural manager and producer within the context of Eastern European states and their cultural policies. The process of transformation of systems of culture and arts focused on production and project-work in both public-funded and independent organisations, which positions the managerial and producer roles at the very centre. The profession of cultural manager and producer is closely linked to the development of culture industry and economy. Along with appropriate cultural policy, this can have real impact on the country's cultural identity and development of the system of culture in contemporary society, which has abandoned the model of the so-called socially-responsible cultural policy.

Different cultural and artistic models that affect professionalism in these sectors face a range of challenges and obstacles. This, therefore, has an impact on the production in the spheres of arts and culture. The challenges are greatest in educational, and social and cultural infrastructure. One of the more important ways to approach the challenge is by introducing the model of cultural industries.

The idea and model of creative industries as a form of entrepreneurship in culture is crucial for the new operational logic. It simultaneously raises the awareness of intellectual property as a resource of successful management. This is closely linked to another important issue in the region – the protection of intellectual property and copyright. They are both promoted as system of values, and it is important to note that it is difficult to win the right to authorship without winning other freedoms, primarily those of economic nature. This is a process, and it is a challenge for the countries in transition.

Creative Balkans, or any part of it, is not possible without meeting a set of conditions outlined in Creative Europe study, which proposes several 'lines' of support to foster creativity:

- creativity (development and promotion);
- professional market (economic and legal measures that regulate the work of creatives – protection of intellectual property, copyright, moral right etc.);
- intervention (public commissioning, widening audience, education).

More developed economies have already undertaken some of these measures, with quantifiable results. The owners of theatres at London West End spend £26 million on copyright, while only £8 million is spent for building maintenance. Take, for example, Tony Elliot, entrepreneur who, started the what's-on magazine *Time Out* with three friends and £70. The company is now worth tens of millions of pounds, and this capital is further increased by copyright, company's branding, and intellectual property of staff.

Creative industries require further investment in innovation, distribution and international marketing. However, many authorities don't consider this a priority. Authorities that did recognise strategic value of supporting creativity, copyright and fostering cultural industries and that have given these issues appropriate attention are in a strong position, both in cultural and economic terms. The countries that resist this recognition face the danger of their countries' cultures being "overwhelmed" by foreign cultural products and values.

Through the example of creative industries we can make a clear identification of the necessity for the professionalism in cultural management and the role of the producer: the process of transformation of cultural system and especially project-based operating model places these professions into the centre. The key dilemma remains on the extent that this need is recognised by the cultural policies in the region, including different aspects that foster professionalization in the cultural sector.

Culture, Economy and the City Development.

***Cultural policy of Novi Sad between the branding-profitability
demands and heritage-institutional protection***

Slavica Vučetić

Introduction

Throughout the 20th century, urban developmental policies have suffered numerous changes: from post-war reconstruction and industrialization in the 1960s through the crises and revitalization in the 1970s, to the employment of strategic planning tools and marketing techniques in the 1980s and the 1990s (Bogarts 2002: 150). At the turn of the millennium, the best practices from the previous decades were integrated into sustainable development demands, giving equal importance to economic concerns, social inclusion and environment protection. These three have become the three pillars of sustainable (urban) development, metaphorically often represented as a triangle.

Figure 1.1. Triangle of sustainable development



Cultural policies of European cities have also faced many changes throughout this period: from traditional concerns about the public cultural institutions back in the 1950s, through socio-cultural actions in the 1960s (democratization, rehabilitation of objects, etc.), to strongly mar-

ket-oriented city cultural policies in the 1980s. Since that time, priorities have been given to the projects that could prove their economic profitability or to those that could provide a distinctive image to the city and put it into an advantageous position in the increasingly competitive environment of other cities. Thus, urban cultural policies are today developed from the perspective of economic development, city marketing or possibly urban regeneration. (Šešić, 2002: 182) According to Hawkes, culture has become the fourth pillar of sustainable urban development. (2001)

This paper will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of local cultural policies led by marketing and profitability demands, analyzing their main constraints for integrated cultural development. We will also present a short overview of the governing system in Serbian cities, pointing out the outdated (or even missing) policy instruments which slow down the reforms within the cultural sector. Focusing on the cultural policy of the City of Novi Sad as a case study, I will argue that the current model lacks clear vision, authenticity and appreciation of the locals' needs and, as such, it directly collides with the paradigms of sustainability. Finally, I will argue that local cultural policy can only achieve its branding, economic and developmental goals if:

1. It is well interconnected with city developmental strategies in other areas;
2. It suits the needs of all four families in the local cultural system¹;
3. It has strong basis in the local identity.

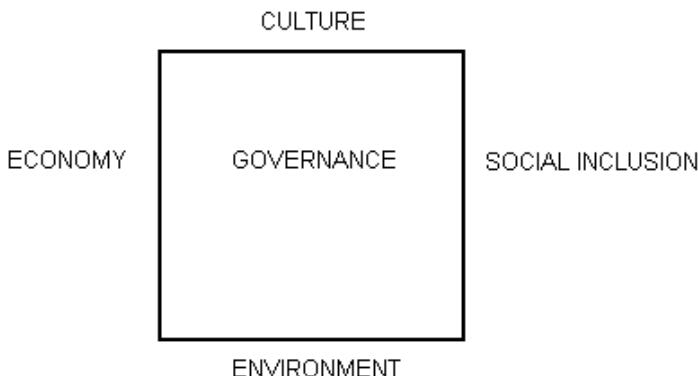
Can Culture Really Influence the Economic Growth?

Behind the growing profitability demands for the cultural sector there is a strong belief that culture can actually provide economic benefits. Culture is, thus, expected to contribute to job creation and new employment possibilities, growth of tourist/visitor figures, greater consumption

¹ According to Claude Mollard, any cultural system consists of four families: decision makers, mediators, creators and audiences, each of them having its own function within the system. (2000) However, "public cultural system of Serbia is only formally made out of these four families, while actually only two families are active. [...] Those are the families of decision makers and mediators". (Đukić Dođinović, 2003: 62)

and turnover in the service industry, etc. The authors who support this standpoint (Bianchini, Perloff, Whit) also share a belief that creative industries are among the fastest growing sectors in the modern economy. Surveys and estimations are being made, analyzing the audiences' profile, tracking the visitor rate, calculating the profit from the associated activities. The well known and frequently quoted example of the relationship between culture and economy is the one of the City of Glasgow, which, due to a cleverly driven local cultural policy and the status of the European Capitol of Culture in 1990, multiplied the number of tourists just in several years and faced a significant growth of tertiary sector industries (creative industries and tourism).²

Figure 1.2. The New Square of Sustainable Development



However, some authors express concern about the justification of such claims. "Almost every dollar spent in restaurants, hotels and cafés is being attributed to the arts. The counterargument is: if there were no hotels and restaurants in the city, no foreign tourist would bother to visit the city just because of the arts." (Bogarts, 2002: 159) Indeed, it is hardly imaginable that any tourist would visit a museum or a heritage site if there were no tourist organizations to make them interested in the local culture and associated facilities that ensure them a pleasant stay in the city. Thus, it becomes clear that cultural development of a specific locality needs to be incorporated with development of other economic areas. Otherwise, profit from cultural and related activities is not likely to meet the expectations.

² More information of economic impact of creative and cultural industries in Glasgow available at <http://www.glasgoweconomicfacts.com>.

It is also important to keep in mind the diversity of activities and disciplines gathered under the term culture, which may function differently in economic terms and may not be intended at all to make profit. Examples may be found among many community engaged artistic projects, which focus on inclusion of marginalized groups, popularization of certain art forms, intercultural dialogue, etc., but not necessarily have any profit-making aspirations. Another concern is the gap between production expenses and purchasing power of potential consumers, which differs from one country to another. For instance, performing arts are facing greater and greater problems due to misbalance of growing production expenses and limited box office profit.³ This is especially evident in the SEE countries, where low life standard of potential audiences (due to the transitional circumstances) and inefficient management of public theatres make their maintenance and programme expenses much higher than their revenues. Consequently, they have become a huge burden on public budgets.

Quite the opposite, the consumption of mega-spectacles is increasing all over the world; open-air cultural events that attract masses and require modest investments (in comparison to continuous funding of public cultural institutions) prove themselves not just as great promoters of cultural values, but also as great consumption (and consequently income) increasers.

However, the impact of cultural activities on economic growth cannot be measured on a general scale. Researches that have been done so far are too project/location specific and cannot be taken as a recipe. Moreover, it seems unreasonable to use the same tool (i.e. culture and arts) to solve so many problems on so many different levels. As Bogarts notices, if investments in culture and arts have the only purpose to make the city more beautiful and hide real structural problems, these problems will pile up over time, which in turn may have a negative impact on culture and arts. (2002: 165) Yet, astonished by the gains of the rivals, local authorities tend to copy-paste each other's developmental models and tools, instead of developing their own unique strategies.

³ The phenomenon described in the 1960s by William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen and known since then as The Baumol's disease. (For more information, see Baumol & Bowen, 1966.)

Festivalisation of the local culture as a branding tool

Festivals and public celebrations have become the most frequently copy-pasted tool for city branding and development of tourism. They are now the most popular cultural investments in the cities worldwide. While many criticize such cultural policy for being too profit-oriented, focused on consumption rather than on production and too deaf for the real problems of the local cultural system, others argue that such policy is actually reviving the phenomenon of the city as a space of cultural life and creation, that was once displaced by the process of institutionalisation and closure of arts into the purpose-built public objects throughout the 19th and 20th century. According to Dragičević Šešić, there are several factors which indirectly encourage the demand for festivals: festivals promote sponsors from the business sector and their products more successfully than cultural institutions; local politicians are getting the media attention during the opening/closing ceremonies and the image of Maecenas of arts; festivals require smaller investments but can make better financial and socio-cultural effects than cultural institutions that are active all over the year. (2007: 214-5)

In addition, festivals are highly appreciated for creation of new employment positions, promotion of cooperation among different sectors, attraction of new audiences, development of the public spirit etc. Above all, festivals are today considered as excellent marketing tools for attraction of tourists, branding and development of a distinctive city image on national and international level, regeneration of abandoned city quarters. Examples may be found among Edinburgh, Salzburg, Avignon, but also among some smaller cities that developed their image and economy through festival production, such as Tartu (Estonia), Ferrara (Italy), Turku (Finland).

Nevertheless, if these and similar expectations from the festivals are to be met, it is necessary that the reason behind their foundation and the contents they offer are rooted in the local identity. Festivals should not and could not be a copy of some abstract metropolitan cultural industry. (Hauptfleish, 2007) In other words, if a festival is to contribute to the development and positioning of its local community, it has to be connected to its cultural heritage (i.e. *Salzburger Festspiele* is logically held in Salzburg – the hometown of Mozart) or to suit the current needs, possibilities and development plans of that community. The latter can be

achieved by the choice of programmes for which there is a growing demand and unused local potentials or, on the contrary, by promotion of those cultural areas that have already been recognized as particular features of that community. Finally, festivals need to engage and promote the local resources (human, spatial, etc.) in the most sustainable way.

The place of culture in Serbian cities

If one looks at the statements of political leaders of most Serbian cities, they may get the impression that these representatives of local authorities are familiar with new cultural policy trends and are completely aware of the impact of culture on city development. The leaders are proudly listing the attendance figures of local manifestations and the income gained from them; they are commonly referring to the heritage sites and cultural institutions as the main landmarks of their cities. However, if asked about a local strategy of cultural development, they rarely have clear information to offer.

The main problems of the current cultural policy at the city level in Serbia are the following:

- *Lack of long-term and strategic planning.* So far, only two Serbian cities, Kragujevac and Pančevo have formulated their strategic plans of local cultural development (Kulturne politike gradova, 2008). In other cities, planning is done on the annual basis and is mostly limited to the plan of budgetary allocations to public institutions and cultural projects of NGOs. City leaders lack clear vision of cultural development. Even if general or field specific urban developmental plans do exist, culture is rarely included in them, due to weak inter-departmental collaboration within the local government.
- *Lack of participative mechanisms.* City assembly and city council are the governmental bodies that make key decisions regarding the local cultural development. Since their members are politicians and/or sympathizers of the ruling political parties (usually without any professional background in culture), their decisions often lack expertise. Although the major has a right to found temporary working bodies consisting of the prominent citizens from the cultural field, these only have advisory power and are mainly composed of

managers/artists from public cultural institutions, but rarely of civil and private sector representatives. Thus, the current model of governance over culture at the local level can be called quasi-democratic, since it lacks transparency and instruments that enable participation of all families of the cultural system in decision-making.

- *Lack of evaluative instruments.* Being the founder of public cultural institutions on its territory, the city assembly appoints their managers and controls their annual programmes. Although institutions are required to deliver their annual financial reports, there is no real evaluation of the quality of their work. The same rules apply on independent cultural projects in other two sectors (private and civil), since analyses of their financial and socio-cultural impact are rarely made. Most of the institutions are totally dependent on governmental subsidies; almost 80 per cent of their budgets are allocated for the running and personnel expenses and only around 20 per cent for the programmes.
- *Underdeveloped financial instruments.* Most of the Serbian cities do not have separate funds for specific cultural domains (i.e. visual arts, community arts, creative industries, research in culture, etc.). Competition for allocation of subsidies for all kinds of cultural projects is announced once a year. Philanthropy and donations that used to be developed in Serbia before the World War II are very rare today; a small number of enterprises use sponsorship as part of their marketing strategy, mostly supporting art production with services or with goods. The number of possible donors (foreign foundations for example) is very small because the law does not currently provide sufficient incentives to stimulate private investment in culture.

However, local cultural policy creators are not the only one to be blamed; since there is no explicit cultural policy at the national level yet⁴, it makes it hard to develop the local ones without the national framework. It is interesting that participants of two different focus groups in the research of *The Centre for Study in Cultural Development*⁵ back in

⁴ More information on the priorities of the Ministry of Culture of Serbia from 2001 to 2010 can be found at <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/serbia.php?aid=33>. However, an official document on the strategy of cultural development at the national level has not been issued by the Ministry so far.

⁵ The Centre for Study in Cultural Development is the only competent public institution in Serbia for development and research in culture. It focuses on theoretical

2002 had opposite opinions on this issue: while representatives of Serbian cities and municipalities believed that key-issues (such as *Constitution*, regions, new laws, etc.) need to be solved at the national level first, in order to provide the necessary conditions for strategic plans on lower levels, the representatives of the Ministry of Culture of Serbia thought that it would be reasonable to start from the “bottom”.⁶ Unfortunately, even now in 2010, eight years after the above mentioned research and ten years after the democratic changes, “transitional cultural policy spins in a spell-bound circle in which it is not clear whether planning should start from institutions and go towards the republic or should it start from the republic and go towards carriers of cultural and artistic production”. (Đukić Dojčinović, 2003: 79)

However, reforms of certain legal instruments did happen in the previous years, providing the important basis for cultural development at all levels. From the point of view of city development, the most significant changes were the new *Law on Local Self-government* (2007) and the new *Law on Culture* (approved by the Parliament in December 2009, but came into force in March 2010). The next step, however, should be the more even distribution of decision-making powers at the city level and introduction of participative mechanisms. Integration of culture into overall urban development can hardly be imaginable without that step.

Images and identities of Serbian cities

The issue of one city’s image and identity is of extreme importance, since the whole local cultural policy should be built around it. Cultural policies can actually be developed as image strategies, (Bianchini, 1991) which rely on urban myths, historical background, famous citizens, etc., nurturing the desirable profile and image of a community. In addition, tourism projects, leisure industry, retail and business plans can also lean on the city image; thus, image strategy can be considered as one of the key factors in economic and urban development of a city.

and applied research, studies and analysis in area of sociology of culture and cultural policy, collecting of information and documentation on culture, art and media in Serbia and abroad. [<http://www.zaprokul.org.rs/Default.aspx>.]

⁶ The interviews were conducted in four Serbian cities (120 interviewees) during September and October 2002, within the Action project *Cooperation and Dialogue in Development of Effective Local Cultural Policies* funded by the ECF.

However, during the 1990s, most Serbian cities lost their recognizable images and still have not managed to build up the new ones. As Šešić notices, even the basic visual landmarks of Serbian cities are not known in the wider public, while local leaders are stuck between several dilemmas: developing the center or the periphery; supporting the consumption or the production; financing the institutions (continuous activities) or innovations (ephemeral, single programmes) (2007: 88-91). Nevertheless, it seems that the awareness of the importance of local cultural identities and city images for the overall development of cities has grown in the last couple of years. They are slowly beginning to be addressed in the developmental strategies of some cities, such as in those of Valjevo, Jagodina and Niš⁷, but these are mainly the strategies of socio-economic and tourism development and only in the case of Kragujevac and Pančevo – strategies of cultural development. It remains unclear how the economic development of a community can be built upon the cultural image and identity, if cultural development of that community has not yet been defined and envisioned.

Development of the City of Novi Sad

Novi Sad gained the status of a “free royal city” back in 1748, by the Edict proclaimed by Maria Theresa, the Habsburg Empress. For much of the 18th and 19th centuries, it was the largest city in the world populated by ethnic Serbs and a cultural and political centre of Serbs, who did not have their own national state at the time. Because of its cultural and political influence, Novi Sad became known as the “Serbian Athens” (srb. *Srpska Atina*). In the second half of the 19th century, during the national awakening period, two oldest cultural institutions of national importance were established here: Matica Srpska (in 1864 moved from Budapest) and the Serbian National Theatre (1861). Located at the banks of Danube, at the crossroads of two empires and with ethnically mixed population (mainly Serbian, German and Hungarian at that time), Novi Sad remained a vivid trade and craft center until the World War II.

During the second half of the 20th century, cultural and economic development of Novi Sad can roughly be divided into several phases

⁷ The strategies are available at the official web-presentations of the cities: <http://www.valjevo.rs/#st=171>, <http://www.jagodina.org.rs/sr/index.php>, <http://www.ni.rs/index.php>.

which up to a high degree coincided with the socio-economic changes at the national and provincial level:

1953-1974: *Period of industrialization and construction*: the city went through rapid industrialization and its population more than doubled. It became the administrative and the economic center of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, the most fertile agricultural region in Serbia. At the same time, the city faced significant changes in the cultural infrastructure – a network of municipal cultural institutions was established (Novi Sad City Museum, Cultural Center of Novi Sad, The Novi Sad Theatre (hun. *Újvidéki Színház*), etc.), as well as several institutions of provincial importance (the Museum of Vojvodina, the Gallery of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina, the Pavle Beljanski Memorial Collection, etc.).

1974-1989: *Period of self-governance*: after the new Constitution of SFRY in 1974, two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo) were given full competence over cultural policy on their territories, due to the multi-ethnic structure of their population. The cities also gained more competences in developing their own cultural policies. At that time, the number of elite cultural institutions and amateur and youth cultural communities was relatively balanced. The Academy of Arts was established, with a special department for acting in Hungarian language. Thanks to further development of the Yugoslav Theatre Games (now known as *Sterijino pozorje*) and Zmaj's Children Games, Novi Sad became perceived as a particular meeting spot of diverse Yugoslav artists. From the economic perspective, this was also a successful period. In 1981 Novi Sad's GDP growth rate reached 6.2 per cent of total economy. (Novi Sad, 1981: 44)

1990-2000: *Period of nationalism and devastation*: self-government was abolished as a system, there was no clear concept of the national cultural policy, but the role of culture for promotion and “protection” of national identity was emphasized. Due to the small city budget, there were no further investments in the cultural infrastructure. Sanctions, lack of finances and politically-motivated, negative selection of managers of cultural institutions, led towards total exclusion of programmes of public institutions from contemporary world art trends. Festivals that used to be international lost their significance and reputation. A dull light in this dark tunnel of the 1990s was the work of several NGOs,

which strongly advocated against the dominant cultural and political demagogery. The embargo and economic mismanagement lead to deterioration of once big industrial combines such as "Novkabel" (electric cable industry), "Pobeda" (metal industry), "Jugosalat" (tools), "Albus" and "HINS" (chemical industry). Practically the only viable remaining large facility in Novi Sad was "Naftagas" (the oil refinery).

2001-2010: *Period of transition*: the economy of Novi Sad has mostly recovered from the previous period and it has grown strongly since 2001, shifting from industry-driven economy to the tertiary sector. The processes of privatization of state and society-owned enterprises, as well as strong private incentive, have increased the share of privately-owned companies to over 95% in the district, and small and medium-size enterprises have dominated the city's economic development.⁸ However, cultural development has not followed such a significant economic recovery. New democratic local leaders have failed to define the strategy of local cultural development; although public institutions were initially encouraged to employ innovative marketing and management techniques and decrease their dependence from the city budget, real transformations have not happened. New cultural initiatives have mainly come from the civil sector, mostly in the form of festivals and cultural animation projects (EXIT, IFUS, Cinema City etc). Today, they represent the key factors in development of the contemporary identity of Novi Sad.

New local developmental strategies in Novi Sad

According to the Statute of the City of Novi Sad, Act 24, it is the competence of the City Parliament to decide upon the developmental strategies of Novi Sad. (Statut Grada, 2008: 5) However, the only document of this kind that has been formulized so far is the *Strategy of Economic Development* for the period 2010-2014, which encompassed five key areas: infrastructure, small and medium enterprises, new technologies, tourism and agriculture. The Strategy was created in 2009 through the MEGA⁹ programme of the Urban Institute, financed by the USAID. During the

⁸ More information available at the website of the Regional Chamber of Commerce Novi Sad, <http://rpkns.com>.

⁹ Municipal Economic Growth Activity.

process, participative methodology of the Urban Institute was used: a survey on the opinion of the economic sector was conducted, while the Committee for the preparation of the Strategy was consisting of the representatives from the private and public sector, councilor groups and associations "that are relevant for the local economic development".

Although we are fully recognizing its qualities, the particular ambiguity of this Strategy lies in the fact that investments into culture are assessed only from the cultural tourism and image-building perspective, without wider consideration of other possibilities for economic contribution by the cultural sector. For instance, cultural and creative industries are not even mentioned in the Strategy, nor there are any incentives for development of this potentially important economic contributor.

Furthermore, within the SWOT analysis (which was the third step in the development of the strategy) three weaknesses of the local cultural system were stated: first, lack of a single space for cultural events; second, lack of organized governance over the cultural goods; third, lack of recognizable image of Novi Sad. However, much bigger problem (especially from the economic perspective) than those listed above is the defensive financial policy of public cultural institutions and their total dependence on the public budget. Another huge problem is the lack of skilled cultural managers, both in the private and the civil sector. The third weakness of the cultural system in Novi Sad which was omitted in the strategy is the undeveloped private sector in culture. The omission of such important issues only reveals that the creators of the Strategy failed to do the in-depth analysis of the local cultural system, probably because they did not consider it as a significant contributor of economic development.

However, several important measures for revitalization of the local cultural offer are proposed:¹⁰

Rationalization of the management of public companies and institutions founded by the city – institutions are expected to rationalize their operational expenses through occasional hiring of external subjects for their secondary activities.

¹⁰ The full list of projects under the *Strategy for Economic Development of Novi Sad* is much longer. Projects listed in this paper are only those that seemed relevant for our topic. (Cultural policy of Novi Sad)

Training and upgrading of business skills in service industries – cultural institutions are one of the carriers of this project, which is expected to initiate cooperation between the key actors of the local economic development, increase the customer satisfaction and attract new investments.

Creation of an attractive touristic product and continuous touristic offer – this includes the improvement of conditions for manifestations (adaptation of the underground army galleries for these purposes, purchase of stands); promotion of local cultural heritage through thematic evenings/tourist animation; promotion and development of the most attractive segments of the cultural tourism offer.

Marketing and promotion – includes production of a monthly newsletter on the cultural offer; introduction of the “Novi Sad Passport” which would serve as a ticket for several cultural events/sights and provide discounts for tourists in different facilities; training of managers of cultural, business and other companies with good international contacts to present Novi Sad as a great location for the organization of international manifestations and events.

Improvement of working conditions of cultural institutions in the city – adaptation and reconstruction of cultural objects in the city (library, museums, theatres, etc.).

Improvement of the existing touristic infrastructure – revival of the suburb around the Petrovaradin fortress in the cultural sense; street signalization and marking of tourist attractions, sights and cultural institutions.

As we can see, some important steps are planned to be undertaken for development and promotion of all cultural potentials of the city. The greatest omission of this Strategy, however, is that it failed to support development of creative industries within the Action Plan for Development of Entrepreneurship and Small/Medium Businesses. The systematic support for their development is also overlooked at the national level, revealing that there is no public awareness on the importance and influence of this sector on development of economy.¹¹

¹¹ Quite the opposite, creative industries are seen as key economic contributors in many EU countries, demonstrating faster than average growth potential in the last decade. For instance, the creative industries are the second largest industry after the business services sector and the economy's fastest growing sector in London

Nevertheless, the above listed projects indicate that the creators of the *Strategy of Economic Development of Novi Sad* do recognize the potentials of the local cultural system for economic and urban development of Novi Sad. From their (economic) point of view, the cultural policy of Novi Sad should encourage consumption and prioritize transformation and modernization of cultural institutions in the following period.

Cultural policy of Novi Sad

Certain steps that go in line with the *Strategy of Economic Development* have already been undertaken by the City Bureau for Culture. Since there are no official documents that explicitly show the goals of the local cultural policy in Novi Sad, the implicit cultural policy can be analyzed through the cultural policy instruments and the choice of prioritized programmes and activities.

Since 2008, the priorities of the cultural policy of Novi Sad are:

1. International positioning – priorities have been given to projects which hosted artists with international reputation or attracted foreign tourists.
2. Raising the level of participation of citizens in cultural activities – support to open-air, free access projects, support to cultural animation of children and youth, providing assess for disabled, low entrance fees for the programmes of local cultural institutions have been the commonly used methods. However, not much has been done on the inclusion of marginalized groups.
3. Image building – development of cultural products that are attractive for tourists (mainly festivals of popular culture), promotion of local manifestations as key carriers of the modern image of Novi Sad.
4. Protection of public cultural institutions whose founder is the

– employing more than half a million people (1 in 5 new jobs in the capital) and generating GBP 21 billion or 16% of London's Gross Value Added (GVA) annually.
Source: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/unitedkingdom.php?aid=426>.

City Parliament and continuous financial support for their smooth work (without real evaluation of results).

5. Infrastructural investments – reconstruction and technical modernization of the existing cultural objects, such as the Cultural Center of Novi Sad, the Youth Theatre, *Ujvideki Szinhaz*.

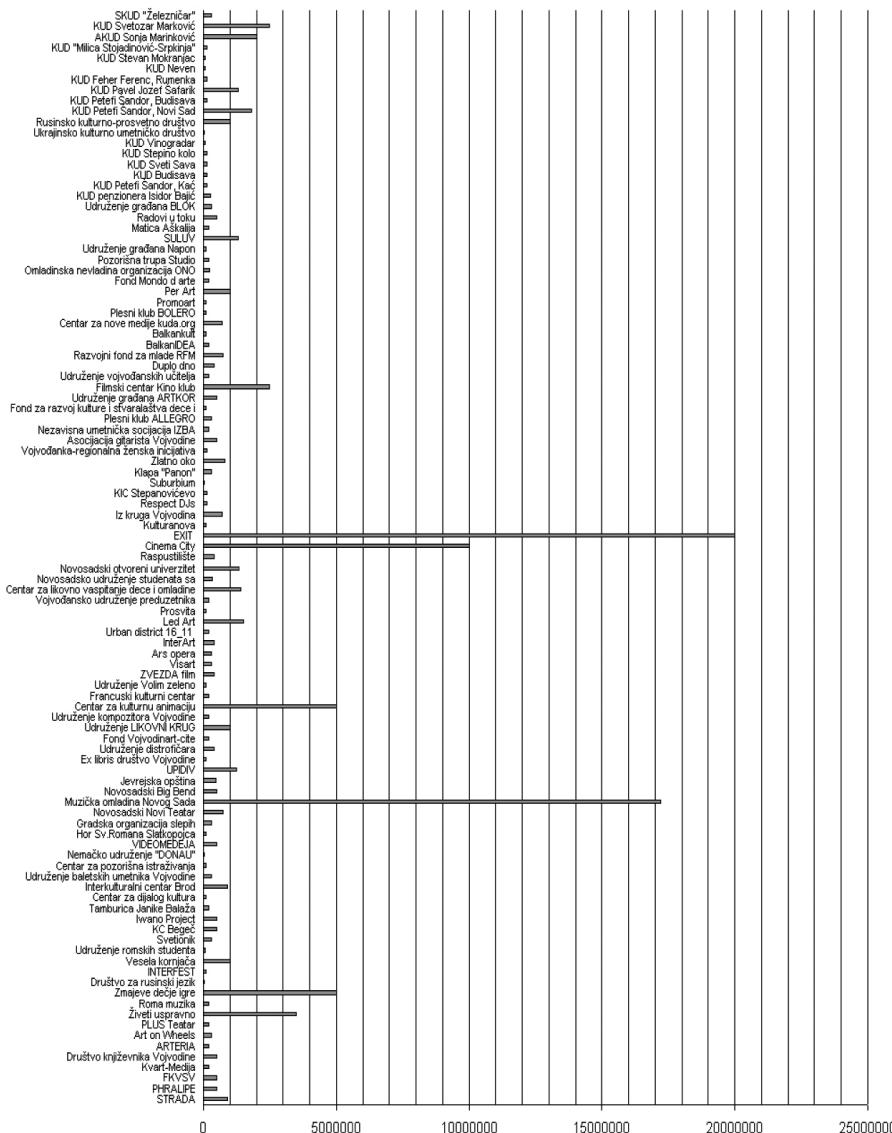
The measures and cultural policy instruments of Novi Sad are:

1. Subsidies to cultural institutions founded by the city for their annual programmes.
2. Open competitions for financing cultural projects proposed by NGOs and civil organizations.
3. Open calls for co-financing the publishing of capital literary works.
4. Purchasing books for the libraries.
5. Scholarships for young vocal artists from the Fund “Melanija Bugarinović”.
6. Annual Award and Charter of the City of Novi Sad for one prominent citizen (not necessarily from the cultural field).

As it can be noticed, cultural development of Novi Sad is mainly shaped by financial instruments, whereas evaluative and other cultural policy instruments are either non-transparent or underdeveloped. The allocation of the financial support is done according to the above mentioned priorities which are not transparently stated nor are integrated into any long-term plan or developmental vision. This claim is supported by the fact that the city authorities have not appeared as initiators of any cultural project nor have made any administrative changes¹² in the last eight years. Most of the initiatives originated from the civil sector. Such cultural policy has raised many issues, out of which the allocation of subsidies is the most burning one.

¹² Under administrative changes we consider changes such as restructuring of the City Bureau for Culture, introduction of participative mechanisms in decision-making, opening of special funds for different art disciplines, etc.

Table 3.1. Allocation of funds at the public competition for cultural projects in 2010 .(Source: <http://www.zakulturnepolitike.net>.)



How much culture costs the citizens of Novi Sad

The analysis of allocation of budgetary subsidies to the cultural actors in Novi Sad shows that absolute priority is given to the local cultural institutions and independent projects with long tradition that include international programmes, attract masses (preferably tourists) and produce profit. However, the dilemma pertaining to the issue which of these two should be given more attention and greater financial support remains unsolved for years.

Table 3.1. shows the results of the public competition for financing of cultural projects in 2010. The total budget of the competition was 104,964,000.00 dinars which were allocated to 104 organizations for 245 projects.¹³ However, the biggest portion of this sum was allocated to the international music festival EXIT (20,000,000 dinars or 19 per cent of the budget), whereas 17,200,000 (16.4 per cent) and 10,000,000 (9.5 per cent) were given to the Music Youth of Novi Sad and Cinema City Festival, respectively. If we add to these three the sum given to the Center for Cultural Animation and Zmaj's Children Games (both 5,000,000 dinars), it can easily be calculated that 54.3 per cent of the competition budget went only to these five organizations. Such a decision provoked a lot of dissatisfaction among the local NGOs. It proved that popularization and cultural animation through the festival concept are the absolute priorities of the local authorities in Novi Sad.

On the other hand, Tables 3.2. and 3.3. demonstrate the participation of the budget for culture in the total budget of the City of Novi Sad as well as the share of the budget for culture provided for the programmes and running expenses of city founded cultural institutions. As it can be seen, Novi Sad annually provides around 5.5 per cent of its budget for cultural purposes, which is below the average share of the budget for culture in the budgets of most Serbian cities.¹⁴ Moreover, around two thirds of Novi Sad's budget for culture goes into the hands

¹³ Data from the Report of the Commission on the public competition for financing of cultural projects. Retrieved 15 July 2010 from <http://www.novisad.rs>.

¹⁴ According to the research of the Centre for Study in Cultural Development, in 2009 the largest per cent of the city budget provided for culture was in Sremska Mitrovica (14.2 per cent), whereas the smallest was in Kragujevac (4.8 per cent). In other cities it varied around 6.5 per cent (Niš 6.7%, Pančevo 6%, Kruševac 6.5%, Jagodina 6.4%, Leskovac 7.6% etc). Source: http://www.zaprokul.org.rs/LKP/gradovi/004_Lokalne%20samouprave_web.pdf.

of the city founded cultural institutions, whereas only one third is left for independent projects of NGOs, subsidies to the City Information Center "Apolo" and administrative expenses.

Table 3.2. Comparative view on the share of the budget for culture in the total budget of the City of Novi Sad in 2009 and 2010¹⁵

	2009	% of total	2010	% of total
TOTAL CITY BUDGET	18.206.786.923,57	100%	15.485.317.307,20	100%
BUDGET FOR CULTURE	1.031.829.175,00	5.6 %	856.312.639,00	5.5%

Table 3.3. Comparative view on the City of Novi Sad's budget for culture and share of it given to city founded cultural institutions in 2009 and 2010

	2009	% of total	2010	% of total
TOTAL BUDGET FOR CULTURE	1.031.829.175,00	100%	856.312.639,00	100%
SHARE OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	662.861.773,00	64.2%	601.151.216,00	70.2%

As one can see, distribution of budgetary subsidies to cultural actors in Novi Sad is quite uneven, prioritizing some actors over other. There is a downward trend in participation of the budget for culture in the total city budget, too. Having this in mind, the proposed rationalization of the operational expenses of cultural institutions is more than necessary. That should be the first step to mitigate the negative cultural and socio-economic consequences of the inherited cultural policies.

Cultural and socio-economic effects of the current city cultural policy

As all over the world, the maintenance expenses of cultural institutions in Novi Sad and their production costs are increasing every year, becom-

¹⁵ Data source for tables 3.2 and 3.3: Budget of the City of Novi Sad, published in the Gazette of the City of Novi Sad 54/2009 and 51/2008, retrieved 20 August 2010 from <http://skupstinans.org>.

ing a heavy burden on the local budget. No matter how much the city authorities strive to support their work, the provided financial resources hardly ever meet the real needs and expectations. Unfortunately, cultural institutions are more likely to cut their programmes and production costs, than to rationalize their administrative staff or find alternative funding sources. Currently, local cultural institutions spend only 15 to 20 per cent of their budget on their programme expenses, which reflects on the low innovativeness and creativity of their work and furthermore on decreasing the attendance on their programmes.

On the other hand, the third sector has proven to be a real starter of new trends, cultural innovator and a true connoisseur of contemporary management in culture. Functioning with limited staff and budget, they are able to organize huge events, attract diverse audiences and obtain additional income from sponsorship packages and ticket sales. Thus, it is not surprising that the local authorities and citizens themselves are starting to perceive the third sector projects as the pillars of the cultural life in Novi Sad. Some of them, such as the EXIT festival, have become a sort of a city brand. Even a quick look on the official internet presentations of Novi Sad and on the National Tourism Organization of Serbia¹⁶ shows that EXIT has become the most famous cultural-touristic manifestation of Novi Sad.

However, there is a hidden catch in the previous paragraph. Local authorities recognize only a few third sector organizations as the main contributors to the cultural life in Novi Sad. Three of them are involved in popular culture festival production (EXIT, CINEMA CITY, CEKANS), one in organization of classical music concerts (Music Youth of Novi Sad) and one in promotion of children's culture (festival Zmaj's Children Games). As it was shown in the previous chapter, they are given the largest portion of the budget for cultural projects. Consequently, the amount left to other third sector organizations (there are more than 150 of them registered in the city) which deal with socio-cultural activities, contemporary art, cultural research, amateurism, etc., is extremely small.

This provokes great dissatisfaction among the local NGOs and civil organizations, who even initiated a public action called "For cultural policies", demanding from the local authorities greater transpa-

¹⁶ <http://www.serbia.travel/destinations/cities-and-municipalities/novi-sad/>,
<http://www.novisad.rs>, <http://www.turizamns.rs>.

rency, respect of the legal framework, clear parameters for evaluation of projects and defined perspectives of the cultural development of Novi Sad.¹⁷

The greatest problem is that there are no precise data on the real contribution of these greatly supported festivals to the cultural, economic and touristic development of Novi Sad. As in the case with the programmes of cultural institutions, no real (self-) evaluation of the projects' outputs has ever been done. For instance, it is widely accepted that EXIT attracts numerous domestic and foreign tourists, but the research on the exact number of visitors, the impact of their stay on the city economy, the possibilities of further profit growth has never been conducted. Situation with profitability of other city festivals is even more doubtful, since they mainly gather local audience and are non-chargeable (or have modest entrance fees).

Conclusions and recommendations

As it was said in the beginning, if culture is to become a fourth pillar of the sustainable development of a city, it has to be led by the same ideas as other developmental areas, particularly the city economy, social justice and environment. Only if integrated into the same, solid network, these areas can contribute to their mutual development. Culture can serve as a tool for development of social justice through cultural actions and diverse inclusive projects for minorities, disabled, marginalized groups. Culture can also draw our attention to burning environmental issues; motivate us to improve our culture of living. Culture can, finally, be an initiator of creative business ideas that significantly contribute to the economic prosperity of the city. However, the problem occurs when decision makers have to choose among the various expectations placed before culture. Economic benefits usually outweigh the social needs, so only the projects with proved profitability get full support. But if economic function of culture overrules all other functions, there is a danger that many other cultural domains will remain neglected. In that case, the whole idea of sustainability falls apart. Of course, profitable projects can also nurture variety of cultural expressions, but city authorities have equal responsibility towards less profitable aspects of their local cultural scene.

¹⁷ More information available at <http://www.zakulturnepolitike.net>.
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To sum up, the current cultural policy of the City of Novi Sad is more in the function of tourism development and creation of an attractive city image, than in the function of development of the local cultural scene. City authorities are oriented towards consumption support, while for production of cultural goods only modest resources are being provided. But the question is: Is the concept of “a festival city” really the most preferred way of cultural development of Novi Sad? Although this kind of approach is in accordance with the *Strategy of Economic Development of Novi Sad* (especially with the part that emphasises the development of manifestation and congress tourism), a lack of investments into local art scene may have long-term negative consequences. The authenticity of the local culture may get lost, suppressed by the paradigms of globalism and development. In that case, how can we speak of the sustainable development in Novi Sad if there is no appreciation of the citizens’ needs? Needless to say, all worldwide known “festival cities” give equal importance to protection of their communities and preservation of diverse cultural models in the city, as much as they invest into manifestations attractive for tourists. If one of the reasons behind the success of a festival is its connection with the local culture, than all aspects of that culture need to be nurtured.

On the other hand, the whole philosophy of the local cultural sector in Novi Sad needs to be re-thought. Artists and cultural workers in Novi Sad have high expectations from the city authorities, indeed. Untrained in fundraising and cultural management, they hardly adjust to the new market demands imposed to culture. Too accustomed to the patronizing role of the state, they resist to think proactively, to take over the responsibility over their finances. This is especially evident in the public sector, but a number of NGOs functions in the same way. Thus, if culture is to be seen as a compeer in the overall progress of Novi Sad, development of a more entrepreneurial cultural sector is a must. Experiences and knowledge of the NGOs that successfully survive on the market (i.e. EXIT) may serve as good role models.

Finally, in order to integrate culture into the overall development of the city and to make the whole local cultural sector more efficient, the authorities of Novi Sad are recommended to:

- introduce participative mechanisms in the decision-making processes;

- create long-term strategy of local cultural development;
- make transparent assessment criterions and clearly stated priorities of the local cultural policy;
- apply advanced methods of allocation of budgetary subsidies (i.e. funds);
- organize training sessions for cultural managers and entrepreneurs.

The above listed recommendations are neither surprising nor unique, but are necessary steps for introduction of democratic mechanisms into governance over culture at city level and its harmonization with the mechanisms in other developmental areas. If taken into consideration, the recommendations listed above may lead towards better communication and cooperation of all four families of the local cultural system. Moreover, they may introduce a necessary balance between the production and consumption of cultural goods, resulting into greater satisfaction and prosperity of all stakeholders. In that case, we will finally be able to say that Novi Sad is indeed “a city of its citizens’ needs” (The motto of the ruling coalition in Novi Sad).

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Re-defining the Fine Artist Profession.

Educating new professionals to carry out policy changes

Jelena Glišić

Introduction

The arts are often portrayed as a marginal sector within the vast higher education environment. But we should not forget that the arts represent some of the most influential contributors to the development of European cultures and a powerful source for economic growth in Europe. The cultures of Europe are a profound expression of our civilisation; it reflects what we are. The arts provide unique, creative modes of inquiry – ways of thinking, working, making and problem solving – which are of immense benefit to everyone.” (Butler, 2003)

Within the recent reforms of the educational system in Serbia, the changes were introduced into the university education of fine artists as well. The creative entrepreneurship becomes a significant part of the fine arts curricula, be it through introducing new courses, such as management in fine arts (Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade) or within the cooperation projects that recently started to flourish among the faculties that are part of the University of Arts in Belgrade.

After saying a few words about the trends in the education of fine artists in Europe and about introducing those trends into the reformed artistic education in Serbia, I will present the concept of the Management in Fine Arts Course at The FFA Belgrade, as well as three examples of projects that were initiated within the course, or as a result of the exercises and debates that were taking place among the students and (guest lecturers) during the course.

All selected projects show that the new generations of fine artists are ready and willing to actively take part in carrying out policy changes on local level. Unlike the situation in the past, students of all faculties within the University of Arts Belgrade show raising interest in cooperating on common projects with the colleagues from different

departments. The cooperation between students of management and production from the Faculty of Dramatic Arts and students of painting, sculpture and graphic arts from the Faculty of Fine Arts on common project management assignments represents a sign of readiness of young cultural professionals to cooperate with their peers and to develop entrepreneurial projects together.

Art is vital for the functioning of the entire society, and Fine Art programmes should play an active role in providing the necessary creative human capital. For those involved in studying and teaching Fine Art, there is a shared commitment to improving and contributing to the quality and vitality of cultural experiences. The fine arts studies often play a role within wider communities through active engagements, residences, exhibitions, open seminars and workshops. The transferable skills that students acquire during their studies are also relevant and valued in a range of other working contexts, in particular creative and entrepreneurial contexts and management. Fine Art programmes may also contribute to the local community through schools' workshops and other forms of support and involvement. Art Schools may collaborate with public and private arts institutions and professional groups to enhance the curriculum and enable students to situate their work in a public context. Art education should enable students to become creative, self-managing reflexive arts practitioners. (Inter Artes Thematic Network, 2006)

Fine arts curricula – trends in the EU

The question of the concept of higher education in the field of art and the question of defining the profession of an artist can be correlated with the demands of modern society and the laws that govern the labour market when arts and culture are in question, as well as with the ways in which the change of the existing paradigm in higher education may affect the reshaping of existent artistic career paths and the status of artists in Serbia.

The artists today, in addition to knowledge and skills needed in the immediate professional field of their profession, must adopt other skills that will be necessary for them to promote their art work and also to address other important segments of the artistic profession. Art studies should enable students to successfully find their place in the artistic practice after graduation. Students learn to develop necessary imaginative, in-

tellectual, theoretical and practical skills that will enable them to maintain continuous personal development and professional practice in the field of art. They are expected to actively participate in their own education by defining their area of practice and research, and by developing professional skills and theoretical knowledge that the profession requires.

Fine Arts Studies should include an integrated approach to practical training techniques, production of artworks and theoretical knowledge. In order for it to result into long-term, comprehensive and real change for the better when it comes to employment opportunities for graduated fine artists in Serbia, the most important factor is the revision of the concept of higher education of artists aimed towards accomplishing adequate academic and professional profiling of graduates in order to help them position themselves within the modern labour market and within the contemporary (artistic and cultural) society.

Education of artists includes emphasis on creativity, improvisation and the review of the existing principles. Some of the career paths followed by the visual artists after graduation include the following professions: artist, teaching various art courses, curator, and administrator in the domain of art, art critic and other professions in the field of culture. Some of the skills they acquire at the faculty are applicable in other professions, especially in entrepreneurial activities that include the creative component. There are about a thousand institutions across Europe that provide education in the field of fine art, design, theatre, music, new media, dance, film and other fine artistic disciplines. These institutions enable students to realize their creative potentials, teaching them a wide range of fine artistic, professional and personal skills. The need to give students a complex high-level educational content in order to be able to respond to the demands of modern society is heightened. Graduate students in all fine artistic disciplines are expected to employ both generative and critical thinking, and to solve problems effectively acting as parts of cross-disciplinary teams and to be ready to constantly upgrade their skills and knowledge in accordance with the changes around them. Therefore, more and more graduates acquire entrepreneurial skills, developing the so-called "portfolio" careers, which include the need for clear documentation of achievements and acquired skills. University education of fine artists and other professionals in the field of fine art is a key factor for the development and maintenance of active cultures in Europe. It nurtures and supports the creative potential of young people

of Europe, covering a wide range of professions, from advertising and television, through cultural heritage, visual and performing fine arts to architecture, writing and publishing.

University education must constantly respond to the transformations of the society, the development of digital technologies and to demands of creative professions that directly affect the learning and teaching in the field of fine art. In addition, in response to the Bologna reforms, the fine art education had to change the way of thinking about how to teach fine art courses, as well as to face the challenges posed by political changes. Because of this development, it is clear that learning and teaching in the fine arts becomes more complex than ever, thus requiring from the teachers to have an open approach towards tradition and innovation, while continuing to provide a solid basis when fine arts practice and fine art disciplines are in question. Learning and teaching in fine art are based on both the practice and the concept; using those ways of learning that encourage creativity, innovation and critical thinking, and often the ability to bring the traditional ways of thinking into question. Most students feel a strong personal connection with their own education and, through projects and programmes, reflect on it, merging it with their experience and ambitions, thus building confidence in their creative identity. Teaching in fine art is primarily oriented to the specific needs / requirements of students, without focusing solely on a pre-determined teaching content.

Most programmes and courses in contemporary fine art education at the university level focus on problem-solving and experiential learning, complemented with criticism and discourse with experts from practice. This way of learning and research is normally organized in a dedicated space – class or studio, with the right technical conditions available. The teaching programme is carried out by combining practical work in the studio, workshops, lectures, seminars, reviews, Master class and working practices. Individual and joint projects and assignments are an essential part of the curriculum from the start and often become more important in later stages of the studies.

Teaching in fine art is primarily oriented to the specific needs / requirements of students, without focusing solely on a pre-lecture instructional content. Many of the new ways of learning, teaching and research, are the response to new demands and expectations set by the world of the particular profession.

Higher Fine Artistic Education in Western Europe traditionally seeks that what students learn is in strong correlation with the practical requirements of the profession. Experts within the practice often give an important contribution to teaching. Despite this fact, high fine art education is never about simply preparing students for a pre-defined field of profession. Many higher education institutions actively develop new models of curriculum that will link the education and the specific profession to make them both more versatile.

Art management as part of the fine arts curricula in Serbia

In the field of culture in Serbia, there are many factors that cannot be changed easily, especially in the transition period, when culture is often last on the priority list (if it is on that list to begin with). Fine artists are not really “seen” by the system, neither by the cultural system, nor by the society in general. There are very few jobs intended for graduated painters, sculptors and graphic artists. One can speak about the “invisibility” of fine artists when we take a look at the data of the Statistics Agency and understand that culture is not a separate statistical area, but is located within the area of “education and other social activities”. It is interesting that culture and social care seem to be placed in the same “basket” too often.

The Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Arts Belgrade is still going through the complex process of “Bologna” changes. When the new, adapted route of the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade was discussed, and when the reforms necessary to comply with the requirements of the Bologna process were introduced, the new FFA management was motivated by the results of several recent studies that dealt with the position of fine artists in Serbia, fine artistic career paths, employment opportunities and orientation of fine artists in the labour market and practical activities in the field of their profession. To return to the topic – we talked about research that dealt with the forms of fine artistic careers and positions of graduated fine artists in the period following the completion of the faculty. This research included a large number of graduated fine artists of different generations who, among others, were invited to identify factors that influence the successful practicing of the fine art profession.

Those researches involved a number of graduated fine artists of different generations in order to particularly identify the percentage of those who remained engaged with their artistic profession after graduation. This percentage is very low, upsettingly low compared to any other profession. Even the percentage of those who remain in the domain of culture in broader sense is not great. This research included a large number of graduated fine artists of different generations who, among others, were invited to identify factors that influence the successful practicing of the fine art profession.

Many respondents, members of different generations have expressed a lot of criticism about the fine art faculty they graduated from. The criticism was usually not related to the offer and content of fine art courses, nor to the expertise of professors. Respondents would say that the common mistakes referred to the selection of a head professor with whom they did not achieve good communication. In addition, there were plenty suggestions on the necessity of introducing the so-called "extended media" department. But most of the criticism was directed towards the theoretical courses that the respondents considered unnecessary or insufficiently adapted to the needs of students. It was concluded that most former students complain that the faculty did not prepare them for the "real world" that awaited after the faculty. Fine artists today, in addition to knowledge and professional skills in a narrow field of their profession, must as well adopt other skills necessary to help him/her to promote his/her own fine art work, as well as to handle other important segments of the fine artistic profession. There is a growing need in the world to increase the ability of graduates to adequately position themselves and survive in the ever more competitive and diversified labour market.

The debate about employment opportunities of graduates focuses primarily on the question of adequacy of knowledge and skills they gain during their studies. More and more people agree that gaining only the traditional academic and profession-related skills is not enough anymore for the graduate students. Today, it is also essential that students develop a range of interpersonal skills, and to be flexible and able to adapt to changing circumstances in the market and in accordance with the organizational needs. In the domain of fine arts, the labour market and its mechanisms have additional characteristics that attracted attention of a growing number of scientists as well as of decision-makers in the field, and at the state level.

When the respondents wrote about specific knowledge and skills that the curriculum of the university should provide, it appeared that a large number of the knowledge gaps mentioned could be covered by a course in fine arts management. It is not initially intended to make good self-managers from the students, but to make them familiar enough with the field of fine art management in the fine art domain to the extent it helps them in setting the course of their career.

Motivated by the results of those studies concerning the status of fine artists in Serbia and regarding their employment capacities, the state funded the School of Fine Arts of the University of Arts Belgrade, Serbia, and decided to introduce the Management in Fine Arts course for the BA level of studies. As a graduate of the School of Fine Arts Belgrade (MFA, painter), cultural manager (MA) and a PhD candidate at the University of Arts doing research on the art studies curricula, I was invited to design the programme for this course.

The fact that the management in fine arts became a part of the curriculum of basic studies in the Fine Art School at the University of Arts Belgrade in the last year only, shows that it was hard to imagine that combination of management and fine arts in the education system in the field of fine art in Serbia for a long time. Prior suggestions to introduce such a course in the School of Fine Arts Belgrade curriculum were not well received. Although there had been earlier suggestions that the fine arts management course is introduced to the state of fine art university in Serbia, such proposals usually faced a lack of enthusiasm and understanding, and a lot of scepticism by the "the old school" professors as well as by a number of students, who were largely accepting to participate in the mystification of the profession that has long been carefully cherished on the famed "Academy". Such ideas were met with resent both by most of the teaching staff and by a considerable number of students. Many were not even familiar with the term to start with. The term "management" was, at best, considered synonymous to "marketing" and it was not to be linked with anything other than business and finances in the narrow sense. However, the results of the research mentioned above showed that graduates of different generations of the School of Fine Arts have the same remarks regarding the quality of their education. Although they had varied opinions about the specific art courses, they all thought that the curriculum needed to provide the students with more practical labour market skills. Nevertheless, it was

not easy to “sell” fine art management to FFA students. There was a lot of scepticism, which comes partly from the aforementioned “mystification” of the profession, and partly from the fear of another series of new gismo courses that were not rare for the first, experimental generations of “Bologna”. The design of the course is flexible enough to meet individual needs of a particular generation. At the beginning, it is a professional CV and a cover letter, than a portfolio, a fine artistic statement, concept and technical description of work / project, etc.

Within the Fine Arts Management course at the FFA, various exercises are realized (games simulation, examples of writing project proposals, debates, writing about artworks, analysis and reviews), projects are developed in addition to various forms of interactive teaching, such as organizing debates in which visiting experts from the cultural and public life in Belgrade and Serbia take part as well, especially visual artists and other professionals in the field of visual arts. Through the application of experiences of the cultural policy studies and of the management in culture studies, teaching at fine (visual) art faculties should come to redefine the concept of high art education in order to make the academic and professional profiling of fine (visual) artists possible, in accordance with their creative capacity but also in relation to the circumstances of the art scene and contemporary needs of society.

Starting from the premise that the existing paradigm must change in order to get to the point where art studies would be able to help students in terms of developing a series of skills including visual way of thinking, creative, analytical and critical approach, experience in the research process, knowledge of the principles of project management, presentation skills, communication skills and negotiation skills as well as knowledge of the technologies that they will require in their artistic practice.

Based on the desires, needs and expectations that the students express in questionnaires at the first lecture, the programme is adjusted in order to offer student-specific information and knowledge concerning their profession and their actions in order to position themselves and further advance in the profession. Each task is aimed towards developing specific practical skills and knowledge, without undue burden. Also, it was very important that students do not carry out any tasks for task’s sake but with awareness that the task will also be usable for practical purposes. Students choose actual competitions for which they prepare applications.

These are more or less tasks and programmes in the first semester. In the second semester students turn from learning to present themselves to presentation of their work through oral presentation of the planned fine artwork or fine artistic project in front of a “committee” (colleagues / guests), by practicing various ways of “advertising” their exhibition of work, learning about the possible ways to position themselves in relation to the “others”. The course helps them define their perception of fine art system and cultural institutions. In addition, the course also includes elements of economics of culture, budget projections, and elements of financial management, PR and marketing in the visual fine arts. Different career paths are reviewed, the importance of mobility of fine artists is highlighted, and the advantages and disadvantages of joining fine art associations and of networking with other fine artists are discussed. All these areas are tangled by the end of the second semester to a greater or lesser extent. Study visits and guests from the field are standard part of the course design.

The course was designed with an aim to provide the students with the opportunity to attain basic “labour market skills”, providing them with knowledge and skills that enable them to direct their professional development in such a manner that they can easily find their place in different areas of the contemporary society. Given the specificities of fine art studies and the profile of students, the course was designed to meet their concrete professional needs rather than to offer them wide cultural management knowledge that is seen as “abstract”.

Selected projects overview

I am very pleased for having the opportunity to inform that the first generation of Faculty of Fine Arts students that attended the Fine Arts Management course, continued to be pro-active after graduation. I will mention several projects that directly involve fine art graduates into the cultural policy of the city, be it by implementing it or by suggesting creative changes and improvements. Several projects were aimed at promoting the cooperation between the artistic faculties within the University of Arts. All these projects also show the readiness, the will and the demand of the young people to be more involved in the decision-making processes at all levels.

“Living in Belgrade” – cooperation between the Faculty of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, both within the University of Arts Belgrade

Cooperation with colleagues from other art (and/or art related) schools (music, applied arts, film, theatre, cultural management, history of art) is an important part of the Management in Fine Arts course programme at the Faculty of Fine Arts in Belgrade. The project “Living in Belgrade” was realized in cooperation with students of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade. The project and the cooperation of the two faculties were initiated by Aleksandar Brkić, MA, a teacher at the FDA at that time. Working on this project represented an excellent opportunity for the students of both faculties in terms of obtaining practical experience in project management. The project involved the production of works of art in public space, on the theme “Living in Belgrade”. The artworks were initially designed by FFA students and developed in collaboration with FDA students. The realization of each of the 10 selected works was actually a project task and an opportunity for students of both faculties to acquire one of their first practical experiences in dealing with project management. These works were supposed to be carried out within the framework of the manifestation “Days of Belgrade” in April 2009, but in the end, they were realized in a number of different exhibitions throughout the year. The starting basis for reflection and inspiration was the publication by the Historical Archives of Belgrade – “Living in Belgrade” – which consists of 6 volumes covering the period from 1837 to 1940. There are documents of public administration that illustrate the life of Belgrade and its citizens through several generations. There are various articles, personal documents, lawsuits and letters of individuals to public authorities, statements, decisions, proclamations and the like. The themes cover a large range of different fields – political, social, economic, cultural and military history. The texts are very interesting and very vividly illustrate the everyday life of “ordinary” people – citizens of Belgrade, and the historical circumstances of the time. Also, one may find very clear parallels (even strange coincidences) with the present. These books were available to students in the library of the Faculty of Fine Arts and were supposed to serve as a starting point. Students were supposed to develop the theme according to their preferences. They had some time to reflect on this subject and to briefly sketch out the projects – artistic works in public space that they suggested for the occasion. On the basis of written proposals, a wider selection was

made, and then the final one after the oral presentation of artistic ideas. "Keywords": living in Belgrade, art in public space, cooperation between University of Arts Belgrade faculties. One of the aims of the project was that students of both faculties become aware of the fact that they are able to, within the scopes of their profession, actively influence the urban space and that their engagement and collaboration with colleagues in the wider field of profession may affect the much needed changes in different areas of urban policy.

*Seminars on artistic organisations and the production of
a mural in the Belgrade city centre*

Starting from the premise that, in order to be able to fight for better position, it is essential that artists organize and promote cooperation among themselves, a group of students initiated a project that involves a seminar on artistic organisations, on promotion of networking and cooperation among students of different disciplines and about raising social awareness and social responsibility of young fine artists to a greater level. These young people have stated in their project proposal that a good way in which the City of Belgrade can use the expertise of young artists while encouraging the improvement of their position is that public space is used, as much as possible, for the presentation of creative works of young artists. Belgrade, like any other metropolis, is rich in public spaces that are not favourable to economic exploitation. These properties are located in the vicinity of bridges, roads, railways, between buildings, etc., and that is exactly why this place could be used to promote young artists. In doing so, the city promotes its cultural significance, enhances its neglected parts, and young artists creating in urban areas are provided with the chance to promote their work and demonstrate a high degree of social responsibility. The practical artistic segment of the project was a mural that a group of students will realise in the centre of Belgrade. Students proposed the project to the Municipality of Stari Grad (central municipality, responsible i.a. for the pedestrian area) and received support. The mural will be painted on the dilapidated walls surrounding the parking lot in the pedestrian area in the centre of Belgrade by the end of September. The seminars are planned for the beginning of the academic year. The organisational team consists of Faculty of Fine Arts students that recently graduated. In addition to them,

there are also several young art historians. They formed an NGO of their own, registered it fully, and intend to continue applying for support for their projects. Their main idea is to always try to add a social component into their artistic projects, since they see the prospect of the involvement of young artists into the city policy design and implementation.

“Festum” – the joint project of students of all faculties within the University of Arts Belgrade

There were always attempts to intensify the cooperation among the artistic faculties within the University of Arts Belgrade. Generations of students were interested in possibilities of taking up courses from faculties other than their basic one, in order to define their desired professional profiles more precisely. However, such ideas, although sometimes manageable, never had wider impact and the legal options and possibilities were never openly and precisely known. In 2010, the second generation of students listening to the Management in Fine Arts course at the Faculty of Fine Arts, decided to organize the first festival that brought together in one place all the students of this university. It was an idea that at first seemed a bit too ambitious and idealistic. However, after only 6-8 weeks of preparation, the festival successfully took place at the Students' Cultural Center, 4-7 May 2010. The programme included concerts by the Faculty of Music students, the exhibition of students of the Faculty of Applied Arts and the Faculty of Fine Arts, as well as presentations of plays and films of students of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts. There were discussions about possible common projects. In addition to that, the students envisaged the possibility for aspiring students of the University of Arts to come and learn about the admittance exams and curricula of the desired faculties. One could criticise this project from many different points of view. Still, the aim to involve many art students interested in cooperation with their colleagues and in presenting their work and their school to the public was accomplished. What is more important – the students of the Faculty of Fine Arts, commonly known as the introverted ones, initiated the whole project and were very proactive in contacting and negotiating with all respective institutions that might be able to support them. I can see this type of festival happening again in the following years. With some more help and support by the faculty staff, and with a more active participation of the teaching staff above all, this may become a fruitful practice.

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***To Harmonize European Curricula in the Field of
Cultural Policy or not:***

Theoretic and Methodological Issues

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Key words: aspects and dimensions of learning process, cultural policy, cultural resources, curriculum harmonization, methods of cultural research and analysis, research disciplines related to cultural policy, theories of culture and cultural development.

[Research objective and question]

The main purpose of the research is to investigate which cultural resources are relevant when we are studying or teaching cultural policy. Knowing that the possible list of sources is too numerous, a preliminary classification of sources and their theoretical link to the concept and scope of curricula in this field has to be undertaken.

Cultural research in the last fifty years and more has grown as one of the most propulsive ones, educators felt the need to systematize the available “corpus” of cultural theories (European humanistic orientation; approach of critique of culture; pragmatic and liberal approach; ideological-ethatistic approach, intercultural postcolonial approach), the corpus of disciplines which belong in the narrower sense to cultural research and theory, as well as disciplines that are of importance to curriculum development (like philosophy of culture; sociology of culture and arts; socio-cultural and philosophical anthropology, political science, organizational and information science, cultural studies, history of European ideas, economics of culture, art education, cultural management).

One can conclude that the field of cultural policy is to a very high degree hybrid and should encompass a variety of theoretical angles and practical-contextual experiences (which determine the concrete scope, issues, vocabulary, duration and aims of education in cultural policy).

The last part of the paper will deal with the interrelationship between cultural policy contents and their methodological background as well as with pedagogical and didactic aspects of teaching and learning concrete issues.

[Research methodology and theoretical perspectives]

Cultural policy, as relatively new and complex issue of investigation, is a field facing fast theoretical widening and development.

The systemic method can be used to analyze the establishment of the overall cultural system, particularly within national cultural circumstances. Comparative analysis is needed to distinct similarities and differences related to the conceptualization and implementation of basic instruments and measures of cultural policies. The typological method is appropriate for elaborating types and models for a potential classification of European cultural policies, according to different criteria, such as: dominant type of decision making, relation of the state toward the culture, interrelationship among public, private and non-profit sector etc. The method of analysis of documents is particularly relevant to elaborate a normative framework which determines the definition of cultural policy on national, regional and local levels. The evaluation and indicators method is used to prove basic trends and tendencies in cultural policy and cultural development. Finally, case study analysis is used to analyze particular and specific characteristics of national, institutional and project approaches.

The theoretical background of cultural policy is widening also to the surrounding methodological approaches like narrative analysis, analysis of content, media analysis, discourse analysis etc.

[Main findings and conclusions]

We suppose that in spite of all different approaches already introduced in the field of cultural policy, some core theoretical and methodological standpoints and preconditions could be agreed upon. Harmonization as a process in this field is on the longer run unavoidable, particularly in the light of the Bologna process, as well as the need of students and professors for mobility.

Furthermore, preliminary analysis shows us a lack of knowledge and methodological soundness in numerous European curricula in the field. Such insight is not only or primarily linked to the tradition in the teaching of the field; we can find more arguments for such conditions

in the unstable and socially changeable conditions particularly in Central and Eastern European countries. For most of those countries it is already asked (particularly from EU standpoints) to improve the overall circumstances of operation in above all public (cultural) administration as well as in the overall cultural sector. Increasing the level of expertise as well as improvement of mutual cooperation can facilitate such a process.

Research like this should encourage the exchange of knowledge and promote the best practices on European scale; it should support the process of cultural policy curriculum harmonization.

I. Introduction

Cultural policy is relatively new field of research, appearing from the sixties of the last century. In the main part it is actualized as certain theoretical answer to problems and challenges appeared in practical sphere dealing with definition of cultural policy and cultural management. However, from the eighties all over the Europe one can notice the need to establish cultural policy as academic field, accompanied – consequently, with relevant theoretical-methodological approach and selection of principal disciplinary standpoints from which this field will be analyzed and lectured.

Present day condition within European context is highly diversified. From one side, we are witnessing annually growing number of universities that establish this field as a course within their overall educational programs. However, what could be fully expected, concrete curricula are highly different and among them is hardly to find linking elements and points.

Even the surface type of analysis face us with number and variety of basic disciplines for which are supposed to constitute academic background and fundamental scope of knowledge to which cultural policy is associated or from which is explained. To that very list belong for example: philosophy of culture, sociology of culture and arts, socio-cultural and philosophical anthropology, political science, organization and information sciences, business and public administration theo-

ries, cultural studies, history of European ideas, economics of culture, art education and cultural and art management. Accordingly, the basic contents comprise large scale of theoretical and practical aspects of this *problematique*.

This trend cannot be analyzed without transition period for numerous European countries, which also put in front of them urgent need for the new type of structuring primarily the public sector, as well as competitive private one accompanied with growing civil society with numerous initiatives from which particularly those in the field of culture can be distinguished from the standpoint of quality, diversity and influence. One of the basic problems which can be derived from the above given description and statements is chronically lack of lectures in the field of cultural policy, as well as the question which type of basic education and educational as well as professional background is desirable or needed both if we regard the lectures. The second question is related to students: which set of knowledge we should expect as the precondition to start efficiently the process of education in cultural policy and what which corpus of knowledge that have to achieve at the end of the process. Just to notice how the question is complex one: course cultural policy very often we can find on the undergraduate level, but also, equally often on postgraduate level too.

The ultimate aim of this very text is not to propose approach from above, i.e. to "artificially" define "desirable" or "ideal" European curriculum in the field of cultural policy. On contrary, our effort is concentrated on those determinants of cultural policy which are more or less unavoidable in any attempt of conceptualization of concrete curriculum's in this very field. In this sense, this text, we do hope, represents relatively short referential frame open for further discussion, but at the same time enough inoperative for further thinking and utilization on concrete process of education.

II. Sources

Regardless of a considerably large body of literature and a great number of documents available at present concerning the issues of cultural policies of European countries, surprisingly there is no systematic conceptual overview of this area (at home as well as in Europe) which would

consider them on clearly cut and preconceived theoretical and methodological bases. Even the attempt to systematize the available writings alone readily points to the reason: this is extremely complex and heterogeneous field. Thus we may say that all present sources dealing with some questions concerning cultural policy can be divided in the following seven groups:

1. General culturological analyses being used as theoretic and conceptual framework in the research of cultural policy. Their problem area is remarkably broad and includes the analysis of the views on culture from the very beginnings of human history down to the present day.¹
2. Phenomenological culturological analyses and studies concerned with some relatively isolated phenomenon important in cultural policy. In these terms the authors such as Ernst Cassirer with his analysis of symbolic forms, (1944) or, say, Pierre Bourdieu with his definition and amplifications of the conception of cultural capital come to mind. (1980)
3. Specialized studies dealing with some of the aspects of cultural policy or cultural development, intended for the circle of professionals and specialists and explaining system instruments and measures important in this area.²
4. Monographs and publications of strategic and projective nature mapping out the trends in the development of a particular (national) cultural policy³, or attempting to provide the basis of future cultural developments at the international, and sometimes also European, level.⁴
5. Analytic studies and publications providing analysis of the situation of either overall national cultural policy, or some of its seg-

¹ For example, the analyses in the work. (Lay, 1991)

² Of course, there is a large number of publications dealing with particular specialistic questions of cultural policy such as, for example: Boorsma, van Hemel and van der Wielen, 1998.

³ National strategies of cultural development belong to this type of publication, for example: Katunarić and Cvjetićanin, 2001.

⁴ When dealing with the international level, we can quote a publication such as: Council of Europe, 1996.

ments⁵, or some activity of importance for the majority of European cultural policies. (For example: Dodd and van Hemel, 1999)

6. Policy papers appearing in the form of a large quantity of publications, semi-publications and gray publications, as well as general documents, dispatches, etc., providing information about particular aspects of cultural policy either in brief and informative from or in the form of valid documents, or quoting complete texts of particularly important provisions or other measures of importance to the area.⁶

7. Sources available on the Internet which accompany and supplement most of the above mentioned monographs, publications and documents – of either referral or self-contained textual or multimedia nature. Some electronic sources go into whole thematic complexes⁷, while others offer profiles of institutions, projects, initiatives and individuals of importance in the area.

The above classification, although indicative, remains tentative in order to facilitate the problem. There are sources of hybrid nature which unify the problem areas of more previously mentioned classification types. What should be noted is certainly the fact that the enumeration alone of publications belonging in a broader or narrower sense to the area of cultural policy shows their wide scope and heterogeneousness, and also makes obvious possible consequent theoretic and methodological difficulties.

⁵ Within the framework of a special program titled "Evaluacija nacionalnih kulturnih politika" the Republic of Croatia presented its national report, explaining in detail the entire basis of cultural policy as well as all of its segments. (For more detail, see: Katunarić and Cvjetićanin, 1998)

⁶ A large number of above mentioned sources is available also in electronic form in a number of data bases, or in the form of printed publications. In these terms we point out the most important European source for getting acquainted with the key provisions of national cultural policies at electronic address: www.culturalpolicies.net. It is a compendium of mostly European cultural policies with their key provisions for more than thirty countries according to a unified methodology. This continuous project is a part of the initiatives of Council of Europe, and it has been carried out in cooperation with cultural research organization ERICarts, as well as with a number of individual national experts.

⁷ For example, European cultural policies in the form of concise and methodologically balanced representations. (See footnote above.)

But if we apply the above classification in determination of the scope of contents and practical range connected with cultural policy as a field, we may say that it always:

§ needs to have a certain conceptual support in terms of the following, actualization and application of the best in European cultural and humanistic tradition;

§ needs to recognize certain cultural values and principles;

§ needs to have developmental parameters, criteria and standards (which since the 1960s have become a in themselves a normative framework for each of them), regardless of the country concerned and the multiplicity of cultures defining it.

On the other hand, separate cultural policies it will justifiably insist on singularities that set them apart as unique within the entire body of generally recognized European practices and achievements in this area (so that, say, in this complex the French culture will insist on its prestigiousness, the Italian on the developmental contextualization of cultural heritage as a living heritage, while the Austrian will highly value the sphere of music and performing arts in general). In the end, the ultimate aim of cultural policy is of pragmatic nature, it tries – at least intentionally – in the long run not only to stabilize the overall cultural system of a country or a community, but also to make active contribution to its overall cultural development as well as to the enlargement of cultural capital, primarily by providing support to cultural creative endeavours.

Because of the above mentioned complexity of the area and of the subject we intend to discuss here, it is necessary to say something at the very beginning of our analysis about the theoretical and methodological aspects of the foundation of cultural policy.⁸

⁸ The term “cultural policy”, if not stated otherwise, will always denote the concept of “national cultural policy”. This has become customary in the similar European discussions concerning this problem area. In the case of some other cultural policy, for example: regional, municipal, local (as defined according to the national territorial subdivisions), or, for example, theatrical, publishing, museological (as defined according to separate areas of culture and the arts) – this will be explicitly indicated.

III. Theoretic foundations of cultural policy

In European cultural debates as regards the foundation of cultural policy, the four dominant streams of thought may be observed since 1930s:

1. The approach of European humanistic tradition;
2. The approach of cultural critique;
3. Ideological-etatistic orientation, semiological approach and post-totalitarian thought;
4. Pragmatic-liberal approach;
5. Intercultural-postcolonial approach (cultural studies).⁹

Regardless of the considerable differences between these mainstreams their complete separation would be of violent nature because precisely the period since the 1930s has been distinctly characterized by theoretic interweaving and the attempts not only to synthesize, but also to collage particular approaches believed to have sufficient exploratory strength on a particular problem level or in a problem area.

Nevertheless, there are considerable differences between them and it is necessary to explain them, at least briefly, as the orientations which, on the one hand, tried to rest on certain theoretical paradigms, and on the other, follow not only the best analytical practice of "cultural and civilizational circles" they represent, but also the "tradition of thought" of the cultures they belong to or emerge from.

1. The approach of European humanistic tradition

The dominant body of theories certainly may be classified in terms of European humanistic tradition. Norbert Elias (1969; 1982), who takes the theoretical stand for communicational interactionism, is probably most representative of this orientation. He endeavors to make evident what is repressed and unconscious in terms of the whole, primarily the European cultural context: multiplication of mutual dependence simply creates presumptions, but also a demand for the "controlled and kind" human behavior.

⁹ A great number of viewpoints contained in this segment of our analysis are based on: Kellner, 1995.

Such behavior depends again on the set of common values, principles and rules which cannot seriously jeopardize either cultural dissimilarities or other forms of social dichotomies (individual and common, male and female, dominant and subordinate classes, traditional and modern communities). On the strength of that alone the history of European cultural relationships as well as the development of each specific culture cannot be understood without interaction and mutual influences over very long periods of time. Mutual influences are not only deep, but they are also complex and inevitable, having the character of a continuous process of acculturation lasting over centuries.

The way we behave, the way we reside, the way we acknowledge personality of the other, what sexual roles and manner of conduct we accept or reject, can not be understood within a synchronous dimension of time, but only through the understanding of diachronic process of cultural and civilizational amalgamation, intertwining and interaction. Thus, argues the author, it is possible for the cultural process on a broader plane to evolve as a process of civilization, or as a process of following the achievements that are inviolate and binding, since they are super-individual and partially, at least as an ethic postulate or imperative, also universal.¹⁰ This entire problem field is the subject of process sociology. Precisely thus it was possible for José Ortega y Gasset to argue that "...something like European mentality marking all European nations has been present long since, and in all of us the European has been taking precedence over the German, Spanish, the French...". (Liessmann, 1994)

Jürgen Habermas stands very close to such views in his theory of communicational community, whereby every hierarchized, specialized and instrumentalized concept of science has been preceded by human commitment and endeavour invested in communicational forms by all participants, which makes possible the exchange of ideas as well as co-operation and self-reflection. In these terms the contemporary means of communication are the basis of vigorous public sphere as a fundamental value of contemporary societies. At the same time, on the other hand, advertising, public relations, mass media and the forms of consumer

¹⁰ As it can be concluded, it is also a singular attempt to combine and practically actualize Kantian as well as Hegelian traditions of the West, wherein generalize able as universal emerges as deeply human, and wherein individual self-realization happens exclusively as a temporal, moreover historical, process, thus also cultural and civilizational.

culture form a “refeudalization”, that is, “a particularization of that public sphere, manipulating and distorting communication process in itself”. (Habermas, 1982)

On the other hand, this orientation has been followed by a number of theoreticians concerned with the “history of European ideas”. Prominent authors Paul Valéry, Edgar Morin, Hans Ernest Gadamer, Peter Sloterdijk, Konrad Paul Liessmann come to mind. Most of the above mentioned theoreticians depart from the idea of European unity which, opposite to the nineteenth century emphasis on language and territory as the basis of ethnic identity of European peoples brings to the fore European history and culture.

However, European history and culture are not viewed as a wholeness of processes and artefacts of a continent, but as a mutual relationship of essential values and aspirations that personify “the spirit of Europe” as the “world spirit”. Thus the Hegelian inheritance becomes actual again and that within a perspective of world history condensed in the statement that European history has been inherently protectively globally defined.

Valéry primarily detects this project in the actualization of the idea of maximization, because “wherever European spirit prevailed, there emerged the maximum of needs, maximum of labour, maximum of capital, maximum of revenue, maximum of ambition, maximum of power, maximum of connections and exchange.” (1957: 988-1014) Sloterdijk, on the other hand, sees Europe-building as a globally relevant project and process, first and foremost because of the endeavour to actualize the mechanism of the transfer of political power of the Empire which traditionally in essence follows the Roman idea of global power, and which has been lately replaced by the idea of European federation.

Liessmann considers European history as most deeply globally defined, above in terms of the idea of universalness of human rights, which through institutionalization of reason “overrode the limits of religious or ethnic descent” (Liessmann, 1994) and consequently European states became, above all, secular.

One of the dominant European debates started in 1980s and culminating in 1990s, is certainly the debate on the values, streams of thought and specific cultural and civilizational phenomena comprising

“the inner core” of European identity. Many authors have devoted their efforts to the minute analysis of that identity, and even to a specific setting of precisely the essential and distinctive features that define it most. To this specific list, inevitably incomplete and imperfect, equally belong the heritage of Greek and Roman humanism, Judaism and Christianity, Renaissance and scientific rationalism, liberal thought, industrial revolution, Romanticism, socialist teachings, as well as constitutional monarchy, the concept of political organization in the form of nation-state, respecting of the principle of equal possibilities, the value of civic solidarity, peace and refraining from violence. (Liessmann, 1994)

2. The approach of cultural critique

Yet another approach, almost as deeply influential in the process of defining the basic properties of cultural policy of European countries since the 1960s may be called the approach of cultural critique. As opposed to the first orientation which understands the phenomenon of culture above all in a positive sense, this approach holds that the process of cultivation evolves as a process of emancipation as well as of alienation in the form of renouncing individual freedoms and rights in the name of collectively imposed social relationships as well as super-subjectively defined ideas, values and norms.

In this context, according to theoreticians, culture in essence primarily has the function of “fitting” individuals into a predefined social framework, and consequently conformism gets rewarded and nonconformism punished. The individual emancipation cannot by any means be restricted neither to pure and simple adherence to already created horizon of the world of life nor its values, or to mere following.

A human being as a creature of freedom finds self-affirmation ever anew in the process of winning freedom and self-defining. In this sense, an individual person cannot be uprooted from a particular culture or a complex combination of cultures, but his primary aim is to “step out” of a given frame towards realization and self-affirmation which as a constructive process evolves only through social practice defined by dialogue and interaction of free individuals. Thus, precisely the sphere of aesthetics, combining at the same time conceptual and practical aspect of activity, presents a means of a possible field of transformative activi-

ty, but also of fitting into a general, predefined and produced system of social exchange and communication.

This approach considers a specific negation of the autonomy of the sphere of culture within the so called classic social theory where it is visible either in consequential phenomenon of the economic structure of society (first of all the viewpoint of Karl Marx); or a constitutional part of the entire social organization (in the work of Auguste Comte or Emile Durkheim); or through instrumental rationality and political organization (Max Weber), that is, the attitude that it is a mere social mask hiding a censored, suppressed and subconscious life of drive and instinct (Sigmund Freud).

On the other hand, the approach of cultural critique also finds a specific inversion (evolving over the past forty years) whereby the importance of the concept of the idea of society gradually fades, while at simultaneously the concept of culture without doubt rises, which brings about not only a specific criticism and deconstruction of the entire body of modernistic theory but also its replacement in the form of post-modern approaches to the problem area of culture.

Most crucial for the approach of cultural critique are the views of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1972) – the two most important representatives of Frankfurt School who, following some essential views of Walter Benjamin and Wilhelm Reich, consider the so called bourgeois culture narcotic because its main aim is to produce the feeling of conciliation and acceptance of situation in spite of antagonistic and threatening environment for the individual.

The cultures of current societies entirely depend upon huge cultural operation functioning as the most important industries of the new age and are therefore called “cultural industries”, which above of all applies to mass media and film. The term to which the authors have been giving emphatically negative connotation since 1960s, gradually appears as completely neutral and has become a legitimate term in cultural policy and cultural analysis, which was particularly severely opposed by Adorno.

From 1960s on, particularly within the “French cultural circle” with regards to the disappointment in the (in)possibility of concrete political action which came about in the 1970s and 1980s, emerged first

post-structural and then post-modern theory of culture. It above all expresses mistrust of the subject, the possibility of his action and establishes his rupture, fragmentariness, ambivalence, his oppressed state (for example, in the works of Michel Foucault, 1979), but also the deficient ability to decipher through theoretical work – neutrally and rationally – structures of society and distinctive features of the culture of subject; what is proclaimed to be an impossible task which must, consequently, be abandoned as intention.

Thus post-structural thought shows that theories are first of all constructions, that is, the products of specific social views, practices and institutions and that they primarily depend upon the particular social context which they regularly never surpass. Yet, at the same time they are indispensable means by which we examine, explain, but also criticize specific social phenomena, situations and trends. The constructions which certainly have a limited explanatory range, but make possible articulate and methodologically founded discussion on individual and common experiences, certain social practices, institutions, relationships. And, what may be most important – by them we first of all diagnose problems, open or potentially conflict situations and project the possibilities of finding solutions to them.

3. Ideological-etatistic orientation, semiological approach and post-totalitarian thought

Ideological-etatistic orientation¹¹, and in particular semiological theory in the context of our discussion brings on great and even fundamental insights into the character of the process of social communication. Contemporary public communication is most tightly bound to communication systems and unimaginable without extensive technological support (in particular in the case of mass media), and this does not only facilitate control¹², (by the control of the possibilities of a message pre-

¹¹ Particularly important representative of this orientation is György Lukacs with his work *History & Class Consciousness*. (1967)

¹² Term “control” appearing here has to be understood in very broad sense. It need not be present in its most bare form of prohibition or censure, but can function in much more subtle, so called “objective” ways. One of them is marginalization of messages, accounts and information’s which are not in conformity with dominant ideological pattern or are not commercially interesting. (For more detail see: Martinić, 1994)

sented through the media), but also presents the most efficient means of presentation, maintenance and infiltration of dominant ideological pattern.

Thus, even most perfunctory analysis of functioning of dominant forms of public communication in a society will readily make obvious how those forms are vital in maintaining ideological structure of that society, while it is again in constant contradiction and conflict with the existence of publicity, that is, with the demand for the free flow of information.

Thus conceived understanding of ideology tries to take into account the well-known standpoint by Marx (negative in logical and axiological sense) – as a false, that is, distorted consciousness, as well as the one held by Umberto Eco, which is indifferent in terms of value and which defines ideology as “the final connotation of all connotations and contexts of symbols”. According to this view it is clear that the artistic and cultural activity necessarily operate with the notion of ideology and locate themselves within certain ideologically determined meanings and definitions. Ideology such as understood here, in a way represents the necessary landscape in which every message, idea or view has to be located in order to get its meaning, importance and weight. But, at the same time, it also implies strong cohesive forces, which, often in a violent and inappropriate way, not only select, and then discard or bind different speculative creations, but also tries to consider and explain all phenomena of social life within the one, more or less, flexible and coherent speculative horizon. This coherence, of course, is never reached and remains present as aspiration which is in the very essence of ideology and inseparable, and simultaneously points to the inclination immanent to ideology to “artificially harmonize the world”. (Eco, 1968)

Since the meaning of a message is bound to the process of coding (establishing relationship between the signifier and the signified) which is in itself dynamic and conventional, that is, a result of “agreement”¹³ between its users, it is clear how by way of control of sending or presence of some messages the dominant “world of meanings”, that is, “the world of values” of a society presents itself.

¹³ Precisely because this agreement is tacit, I write it as “agreement” and not simply agreement (actual process of agreeing).

In other words: the process of coding is not bound only to the choice of denotations (objectively conceived relationship between signifier and the signified), but also as the choice of connotations (subjective value bound with the sign with regard to its form and function). Precisely this second level is important for final understanding of a message. Because how do we understand the notions such as: freedom, justice, democracy, beautiful, aesthetic, artistically valuable, etc. – to the most significant measure does not depend on the level of denotation, but of connotation, that is, on ideology as a system of connotes.

All this leads to the following conclusion: ideology is not able to rename the basic meaning of signs and messages, but “the field of its activity” lies in directing, channelling, determining the deeper layer of basic meaning of a message. And although ideology grows on the ground of the totality of sociality, it is never able to envelop it entirely.

Ideology, as always:

§ makes selection and establishes a system of values, and with it the scale of values which serves the purpose to first separate “what has a meaning” from “what has no meaning”, the important from the unimportant, desirable from undesirable, valuable from trivial, reachable from unreachable; and as regards right and moral, permissible from forbidden;

§ influences directly the formation, direction, reformation and revival of more or less coherent view of the world (a systematized “world of meanings”) and through it influences the forms, dynamics and character of social relationships and the entire operation of a society.

With regard to problem area of culture we have to point out, as this particular branch of semiological analysis argues, that every ideological structure of a given society (which is inherent to each of them, and precondition of its survival), contains this dominant (recognizable or less recognizable) projective axis around which it gathers relevant components of view of the world and separates them from the irrelevant ones. The level of its susceptibility to new components of view of the world and of values reveals the level of its openness and flexibility.

Certainly within the context of this direction of thought about theoretical basis of cultural policy, we should mention the philosophic and political reflection about the role of contemporary state, the analysis of functioning of political power and of concrete social ideologies. This complex of subjects is usually combined under the term "post-totalitarian thought". A number of authors such as Hanna Arendt (1951; 1963), Michel Foucault (1965), Zygmunt Bauman (1981), or Ernst Gellner (1987a; 1987b) devoted most of their work to this problem area. At the core of this approach is a specific cultural holism which is triply founded and based, first of all, in:

- § the analysis of a long European tradition of self-definition of states as primarily civic states;
- § the philosophic and political reflection on totalitarianism, institutionalized violence and post-totalitarian societies;
- § the insights on the importance of establishing and functioning of the non-profit sector, third system, that is, of civic society for the development of the so-called new democracies.

This direction was recognized as actual in particular after 1989 with the beginning of the process of transition, when need arose to define a general and normatively acceptable political and social framework, which would, on the one hand, establish clear parameters for the evaluation of the success of the process of democratization (first of all in regard to human rights and the general democratic structure of society).

On the other hand, the reflection of these authors also partially contributed to the defining of evaluation criteria for accepting new member states to European Union, while they also gave insight into the character of the phenomena of pathological social behaviour – in particular in the form of violent and exclusive ethnic nationalisms, as well as of their prevention.

In these terms, the basis of their thought became a specific evaluation criterion for the establishment and functioning of democratic, inclusive and participatory cultural policy, in particular in the transitional context.

4. Pragmatic-liberal approach

The pragmatic-liberal approach considers the essential part of its preoccupation the establishment and functioning of a world system as the indisputable fact of today's world. Thus Immanuel Wallerstein (1987) restores in his work the idea of the relationship between center-semiperiphery and periphery and along the lines of Ferdinand Braudel develops the method of historic sociology in order to explain the establishment and functioning of modern world system as the European invention of our times.

On the other hand, Ronald Robertson (1990), sociologist who developed thoroughly the process of globalization, departs from the fact of the world system, but points out that the process of globalization takes place behind the back of the participants in it and only in a limited degree depends on their will; and thus challenges the theory of the relationship between the center and periphery. The process of globalization is not so much the result of overall relations among states as the factor of acceleration and facilitation of the process of exchange. Thus the process of globalization also establishes global cultural links, that is, the world as a space of constant cultural exchange and interaction. This process causes at the same time cultural homogenization as well as disintegration, since it brings into position of contact and cultural exchange cultures which used to be more or less isolated, and now have to quickly create the image of a considerably more complex culture of others, which is only partially successful and causes the measures of the defence of cultural identity.

At the same time, a new, so called trans-national culture emerges, totally oriented over the national borders, which does not emerge as a result of bilateral exchange between countries and brings about the establishment of global cultural market. In these terms, particular cultures, that is, cultural policies (be they super-national, national, regional or local) have a triple choice, covering the range from measures of isolation, over protection down to participation.

This orientation represents a whole series of specialized methods which are very important to the area of culture, such as the theory of ultra-minimal state, the emphasis on extensive privatisation of public services, and generally the processes of commodification and commercialization of culture on a large continental, sub-continental or global scale.

Some of the representatives of this strand of thought are also involved in micro-analysis of social capital and its meaning for current economies. In these terms notable authors James S. Coleman (1990) and Robert Putnam (1994) show how cultural, that is, social capital of individuals and groups cannot be mechanically derived from the narrow notion of "cultural belonging" – although it certainly plays an important role – because it is dynamically and complexly structured. Thus the neoclassic approach within social studies points out the import of human relationships. Coleman argues that social capital first of all depends on the system of obligations and expectations, the size of information potential of social actors, the manner of processing norms and the efficiency of sanctions in the case of infraction, and on the character and of social authority. Although departing from very different political and methodological positions, Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1980; 1984) stands rather close to this view, giving the central place in his analysis of individuals and groups specialized knowledge. Thus, according to him, cultural capital depends upon epistemology and the level of technological development, overall system of education and inter-generational transmission of values.

The degree of success in accumulation of social, that is, cultural capital is a dividing point between the developed and undeveloped countries, just as their individual actors represent socially recognized success and prestige. This problem area is therefore important in scaling of cultural development, and in particular in cultural, educational and science and technology policy.

5. Intercultural-post-colonial approach (cultural studies)

A long-standing tradition in Great Britain and United States of America preceded the British (Birmingham) school¹⁴ of the 1960s¹⁵. The most notable traditions of cultural studies combine social theory, cultural analysis, history, philosophy and some aspects of politics and thus go beyond the standard academic division of fields and specialisations

¹⁴ The basic postulates in this text follow along the lines of: Kellner, 1995.

¹⁵ There is a considerable number of works on history and genealogy of cultural studies. Here we use one of them: Hall, 1980.

which separates the spheres of media, culture and communication.

Studies of culture thus acquire a trans-disciplinary concept based in social theory, economy, politics, history, communication studies, theory of literature and culture, philosophy, as well as the other theoretic branches. Surpassing these borders necessarily leads to the limitations of class, gender, race, sex, ethnicity and other distinctive features distinguishing individuals from each other and thus establish their identity. Thus a number of the strands of cultural studies include feminism as well as other multicultural theories.

The British cultural studies locate culture within the framework of social production and reproduction, analysing the ways of using various forms of culture in order to stimulate domination in society, or make possible struggle against and resistance to that domination. Society is seen as a hieratic and antagonistic set of social relationships characterized by the oppression of subordinate class, gender, race, ethnic and national groups. On the basis of Gramsci's model of hegemony and counter-hegemony cultural studies analyze the forces of "hegemony", that is, the prevalent social and cultural forms of domination, while searching for the "counter-hegemony" forms of resistance and struggle. (Gramsci, 1971)

Gramsci argues that society maintains its stability by combining power and hegemony, with some institutions and groups apply their power in order to maintain certain social limitations (the police, army, civic boards and institutions, etc.), while other institutions (for example, the church, school and media) serve to conform to the dominant order, through hegemony or ideological domination, or some specific social order (for example, liberal capitalism, fascism, white rule, democratic socialism, communism or some other order). Cultural studies thus locate culture in socio-historic context, where culture stimulates domination or resistance, and criticizes the forms of culture which contribute to subordination. Therefore they require a social theory which analyses the system and structure of domination as well as the forces of resistance. According to the classic understanding, cultural studies view society as a system of domination in which the institutions such as family, school, church, work place, media and state control individuals and safeguard the structure of domination, to which the ones who desire more freedom and power must offer resistance.

Close to post-modern theory and opposite from the Frankfurt school of thought, this approach erases the differences between the classic or high, and low, that is, second rate culture in the valorization of the forms such as film, television or popular music. Yet, as Aronowitz (1993) notes, the British cultural studies tend to ignore classic culture and usually omit it from the sphere of interest.

In the past ten years the approach of cultural studies has been rapidly spreading, not only in the Anglo-Saxon world, but also within the West, Middle and East Europe including Croatia. A relatively large-scale interest for this strand of thought certainly arises because of its wide thematic scope and dealing with many phenomena which we usually ascribe to, first of all, so called popular culture.

IV. Methodological framework of the research of cultural policy

Owing to its multidisciplinary nature, the following methods are being used in the research of cultural policy.¹⁶

System analysis – establishes conceptual basis, central method of defining, as well as the methods of administration which define cultural policies in most European countries.

In the same way, it is employed in establishing procedures and methods of protecting the overall cultural system from external destruction and internal disintegration.¹⁷ By system analysis we also establish the usual area of operation of cultural policy within the European, mostly national, experience. What constitutes a cultural system and what are the premises of its operation. In the same way, by it we question the relationships of different cultural functions every policy needs to ensure.

¹⁶ For more on methodological questions in political studies see: Buttolph and Joslyn, 1995. Also in: Milardović, 1998.

¹⁷ This problem area started to dominate precisely at the beginning of the new millennium and currently presents the area of interest of a rising number of analysts and researchers. See the study which, among a large number of very diverse examples worldwide, showed its impact in the age of globalization: Smiers, 2003.

In this complex we explore the possible functional relationships between cultural creative work, cultural life and cultural consumption, on the one hand, and the use of cultural basic resources, human as well as financial, material and informational, on the other.

Finally, it explains the role and impact of basic cultural developmental potentials, by employing and explaining the notion of cultural, social and symbolic capital of particular societies and communities.

Comparative analysis – establishes the level of similarities and divergences in terms of particular conceptual approaches, instruments and measures of cultural policy.

This method is being employed in order to establish the former, current and future priorities of cultural development of European countries.¹⁸ Its relevancy and applicability are particularly confirmed in under the conditions of accelerated and expanded integration processes, caused by the activities of European Union. In these terms, the attention is usually being paid to the concrete responses of particular cultural policies to the system measures of the Union which, defined within other areas, have immediate and essential impact on all cultural policies of the member states (for example, the provisions on employment, the establishment of basic guidelines of scientific and technological development, down to general regulations of commerce and customs).

At the same time it is also being employed in the examination of the ways in which cultural policies find responses to the threat of nivellation and unification of the arts and culture, the potential danger brought about by the integration processes. The same method is being employed to establish the specificity of the period of transition in the new member states, as well as in the non-member states.

Typological method – is being used in order to establish the existing types and models in terms of possible classification of European culture policies, according to several criteria:

- § dominant type of decision-making;
- § attitude of government towards culture;

¹⁸ Among the currently available European studies dealing with this problem area see the study by Council of Europe, and in particular: d'Angelo and Vesprtini, 1998: 48-52.

- § relationship between the public, private and non-profit sector;
- § relationship between the institutional and programmatic culture;
- § degree of decentralization and the manner of transfer and establishing authority, etc.

In these terms we may speak about classification types¹⁹ in order to establish the extreme divergences, the so called extreme types. Finally, the ultimate goal is to establish a limited number of ideal types, under which we might subsume all European cultural policies with larger or smaller divergences (for example, a liberal type of cultural policy, traditional European continental type, highly decentralized and participative Scandinavian type).

The method of studying documents – by this method it is possible to establish general normative framework which characterises the definition of cultural policies at the super-national, national, regional and local level.

It establishes the actual level of normative compatibility, that is, the compatibility of overall legislation with regulations and documents derived from it, that is to say, to what degree something is simultaneously forbidden and permitted in a particular case.

So the horizontal normative compatibility is being examined in a particular cultural areas (between particular countries as well as in the regulations of one country), in order to see are there big or small differences in the legislator's attitude to cultural areas, that is, are some forms of operation permitted in certain cultural areas but forbidden in others. The study of vertical normative compatibility establishes whether a specific legislator prevents some form of cultural activity on one level (say, regional or local) while permitting it on the other (say, central) level.

The same method is being employed in order to examine normative activity of international organizations, in particular of Council of Europe, which acts as a specific creator as well as monitor of the internationally accepted regulations and norms in the area of culture in European countries.

¹⁹ Thus, in terms of the attitude of the state towards the area of culture we may distinguish the five types: state facilitator, state protector, state architect, state engineer and state in transition.

Evaluative and indicative method – this method is being employed in order to establish general trends and tendencies distinguishing particular European cultural policies since the 1960s to the present.

It indicates specific crucial periods and even specific epochs in European cultural development as well as in determining cultural policies. It is also employed in order to establish the degree of success in accomplishing declarative and explicitly declared goals and priorities, as well as basic guidelines, defined by plan, of cultural development. Many international efforts notwithstanding, the full harmonization of cultural indicators able to establish cultural trends and tendencies in a comparative, grounded has not yet been accomplished. Eurostat, the basic program of harmonization of statistics within European Union represents the effort to establish relatively high degree of convergence in defining of common tasks of cultural policies of most European countries in particular periods, and thus the promoted and desirable forms of international cooperation and the ensuing complex stream of data.

Method of case study – serves in establishing distinctive national, institutional and projected approaches in order to explain and amplify the functioning and basal attributes of particular European cultural policies on actual and particularly indicative examples.

Case study is not a mere enumeration of successful examples of various actors implementing of actualizing some of the aspects of particular cultural policies, but also deals with the less successful or unsuccessful ones showing certain failures, misconceptions and even damage caused by implementation or failure to implement certain goals of cultural policy.

V. Definitions of cultural policies

In our presentation of definitions of cultural policies we are going to depict the three types of defining, none of them neither perfect nor erroneous. We intend to present them in order to point out the difficulties emerging in any attempt to limit, that is, define such a complex and expansive area as cultural policy, and to indicate the difficulties of fissure, conceptual as well as pragmatic, each of them has to surmount.

Too wide definition

The following formulation may serve as an example of such definition:

Cultural policy is the sum of conscious and deliberate methods and activities, or the lack of these activities within a society, with the aim to satisfy certain cultural needs through optimal use of all available potentials at the disposal of a given community in a given moment. (Unesco, 1967: 76; Koncs, 1986)

This definition is too wide for several reasons. If we ask can this definition apply to any other policy, if we change the substantive to read “economy” or “technology” or “information”, the answer will be in the affirmative. Besides, this definition does not rest on two indubitably major and strong, but not easily definable foundations.

One of the crucial tasks of every cultural policy is to actually establish what is to be considered a cultural need, how to define their extent and quality, and to subsequently bring them into a relationship with cultural policy and cultural life.

However, almost every cultural policy leaves the issue of cultural needs open, in order to avoid a twofold danger:

- § too rigid definition of tastes, desires and behaviour connected to cultural activities and, at the same time;
- § too precise determination of cultural goals which often cannot be achieved, but can considerably reduce its flexibility and dynamics.

Thus the majority of cultural policies skirts this question, concentrating attention for the most part on cultural supply, demand and consumption.²⁰

²⁰ It is self-evident that cultural needs should be a fundamental concept and determinant in a democratically conceived cultural policy. Cultural needs are often closely bound with cultural desires, and both terms have a wide social import and scope. It is significant that some recent attempts to evaluate cultural policy depart from entirely different level. Thus the attention is focused at the relationship of proclaimed aims of cultural policy and their implementation. The means of showing compatibility of aims with their actual fulfillment is mainly found in the sphere of financing and consumption as the basic indicators of cultural behavior. The weakness of this approach has been noticed, but remains ignored mostly because of formal reasons that it is almost

When we speak of the optimal utilization of available resources, other questions arise: are these only narrower resources or are they overall resources of the entire society; what is to be considered their optimal utilization; who defines this optimum; what about those resources which are not (yet) available, but are necessary for their use and development (such as, for example, insufficient funding, deficiency of educational specialists, inadequate communication-information infrastructure for the development of international cultural cooperation, etc.)? In this type of definition of cultural policy this whole complex remains open and unclear.

Technocratic definition

Another type of definition of cultural policy is too concentrated on its institutional, administrative, operative level and dimension. According to this view, cultural policy plays first and foremost organisational and technical role in cultural life of a society or community, while the area of conceptualization and establishment of cultural goals, priorities and overall cultural strategy remains left aside.

This point of view (which is by no means negligible or irrelevant as a possibility in establishing the place and social role of cultural policy) assigns it the executive role it can efficiently or inefficiently play, with more or less flexibility, with pronounced or reduced internal dynamics, with regard or with disregard to the parallel cultural wills and aspirations. It is not, to put it simply, concentrated on the aims, but on the procedural and operative aspects – it finds them carried out on another level: within social and political mechanisms of decision making, or in the inner cultural dynamics of a particular community.

One of the examples of such definition is formulated as follows: “Cultural policy is activity with a goal to define cultural subjects and cultural objects within the process of their institutionalization.” (Car, 1991: 74-5) Although this is not being mentioned, all attention in such defining of problem area of cultural policy is focused on basic means and instruments of cultural policy, that is, planning, regulation and

impossible to develop a methodological apparatus of measuring cultural needs, and in particular, registering cultural desires, and therefore they should be (for the time being) left to the sphere of privacy and taste. (For more detail, see: Gouiedo, 1993.)

financing. At the same time it is not difficult to notice that the division of subject and object of cultural policy is too inflexible (within the process of institutionalization), and consequently:

- § deconstructs the fundamental cultural dynamics of the internal play of subject and object of cultural policy consisting of their constant alternateness;
- § cultural life and development is seen mostly at the level of legitimated and firmly systematized cultural production and infrastructure.²¹

Operative definition

What distinguishes the operative definition of cultural policy? First of all, relatively precisely defined areas comprising it, the establishment of the scope and type of operations that characterise it, and the level at which they proceed. These distinctions seem to be very well composed in the following definition of cultural policy: "Cultural policy is a planned and organized operation of a relatively homogeneous community with the goals:

- § to protect already existent cultural property and values;
- § to foster and support cultural creative endeavour;
- § to develop cultural life of the groups it is intended for"

Within our further discussion we are going to focus our attention mainly at the understanding of our cultural policy in the light of the above definition, although we have to bear in mind also the messages of the previously quoted definitions.

²¹ It should be noted that the definition which still appears in a crucial strategic document concerning Croatian cultural policy substantially lessens its scope. First of all, in terms of subjects which are primarily bound to political and administrative authorities, and in term of instruments which are again seen as, above all, legislative and administrative; thus it can be considered in part a technocratic definition. Further in our analysis we are going to try to show that cultural policy is much wider as a field and much more complex as a process of decision making and conciliation of the issues important for culture and cultural development. The subject definition is formulated as follows: "Cultural policy is a set of legislative and administrative mechanisms which drive and direct the utilization of various resources – financial, physical, political, artistic, scientific, educational and social – in order to increase cultural capital of the country and influence the formation of cultural landscape." (Katunarić, 2003: 45.)

The first of them (too wide), departs from something substantial which is not to be found in the third (operative), and that is a specific social, far-reaching understanding of culture and cultural activity which indubitably substantially defines a specific cultural policy. Even more, foundation of cultural policy in the specific comprehension of culture should be the decisive criterion in the evaluation of a particular cultural policy.

The lesson of the second definition (technocratic) is in the emphasis of the conformity of cultural policy with other developmental policies and in relatively open declaration of the limits of its power and scope. Cultural policy presents a choice and on various levels at that. Thus it is not only a choice of the field, but also of measures, actions, subjects, etc.

However, this choice does not proceed in isolation. It is always in relationship with social priorities, overall policy of development and dynamics. Within the second definition this aspect is implicitly present and shows the power, but also the limitation, of every cultural policy *per se*. Therefore, although we are going to decide in favour of the third definition, there are many others, and some of them are particularly indicative.²²

VI. Cultural policy – background and reasons of importance

Cultural permanence, that is, being within a culture and cultural set is indubitably bound with the implanted mechanisms and rules of cultural survival, transmission and development. According to this, cultural policy is as old as is human race. The greater the impact of a particular historic period, the outlines of (often “vague” cultural policy of that period) become clearer and more obvious in retrospective historic reconstruction and valorisation.²³

²² One of such indicative definitions of cultural policy says: “Cultural policy means the totality of planned cultural actions on the basis of global vision of social and cultural development, a particular cultural situation and cultural needs, and the current situation of cultural standard.” See: Martinić, 1990: 186.

²³ Within European history the most obvious examples of something we may,

However, cultural policy in its present sense has to be considered a very recent phenomenon. It is obvious that the whole complex of currently established and produced conditions compel almost all communities around the world not only to deal with this problem, but also to consider it their unpostponable and permanent task. Among the many reasons leading to defining and establishing cultural policy, I am going to mention only the obvious and major ones.

1. The growth of management and planning

One of these reasons should be looked for in the daily increase of the importance of management and planning as overall social phenomena. Multifaceted developmental problems facing societies today were inconceivable before. The sum of social life disintegrated to almost countless overlapping and interwoven sections and sections. On the one hand there exists a complex of more or less formed social areas (but also the increasing number of the new ones), and on the other there is a constant task of their recognition, definition, coordination, management and contextualization.

Cultural operations, their classification, number, essence and import and the belonging forms and ways of creation, coordination and management find (or should find) their response, and at least possible solution within various cultural policies. They themselves, again, at one level have to be compatible with national cultural policy, and at the other have to be at least in principle compatible with the "organic" correlation of other developmental policies.

2. Sector division

The above described general trend emerges as the consequence of what we may call sector division of social activities, as the second generator of cultural policy in modern terms. Within the already mentioned extreme dubiousness and even counter-productivity of such point of view

conditionally and with all necessary prudence, call cultural policy are the cultural policy of Pericles' time in Ancient Greece, and the patronage of the arts of the Medici in the High Renaissance.

and practice, culture is placed within the overall sector division. Thus it itself takes on a certain inside-sector nature which is most often drastically contrary to the essence of culture as the sole true quintessence and embodiment of the sum of society.

However, since the process of systematization and deconstruction of general nomenclature of social sectors still presents the dominant pattern of the overall planning and management, this phenomenon also encompasses wide and developed cultural policies as the highest means of management, administration and financing of the activities which are considered as cultural – almost unavoidable.²⁴

3. The growth of communication system

The third reason for the emergence and the increasing importance of cultural policy may be found in the strengthening and consolidation of the global cultural, economic and political communication system. Its growth has compelled every country to constantly define its position within the jammed communicational space: some in order to hold and promote it, some in order to win it or at least not to surrender it completely.

²⁴ Such view brings about at least two serious and irresolvable developmental *aporia*. Sector division implicitly contains a drastic cut which has the most serious consequences in the distinction of productive and non-productive activities and their belonging sectors. Within such division on principle the need for the existence of non-productive sectors in the functioning of overall society is not being denied, but it is simply found to be living from and at the expense of others. Most often that means that precisely cultural activities present the most distinctive examples of non-productive activities, and consequently, logically and hopelessly get classified within not only non-productive, but pronouncedly consuming social sector. Such attitude prevents the understanding of culture as the overall developmental ability of society. Only culture, that is, bounds together the sum of identity, activity and potentiality of a specific community. The second *aporia* always shows in any kind of effort to create a classification system in order to establish what should be and what is a cultural activity. Recent development trends show, seemingly paradoxically, that the activities which seem to be highly independent of cultural foundation and the matrix they emerge from, are simply not explainable as societal phenomena without culture and temporal contextualization. Many ill-fated developmental experiences from the recent past had lead to the view which, however, has not been able to practically resolve the above *aporia* in a substantial manner, and it may be articulated in the following way: culture is everything, and specifically some of it. (For more detail see: Cliche, Mitchell and Wiesand, 2002.)

All this results in the need to build up relatively coherent strategies of cultural development, most often and most naturally within cultural policies.²⁵

4. The growth of international cooperation

The fourth reason should be looked for in the increasing influence, force and importance of international cultural institutions and in the international cultural cooperation. The most widely known are usually classified as inter-governmental or super-national cultural institutions and bodies. It goes without saying that their most important and significant subjects are the member states which can be represented in a variety of ways. This fact alone, however, implies the existence of what we may call national priorities and cultural specificity embodied in cultural policy, from which we always have to depart and to which we always have to return to.

Thus, in numerous actions and also explicitly the need to reconcile particular actions and programs initiated by international cultural organizations with the national cultural policies and vice versa is being constantly emphasized.

5. Integrations and preservation of identity

The fifth reason for the increase of the importance of cultural policy, and in particular national cultural policy, is the belief that it protects from the potential cultural deconstruction threatening almost all cultures because of the two mutually connected trends. One of them may be shown

²⁵ Many experts who tried to explain the economic wonder of Japan, share almost identical view: one of the most important reasons of such forceful and rapid economic growth of this country lays in the unique Japanese system of careful long-term planning divided in a number of mutually linked policies, which are most often scrutinized on a yearly basis. What is most often ignored, but emerges in the recent culturological analyses is the highly pronounced art of planning, difficult to find elsewhere around the world, and the ability to act compatibly with more widely accepted plan's. The explanation of this phenomenon may be found in the totality of Japanese cultural system, and not in some external and often too emphasized factors (such as the insular character of the country, lack of raw material, inflexible education system, etc.). (For more detail see: Kato, 1981; Moore, 1986; Nagai, 1990.)

on the level of the emergence of planetary cultural market, compelling cultures to create according to global standards and patterns, whereby the unique is often being sacrificed, reduced, or, in the extreme case, abandoned.²⁶

The second trend is connected with the first, but it is very dangerous because most often it is not obvious, and being of systematic nature its consequences could be long lasting and deep. In brief: the level of super-national regulation of vital elements and aspects of functioning of national and sub-national societal communities increases almost as quickly as lightning. In spite of difficulties, without doubt integration processes are progressing.

Although integration processes are often in the state of permanent crisis, what is not disputable is the fact that – although the crises break out in the area of economic cooperation (political and military unity is not in the foreground any more) – they infect all elements of social life, and in particular the area of culture. Systematic and multidimensional impact of certain economically intoned decisions most often remains unchallenged, but efforts are being made to neutralize the potential negative influence of such measures with counteractions.

A cultural policy trying to define priorities and the ways of functioning in such a clear manner that they could not come in question, or would be questioned only in extreme cases, appears as an illusory, but often the sole bulwark defending from the invisible and silent deconstruction of the internal cultural specificity of the mechanisms of particular cultures.

²⁶ The phenomenon we are currently witnessing, externally connected with the renewed debates on the transformation of GATT, is very instructive and far-reaching. Although area of culture remains within the sector type of debate totally ephemeral and negligible, it very soon turned out that, for example, the problem area of film and audio-visual production of European countries, and in particular France, and the competing American production might jeopardize the whole process of negotiations. On the one hand it shows that cultural stake a country may sacrifice to compromise in the process of harmonization of the opposing, mostly economic, interests – is a last and ultimate, but on the other hand the best way to reach a lasting, structural and systematic interdependence which is probably irreversible. Cultural productive mechanisms viewed through reduced economic optics appear banal up to the point where cultural axis of self-recognition of social totality becomes questionable. At that very point the whole debate changes, and precisely the cultural stake appears to be most important and most valuable and its sale hat to be prevented at any cost. (For more detail see: d'Angelo and Vesprtini, 1998: 37; also: Smiers, 2003.)

6. Hypostasis of developmental parameters

The sixth reason for the increase of the importance of cultural policy is a new civilization trend we may call hypostasis of parameters of social development. It may be said that this phenomenon is in terms of planetary imperative rather new and that it came to the full swing after 1989 and the well-known changes in that “crucial” year in the European and worldwide development. For the first time at the general super-national level there emerges what may be called universality of developmental parameters. Although there are no established criteria for measuring their success, many authorities agree that parameters mostly pertain to:

- § democratic political system and rule of law;
- § respect of human rights;
- § respect of private property and the preference of private property in general; and
- § respect of multiculturalism, multi-confessionalism and the rights of ethnic minorities.

The arbitrariness in measuring these goals is extraordinary, so that the whole above set presents more a seemingly non-not ideological complex of values, than the system of defined and clearly established parameters. However, what is not disputable is the fact that these parameters in the case of each particular community are assessed at different, often opposite levels whereby the assessing subjects often have entirely opposite interests and points of departure.

Yet, the possibility of international overall dialogue essentially depends on (most often inconsistent and questionable) assessment of achievements and the fulfilment of the above mentioned parameters. What is not questionable is a fact that the impossibility of overall social dialogue within the global dialogical universe rapidly checks the development of a specific community and leads to its breakdown.

The achievement of the above parameters is usually split into two levels: the protocol-regulative and the actual-operative one. Even a perfunctory look at the above mentioned parameters tells us that they imply a very intensified cultural components and essence. Since cultural policy contains the both levels, it becomes unavoidable and important element of the overall assessment of the fulfilment of the above parameters.

7. Economic growth of cultural activities

In the end, one of the most important factors in the increase of the importance of cultural policy is the rapid increase of developmental and economic impact of cultural activities.²⁷

As we can conclude from the seven above mentioned reasons of the increased impact of cultural policy as a field, which we can follow since 1960s, we may say that the two axes of observation have crystallized since:

- § one which primarily focuses its attention on global trends;
- § one which brings various national responses to these general guidelines and definitions, but also contributes initiative.

Therefore in our further presentation of temporal changes we intend to keep to these two levels, viewing them as a national and super-national level of the dominant changes in cultural policy.

VII. Cultural management, planning and policy

Due to all previously mentioned reasons, as well as the inherent character of cultural survival, the establishment of a relatively coherent system of management, planning and policy in the area of culture becomes a prerequisite of temporal transmission of cultural values, forms and evolvements. Usually there are two sets of dominant reasons in the

²⁷ This growth of economic value of cultural activities the beginning of which could be seen in 1960s, is very clearly visible at the end of 1980s, when, for example in 1989 cultural sector in European Union employed over 4.000.000 persons and constituted from 3 to 6 % of BNP of certain countries. (See: Domenach, 1990) In order to give the insight into relations of this area with some other, we can quote the fact that in the same year electric power industry and car industry together made about 3% of BNP. (According to the talk of John Myerscough "Economic importance of the cultural sector in U.K.", at the Round Table Meeting "Employment in the fields of the Art and Regional Development", Dublin, 28-29 September 1989. For more information see Culturelink, 1989) Today this trend is most noticeable in the case of Finland where some 7% BNP comes from the area of culture and creative industries. (Cliche, Mitchell and Wiesand, 2002: 135)

fundament of cultural planning: the first is derived from the cultural life itself, and the other from the need to plot the socio-economic determinants of the overall social development.

However, the issue in the focus of the attention of culturologists, cultural authorities and cultural managers since 1980s has not been so much the issue of planning (which had dominated the previous period), but the issue of cultural management. This shift has primarily emerged as the consequence of the change in views on cultural functions: initially regarded as a form of consumption, they are increasingly viewed in the light of their product-dimension. Thus cultural planning has become an equal and constituent element in the projection of national development (and not only of national expenditure), while in many countries cultural management has acquired the equal status as any other form of management and organizational system.²⁸

Since, on the one hand, it has become increasingly difficult to separate cultural sector from technical and economic ones, this fact establishes a new type of social relationship and interaction, and fundamental social categories get reformulated and seen in entirely different way. And while the traditional cultural was planning mostly involved in performative culture, the more recent one has to deal with the areas which have a strong and important economic and political import and by the way of functioning alone cancels the sharp belonging to the "culture in a narrower sense". Thus all "classic" categories and functions of cultural analysis become questionable and need to be formulated in a new way, whether regarding the analytic pairs: individual/collective, consumption/production, innovation/reproduction, or the pair expressiveness/instrumentality.²⁹

In the same way, the deep changes happen in the form of property which dominates in the area of cultural production and distribution, as

²⁸ The most important theoretic response to these changes in views are present first of all in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, as well as in the work of James S. Coleman. While the first author tries to examine and analyze the productional strength and value of culture under the term cultural capital, the second tries to do the same under the term social capital. The most important thing is that both agree with the statement that the largest productional capital is contained in cultural matrix which distinguishes a specific social community and fundamentally defines its developmental performances. (For more detail, see: Bourdieu, 1979 and Coleman, 1990: 300-21.)

²⁹ Above all this pertains to media and cultural industry.

well as in the impact and scope of cultural administration in planning and in the impact on cultural life and development. The mixture of public, semi-public and private property, as well as the changes within the dominant forms of cooperation and competition in cultural activities, accompanied by the growing role and influence of sponsorship and patronage of cultural activities. All that makes the process of cultural planning and management complex to the previously unimaginable degree.

VIII. Explicit and implicit type of cultural policy

Although cultural policies may be examined and typologically classified according to a large number of keys and standpoints – for example, on the basis of area, range, operative level or vocational-organizational model³⁰ – the classification which seems not only initial but also most far-reaching is the division into explicit and implicit cultural policy. Although it may seem of little importance, this is not the case – whenever the cultural policy is explicit, there are very big and deliberate reasons underneath, as well as in the case it is explicit.

This argument will be better understood if we consider the fact that is most often overlooked – whenever we speak of cultural policy we almost intuitively presume that:

- § it is national;
- § it is (or at least should be) explicit.

This, of course, is not accidental. The reasons lay in the very es-

³⁰ When we divide and classify cultural policies according to the area, then we are in fact speaking of sector cultural policies, that is, of cultural policy in the field of literature, theatre arts, dance, radio, film, publishing, music, etc. If we classify them according to their scope, then cultural policies may be super-national, national, regional, local. This is a very similar, complementary and sometimes identical division of cultural policies in terms of operative level. The primary difference is that the geographic-territorial key is more precisely specified, and thus we have cultural policy on the level of: country, region, city, suburb, village, island, etc. if we take the vocational-organizational model as the basic parameter of the division (which happens quite often, and this division one among the most important ones), cultural policy can be classified as centralistic and decentralized.

sence of cultural activities themselves, as well as in specificity of current societal planning.

Explicit cultural policy

Cultural activities, namely, often suffer from disorganized relations within themselves or toward themselves. Since for the best part they have no rigorously external purpose, of it is derived and secondary (and has to remain so), they need support: financial, informational, organizational, infrastructural. Most often they are not able to create that themselves. Thus such import of policy and planning, in particular in the area of culture, because they are the expression of the overall ability of society to economize its overall resources. Since national states still remain basic economic and political subjects, and since, on the other hand, culture presents the fundamental exponent of their consciousness of their social and spiritual identity, the intertwining of these factors almost by itself leads to the establishment of explicit national cultural policies as the most important exponent of cultural and political strategies in general.

If we desire to make these reasons entirely clear, we have to quote a few more:

- § if cultural policy is explicit, that is, contained in special documents and legislation, with very clearly stated aim of regulating cultural activities – it is easily noted and problematized;³¹
- § explicit cultural policy very often in essentially, extensively, and sometimes for a long time, determines cultural life and cultural dynamics, as well as the development of cultural infrastructure of a community it is intended for;
- § from the analytic standpoint national level of cultural policies is most adequate for comparison and evaluation of cultural modes, cultural consumption, expenditure, assessment of cultural standard and participation in cultural life;

³¹ Contrary to explicit cultural policy, the implicit one is usually being “derived” from the sum of measures and actions (financial, legislative, political, media, etc.) produced and carried out by a community or group in order to regulate wholly the sum of its own activities.

§ in the case of European countries, precisely explicit national cultural policy is almost directly founded in and follows from a long lasting, and supported by tradition, history of organizing and regulating the area of culture in many countries of this continent.

Implicit cultural policy

However, on the other hand, a whole series of very important examples shows that implicit cultural policy has got its advocates too, its import and its role, be it on national or super-national level. That deconstructs the above mentioned self-evidence, and it becomes questionable. Most prominent examples of implicit cultural policies are that of United States of America and of European Union.³² It is instructive to note that in the first case this is a country with currently greatest planetary cultural influence, while in the second case this is the largest interest group and union of our planet.

If we wished to, at least preliminarily, rationally defensible reasons which link USA and European union in their insistence upon implicit cultural policy, we should look for them probably on two levels. On the first level, both insist on market orientation and economic embedment of cultural activities in the system of overall social activities; on the other level (which is partially derived from the first) the consciousness of the super-national import and level of cultural activities which proceed in USA and under the aegis of European union.³³

³² Thus, in harmony with its implicit cultural policy, European Union will argue: "Community desires to help, and not to exercise influence on cultural activity. European Commission does not intend to examine the contents of artistic activity or double the work done by other institutions responsible for culture. Its cultural action mostly focuses on improving societal and economic conditions under which cultural activities operate, because it believes this is going to help not only the development of this area but the Community in general." (See: *Commission of the European Communities*, 1982: 6.) The general official attitude of European Union has not substantially changed to this day.

³³ However, it should be added that the implicit cultural policy of European Union is more the result of compromise than explicit will. European Union is on one hand pressed by cultural problems (in particular with the failure to keep pace in audio-visual area) which greatly surpasses the possible national solutions of member states, while on the other, it constantly has to take into account a variety of (most often contradictory, and sometimes confronted) interests of particular national cultural

However, what should surprise us even more, is the fact that the cultural policies of international organizations such as UNESCO or Council of Europe stand near to the implicit type of cultural policy. They also try to define their own activities (as well as their framework) in a “harder” and more precise manner, while skirting around and leave open institutional implementations. Thus they simultaneously defend the proclaimed universality of their own actions and views, as well as at least the principle of equality of various initiatives and proposals. This approach, however, contains the seeds of quite often mentioned inefficiency of these organizations: the difficult progress through the process of deciding and the development of methodologies as well as too elaborate protocol (and thus wastefulness) of initiatives and actions they inaugurate or promote.

Since the basic aim of this argument is to cast light upon the problem area of cultural policy in its various aspects and forms (above all as a basic means of management in culture) and analyze further its relationship with the building and foundation of cultural informational systems, this difference between the explicit and implicit cultural policy will not be of primary importance. Yet, it was necessary to undertake this typological demarcation for at least two reasons:

The preference of either explicit or implicit cultural policy always reflects the essence of the view of cultural activities and of culture in its entirety. And while in the first case the prevailing view is that cultural activities are separate, distinctive form of sociality, which subsequently needs to be regulated in a specific way, in the second the prevailing view is that cultural activities are comprehensible exclusively as a part of overall societal activities, and that any form of more direct intervention and regulation is negative for culture (because it hinders its development and makes them dependent and not free).

If cultural policy is by its nature more inclined towards the implicit than the explicit type, it usually has far-reaching consequences in the development of cultural informational systems. Namely, since this is a “soft” cultural policy and usually attempts to integrate cultural activities by bringing into tighter relationship (cultural) financial policy

policies. This situation is further complicated by very strict regulation of the sectors such as services (in particular financial, information and tourist) which are, needless to say, very tightly bound with cultural tradition and life of particular member states.

with (cultural) informational policy. It is believed that this highly integrated and linked cultural policies (alongside a number of other developmental policies) succeed to replace the explicit cultural policy. At the foundation of this orientation is a view that this can simultaneously prevent deconstruction of cultural activities, as well as avoid their excessive regulation.³⁴

IX. Concluding remarks

Bologna process introduces some new criteria and standards generally, which will inevitably influence the education in the field of cultural policy not only on national but equally international level. Insisting on procedural clarification of the education process, on precise elaboration of used methods and resources, on concentration on practical aspects of the process of gathering of knowledge, and particularly on mobility of students and international expertise as integral part of the overall transformation European university system put all the experts and lecturers teaching cultural policy in radically new situation opening for them new questions and dilemmas.

European approaches and curriculum's which are at the moment lacking mutual theoretical, academic, practical exchange and relations (no matter where placed, in Zagreb, Belgrade, Sofia, Krakow, Vienna or Tallinn for example) all together will make the set of European academic offer possible to choose from hundreds even thousands of students

³⁴ It is obvious that this problem area should be connected with political system and overall societal orientation. By amplifying this view, we come to the distinction by which the traditionally centralized states and welfare states prefer the explicit type of cultural policy (which is again linked with the so called humane model of cultural policy), while liberal states choose the opposite, implicit Type (the so called commercial model of cultural policy). What is important to us at the moment is to note the fact that neither the first nor the second do not fall behind in very high valorisation of the need to establish informational systems. There are some analysts who give precedence to the implicit cultural policy and argue that cultural dynamics and vitality of the countries which implement it is higher than in the countries in favour of the opposite type. According to such arguments particular types of management in culture, that is, specific cultural management, can and has to be most directly implemented in culture as the basic prerequisite of efficient cultural management. (For more detail see: Mitchell and Fisher, 1992.)

according to their own preferences but also offered quality of overall program of studying and particularly of curriculum in cultural policy. On the other side, as the process of education has the tendency of shortening and intensifying the question of appropriate concept and relevant selection of basic contents and methods of learning will be even more stressed in the fields cultural policy too.

These tendencies will in the longer term lead us to the process of harmonization of European curriculum's in cultural policy, although many of differences will remain. However, at the same time some formal questions (like how long will be education in the field, on which level of education, primarily devoted to which background of students, which teaching formats, methods and sources will be used etc.) as well as some substantial (which theoretical and methodological standpoints will be used, which disciplines are regarded of primary importance, how to ensure interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary approach, how to cover at the same time international merely European aspect with national, regional and local one with particular stress on city cultural policies. Not to forget importance of inclusion of new and innovative practices regardless we are speaking on creative industries, new collaborative platforms, independent cultural micro initiatives etc., as these aspects also contribute to the new type of competencies of future specialists within overall European context.

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*Pedagogies of the Home and International Schools:
New Models for (De)Localized Cultural Policies?*

Bela Gligorova

Abstract: As an educator at an international school located in a predominantly Balkan cultural milieu, I see myself crossing several contact zones (sometimes more than one, simultaneously). While there is a dangerous sense of enjoyment that comes with this sort of “cultural ventriloquism”, on the behalf of said practitioner, I cannot but help and wonder about its long-term effects. Exact-ed through the medium of the English language, students are encouraged to live out in what seems like a cultural safe-haven: as they are continuously reminded of dominant social paradigms (gender, race and ethnicity, sexuality, religion, to name a few) and their operational value within “an imagined international community”, the cultural identity of their discourse becomes foreign, un-Balkan, yet also un-English (perhaps a quiet cosmopolitan? a delocalized “other”?). They seem to remain dwellers of a cushioned “non-place”, a cultural contact zone within a larger contact area, for the duration of their studies, and even beyond.

Thus, I am interested in discussing the following aspects:

1. By attempting a delocalized “territory of culture” through their respective missions and objectives, do international schools in the Balkans contribute to a (re)creation of a “pseudo nation-state scenario”?
2. Even so, could their products (students) legitimately question the unspoken acceptance and affirmation of culturally determined roles, imposed on Balkan individuality by various mechanisms of compliance (governmental decisions, communal practices, tradition and gossip)?
3. Yet, when all is said and done, who is to implement a newly designed cultural mythos: individuals or institutions?

Key words: contact zone, cultural ventriloquism, non-places, heterotopias, quiet cosmopolitan, transnational denizenship, pedagogies of the home.

Introduction

Constructing a cultural identity is as easy as mastering the nuances of a foreign language while travelling to the country of its origin on an eight-hour flight. Indeed, there are gifted individuals among us who are able to carry out such a feat in less than eight hours. (Fortunately or not, they are few in number.) However, for most of us, nowadays, the process of constructing our cultural “selves” is the journey of a lifetime, as we struggle to position ourselves within a cultural space that is no longer (re)presented as monolithically uniform. We constantly enter battles with our cultural heritage (who we were before we were “we” or “I”) and our cultural responses (who “we” or “I” are now that we contribute to the “living out” of the said cultural legacy), since for the most part these two notions are at odds with each other. In other words, we might be born into a certain cultural group which, in turn, due to various social, political, and or religious circumstances may have distinctly reshaped and restructured its beliefs and customs, so that it strikes the outsider as non-existent in the first place. Therefore, when such individuals decide to reaffirm their cultural identity against the background of strong ties to the indigenous culture they were born into and the greater social milieu they had assimilated to (as a result of education, religious conversion, power accessibility, etc.), the outcome may prove disheartening, both to the individuals in question, and to the larger social and familial environments.

As an educator at an international school located in a pre-dominantly Balkan cultural milieu, I see myself crossing several contact zones (sometimes more than one, simultaneously). Cultural historian Mary Louise Pratt was the one who originally coined the term “contact zone” (which seems to have become over the years inextricably tied to the proliferation and understanding of auto/ethnographic narratives), herself searching for a descriptively dynamic way to approach the study

of social and personal relations amidst the intersecting frontiers of spaces marked by colonial encounters. In her work on the relationship between travel writing and colonized historical discourse, titled *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt defines the *contact zone* as “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict.” (Pratt, 1992: 6) By choosing a denominator (“contact”) that is closer to linguistics than to traditional historical analysis, Pratt hopes to bring into perspective the relational side to subject formation within the terrain of the colonized frontiers, therefore allowing for the production and distribution of auto/ethnographic “expressions” that are “heterogeneous” in structure, idiom and reception.

While there is a dangerous sense of enjoyment that comes with any sort of “cultural ventriloquism”, border-crossing, or bo(a)rdering, so to speak, on the behalf of said practitioner, I cannot but help and wonder about its long-term effects. Exacted through the medium of the English language, students at international schools are encouraged to live out in what seems like a cultural safe-haven: as they are continuously reminded of dominant social paradigms (gender, race and ethnicity, sexuality, religion, to name a few) and their operational value within “an imagined international community”, the cultural identity of their discourse becomes foreign, un-Balkan, yet also un-English (perhaps a quiet cosmopolitan? a delocalized “other” in pursuit of global human agency?). Some recent scholarship might go as far as to suggest that international schools are not unlike what French scholar Michel Foucault deemed “heterotopias”, or, non-hegemonically arranged spaces which operate under the condition of “otherness”. (Foucault, 1986) As such, their function is to join together, on the one hand, utopian perspectives, and on the other, real spaces, intellectual or physical, which in turn, stand as sites of cultural otherness, linked yet produced in opposition to cultural hegemonies.

Hence, cemeteries, gardens, movies, brothels, boarding schools. And even if the daily life of individuals in one such space is controlled, according to Foucault, by the bell and not the whistle, in truth, local students at international schools in the Balkans seem to remain dwellers of a cushioned “non-place” (Augé, 1995), a cultural contact zone within

a larger contact area, for the duration of their studies, and even beyond. And with that, dangerously removed from any prospect of living an integrated cultural life.

In lieu of a biographical note

When I graduated from the Department of English at the Faculty of Philology within the framework of the State University in Skopje, almost a decade ago, I was certain of two things: a.) I wanted to teach literary texts (no grammar, no tenses) and b.) I wished to work solely within the medium of English. With this in mind, I applied for a position at then one of a few international high schools in Macedonia, Nova High School. Having successfully completed Professor Ekaterina Babamova's graduation course in ELT Methodology, I felt up to the challenge: I believed I had acquired the necessary tools that would guide me on this new path. I had also, prior to enrolling at the Faculty of Philology, graduated from a US high school, on US soil, thus the added confidence. Perhaps even cockiness. In October of 2000, I was assigned two classes, nominally called English 9 Regular and English 12. The former comprised of students (sans three) who had recently graduated from state primary schools in Macedonia, whereas the latter consisted of fifteen students who were a part of the very first class of students the said high school had enrolled in September of 1997, when the school opened its doors for the first time. Oddly enough, or so it seemed, the latter group was the more culturally diverse one, not just in terms of the ethnicity pool but also in terms of citizenship. During that very same academic year, both classes allowed me to witness a few key insights about cultural instruction in English, as well as English cultural instruction. Although the 9th graders, for instance, had nearly polished syntax, their communal insights were tied to a Macedonian context; if we were going to make any progress with a Renaissance play or a contemporary American short story, I had to engage with them at a "local level". Which in turn, would ask for a comparativist method, and a good deal of popular culture immersion. Whereas, with the 12th graders, whose English grammar skills were picked up, peace-meal by peace-meal, from native speakers who taught at this school or at various other international schools abroad that these students had attended prior to transferring, the communal insights were so varied and versatile, that there seemed to be no common

denominator. These “third culture kids”, or better, these “hybrid cosmopolitans” could relate to everything and nothing; it all seemed too easy, or perhaps too vast.

Since then, the school’s student population, in particular the one relating to the high school division, has quadrupled; numbers aside, what has struck me, and those who have taught/teach, especially within the Language Arts Department, is the overwhelming change local students (Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roma) who matriculate at Nova International Schools bring with them, through distinct epistemologies and pedagogies, which allows them to stay connected locally while thinking and writing and being internationally. Again, this staggering change, which could and should be examined thoroughly through apt statistical data, based on entrance exams’ results and interview notes, has allowed me to conceptualize, as well as further explore, the following research questions:

1. By attempting a delocalized “territory of culture” through their respective missions and objectives, do international schools in the Balkans contribute to a (re)creation of a “pseudo nation-state scenario”?
2. Even so, could their products (students) legitimately question the unspoken acceptance and affirmation of culturally determined roles, imposed on Balkan individuality by various mechanisms of compliance (governmental decisions, communal practices, tradition and gossip)?
3. Yet, when all is said and done, who is to implement a newly designed cultural mythos: individuals or institutions?

On that note, in September 2005, upon return from graduate school, I started a project with a group of 25 entering 9th graders (freshmen), tentatively embedded within the context of our English 9 Honors class, yet entirely for extra credit. Throughout the 4 years I spent with this group, which indeed changed in size and circumstance, guiding them towards a successful completion of an Advanced Placement (AP) English Literature and Composition class, this ‘pet project’ of mine, became our focal point of discussion, immersion and self-assessment; in turn, giving birth to student-initiated projects, such as the one I will discuss later on in the text.

“Journal Keeping” Project: a “quilted” way towards a reciprocal cultural methodology

The histories and lives of international students, in particular local kids from multicultural milieus attending/attempting an international education setting, are not (well) represented in the local cultural policies. Since said students have optioned out, for various reasons, to attend private schools (often deemed elitist and viewed by the public as “the breeding grounds for snobs”), their presence within a non-state education facility for the duration of four years, resembles, to a point, a prolonged banishment from all matters relevant to an integrated communal life. In other words, the local community does not feel responsible for their “cultural upkeep” as they no longer exist as its young offspring. To take it a step further, according to French thinker and scholar Michel Foucault, what we are facing in this case is another example of the intricate relationship(s) existing between the production of various systems of knowledge (i.e., discourses) and the production of power within a social framework. That is to say, each society exerts different rules and regulations that would ‘lawfully’ police and discipline “undesired” discourses, thus maintaining its hold on power. Those who are considered a viable threat to the dominant discourse and its tight grip on social structures may be dismissed as “mad”, “non-conforming”, to say the least. Classifying non-conforming individuals as mad eases the “burden” of “dealing with them”; they could be almost surgically removed from the cultural unconscious, leaving a space which is momentarily filled up by subjects that have been instructed to conform to the norms and ideals of the dominant discourse. (However, even in a “well-rounded” oppressive social framework there is a push by the marginalized “mad subjects” to re-claim/re-map this space which has been taken away from them.)

To make matters worse, once these students enter the “hallowed halls” of international schools, they expect an unconditional welcome and a chance to participate and engage, fully, within a more or less, imagined international community that would not shun their choice of being there. The expectations are great, perhaps even illusionary, hence the disappointment, when it comes, hits hard. Just because a community is more versed in politically correct discourse does not mean that it is unequivocally open and forthcoming and giving, or for that matter, ready to welcome anyone unconditionally. While students at international schools in the Balkans are indeed taken care of, namely, looked upon

as individuals and not mere numbers, many international schools, due to the very nature of their missions and objectives, and endowments, focus the bulk of their resources on a sad but palpable fact, which can be best summed up as “teaching students to be quiet cosmopolitans”, which in turn amounts to the creation of a subculture that ironically de-personalizes education while attempting to guide and foster intellect. This dangerous practice, whether we wish to admit to it or not, does double-harm: for one, it requires of students to see themselves as empty vessels, stripped off cultural-familial, raced, or gendered knowledge of their past. (Thus, in the case of local students, there is a ‘twice removed’ emptying which takes place.) (Delgado Bernal, 2002; 2006). Consequently, it convinces students that only a positivist type of knowledge (white, male, Western) can help them succeed and thus enroll, with a scholarship, at a prestigious university abroad, which is still the principal reason why most local students (and their families) make a leap of faith and apply to international schools in the first place. While I did/do understand the reality of conformity and acculturation, I wanted to find a way, through differentiated instruction, which could allow me to bequeath my students with a means that would in turn help them understand the complexities of their two communities: *the home-base and the school environment; one primarily oral, the other unquestioningly written.*

In a sense, I see now that I was attempting a kind of *auto/ethnographic self-recovery*: i.e., more than a textual representation of auto-ethno-biographical modes of contact for and in multi-vocal settings. According to ethnographer Deborah E. Reed Danahay, the editor of the first (and to this day, only) anthological work that examines this hybrid form of life-writing ethnography, titled *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*, ‘autoethnography’ is a boundary-crossing practice and product, simultaneously acting out the method behind the concept; as a method and a text, the act of auto/ethnographic representing fuses “both a postmodern ethnography, in which the realist conventions and objective observer position of standard ethnography have been called into question, and a postmodern autobiography, in which the notion of the coherent, individual self has been similarly called into question.” (Reed-Danahay, 1997: 2) As a result, whether or not the astute literary critic or social historian decide, respectfully, to stake their claim either with the autobiographic or the ethnographic side of the hybrid-form, “auto/ethnography” thwarts conventional story-telling practices (of the “realist school”) by trespassing cultural and social boundaries, thus

exerting its presence in “form of a self-narrative that places the self in a social context.” (9)

Enter: “journal keeping”

Cultural historian Pierre Nora examined the relationship that exists between historical investment and individual memory, offering a reading of “historical truths” and “remembered events” through *lieux de mémoire*, that is, “sites of memory” which “originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally.” (Nora, 1989: 12) Within contemporary social practices, such “sites of memory” appear to be a necessity, a final defense against misrepresentation and unilateral polemics in epistemologies and pedagogies. As children of history and memory, *lieux de mémoire*, according to Nora, are unlike any previously encountered type of history, ancient or modern, since contrary to historical objects, they are without a referent in reality. However, Nora is quick to point out that this unique trait does not leave the “sites of memory” without a referent all-together; *lieux de mémoire* are their own referents. Namely, they constitute a double act: they are “a site of excess closed upon itself, concentrated in its own name, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations.” (24) Bearing this in mind, I wanted to attempt a sort of historical recovery filtered through the tools of feminist scholarship, hoping to show my students an example of one such “site of memory”; and with that, a way out of the slums of “quiet cosmopolitanism” and into (perhaps) the alertness of “transnational cultural denizenship”. (Buff, 2001)

Initially conceived as an attempt to showcase the value of written discourse, while drawing on the abundance of orally transmitted knowledge my students had grown up with, I introduced the students to the storytelling method of what Lomas and Joysmith (2005) term as “*testimonio*”: an ethnographic genre/strategy which allows the voiceless political subject – the local student – the necessary agency to account for the connections that exist between lived experience and social (education) context.¹ Namely, for a semester, my 9th grade class, each Friday,

¹ Here, I'd like to thank the work of a colleague, Dr. Judith Flores Carmona,

worked on a reflection piece. At first, most preferred to work on their own, while with time, groups started to form. The goal in mind: to think of a way in which their own varied experiences connect them to the particular reading of the week, may it be a poem, a short story, a play or a chapter/chapters of a novel. Thus, to use the allotted class time, and write down, in the English of their choice, the said reflection. Each student had decided to “safe keep” his or her own reflection pieces in a folder, or a file, or even a notepad. There was no word limit. No passing or failing grade, and no requirement deadline for a submission. Only a hopefulness, that with time, each student may choose to share his or her own piece with someone else. At the end of the semester, I had also hoped that each student would choose a piece to place on the class’ cork board, so that we could all part-take in a kind of “testimonial”, a quilt-making record of our unhindered critical journey through a series of English texts, i.e., texts written in the English language.

A few things occurred: the contact zone which this side-project carved out presented itself as the most rewarding and equally the most challenging one I had ever dwelled into. Namely, the project took on a life of its own, branching out in ways I had not anticipated or even hoped for. Freed from the burden of testing and grading, or excessive monitoring, the quality of writing students presented had created a sense of reciprocity, both in their distinctive relationship to each other, as peers and neighbours, and in their relationship to writing, speaking, listening and thinking in English, now the formative medium of their life in international education. Students started keeping personal blogs, they wrote Facebook notes, msn-ed their thoughts, frustrations, reflections, dilemmas. When the academic semester came to an end, they asked if we could continue with our “Friday project”, even if it was not possible to dedicate each Friday to its unfolding. We could meet after school, on Saturdays, during breaks, they suggested. And we did.

For the next four academic years, as they matriculated through the Nova Language Arts curriculum, these 25 local students (and in time

formerly of The University of Utah, and now with Hampshire College, for encouraging me to make such an inter-cultural connection, one that I otherwise would not have made, had I been teaching at a state school, or at a local university. Her own work in the Adelante Oral Histories Project (AOHP) gave me the impetus and the strength to draw on the teachings of hooks, Friere, Anzaldua, as well as Elizabeta Sheleva, and see the many common themes which exist between the pedagogy of the oppressed and the reciprocal methodology in international education.

10 more “transfers”), wrote about the various points of intersectionality experienced by a Balkan native when facing the trials and tribulations of education in an international school context. In turn, this empowering practice, unburdened by the weights of grades and arbitration, propelled their written discourse in ways that no class-bound, test-teaching instruction could. In a sense, their “testimonio” storytelling practice, allowed them to conceptualize the validity of lived knowledge (a Roma girl from Tetovo) as a key strategy in the process of any scholarly enquiry (racial formation in contemporary social practices). For a class, (and a grade), over the years, they did produce nuanced and thoughtfully researched papers on an array of topics, from the seemingly mundane enquiry into popular culture’s archetypes (think: *The Simpsons*), all the way to high-brow assertions on the relationship between the modern novel and masculinity discourses (think: Joyce). Not to mention, the college-application essays, and the strength of their argumentation, as individuals. For themselves, and their own contact zone, which seemed to expand with time, they initiated auxiliary projects that expanded the “territory of culture” realm of the school, such as the MIR Celebrating Literacy Project, The on-line Student-Reviewed Fanzine (The Discourse Detectives), The Reading Group Fellowship. All these projects incorporate a reciprocal cultural methodology, thus allowing all participants to bear witness to their own becoming of both subjects and objects of their own enquiry. And all have a longer shelf life than an academic semester.

However, with all said and done, I am still concerned about the following long-term effects, namely as limitations and/or impetuses for further research:

1. While inspirational education does propel change, when exacted through the medium of a colonizing language and culture, could it affect real change within the leakage of the pipeline of local identity formation?
2. If so, by advocating for a “pedagogy of the home” (Delgado Bernal, 2001; 2002), aren’t we, (locally-affiliated) teachers and educators in international education, reverting to an epistemology that in turn would dispossess our students from that very home we had set out to promote, and turn them into vulnerable observers (Behar, 1996), that is, reflexive insiders/outsiders bound by the within (Hill Collins, 1990; 1991)?

In Lieu of a Conclusion

Without the intention or the pretext of further colonization, of pedagogies or epistemologies, I do believe that culturally reciprocal methodology is the only viable means, present out there for us, to create dialogue amidst students from various and varied cultural and social milieus, yet co-habiting the same education space. What I am still debating over, however, is (the extent of) the role English language instruction should play in the creation of such an educational mythos.

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European Perspectives in Re-positioning Culture SEE Cities:

Challenges and Opportunities

Tsveta Andreeva

General remarks

We cannot isolate the cultural policy developments and the related advocacy activities from the economic and political situations in SEE countries; our economies in SEE, in the aftermath of the global economic crisis are struggling to find new swift economic models to increase GDPs, overcome budget deficits, overcome unemployment, etc.

We found ourselves again in a need to bring evidences why culture matters in public policies. The contribution of culture to GDP is insignificant in quantitative terms, if not combined with creative industries and new innovative business solutions.

Is the cultural sector sufficiently equipped for that?

Governments and local authorities should look into mixed models for assessment of the socio-economic contribution of culture to the society.

Many governments in Europe, both in East and West, started cutting their state budgets in all areas and culture was often a victim. These governments turned to more liberal approaches to cultural policies, without analyzing too much the mid- and long-term impacts of those anti-crisis measures for all sectors in culture. Such “anti-crisis” solutions may be sustainable only if based on preliminary assessments, and largely discussed with stakeholders. Not many opened spaces for debate and finding common solutions. Some started developing some knowledge though, in areas such as creative industries and entrepreneurship.

We tend to look at culture as one whole, but cultural policies imply a variety of specific knowledge about those sectors, some of which may introduce market principles, but others (heritage protection, support to

the main institutions of national importance) cannot. Who among the policy makers is aware of all these particularities in financing, management, production?

Are we, all the cultural operators, supposed to turn into businessmen, financial or marketing experts in order to defend again our budgets and our right to culture?

A new time for cultural advocacy has come, in which both public and non-governmental sector in culture, we cannot act alone anymore, but should concentrate on building **strategic cross-sector alliances**.

This might be tricky because there is always a risk of institutional merging (see the very recent example of Greece, having merged after so many years, culture and tourism). Many state supported institutions, even national institutions, are being merged structurally (national theatres with national opera houses as in Czech Republic, National theatre with other theatres in Bulgaria), seeking for reduced administration costs. Cultural NGOs in the Netherlands that benefited from subsidies are also forced to merge or to find symbiotic structures, and so on, and so forth...

EU Perspectives and South-East European dimensions

We see the EU influence in the SEE much clearer today, when Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia are candidates for membership, and others are undertaking the first steps towards EU integration. We look at Europe as the only possible solution: “EXIT Europe”.

Although the EU pre-accession processes in the Western Balkans are deepening, there are still political instabilities – regular government changes, political crises, the economic crises, but also rising Euro-skepticism that hampers the steady process towards integration and leaves a feeling of despair.

Our bitter experience in the region is that troublemaking capacities in policy making usually dominate over the troubleshooting capacities. Positive change makers are loosing ground every time political

power changes. Cultural operators rely too much on external financial support for their main activities, so that they live in constant instability and short- and mid-term planning. Certain “fatigue” is also observed among some NGOs in South-East Europe who, due to the constant political and economic changes, constantly battle for sustainable results of their advocacy and expertise.

The European Agenda for Culture has paved the way towards better understanding of the role and value of culture in the societies. Once you have that political will at that supra-national level, you have more chances to make our voices heard. It is not to be looked at as a panacea, but from my modest experience in the pre-accession process of Bulgaria, it really makes a difference. It launched a great deal of debates, strengthened the position of culture on the political agenda; now culture and creativity are becoming transversal, and much more connected to other policies and there is a general policy line at EU level, maintaining culture. Even though not the strongest EU agenda, and always living under the threat to be swiped off the table.

Therefore, culture sector in Europe is alerted to watch and react, to support, but also to criticize, to be a peer, a partner and a watchdog of EU cultural policy. Since it is not at all obvious that the EU budget for Culture for 2014-2020 is going to increase, what both EU officials and civil sector are trying is at least to secure sufficient back up for culture and creativity (incl. industries, creative entrepreneurship, etc.) in different EU policies – information society, innovation, regional development and cohesion, education mobility, etc... there, where the structures, management, needs, funding, priorities, etc. have similarities and can be applied to arts, culture and creative industries. The new EU multi-annual framework programme is also planned to tackle entrepreneurial and innovation aspects of culture and creative industries, thus contributing to “Creative Europe” of 2020.

Local and regional level in our countries is where economic turbulences are felt stronger, but on the other hand, this is where the impact of culture and creativity could be felt in a shorter period of time and on a larger part of the society. This is the level where economic and social contribution of all cultural and creative action can be measured in a mid-term, and where **good practices** are born.

Advocacy and strategic approach to culture

There is a strong movement for investing in strategies for culture and creativity in South-East European countries. On one hand, it comes from the realized need of the culture sector to develop knowledge, research and practically implement tools for strategic goal setting, planning and assessment of the cultural activity in regions and cities. NGOs, along with local authorities are the driving force in this respect.

All these efforts need to be strengthened and 'secured' in a long run, also keeping in mind the European perspectives, by providing a good advocacy back up. Some of the key elements that we should keep in mind for our advocacy are as follows:

Cultural Policies are public policies that can be defined as:

- a statement of intent;
- a program of objectives;
- a line of selected actions;
- all the actions taken by the government in the field of culture and arts...

They operate in a particular public policy environment:

- historic, political, socio-economic, cultural;
- constraints: organisational, institutional, imposed by groups of interests and by the environment;
- ideally the policy-making process should be participatory, constructive process that involves the community.

Prerequisites for a Correctly Formulated Public Policy:

- clearly defined objectives and strategic goals;
- participation – involving the community, consulting experts and groups of interests;
- transparency and accountability;
- searching and promoting realistic, integrated and integrating solutions;
- ability for long-term forecasts;
- correspondence to international/EU standards.

Cultural Policy Process – a circle of:

1. Policy agenda setting;
2. Policy formulation;
3. Policy adoption;
4. Policy implementation;
5. Policy monitoring and evaluation.

Levels of governance that should be addressed:

- local/municipal/regional;
- national/federal:
 - parliaments/senates,
 - governments;
- supranational – European Union level:
 - European Commission,
 - European Parliament,
 - The Council of Ministers.

Cultural policy tools that should be addressed:

- legislation;
- strategic documents;
- programs and projects:
 - implementation and assessment: reviewing goals.

For the purposes of sharpening our advocacy tools we also need evidences and analytical instruments, which are an integral part of the policy cycle, and could have an impact on it:

The European Agenda for Culture (2007) is considered as the main strategy for common action in this field: “From where we are to where we want to be”, as the Director General for Education and Culture, Jan Truszcinsky used to say. These simple words are worth quoting because in the SEE we tend to dive in our daily inconveniences, while forgetting the main goals for positive changes that we must always keep ahead of us. Therefore, advocacy and strategy-making are key elements of our progress – to keep us awake and alert for our future. Europe is

not a must, but an opportunity we should take in the SEE. The European Union is changing, and probably is not so attractive at the moment, but this only means that our goals aimed towards stronger position of culture and creativity in Europe as a whole should be pursued and hopefully achieved.

Conclusions of the Conference

***Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy:
new identity and new paradigm***

The Regional Conference: **Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy: new identity and new paradigm** was held in Skopje on September, 17-19 2010, organized by PAC Multimedia in partnership with ODA Theater from Prishtina, where many issues related to local cultural policy were discussed.

The main theme of the conference was: **Re-thinking Local Cultural Policy: new identity and new paradigm**. The conference's starting point was the presumption that Culture is not just some kind of an extra option to the Municipalities in the Balkan region, but that it is an essential component for social regeneration, improvement of the life quality of its citizens, as well as of its economic development. During the conference, intensive discussions and debates took place where more than 80 people from the Balkan region took an active part in it, as well as academics, cultural operators, artists, public administrators, students, etc. At the end of the conference, a list of conclusions were developed that we are presenting here:

- ~~ The cities in the Balkans are mainly cities in decline. With poor population who emigrates from the cities or with many immigrants who put pressure to the existing urban infrastructure. The major parts of the cities are dysfunctional; they live in oblivion or wait better days or face chaotic development: illegal building, usurpation of public space, losing of important features.
- ~~ Yet, there are cities which show different initiatives in order to overcome the status quo. Some of these are initiatives much more oriented towards the past, to the memorial and commemorative culture than to the present situation or to the future development. They are oriented towards the antique or medieval heritage and only in few cases towards the recent socialist past.

- ~~ Some of the more active cities show a need to determine only one dominant cultural or identitarian aspect or to orient themselves towards neoliberal, corporative ideas. Yet, models of good practices need to be reinforced and explored.
- ~~ Even when there are cultural policies at local level, they tend to be over-ambitious, influenced by the examples of the western European cities, yet in most of the cases lacking the aspect of inclusion. These are strong leadership projects which lean on small expert teams and political groups and are not well communicated within the local community. The realization of such ambitious projects is governed by the partitocratic rule model and it significantly depends on the actual match between the ruling parties on both local and central level.
- ~~ There is a lack of firmer interaction among the politics, the private and the civil sector.
- ~~ In absence of overwhelming local cultural policies some peripheral municipalities or parts of the cities develop their own local identities, cultural policies and action plans that do not always correspond to the national identity.
- ~~ There is a tendency to festivalisation of the local cultural policy. Such a trend creates an image that there is no crisis with the audience as it creates strong cultural consumer.
- ~~ There is no diversification of cultural programmes and there is no movement from center to the periphery.
- ~~ Although many cities do have cultural councils there is a lack of specialized experts on local level.
- ~~ There is no evaluation of the cultural policies, there is no measurement of the impact and there are no cycles of strategic planning within local cultural policies.
- ~~ The local cultural policies are too much oriented towards the cultural tourism and the external visitors instead towards local inhabitants.

- ~~ The Balkan cities become focus of interest of the global visitors so that the policies tend to satisfy their needs. There is also a tendency to lean the economic interests than to focus on cultural dimension.
- ~~ There is mixing and overlapping of competencies between the central and the local government. Often, the decentralization process turns into atomization, thereby creating weak local bodies. The transfer of competencies and obligations is not followed by adequate financial, infrastructural and human instruments leading to orphanisation of the local institutions and initiatives.
- ~~ In some cities there is an important contribution from the local communities of artists, cultural managers and intellectuals to the local cultural life and development. This contribution should be recognized and fostered. Channels of open and participatory communication between different local communities, groups of interests and artistic or cultural platforms should be opened. On the other side, in some cities, cultural players and in particular, the Artistic community is not well organized and as a result doesn't have a strong voice in relation with decision makers but rather stays in complaining positions in very informal forums (individual announcement in medias, discussions over a coffee with or without politicians).
- ~~ There is a strong need to initiate research projects and to foster creativity within the local cultural policy development, based on analysis, planned or achieved results and oriented towards the vision and the needs of local communities.
- ~~ Culture should become an integral part of civic education courses within the education system of the Balkan countries.
- ~~ The writing and adoption of strategic policy papers, action plans and other documents of local cultural policy should be achieved.
- ~~ There is a need for creating a rich database of good practices, for which the existing web pages and other tools of information and dissemination should be used.

Conclusions of the Conference:

- ~~> There is a need to create sustainable mechanisms for coordination of the projects and initiatives on local level and to create practices of functional and systematic networking.
- ~~> There is a need of a new model of political leadership. This leadership should listen to the local needs and should show understanding for the alternative ways and models of cultural action. It should insist on dialogue and should be open to changes and shift in the initial standpoints which arise from the creative conflict of the opposed options. This kind of leadership should facilitate the communication of the different cultural positions and views. It should not blatantly determine and favor any of the options.





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“MY BRICK IN THE WALL” - an installation derived from creative workshops of the project “Culture for/from all” of artists from Macedonia and Kosovo under artistic coordination of **Florent Mehmeti** (Kosovo) and **Valdet Ismaili** (Macedonia):

Marijeta Sidovski, **Sabedin Ali**, **Lavdrim Memedi** and **Filip Kiprovska** (Macedonia) and **Ilire Çelaj**, **Rudina Xhaferi**, **Ujkan Hysaj** and **Liburn Jupolli** (Kosovo).





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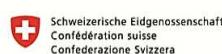
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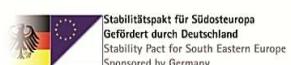


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