

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

ARTS, FESTIVALS AND GEOPOLITICS

Edited by Milena Dragičević Šešić



Creative Europe Desk Serbia
Faculty of Dramatic Arts

Cultural Diplomacy:
Arts, Festivals and Geopolitics

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Milena Dragičević Šešić

with
Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović
Nina Mihaljinac

Cultural Diplomacy: Arts, Festivals and Geopolitics

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Milena Dragičević Šešić

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INTRODUCTION

Cultural Diplomacy in practice: Mira Trailović, BITEF and geopolitics

Milena Dragičević Šešić

Introduction: Mira Trailović theatre leadership

“I was always led by certain characteristics of my personality that can be considered as positive (...), and they are persistence and optimism. I do not like to leave any job unfinished, I do not like to resign real possibilities that are around us and in the same time I try to keep loyalty. Without loyalty achieved success cannot offer us real joy.”¹

In 2015, BITEF festival, the pride of Serbian theatre circles, got a new artistic director Ivan Medenica, who wanted to reposition BITEF festival on the world scale. Knowing my text “The leadership style of Mira Trailović ” (in: Caust, 2013) he proposed to me to organise the conference: *Mira Trailović and cultural diplomacy: theatre festivals and geopolitics*. From the idea to the realisation, the title of the conference was changed², but the spirit of Mira Trailović and her contribution to cultural diplomacy through BITEF, her activities as the director of Atelje 212 and as the director of the Theatre des Nations in 1982 in Nancy, has been evoked throughout the conference from the introductory speeches of Misha Shvidkoy, Ivan Medenica and myself, till the session: *Testimonies* that brought on the stage of Atelje 212 her former collaborators with numerous stories related to her visions, ideas and methods of operation –discussing *cultural diplomacy in practice*.

Persistence, optimism and loyalty might be precise words to describe her work in theatre, but not sufficient to understand such a complex personality that had strength and courage to position her small theatre on the world scale, using the BITEF festival as a principal but not the only tool of communication. This conference was homage to her achievements, honouring also results that BITEF had in the years that followed, remembering other actors and partners in this endeavour, first of all, Jovan Ćirilov but also Milan Žmukić and many others (quoting here only those that are not any more among us).

Mira Trailović influence went far beyond the institutions she created as those were inspirational for agents on other artistic scenes (music, visual art, film, etc.) in Yugoslavia and even for politicians that understood to what extent her visions might be shared within cultural policy and cultural diplomacy. Coming from the generation that was burdened by changing political history and wars, in spite of

1 Quote from the interview with Feliks Pašić, documentary film “*Učesnik i svedok*” (*Participant and witness*), director Nenad Momčilović, TV Belgrade 1988.

2 Conference: *bitef and cultural diplomacy: theatre and geopolitics*, organised by UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management of University of Arts Belgrade, in partnership with the BITEF festival and the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, was held 1st and 2nd October in Atelje 212, Bitef theatre and Rectorate of the University of Arts.

authoritarianism of the system that was dominating in her homeland (she never joined the Communist party), she succeeded to find the formula for cohabitation using all possibilities of the system but also inspiring changes within the system, opening spaces for more freedom.

Paving the way that led towards important social and cultural changes in Yugoslavia, Mira Trailović introduced the spirit of cosmopolitanism, citizenship, urbanity as values. At the same time she was the *PR machine* capable of spinning and campaigning in the society in which those terms have not been known and in which similar activities in other cultural organisations have been considered blasphemy. Mira Trailović compensated her shortage of political credibility by surrounding herself with those who had that official political authority. She knew that it is important to show that she is close to them (for instance, to call some high official in front of the members of the ensemble) but also to secure their presence on each premiere. She always asked the mayor of Belgrade to open the festival in order to show that BITEF has its political importance, respect and value in society, even outside cultural circles. However, she wanted to be considered above all: the theatre creator, whose major traits are responsibility and critical self-consciousness. She used to say: "Only responsible person does good and achieves good result" (Pašić, 2006: 19).

In tandem with Jovan Ćirilov, Mira Trailović had all that was needed for sharp, brave curatorial decision... As cosmopolites, they were not caring if the piece is coming from big or small theatre culture, choosing performances which were breaking down aesthetic conventions and were yet to become acknowledged in the theatre world. They also knew what is contextually and politically relevant, what crushes the ideological boundaries of all kinds. BITEF therefore removed borders and walls, exceeded the conventions of genre, built new festival narratives – and new bridges of the still unglobalised worlds. It was a platform in which the New York scene stood on equal footing with the amateurs from the city of Pune (India), Moscow State Theatre with Mexican university theatre, and Berlin's avant-garde theatre next to the children's theatre from Banja Luka. Such geopolitics of equity is the geopolitics of bold and conceptually independent theatre festivals. BITEF is certainly one of them. Its geopolitics corresponded to the geopolitics of solidarity that Yugoslavia was developing through the non-aligned movement.

Confirming the reasons behind the "strangeness" of BITEF's choice often preferring small, independent actors over big and significant theatre institutions, Mira Trailović with her associates (Ćirilov, Todor Lalicki, Arsa Jovanović and others) discovered dozens of nontheatrical spaces for theatre performances, and long before the theory of "art in the public space" started coming forth to the city, in factories, shops, warehouses, mines, film studios, parks etc. BITEF as *flaneur* used the Belgrade's streets, in front of the astonished passengers of public transportation with Bread and Puppet Theatre masked procession on stilts, and with fanfares which are introducing the performances as an unusual counterpoint to the radical aesthetic expression of the most of performances.

Not only that she has brought the world to Belgrade, Mira Trailović was taking Yugoslav theatre to the world. She organised the first theatre tours in United States, Iran, Mexico (15 countries and 26 cities) making Yugoslav and Serbian theatre

culture present in the world, participating in significant festivals in Paris, Persepolis and many other places. At some point, she even managed, at least temporarily, to enlarge the space of freedom in the very Soviet Union in which she arrived in May 1968 (after several previous invitations had been cancelled). The minister for culture, Yekaterina Furtseva, asked again for postponement of Mira's arrival, just one day before the planned departure. Mira Trailović responded that scenography is already on its way (which was not true). When she arrived in Moscow she got the information that all tickets were sold. However, the Ministry did everything to make sure that only carefully "selected" could be the audience in a half-empty auditorium. Mira Trailović then sent the message to radio station Voice of America and invited the citizens of Moscow to come and see the performance *Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?* Great number of people reacted to her call but she had to personally argue with the doorkeepers in order to ensure that everyone who came without ticket can enter the theatre and be seated.

BITEF AND GEOPOLITICS – BOTTOM UP APPROACH TO CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

In 2016, the 50th festival was realised under the slogan "On the back of a raging bull", a clear association for the present day turbulences and conflicts that are destroying Europe "of hope" and its values (Moisi 2010). This strong metaphor is pointing both the world and the Europe that are riding on the waves of populism and rage, fearing "the other", the stranger, as the cause of its problems. It shows also that there are no firm "pillars" within the frenzied current of different fundamentalisms that destroy everything in front of them. Within Europe, on this enraged bull, theatre artists tend to keep up formulating their visions of the world, sharing them among each other and creating new frameworks for cultural dialogues and encounters in spite of new frontiers (Foucher 2012). Frontiers and walls that are being built among cultures (from "walls of knowledge" to fortress Europe) are always self-destructive³. Building walls around Palestine, putting wire fence in between Serbia and Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia through Istria having more and more "walled" communities living in camps that started as temporary in 1948 (Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon) like the Jungle in Calais in France, are a disgrace of today's civilisation, together with strict visa regimes that prevent thousands of mostly African artists to participate in different processes of cultural collaboration. Hundreds of thousands of children refugees do not go to school and are even forced to work... Theatre creators from Lebanon and Palestine (Zoukak Beirut that collaborates with the Centre for cultural decontamination in Belgrade and Freedom theatre situated on the occupied West bank) are engaged in extremely important and relevant theatre activities with refugees showing not only their human, but also professional solidarity – creating cultural diplomacy from below. Both BITEF festival programme and the Conference have devoted its attention to this *bottom up approach to cultural diplomacy*.

3 Radical turn that the US achieved in opening university education and in this way put in the second plan the European ones that were inspiration (Humboldt) or benchmarks (Oxford and Cambridge) for American universities at the turn of the 20th century. European universities, having different forms of wall (Latin and Greek language at the entering exam) lost the race with American ones that brought talents from around the world for their own benefit.

Festivals are platforms where even “theatre art might happen”⁴ as Bob Wilson had said in his opening speech to 50th edition of BITEF festival, presenting one imagined encounter with Tito in his wardrobe after *Letter to queen Victoria*. This Wilson’s story might have numerous interpretations: How Tito was “seduced” by the American soft power (although disappointed that it was not Elisabeth Taylor who was in the wardrobe) or how Bob Wilson was “seduced” by the Yugoslav soft power – the best represented in Tito’s hedonistic approach to life with leftist “touch” (appeal).

The opening had another geopolitically relevant event: theatre directors that have been with their performances more than three times on BITEF, came from all around the world to greet its fiftieth edition: from Russia to the US, from Lithuania to France, Romania etc. That is how this 50th edition of BITEF returned to its starting points, expanding its geography toward China, Singapore, Lebanon, South Africa, Syria, bringing artists and experts to present and discuss the most challenging issues of the contemporary world. This re-opening represents an important turn of the Serbian cultural scene towards artistic flows in the world that demands self-organisation and great extent of self-confidence of these agents from the margins of the globalised world, offering alternative platforms for re-conceptualisation of the contemporary “world culture” (Lechner, Boli, 2005), “culture-monde” (Chaube & Martin).

Specific themes of the performances provoked other questions and discussions linked to international cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. Why and how Eastern avant-garde (Tadeusz Kantor) was inspirational for New York artists; why and what Western world is doing in Africa; how Asian cultures are resisting global influences by linking tradition and their contemporaneity. International conference of theatre critics with its 150 participants was also one of the proofs that BITEF wants to regain its role of the independent agent of cultural diplomacy.

From its very beginning BITEF has been networking at different levels in the artistic and political circles over the world. It has become the interface where politically confronted or separated cultures meet. Positioned as a cutting-edge festival of new theatre tendencies at a time of *the culture of hope* (Moisi 2010), BITEF has been establishing new parameters of the modern culture in the West and crossing the frontiers of the cold war and universal geostrategic divisions. At the same time, long before the anthropological approach to the theatre would take Schechner and Brook to the Third World and open the ‘third road’ for Barba (Barba and Savareze, 2005), the Yugoslav non-aligned policy brought to BITEF traditional theatre expressions from around the world. It started as “serendipity”, as the Government of India decided to send the present – the Kathakali production for the 1967 first BITEF opening. The difficult present, that demanded Mira Trailović with all her curatorial talents, to find for it the true name among cutting-edge contemporary forms (the “roots of the world theatre”) and the right place by continuing its representation every year, thus enabling BITEF and Yugoslavia to confirm in the full sense its non-aligned policy, enabling theatrical voices of those hitherto inaudible and invisible to begin echoing from the world cultural stage.

4 “Without festivals there would not be a chance for big and important productions and no chance for arts.” Even *Einstein on the beach* would not be created as it needed many co-producers and one of them was the BITEF festival on the recommendation of Mira Trailović. It is absolutely certain that it was a “producer’s endeavour of the century” that we never had before and since. That endeavour enabled BITEF to last for a long time among first rate festivals in the world and act as the main operator of the Yugoslavian cultural diplomacy.

The Cold War brought to BITEF the best from the socialist block, because even the most rigid part of it: East Germany, wanted to demonstrate that it was not just as good as, but even better and stronger in artistic expression than its Western “brother”. Thus, Belgrade was the meeting point of the best theatres from East and West. The Soviet Union, though facing ‘dilemmas’ whether and how much to allow the dissident theaters to go to BITEF, “let them out”, imposing also to BITEF curators the best from the “establishment”⁵. This was already the time when theatre studios in Poland flourished, with theatre in Czechoslovakia that offered rare opportunities for public expressions. So, Grotowski and Kantor on the one hand, and Krejča and Pintilie on the other, were important BITEF guests – the reference points of the festival programme.

More free, the Western cultural world brought their representative institutional but also innovative theatre forms (theatres of Antoine Vitez, Roger Planchon, Patrice Chereau, Stein, Botho Strauss, Heiner Muller), explicitly dissident organisations (Living Theatre, Bread and Puppet, la Mama...) and even the leftist community theatre – with interventionist, activist participative projects (Werkteater from Amsterdam). So, BITEF was the spot where people like Alwin Nikolais and Merce Cunningham from US, and Efros and Tovstonogov from the Soviet Union, were meeting, looking at each other’s work, reflecting, sometimes even discussing.

The Third World brought to BITEF its roots that were so inspirational for the modern theatre: in addition to Kathakali, there were the Yuroba Opera from Nigeria, Noh, Bunraku and Butoh dance from Japan, Beijing Opera, Indonesian shadow theatre, to be joined by Western traditional forms: Sicilian puppets and the American Medicine Show... Habib Tanvir and Satish Alekar, two leaders of Indian contemporary theatre were BITEF’s guests and although they were not praised and greeted by Yugoslav media and theatre circles as Bob Wilson and Pina Bausch were, for Mira and Jovan, they were equally important spots on the theatre map of the world.

At BITEF, theatres have always represented their countries; there, at the festival, we heard their anthems, often for the very first time, but it was also space shared by all of them, a celebration opening with theatre fanfare, and frequently followed by processions down Belgrade streets or performances of visual artists thereby making the whole festival a cultural performance of its own. BITEF’s map of the world is not yet complete and will never be complete and it creates possibilities and challenges for new geopolitical and artistic strategic approaches⁶.

Even braver decision about the repertoire included performances and exhibitions at the “BITEF Visual Art” (1967-1972, curator Biljana Tomić), but the main programme

5 It was not always easy to bring artists that festival really wanted, as governments preferred to send representative institutions that do not question “national values”. Even US would not support coming of the Living theatre, while to bring dissident groups from Soviet Union demanded more negotiations, “coupling” them with state recommended theatres. Although compromises have been necessary, curatorial choice is showing that aesthetical stands have been key decision-point, creating from Bitef unique world theatrical platform that demands new political and cultural reading.

6 In 1985 Soviet Union was represented by Theatre na Taganke performance based on the text of Svetlana Alexievich: The War’s Unwomanly Face, directed by Efros and Glagolin. Such a play had its clear political meaning then, but it is even more actual today, after Balkan wars, while in the world Svetlana, now as Belarus artist, became known and famous when she got the Nobel Prize in 2015.

sometimes included even poets or singers-songwriters with their recitals (Bela Ahmadulina and Bulat Okudzhava). It seems that contemporary theatre curators are more “cautious” today – their attention is directed towards the curatorship (concept and main idea of the selection) more than on the very performances (curators today have to be very bold, daring to make an unusual, challenging choice, if in counterpoint with their main concept⁷).

Generally, BITEF's repertoire was always a matter of a brave curatorial but also a political decision. In its essence it was about aesthetics that battered borders and frames, an aesthetic that is always based on the ethics, fighting for justice, the value of solidarity, understanding, pacifism... That way, when we look at the 50 years of BITEF's repertoire, we see how the key questions of its time were debated and what methods that theatre artists had used to express their ideas, critical stands and visions were.

At the same time, because “personal is political”, by bringing together world artists gatecrashing all linguistic, physical, sexual and gender conventions (for that Jovan Ćirilov's curatorial gift was undeniably very important), BITEF became an important platform for the promotion of women's voices, through Ellen Stewart, Nuria Espert, etc. and presentation of hitherto marginalised (relegated to the sub-cultural milieu) theatre voices (queer theatre), theatre of transgender persons, persons with various disabilities and radical political voices of the oppressed within the “completely free” Western culture (suppressed ethnic minorities). Belgrade was therefore the first in the world to position Catalan as a theatre language on an equal footing with others on the international stage⁸, while the production of the Gorki at Moscow Theatre in 1968 provoked Belgrade's cultural workers Bojana Marijan, Branko Vučićević and Želimir Žilnik to express their political protest because of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia⁹.

The culture of hope of that time gave Mira Trailović the impulse and strength to find her way and resilience in the Yugoslav society, in spite of the both conservative (theatre critic circles) and ideological-dogmatic governing circles, and secure for the BITEF a place on the world map as a point of freedom, a point of crisscrossing, fusion, refraction and intersection of aesthetic ideas and artistic idioms on one, and radical political views (theatre as an agent of change), on the other.

Despite the lack of understanding of both critics & general public (critics often ridiculed nakedness on the stage, incomprehensible modern theatre idiom of the physical or non-verbal theatre, travesty...), BITEF became a major festival of strategic importance. For socialist Yugoslavia it became a flagship project under which all, then young and avant-garde theatre creators, from Arsa Jovanović to Ljubiša Ristić, Dušan Jovanović, Slobodan Unkovski... could gather. However, as Mira Trailović was a polyglot herself, but francophone above all, one must also give to BITEF a French

7 As it risk obtaining bad critics from their peers for whom concept is all, art works are of secondary importance.

8 Nuria Espert was the guest of BITEF first in 1969, performing in Jean Genet's *Les Bonnes* directed by Victor Garcia, then in 1972 with the performance of Lorca's *Yerma*, but only in 1983 when she came with Jorge Lavelli's *Tempest* she performed in the Catalan language.

9 By turning a Citroen 2CV into a “tank” and going in circles around Atelje 212 throwing leaflets against Soviet occupation, while Bogdan Tirnanić and Borka Pavićević stopped audiences at the door with a question: «Are you an Inform Bureau (Stalinist) supporter?».

name thus, instead of *flagship project*, to call it a *projet-phare*, a lighthouse of the Yugoslav specific road and the political geostrategic position of Yugoslavia in Tito's time.

True, one may not ignore the spirit of the time (*l'esprit du temps*, *Zeitgeist*) which opened different theatre expressions to interdisciplinarity, interculturalism, forceful political commitment, but also Mira Trailović's and Jovan Ćirilov's strength to understand both the world and the domestic political context, and create the festival as a platform of meeting and exchange in the best tradition of theatre festivities of the ancient world. This endeavour must always be considered within the context of culture and changing socio-political relations.

BITEF IN CONTEMPORARY GEOPOLITICS AND CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF SERBIA

And, when *the culture of hope* was replaced by the *culture of humiliation* (D. Moisi), BITEF found its way to survive owing to the invisible "rhizome system", established during the culture of hope, when country had its international respect and importance. The festival has evolved, changed, begun to open new regional, geopolitical paths.

Today, when the culture of fear dominates the world geopolitics and when art and cultural diplomacy as a "soft power" (Nye, 2011) loses its importance while religious fanaticism, ethnic nativism and racial conflicts become the predominant powers in wars and conflicts erupting across the world, BITEF and Belgrade, no longer at the watershed of the worlds but in the centre of a heartbreaking refugee route of destroyed or about to be destroyed cultures and peoples, become the voice of 'another Europe', Europe of open borders in spite of fear and humiliation.

BITEF's continuing artistic, cultural and political relevance has been based precisely on its ability to change and find appropriate strategies while holding on to its fundamental principles of openness, creative and curatorial freedom. The East-West, North-South divisions, or as it is called today the Global North and the Global South (yet the later means only economically prosperous global cities of the 'South' such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai or Seoul) even if they do not apply in the same way, still prove relevant because they bring to light some new centres and a new, forgotten periphery. It does not come as a surprise therefore that in 2016, for the first time, BITEF brings a production from Singapore, a new player on the international and geopolitical and cultural stage. In other words, the periphery does not arrive any more with its tradition alone: it is here with its new polemical dialogue with the world, positioning itself as a centre.

How important of a contribution BITEF offered to cultural diplomacy of Yugoslavia hasn't been yet analyzed within theory of international relations, as this theory in Yugoslavia, but also in today's Serbia, has not considered yet cultural diplomacy as a "soft power" (Rogač Mijatović 2014). Therefore, the importance of BITEF has not been researched. Thus the main aim of this conference and this book was to place BITEF, theatre festivals and other culture based forms of diplomacy in the focus of attention of both international cultural relations and cultural policy.

First effect of BITEF relates to its contribution to the repositioning of Belgrade and Yugoslavia on the cultural and theatrical world map – right at its heart. This can be proved by the fact that only ten years after its founding, BITEF took the role of the Theatre of the Nations (1977) and already in 1982 Mira Trailović became director of the Theatre of the Nations in Nancy. Many years later, on behalf of BITEF, Jovan Ćirilov received the lofty international award Premio Europa per il Teatro in Taormina. These two events speak of the importance of BITEF as a world relevant festival.

Secondly, BITEF brought to the world of theatre unknown art of the Eastern bloc, both dissident and mainstream that although not apologetic, due to its non-politicity (non-dissident approach, although aesthetically and culturally relevant), was ignored in crucial theatrical world flows.

BITEF introduced traditions and experiments from the Third World, from Nigeria to India to the Western self-confident and self-reflective theatre world. Thus, in spite of political and economic limitations, BITEF succeeded in bringing together different cultures that were never before that time in direct, equal, cultural dialogue.

BITEF's success is showing the importance of, so-called, "bottom-up cultural diplomacy", meaning the diplomacy led by the independent (or semi-independent, as public sphere was in Yugoslav self-governing system) cultural actors in accordance with their sense of priorities and meaningfulness. That is how and why the "map of BITEF" in 1960s covered the whole world; in 1990s it was reduced to Serbia and Montenegro; after 2000 it started to widen and open-up toward region (Central Europe, Balkans but especially former Yugoslavia); and today, ambitiously, BITEF's map is again expanding to the whole world, especially towards Asia. This shows not only the openness of cultural scene in Serbia but as well its competence to do better and more than politics in terms of the opening of the society and repositioning Belgrade and Serbia on geopolitical map of the world. In congruence with the theory of geopolitics of emotions (Moisi), today's Asia is the field of *culture of hope*, the field in which, in spite of globalisation and strategic focusing of great powers, the group of forceful countries is giving rise to the new economy. But, besides creative industries that are crucial there¹⁰, besides *Cool Japan* (project of the Japan's Ministry of foreign affairs, placing Japan's popular culture: manga, anima at the centre of attention of cultural diplomacy), besides South Korea fan-clubs of K-pop that are being opened throughout Europe, most of Asian countries are developing traditional performing arts forms, but have also new, strong cultural policies devoted to support to contemporary creativity and use of both expressions in cultural diplomacy...

* * *

The conference *BITEF and Cultural Diplomacy: Theatre and Geopolitics* endeavoured to shed light on the role of culture in diplomacy, whether led from above (as official foreign policy) using arts and official cultural manifestations, or led from below, based on values, feelings and commitments of cultural change-makers, cultural operators, artists and art festivals that create specific autonomous platforms for cultural collaboration and exchange.

10 The new Moisi's book *The geopolitics of TV series*, although mostly "Anglo-American" in its focus, is also witnessing the importance of creative industry for cultural diplomacy and geopolitics. Taiwan, Thai, Vietnamese etc. gastro-diplomacy is not of less importance...

The Conference gathered one hundred participants out of whom 58 had presented the paper. The majority of them (21) focused on different festivals as platforms for cultural diplomacy, while BITEF inspired 19 participants (9 with papers and 10 with testimonies). Cultural diplomacy, art and artistic projects as soft power preoccupied 13 participants with four more dealing more specifically with the role of theatre and performing arts in cultural diplomacy. Not all of the papers could be presented here, but as texts in the book have been developed after the conference taking in account thoughts and discussions expressed in numerous sessions and debates, we are sure that spirit of the Conference will be well represented. The trans-disciplinary approach within each debate paved new ways towards the understanding of the role of festivals and the art of theatre in cultural diplomacy in the cruel world of contemporary geopolitics where the cogwheels are no longer just ideological or economic interest but emotions, concerns and fears provoked by terrorist acts, enforced migrations, violence by authorities, corruption, repressive policies of memory and oblivion...

The invited participants, academics and researchers, covered a wide range of academic disciplines (theatre and cultural studies, political science, sociology, cultural policy and management, migration studies, etc.¹¹). The other group included a wide range of cultural professionals, from former and present ministers of culture (Misha Shvidkoy, Corina Suteu), leaders of international networks (Hugo de Greef & Mike van Graan), cultural diplomats (Helene Larsson, Manuele Debrinay-Rizos, Frederic Moreau, Pawel Potoroczyn, Vida Ognjenović, Damir Grubiša, Jasna Zrnović), international policy experts (Pascal Brunet, Christine Merkel), festival & theatre managers (David Diamond, Shanez Kechroud, Jonatan Stanczak, Ljubica Ristovski, Daniela Urem, Dijana Milošević, Jovanka Višekruna Janković, Diana Kržanić Tepavac, Vesna Latinović and many others), and among them a special group of participants-witnesses to BITEF beginnings and evolution (Vera Konjović, Ivana Vujić, Beka Vučo, Borka Pavičević, Ljubica Beljanski Ristić, Irina Subotić, Katarina Pejović and Jelena Knežević).

The conference papers considered the festival role not as a safe haven, not only as a meeting point or a place of exchange and representation, but as a platform for a polemical dialogue, confrontation of different aesthetics and thoughts, a specific “path to the future”, the flight path (Deleuze) in this completely changed political landscape. The discussions have shown that although BITEF does not carry a usual festival name: dialogues, confrontations, meetings... BITEF has successfully entered geopolitical currents not as a follower but as a curator-leader who, by understanding the context, points at untold links opening new roads of cultural diplomacy but even more so, at true forms of international cultural cooperation and exchange. As a part of Yugoslavia's cultural diplomacy BITEF did not allow its role to be reduced to the representation of freedom of the Yugoslav society in the world divided by the Cold War; with its selection practices it pursued its own policy of building the world of cultural relations aside and despite geopolitical boundaries.

11 To name only few academics whose texts are not in this book: Lluís Bonet, cultural economy (Barcelona), Barbara Orel, theatre studies (Ljubljana), Hanan Kassab Hassan, theatre studies (Damascus/Beirut), Radivoje Dinulović, architecture and stage design (Novi Sad), Goran Tomka, cultural management (Novi Sad/Belgrade), Višnja Kisić, heritology (Belgrade), etc.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY: ARTS, FESTIVALS AND GEOPOLITICS

This book that presents collection of texts has been created as a result of two separate projects: the conference *BITEF and Cultural Diplomacy: Theatre and Geopolitics* and the Creative Europe Desk Serbia research project about the state of the art in international and regional cultural collaboration in Serbia. Thus the book is divided in five complementary parts.

- part I: Cultural diplomacy: soft power or fair cooperation
- part II: Theatre festivals in cultural diplomacy
- part III: Paradiplomacy and bottom-up cultural diplomacy
- part IV: Serbia – challenges and perspectives of international cultural cooperation
- part V: Cultural cooperation data - statistical annex

Part one brings six conference papers that reflect on issues and controversies related to cultural diplomacy and international cultural cooperation in the time of globalisation and political and economic crisis.

Jonathan Vickery examines the concept of culture's international political agency in relation to the current discourse on cultural diplomacy. Discussing position of culture within nation state and internationalism and ethical universalism, Vickery is analyzing important UNESCO programmes and conventions criticising its limitation as he has shown with a concept of multiculturalism. Bringing to the fore the notion of trans-culturalism, he has shown its critical (invested in resistance and radical condemnation of the state) and celebratory strains (triumph of communications technology, creative potential of the young, "gateway to the brave new world of cultural ghettoisation"). This text is an invitation for further research in the domain of the historiography of policy and political philosophies that generated global policy frameworks and its ethical bases.

Serhan Ada offers a retrospective look at the history of cultural diplomacy as soft power asking if the state is the only actor in this domain. However, he defines three main models of cultural diplomacy: the model of direct government supervision (French institutes); the model of nongovernmental agency (British Council, Japanese Foundation) and the mixed model that relies on inter-ministerial collaboration. Through important case studies that cover variety of diplomatic and non-diplomatic actions (such as the Fulbright scholarship programme) and self-initiated consortium projects such as "The World Collections Programme" (WCP) that unites major British public institutions with public institutions worldwide. Thus, Serhan Ada brings to the debate the issue of authority and actors examining conventional channels, authorised agencies but also new actors in cultural relations on the international scene. Emphasising the importance of civil society role in external relations, Serhan Ada selected two important examples that are showing strength of arts and culture in overcoming political tensions and hatred. First dialogue between Turkey and

Armenia started through culture, in absence of official diplomacy (Turkey added Armenian city of Ani to UNESCO world heritage list; the hundredth anniversary of Armenian tragedy of 1915 was marked by joint projects). Starting with the thesis that cultural diplomacy was based on hegemony he wants to offer a new definition that should depend on an ongoing exchange and reciprocity.

In her text “Fair cooperation” Anika Hampel is debating partnership based cooperation in cultural policy and cultural management. Starting with the hypothesis that there are no equal collaborations within cultural diplomacy schemes, she is discussing “partnership based practices” through five case studies of German-Indian cooperation. Showing lack of intercultural competences and limitation of collaborative work on adaptation and reproduction from North to South, Anika Hampel is focusing on this one way road that endangers sustainability of the collaborative efforts and preventing real experience of collaboration to happen. Cultural diplomacy here is seen as an example of neo-colonialist cultural dynamic. Investigating and questioning both policy frameworks and managerial practices during project implementation, Hampel tried to develop policy recommendations for future collaborative projects under the name “fair cooperation”.

Raphaela Henze focuses her attention on the rise of populism of contemporary society with main task to find opportunities to overcome paternalism in cultural work related to integration. Analyzing contemporary political stage (from the election of Donald Trump to the statements of Frauke Petri and Marine le Pen), Henze is showing to what extent culture is used as a mean of differentiation and how actual still is Huntington’s *Clash of civilisations*. Numerous art projects and scientific publications dealing with integration issues have been launched in a paternalistic way by public cultural institutions and NGOs (“institutional whiteness”, “Benetton model of diversity”) start now to be replaced by participatory projects although already Spivak questioned the possibility of participation to provide any form of added value to the “subalternate”. Analyzing different forms of art instrumentalisation, Henze advocates different approach for more community based projects that are open for participation and act as debate platforms for controversial and unpleasant issues.

Monika Mokre in her text “Cultural diplomacy from bellow” also addresses state politics towards refugees and migrants in Austria their limits and shortcomings in different historical moments. From Hungarian refugee crisis, post “Prague spring”, Latino American military junta exiles, Yugoslav/ Bosnian war refugees and present Iraq and Syria migrants, Austrian society had to find ways to show its asylum policy, empathy and solidarity. In this domain the arts had played a very important role, not only for “instructing” about Austrian culture, but also for critically reconsidering prejudices and stereotypes of Austrian population regarding abilities of refugees to integrate in “our” Austrian culture. Using important projects based on Elfriede Jelinek’s plays and many others, Mokre is showing to what extent artistic projects from bellow can challenge representation, hierarchy and cultural capital. These projects are not just cultural translation forms; they are also solidarity actions and elements of resistance.

The final text in this chapter: Who holds the power in soft power? is a concluding discussion on this crucial question. Melissa Nisbett offers an overview of cultural

diplomacy theories, its contested definitions, its relations to policy making and different political agencies. Analyzing British soft power that considers cultural diplomacy as “things that make people love a country rather than fear it”, she had shown that the response of British government on present immigrant crisis was inadequate and inappropriate. In spite of its rhetoric, British cultural diplomacy is more focusing on big markets thus achieving disproportionate economic results in selling its cultural products. That led Nisbett to conclude that the term “soft power” is inadequate regarding its ability for harmonious cooperation, it simply became “another conduit for trade”.

The second chapter tries to investigate the role of theatre in contemporary world focusing on theatre and performing art festivals within international cultural cooperation and cultural diplomacy. Specific emphasis was on BITEF festival, but few texts are dealing with other concrete examples of performing art festivals and their roles in cultural diplomacy and intercultural dialogue.

The opening text of Hugo de Greef can be considered as a manifesto! Although written for the BITEF anniversary it celebrates all important performing arts festivals in Europe. This manifesto states that arts festivals are above all platforms for innovation and experimentation offering possibility for meetings and exposures within different layers of communities and even more, on the global scale – acting as a force for constructive dialogue necessary in contemporary geopolitical relations.

The second “opening” text of Ivan Medenica, artistic director of BITEF, sheds light on the role of the BITEF at its beginnings (as a space which enabled an international exposure and visibility to theater artists who were creating behind the Iron Curtain, especially to those who were seen as dissidents and who rarely got the occasion to travel to the West), and also today, in new geopolitical realities. In those realities, while the ‘raging bull’ is driving Europe towards closing its doors and horizons of understanding, the BITEF is making further attempts at offering new perspectives to artists around the world. Thus, Medenica sees Belgrade and BITEF as one of the new main gates of Europe for all the less visible theatre workers coming from the margins of the global world. These gates are and will be supported by the BITEF festival which provides opportunities for hybridisation of performing arts and for their further theoretisation.

In her text *Festivals as social dramas and metaphors: between popular and subversive*, Aleksandra Jovičević discusses two crucial notions of Victor Turner – liminality and *communitas*. The liminal is a moment of rupture, discontinuity within everyday time allowing temporary subversion of order and frames. *Communitas* – festival as a potential community carries a possible connotation of togetherness. Thus, role of festivals in contemporary society with both counterparts: professional managers on one side and audiences on the other deserve special attention not only because of “festivalisation” of culture but also for its possible contribution to the processes towards “emancipated community”. Aleksandra Jovičević concludes that festivals seen as social dramas and metaphors today can be more important for their social and political impact than because of their aesthetic and entertaining dimension. In that sense the subversive potential can be reached in special synergies between the “performers” and “audience” creating new *communitas* at least during festival days as liminal events.

The composer Ivana Stefanović as curator of several music festivals explored the idea of a dialogue between festivals that are happening in the same cultural and political context. Questioning reasons why BEMUS (Belgrade Music Festival) never reached the importance and impact of BITEF, she has shown lacks in cultural policies and in cultural governance linked to the shortcomings in music leadership. That was the reason why a new, absolutely independent music festival – BUNT had to be created as a rebellion. As a reaction to BEMUS, BUNT as acronym for the New Belgrade Artistic Territory, meaning rebellion in Serbian, had proven importance of festivals as places of subversiveness and creation of the new *communitas*. Thus, the texts of Aleksandra Jovičević and Ivana Stefanović enter into dialogue where cases that Ivana is discussing are confirming Aleksandra's theoretical concepts.

Text of Ksenija Radulović investigates deeply the ways how and in which socio-political and cultural contexts BITEF festival was conceptualised. Tracing its roots to 1964 when Mira Trailović expressed the need for a festival of small avant-garde theatres “without the baroque pomp of the middle class” Radulović has shown to what extent 1960s with creation of Atelje 212 theatre style, Museum of contemporary art, efforts to create a first independent cultural review *Free thought* that Leonid Šejka wanted to launch but ended in prison, has been relevant context in which BITEF as idea could be questioned but also accepted and realised as a part of the state policy of nonalignment and East-West openness and communication. It is exactly the fact that “social and political debates could not be held in the public sphere in a direct manner, they were transferred to the medium of the theatre”. Thus, BITEF used this opportunity to present different voices and different ethical and aesthetical ideas.

Anja Suša text: *BITEF in the new millennium: from one crisis to another* although focusing on recent developments, also investigated in a complementary manner to previous one, the context of its creation. On one side she has shown theatre culture and taste through analysis of the repertoire of that time, and on the other, cultural and educational foreign policies that enabled mobility of Yugoslav artists and brought numerous foreign students to Yugoslavia. Bilateral contracts of cultural cooperation (like in the cases of France and Poland) have foreseen a participation of theatres from these countries in BITEF. Well researched and informed text (as the author was also the co-selector of the festival after 2006 in the period of “new optimism” but also in the period of austerity), critically assess official cultural policies and a lack of any cultural diplomacy framework. Thus Suša has shown how BITEF went through different phases testing its own resilience and capacity to survive, playing on regional nostalgia and using “its unique position of the most popular festival in the former Yugoslav region” to establish a post-Yugoslav presentation platform, offering possibility for numerous young artists to get their wider acknowledgement.

Describing festivals as platforms for applying dominant hegemonic monocultural practices, Darko Lukić is demanding new agenda setting in the international cooperation through knowledge transfer. In his text “Inclusive practices at the international performing arts festivals” he is re-evaluating long and fruitful history of BITEF underlying its cultural diplomacy role exactly through knowledge transfer and agenda setting. However, he puts accents now on the necessity for new festival agendas to promote inclusion and explore margins, to care for the invisible audiences and to introduce all that as special indicators of community benefit and cultural added value.

Ana Žuvela writes about dialectics of cultural diplomacy through a case study of Dubrovnik Summer Festival. Analyzing the position and reasons behind creation of this festival, Žuvela discusses cultural policy trajectories of socialist Yugoslavia and Croatia. Studying its organisational set up and management formation, she is focusing on its controversial cultural diplomacy role that once had served to showcase to the world that Yugoslavia was not a dark communist country, then to be a platform for East and West convergence, it has still to find its new role in cultural diplomacy of today, to go beyond “consumer oriented entertainment package”, a Disneyfied international tourist city destination.

Mike van Graan's text: *Theatre festivals and cultural diplomacy* is addressing the theme of geopolitics and role of theatre festivals. All of his examples are related to his personal experience from South Africa and Zimbabwe but analysed in the framework of their soft power impact, public diplomacy use or inequality that is inherent in international cultural cooperation. In presenting his complex relations as “coloured” person with political system, he focused on the studying at the University of Cape Town and on organising the Performing arts festival as two sites of anti-apartheid struggle. The festival he prepared was an attempt to celebrate alternative values and ideas such as democracy or anti-racism – but this festival was banned by the security police as a threat to national security. In all other examples that he describes he has shown that cultural diplomacy, intercultural dialogue and international cultural cooperation are projects that are realised within certain political, economic and even military agendas. Thus it imposes to cultural professionals to reconsider each time their participation in such events.

The third part of the book, co-edited by Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović, brings six conference papers related to specific cultural diplomacy questions with an emphasis on new actors and forms within paradiplomacy (decentralised diplomatic actions – direct collaborations in between regions and cities), bottom-up cultural diplomacy and specific cultural diplomacy efforts, like gastrodiplomacy, fashion-diplomacy etc.

Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović in her text *Implications of multiple identity layers for cultural diplomacy of Serbia* discusses the process of the construction of Serbian national identity through history that “ended” with numerous identities that are relevant in cultural public sphere in contemporary Serbia (Serbianhood, Yugoslavism, Panslavism, Balkanism, Europeanism, etc.). Exploring challenges for repositioning of Serbia through culture, Rogač Mijatović analyses stereotypes and stigmatisation in representation of Serbia as well as all symbolic boundaries between “two Serbias”. Therefore, the author concludes that affirmation and promotion of cultural identity, presentation of heritage and contemporary creativity as well as scientific innovation should be key tasks of cultural diplomacy of Serbia in order to reposition the country in international relations.

Paradiplomacy, international relations of cities and regions became one of the most active parts of foreign policies in contemporary Europe but also in the countries of global South (Latin America, South East Asia, etc.). In her text Leda Laggiard analyses the ways how paradiplomacy succeeds in fostering cooperation through cultural networks. Her research focus is on several important city networks such as UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments), Mercociudades and Eurocities.

Her main research question concerns the level of interdependency between Europe and Latin America showing why direct relations between cities and regions are more fruitful, avoiding patronising from the economically more powerful side, but also acknowledging real diversity of Latin America (often in Europe represented as one common entity).

As a long time cultural activist in Macedonia and in the region, Biljana Tanurovska Kjulakovski has discussed the topic of participative governance: *Cultural diplomacy, a dialogue with civil society*. Starting with the statement that cultural diplomacy should not represent only the official cultural identity but also other identity politics led by different actors in public, private and civil sectors, she advocates for integration of cultural diplomacy in contemporary cultural policies oriented towards the citizens regardless of their ethnicity. Analyzing the general cultural landscape in Macedonia, showing the extent of centralisation of cultural representation, she sees in this moment only within civil society the force that is producing public goods in public interests. By sharing common values the civil sector mediates and creates dialogue among artists, thinkers, activists, and audiences and as such is creating collaborative structures that are implementing bottom-up cultural diplomacy when crossing frontiers. Thus she opposes strongly official cultural diplomacy performing only “the political ideal of cultural representation” using identity narratives that exclude majority of the active cultural players and large segments of population.

In her text *Contemporary art practices in conduct of cultural diplomacy* Milica Savić explores new trends in cultural diplomacy focusing on art practices and artists from Serbia and their impact in international cultural relations. She has identified nine categories of issues predominating in exhibiting on the international scene such as: Feminism, Politics of memory, Eastern European art, Social issues (global and regional), European integration, Identity, the Balkans, Intercultural dialogue, etc. Each topic she discusses through seminal art works, i.e. Balkans through the work *Balkan baroque* of Marina Abramović, European integration through works of Tanja Ostojić and Milica Tomić, etc. She concludes that there are numerous overlappings in contemporary art scene activities and cultural diplomacy agenda, both engaged in fighting stereotypes and achieving intercultural understanding. Important conclusion relates to the fact that “engaging the international or regional community in the debates on Serbian culture the international community aids in helping the Serbian nation overcome these issues” – issues related to facing the negative past, responsibilities within war, nationalism, exclusion, etc.

Cultural diplomacy is also using different forms of intangible heritage in its efforts of repositioning the country in the world. It was especially important for countries like South Korea, Taiwan, India and China that used traditional medicine, martial arts and gastronomy for its international representation. Thus the work of Tanja Strugar *Gastronomy as a tool in cultural diplomacy and nation branding of Serbia* brings this new line of cultural diplomacy upfront trying to show to what extent gastronomy is not only part of cultural tourism but it can be a huge potential for repositioning the country. Rebranding through food might look as an easy task but her paper shows that there is a lot to be done to first define first the country what Serbian gastronomy really is.

Fashion as soft power is definitely the strength of Italian, French and Japanese diplomacy. Mina Popović has shown to what extent *The roles and practices of fashion in cultural diplomacy* might be useful in nation branding using examples of “French look”, “Italian style”, “Nordic chic”, “Japanese harajuku”, etc. Fashion industry is an excellent mechanism to be used by public diplomacy and nation brand marketing, although designers can be defined as “citizen diplomats”, seen as alternative bottom-up cultural diplomacy. Still, when successful, it is always win-win outcome for everyone engaged in its creation and promotion but even more for the country’s image.

In the fourth chapter *Challenges and perspectives of international cultural cooperation* co-edited by Nina Mihaljinac and Dimitrije Tadić, introductory texts offer reasoning why the Creative Europe Desk Serbia had launched the research regarding state of the arts of the cultural cooperation of Serbia. The research was done through seven working groups that gathered relevant communities exploring strengths and weaknesses of seven sectors, focusing mostly on non-used opportunities and possible threats. Although simple as a methodology, this approach enabled different voices from each domain to be heard as cultural professionals from the public, private and civil sectors, together with academics and researchers have been invited. Eight authors with numerous collaborators have explored cooperation practices within different value chains: the audiovisual sector, cultural heritage, literature, performing arts, music, visual arts, creative industries and within scientific research in the field of humanities. The final result represents the situation as seen by practitioners that offers a set of policy recommendations that could quickly be implemented especially within cultural policy of Serbia, to strengthen necessary capacities for participation on international artistic scene and on the international market.

The fifth chapter, *Statistical annex* contains different graphs presenting data about international cultural cooperation - from participation of organisations from Serbia in European competitions (number of projects with Serbian partners, leaders of projects with Serbian partners, projects and budgets of Serbian cultural organisations, etc.) to analysis of the success of Serbian organisations in different sector specific competitions (literary translations with list of publishing houses, list of books awarded, languages of translation, etc.). Also, European platforms and success of Serbian organisations are presented through key data (name of the organisation, number of European partners and budget). Infographics are also used to show how the funds of the Ministry of culture and media have been distributed for the projects and activities of international and European collaboration (sector-specific).

All these five chapters intend to discuss various roles and possibilities of cultural agents of all three sectors with specific emphasis on performing arts festivals and networks, to contribute to the international cultural relations and exchanges based on principles that are often different from standard cultural diplomacy actions that follow geopolitical interests and official foreign policies. Bottom-up cultural diplomacy based on values of equality, collaboration, solidarity that puts citizen and common interest of humanity in the first plan engages multiple actors that combine their forces especially in those times of globalisation, economic crisis and austerity public policies.

Culture as soft power through cultural diplomacy had been used throughout history explicitly and implicitly. From the unification of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with, at that time, small Poland it was visible how the country with stronger “soft power” could Polish Lithuanian elites thus winning in the long term. Same happened to France (that basically lost WWII) which succeeded in beating the biggest world power – US for the UNESCO seat in 1946 – because the votes of the countries of Europe and Latin America went to France seen as “cultural (soft) power”. Today is also very visible to what extent cultural diplomacy might be important for countries that are small in size: Finland, Denmark, South Korea, Taiwan became important players on the world scale due to their culture and creative industries. Even in the process of competing for the Olympic Games cities and states are emphasising their cultural and creative capacities. From Seoul in 1998 when Nam June Paik developed huge artistic installations through Beijing Olympics’ opening and closing so that in the performance of the director Zhang Yimou and choreographer Zhang Yigang traditional and contemporary arts had represented the best of Chinese culture(s) to London and Rio de Janeiro which focused on creative industries, it is obvious that nation branding in spite of the sport framework relied on culture.

Cultural diplomacy of the future has to rely on the whole cultural system of one country, equally engaging the public, private and civil sectors. During 1990s in the Balkans, artists and civil sector were developing intensive collaboration processes creating programmes and projects that could send to the world different picture from the one that politics and media had produced (picture of hatred, brutality, overwhelming nationalism ...). That was the real bottom-up cultural diplomacy held by Centre for cultural decontamination, REX, Remont (Belgrade), MAMA, Centre for contemporary arts (Zagreb), Art workshop Lazareti (Dubrovnik), Akcija (Sarajevo), Abrašević (Mostar), Lokomotiva and Multimedia (Skopje), etc. Already in 1994 BITEF Theatre joined those movements, helping in connecting of the independent Slovenian and Serbian cultural scenes through project Dibidon and Counterdibidon.

Today, the public and the civil sector collaborate through numerous platforms such as performing arts festivals, networks, artistic exhibitions and international (European) projects. BITEF that was in the focus of attention of the conference and this book is the good example of this practice. Besides Dibidon, it has opened itself to radical and experimental regional performing arts practices through a special programme: BITEF Polyphony – it gave a platform to numerous civil society organisations to show their achievements often done in very difficult circumstances. Since the beginning of Visual art BITEF it was also a platform for independent artists and curators to have a dialogue with theatre arts and with critical thinkers and activists of different kind. Thus, openness, critical spirit, fight for the freedom of expression, readiness for risk, ability to accept criticism from public opinion or authorities – all of that are criteria of the BITEF festival “to act against” – against routine, norms, standards, for the benefit of the society, for opening audiences’ horizons of expectations and to facilitate repositioning of Belgrade and Serbia on the world stage.

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CONCEPTS

A N D

POLICIES

Since internationalism: diplomacy, ideology, and a political agency for culture

Jonathan Vickery

The central challenge of this chapter is to work towards a theoretical conception of culture's (potential) international political agency, and what that might mean in relation to the current discourse on Cultural Diplomacy¹. Today the arts are employed in a range of representative roles, from official state sponsored trade exhibitions to actors in international development aid, many of which are politically uncontroversial (much of the work commissioned by the British Council, Institut français and Goethe Institut, for example). The broader project of which this chapter is a part is not motivated by the aspiration to devise more effective roles for culture or arts in national foreign policy schemes or in the political representation of government. It aims for the possibility of an *informal* economy of international deliberations, advocacy and interventionist approaches to culture - representing a broader democratic polity of which the State is the formal dimension. Can the arts or cultural agencies engage in their own international cultural politics of 'diplomacy'?

The binary of 'internal/external' in national affairs does not admit to the way the nation state as currently formed is obviously porous, where the 'international' is as much within (rising global migration) as without (of 'relations' with other countries). At the same time, we live in an age where the main intellectual currents of critical thought define the nation state in wholly pejorative terms. In defining cultural diplomacy for informal cultural agency, we need to consider the various ways in which 'internal/external' is conceived, particularly in relation to key policy terms favoured by supra-national agencies. This, of course, is a broader research task, and all this chapter can hope to do is suggest a few lines of inquiry and identify some key issues. Of course, the political agency of culture was a problem for modernism for most of the Twentieth Century, from avant-gardism to radical abstraction; from the CIA co-option of US Abstract Expressionism in the 1950s to the environmental and sexual politics of post-minimalism in the 1960s. In this chapter I will traverse more familiar territory, beginning with the emergence of the 'international' as a sphere for national culture, and asserting that the shift from 'internationalism' to 'global' discourse is problematic for an internationally activist approach to culture².

CULTURE AND INTERNATIONALISM

Cultural Diplomacy has to some extent become a modish subject in cultural policy studies, and will, no doubt, gain a greater prestige than nation-bound areas of cultural policy involving community or local arts policies. Yet I hope the implications of this

1 I would like to thank Professor Milena Dragičević Šešić for her kind invitation to the BITEF conference in Belgrade (September 2016), my keynote for which was the origin of this chapter.

2 Although we are indebted to recent scholarship: Ang, I., Raj Isar, Y., & Mar, P. eds. (2015) 'Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest?', Special Issue: International Journal of Cultural Policy: 21:4, pp. 365-511.

chapter will confound this assumption, where the space of the ‘international’ does not preclude local interventions in ‘internal’ national cultural politics. Moreover, the concept of Cultural Diplomacy is surely in need of critical historicisation. The parameters that define the concept have mutated, and its current conditions of meaning arguably disconnect a cultural politics of ‘internationalism’ in the arts from the international political realm proper. Cultural Diplomacy is ‘official’ and State sponsored (i.e. there is no ‘diplomacy’ outside of the State and its agents). As the State endures, this enduring assumption of power and representation needs to be challenged; and arguably, political parties throughout Europe, Left and Right, have participated in evolving State monopoly of power on all levels of society.

The post-War era of the late 1940s (the start of the Bretton Woods era, and the new political apparatus for international democratic governance) saw UNESCO’s original internationalist vision for culture emerge, the specifics of which are rarely discussed today. As a generalisation, Cultural Diplomacy is today more associated with US American discourse of public diplomacy and soft power, whose specific tangent lends itself to the field of International Relations and further, the global symbolic economy of brands, markets, and corporate strategy. This is not an indictment of the term ‘soft power’ per se, as Joseph S. Nye Jr.’s *Soft Power* (2004) could only assume the democratic autonomy of culture, whose self-expression was useful in promoting (the ideology of) freedom and individual rights. However, as Nye often related, his investigation did not actually concern culture and power (the power of culture), but multilateralism and foreign policy (2004: xii). To underline this, one might look no further than the Wikipedia entry on Cultural Diplomacy, citing the interesting and informative book (edited by Michael J. Waller), *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare* (2009): Cultural Diplomacy is defined most specifically in terms of its goals, which are to: “... influence a foreign audience and use that influence, which is built up over the long term, as a sort of good will reserve to win support for policies. It seeks to harness the elements of culture to induce foreigners to ...” positive views, cooperation, “aid in changing the policies or political environment of the target nation; prevent, manage and mitigate conflict with the target nation” (Wikipedia, 2017).

This quotation echoes the now famous US Department of State report, ‘Cultural Diplomacy: The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy’ (2005), and reminds us of both the national security priorities of official ‘diplomacy’, as much as how ‘public’ (as in ‘public interest’) is simply a synonym for state. The rhetoric of Cultural Diplomacy is now established among state policy makers in the West, and today among journalists and academics is assumed to be an instrument of ‘International Relations’ [IR] and wholly positive or benign, and moreover without broad implications for national cultural production. It is salutary to see how Cultural Diplomacy has influenced the government of President Xi Jinping in Beijing in exporting their ‘Chinese Dream’ spectrum of values, with a symbolic speech at UNESCO in 2014, preceding the proliferation of Confucian Institutes around the world³.

3 See reference to a speech by the Chinese premier at UNESCO in Paris on 27 March 2014: Chen, Q. (2016) ‘China’s Soft Power Policies and Strategies: The Cultural Activist State’, in Vickery, J. P. ed. ‘Cultural Economies and Cultural Activism: Special Issue, *Journal of Law, Social Justice & Global Development*, 2016/1: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/ugd/2016-1/chen_finalfinal.pdf (accessed 18/01/2017).

Nonetheless, this situation is not to be compared to the cultural-ideological self-promotion of Western states that was internal to Cold War geo-politics (up to 1989). Cultural Diplomacy is today more nuanced and tactful, more characterised by what Robert Albro calls “a cultural policy of display – of showing or representing the nation through cultural spectacle” (Albro, 2015: 384). The constitution of nation state power itself in the international arena has, of course, changed, and arguably changed from its promotion of national in territorially-based power to less aggressive international alliances and mutual trade based on broader values. These values are of interest to this chapter – particularly in their ‘universal’ iterations (of international mutual respect, rights, equalities and recognition). However, there remains a dearth of comparative research on the complex symbiotic evolution of national culture and nation statehood, so my observations here will inevitably suffer from some measure of the impressionistic.

One of the unfulfilled aspirations of UNESCO, cited in the Constitution of 1945, was to enrol the major cultural, educational and civil society institutions in each member state in the UNESCO mission of ICR. It promoted a cultural internationalism – a framework that recognised a political agency for culture outside the official coordinates of state representation. Nationhood was associated with a broad and multivalent democracy, of which the state was one (if the most powerful) representation. UNESCO aspired to become mediators of a global cultural public sphere. At least, if it was to be taken literally, this is the intention of Constitution Article VII, and I return to it, in part, as international treaties on culture are almost always ideologically removed from public consciousness to the extent that even cultural workers in a country can rarely cite them.

Adopted in London on 16 November 1945, the UNESCO Constitution was, in a strong sense, a framework for Cultural Diplomacy. It was conceived as a space of discourse and action generated through a humanitarian consensus on shared aims for democratisation and the promotion of rights around the world. To some degree it did overcome the post-War nation state concept of culture (national ethnic monoculture) that so previously had facilitated militarist forms of national allegiance and colonial supremacy. It famously starts, “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed”. This, even now, is an appropriate means of defining Cultural Diplomacy: the minds of men (past conflict appropriately gendered) maintain a social psychology of national culture that in turn facilitated the political mobilisation of national self-assertion. Against this, UNESCO resists with “defences of peace”, which are defined as forms of culture (as well as education and science) and as the primary means of resistance to conflict, aggressive power, and national self-assertion. By implication, the new internationalism resisted every socio-political discursive and institutional condition of such national self-assertion – from how we defined citizenship, to how we legally framed political participation or community action. To quote the Constitution’s preamble: Culture is the means of “the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace”.

It sounds quaint – in fact, it is a testament to the warping power of ideology that such profound words can sound merely quaint: “the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace”. Cultural Diplomacy, through international cultural

relations, entailed (or should have entailed) the agency of UNESCO continually deliberating with its member states on how they should dismantle the vestiges of militarist nationalism (which in many countries survived at least for another three decades or more). While colonialism (in its originary form) all but collapsed by the mid-Seventies, nationalism as articulated through culture survives to this day, registered perhaps in the extreme emotions and cultural disorientation experienced by national publics in the face of mass immigration.

The Constitution, of course, seems entirely benign as it is driven by universalist ideals of the fulfilment of the cultural and intellectual aspirations of ‘all humanity’ – and importantly, such universalism whose legitimacy was, without doubt, grounded in the assumptions and assertions that were the legacy of European *enlightenment*. Importantly (and such could be said of the UN Assembly and world community of members), the assumptions of European enlightenment was itself grounded in a further assumption that national liberal democracy (as then currently conceived in its many forms) would remain an international authority and as a set of political norms was non-negotiable. However, the political function of ‘universals’, to which many a later postmodernist critique would attest, is never stable and never neutral (or in the interests of ‘all humanity’). I want to suggest that between 1945 and the 1980s (chronology is not internal to my argument), a shift from international activism (against and with nation states for the assertion of democratic enlightenment throughout the world) to a global universalism (call it, and ethics of recognition and cooperation), has presented problems in defining boundaries, on what is and is not tolerable for the enlightened liberal democracy. An active political agency of culture finds it difficult to define objects of critique. Moreover, the language of ethical universalism – global rights, equalities, recognition and respect – now permeate national politics, Left and Right.

The rise of the European Right is perplexing: it has successfully convinced many European citizens that the Left (whose blanket reach is substantial and often includes national media, cultural and education sectors) have abandoned citizen rights, local self-determination, the resistance to privilege and the elites, a critique of government corruption, and an opposition to institutional interests and their role in the political process. The Right are, tragically, the new champions of ‘the people’. This has, in part, emerged as the Left in Europe have lost a strong narrative on economic globalisation and the changes it has wrought in the constitution of its tradition heartlands, the labouring classes of the cities and industrial regions in particular nation states. What is interesting, however, is the co-option of the ‘universals’ of rights and equalities, where the Right are convincing traditional white workers that their rights and equalities have been adversely affected by the neoliberal world order.

CULTURE, NATION STATE AND ETHICAL UNIVERSALISM

In the 1970s, UNESCO’s work in heritage policy and management contributed hugely to a universal recognition and respect of the depth, complexity and specificity of historical cultures around the world – which in colonial times were routinely condemned out of hand as uncivilised, primitive or even barbaric. While the decade saw UNESCO caught between a rising need for global cultural policies while ex-

colonies were still extolling the virtues of nationalism and wanting their own nation state cultures, the 1980s that followed was intellectually productive. The World Conference on Cultural Policies (acronym, MONDIACULT) was held in Mexico City (1982) and the World Decade for Cultural Development (launched in January 1988) concluded the decade. The World Conference, producing the 'Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies' and attended by a hitherto largest gathering of notable political leaders, articulated four of what became UNESCO's most important policy concepts – sustainability, diversity, intangible heritage, and pluralism. The Declaration also emphasised the intrinsic integrity of the distinctive values and beliefs that were inherent in a diversity of cultures across the world; it claimed that human social identity derives primarily from culture, not political regimes; and it stated that culture itself is inherently 'diverse' – no nation state can claim it is grounded in a monoculture. A further important principle can be extrapolated from the Declaration: given culture's inherent diversity, and given its fundamental role in a society (including an increasing recognition of intangible cultural heritage of language and performance-based activities), no culture could be subject to a general or comprehensive condemnation or judgement.

While these intellectual tenets were, and still are, forceful in addressing discrimination, prejudice and the assumed superiority of the European value systems (later theorised by various scholars in terms of cultural colonialism or cultural imperialism), they generated structural ambiguities in Western critical consciousness. For in the face of the emerging hybridity and value-embedded historicity of culture globally, culture was cast as entirely benign, if not the ground of a sphere of human values outside of the political realm. Culture became a form of ethical ontology.

UNESCO's internationalist cultural politics arguably became less charged by a Western enlightenment and democratic thrust, and gradually morphed into a global vision for consensus and cooperation through a range of emerging political philosophies. One of these, which cohered with the new principles of diversity and pluralism, was multiculturalism. While taking different forms in different public policy jurisdictions (Canada, Sweden, Switzerland), multiculturalism was (and is) hugely influential as a concept of culture under the conditions of globalisation. It is grounded in a conviction that culture is internal to social identity, and social identity is a form of political agency to be respected regardless of its origins or endemic values of beliefs. Yet the 'cultural' content of this social identity is exempted from the 'political' in the sense of being the ground of identity and not itself open to political interrogation. Of course, 'multi-cultures' within a nation state jurisdiction are always managed pragmatically within the specific rule of law of that jurisdiction, and a virtue of enlightenment approaches to law was its abstraction (and endless application to evolving historical realities). Yet, the 'content' of the cultural is, in multicultural terms, infinite in its 'multi'-dimensionality, and always out of range for a specific critique (criticising someone on account of their culture can, legally, take the form of an assault on their person).

Multiculturalism could be (and routinely is, by the Right) derided as simply the political management of culturally incompatible ethnic minorities – all the while reinforcing the power of the nation state (i.e. with culture as a new instrument of domestic security). This would be to ignore the philosophical complexity of

multiculturalism (or any of the political philosophies underpinning crucial public policies), as it indeed emerged along with many other intellectual currents, promoted by UNESCO globally, on sustainability, the value of intangible heritage, diversity and pluralism (all in the context of the realities of economic globalisation). As a doctrine, multiculturalism has actively promoted a non-dogmatic political sympathy for all non-indigenous and immigrant cultural representatives and representations – and inserting an obligation of positive respect. As a political philosophy, however, it was never, of course, hermetic, and even though it tended to be limited by a nation state's public policy framework; it was always framed in terms of a broader global ethics of tolerance and respect. The term *transculturalism* can offer some means of understanding this.

What I am calling transculturalism is a confluence of philosophies, but when elevated to the level of political rhetoric attain to a range of simple and powerful convictions, and convictions that provide an epistemic framework for UNESCO's four great policy notions of sustainability, diversity, intangible heritage, and pluralism. Transculturalism is not codified as a distinct doctrine like multiculturalism, but more of a broad intellectual movement that understands itself as continuing European traditions of critical thought. To some extent, we may associate transculturalism with the rise of Transcultural Studies or Trans-national Cultural Studies (of which there are many strands), and with postmodernism (an even more hybrid discourse), both of which contributed enormously to the critical thinking around globalisation, media and public culture⁴. It is also typified by its range of contributors, from the late Michel Foucault, to Jacques Rancière, Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, and many others.

Transculturalism possesses critical and celebratory strains, the latter being more accessible if not popular (Grunitzky, 2004; Slimbach, 2005). In its celebratory form, it is the intellectual gateway to the brave new world of cultural globalisation, articulating the triumph of communications technology, global travel, and the creative potential of the young, intellectually engaged, professional. Its convictions are registered in a vivid way how culture is changing under globalisation, along with global mobility, the decline of class structures, the emergence of global brands and huge consumer markets, and the rising dominance of mass or popular culture. Within this, and while generally critical of capitalism, it nonetheless celebrates as normative the multi-scalar, dynamic and fluid character of an increasingly globalised culture, where relativism morphs into a positive hybridity, and citizen-consumers can locate the coordinates of their pleasures as much social identities by reconstructing their origins as much as their image, and so to find a solidarity of values in a new mobile global civil society.

In its critical form, transculturalism is invested in resistance, disruption and a radical condemnation of the State as repressive per se and antithetical to the rise of a new ethic of global humanitarianism. An anti-nation state ethic of total liberation generates profound ambiguities around the role of critical thinking in the actual existing public sphere, not least the enduring pre-eminence of the nation state itself (and where national sovereignty remains a de facto central principle of UN global

4 Including the notable Arjun Appadurai and company in New York, The Society for Transnational Cultural Studies and the now formidable journal, *Public Culture* (Duke University Press).

policy). As Agamben vividly stated in the translated *Means without End* (published in 2000), “...the coming politics...will no longer be a struggle for the conquest or control of the State, but a struggle between the State and the non-State (humanity)” (Agamben, 2000: 86).

While multiculturalism was in most parts of the world a self-contained public policy (starting with Canada in 1971), its influence through the next two decades was concomitant with a broad ‘transcultural’ turn in Western critical thought. Multiculturalism grounded its aspirations in a universal ethics of cultural co-existence, of which an individual nation state was just one exemplar. While transculturalism articulated both the realities of economic globalisation and the normative claims required for any cooperative future, it stopped short of any pragmatics of political actions (its resistance tends to be symbolic, invested heavily in media and academic discourse and not the unions or political parties). A new humanitarian universalism emerged, celebrating NGOs, global watchdogs, and promoting a ‘one world’ of prioritising ‘the other’ through global solidarity and a mutual diversification of cultural norms; and where a liberation from the particularist nation state is a symbolic liberation from a hegemonic Western modernity, whose political pragmatics was always colonialism in one form or another.

While not denying the veracity of the confluence of multi- and transcultural critical and policy thinking since the 1970s, the presumption against Western enlightenment-based democracies, not least in the face of their enduring power, offered a perplexing set of choices (except, perhaps, for disciples of Habermas: Habermas, 1990). My claim here (as a provocation to further research) is that broader intellectual shifts – from the ‘international’ to the global – have presented a dilemma for an activist cultural internationalism, not least in the original UNESCO framework. While there is no denying the huge progress on the ‘globalising’ of critical thinking in policy making – sustainability, diversity, intangible heritage, and pluralism (or at least, multiculturalism, the difference I will indicate below) – the fight for democratic enlightenment has been made somewhat unsure, and in fact, supplanted by a global consensus-seeking acceptance of the immeasurable diversity of peoples in the world, all of whom possess their own intellectual histories and traditions (and traditional patriarchal and even religious cultures). Of course, one would be naive to think that the Internationalism of international cultural relations (ICR) could survive given the emergence of global jurisdictions, cross-border alliances, regional and supra-national authorities – not least the development of the UN and its agencies. At the same time, in the context of the enduring pre-eminence of the nation state, and the rise of global fundamentalisms and anti-democratic norms of all kinds, we need to ponder the fate of enlightened democracy. On the one hand, multiculturalism and transculturalism as broad political philosophies have presented us with an undeniable face of progress, yet on the other, have facilitated a pragmatic toleration if not celebratory a-politics of acceptance for non-enlightened and often anti-democratic social and cultural formations. This tends to take the form of a critical opposition to Western hegemony (in symbolic terms, nationalism, social class hierarchies, European cultural values and colonialism), and is entirely compelling to the extent to which it makes international political agency interminably vague.

The question we are left with, however, is threefold: Firstly, for all the compelling political philosophies that frame our current global cultural policies, it is difficult to claim that we do now possess an intellectually coherent notion of a new world order: the politics or ethics around which the world can genuinely unite. Secondly, multiculturalism and the transcultural assumptions that gave it a global weight, was hugely significant in redefining the fundamental concept of civil society in many countries, and philosophically succeeded in defining the social relations of culture without the categories of race and religion. Yet it also generated a dilemma for critical enlightenment thought. Multicultural social co-existence tolerated, if not facilitated, cultural values which were sometimes pre-enlightenment and often illiberal. Similarly, the transcultural spectrum, in broadly denying a value hierarchy of culture, made hesitant a critique of foreign culture (not least the inherent pragmatics implicit in the semantics of ‘foreign’), as any such critique could not but collude with enduring colonial assumptions. This political ambivalence has endured, and with it forms of cultural censorship. One central principle of European enlightenment, articulated by Marx in his now famous letter to Arnold Ruge, was the obligation to engage in “the ruthless critique of everything existing”. At a time when Voltaire’s invectives still lingered, this “everything existing” meant all received tradition, arbitrary authority and spiritual belief⁵. While this continued in academic domains, in policy discourse there remained a huge ambivalence, if not structural contradiction, in its commitment to democracy (if we still understand democracy as a political formation of critical debate, deliberation and communication).

And thirdly, the influential mandate (as a critical principle) against the Western nation state, has slowly reduced the animosity of enlightenment thought to pre- or anti-enlightenment cultural discourses, and retains an ambivalence on the role of national public spheres in international democratic activism. A new global consensus on ethical humanitarianism and recognition of diversity has emerged, which arguably positions culture in terms of an ethical ontology, beyond “ruthless critique”. The new global cultural policies present us with a litany of new absolute values – of rights, equalities, recognition and the priority of ‘the other’ – which are assumed to be incontestable and shared by all. Yet they are not, and equally not available for critique. Slavoj Žižek in ‘Against Human Rights’ (Žižek, 2005) contends with the same conundrum in relation to the abstraction and universalism of Human Rights: “...what is effectively disappearing here is public life itself, the public sphere proper, in which one operates as a symbolic agent who cannot be reduced to a private individual...” (Žižek, p.117). While the practice of rights and equalities serve to protect and promote the individual member of each social community, the ‘multi’ in multiculturalism is unlimited; the parameters of diversity are infinite; the openness of the contemporary critical mind to the new global expanse of “humanity” (in Agamben’s sense) is indefinable. Society itself, its aims and parameters, become indefinable. Agency is hybrid, and its categorisation is violence to the specificity and particularity of potential cooperation.

5 To continue Marx’s statement, “...ruthless in that it will shrink neither from its own discoveries nor from conflict with the powers that be”. From Marx and Ruge’s one issue journal, *The Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* of 1844, translated by Livingstone and Benton (1992) in *Marx: Early Writings*, London: Penguin: p. 207.

CULTURE, NEOLIBERALISM AND CULTURAL NEOLIBERALISM

My issue here is that this new global vision for an ethical universalism is not, in fact, antagonistic to the expanse of the neoliberal universe of global economy. While it has emerged within and around and in critical relation to it, there is something entirely homologous between the globalisation of advanced capital and the universalisation of critical ethics and its anti-Western nation state position. They share similar structural features, including the atomised individual invested with absolute rights, the endlessly expansive and so indefinable society, and universal recognition of culture's preeminent value. Where global capital requires unlimited growth through a global market atomised into an endlessly perpetuating range of desires and individuals representing their competitive rights of self-interest, it has no interest in national boundaries or state-based political projects.

Neoliberalism is a term that has come to be synonymous with advanced global capitalism, but remains an agglomeration of practices and not an entirely coherent political phenomenon. For many governments, it amounts to a bag of monetarist tricks to create short term cash gain and retain solvency (more monetary and market policy than actual economics, which involves difficult policy decisions on labour, production and industrial development). It is all too easy, however (as David Harvey often does) to understand neoliberalism simply as a form of market economics with adverse social effects, and not equally as a political philosophy of economics whose genius has been to co-opt classical European political vocabulary – of liberty, markets, civil society and international mobility itself.

Aside from how all European labour and social democracy movements have since the 1980s changed and adapted themselves to the 'realities' of global capital, we must be mindful of how neoliberalism has mutated from its stark origins in laissez-faire theories of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman and the supply-side 'Raegonomics' of the USA President (Ronald Reagan) of 1981-1989. It has become a global cultural ideology, to which multiculturalism and transnationalism can only but inflect. Neoliberalism celebrates global freedom of expression, desire, identity and movement. But where classical 'liberty' was contextualised in terms of a delimited national social order, the freedom that neoliberalism celebrates can only but make absolute the rights and self-interest of the individual; and 'individualism' as a cultural phenomenon generates a dissolution of basic social allegiances and belonging (common interests, property, and the culture of 'public' life). Self-interest is the dynamic of the competitiveness that is the prime manifestation of this form of liberty, and competitiveness has become an established and respected model of behaviour (in art markets, labour unions and universities as much as corporations or banks). Markets, per se, existed before capitalism, but for advanced capitalism they serve a social function in incubating regulative systems and models of production for the whole of society. A strong civil society (where 'civil' is modelled on market formations), independent from State, is therefore championed by neoliberalism. And neoliberalism favours a politics of systematic migration and trans-border mobility, defined, that is, in terms of economic labour (and its low cost availability). The concepts and realities formative of our historic understanding of democracy – liberty, markets, civil society and the mobility of labour – are simultaneously liberating

and debilitating, where the burden of the latter tends to fall on the nation state. I venture to observe that when talking of advance of capitalism on a global scale, we are looking at irreversible mutations of basic political notions, whose applicability or manifestation is very different within differing scales or levels of political life. And to understand global neoliberalism as a 'system' to which one could propose an alternative 'system' is to misrepresent the conundrum of globalisation. We can only but think through the current contradictions.

Relevant to us is the way such contradictions emerge in the cultural sphere: During the decades since the 1970s, the arts and culture have not become antithetical or an alternative social order to the neoliberal economy. Yet nor have they become commodified, or co-opted as political propaganda, as once was prophesied in Marxist cultural theories from Simmel to Lukács and the Adorno of the 1940s. Artistic creativity has not become simply another form of commerce nor does it operate according to the logic of exchange. Rather, as Adorno identified in his later work, culture became an 'industry' (not just by being industrialised, but by itself becoming an organ of the reproduction of capital, a fact made much of by Pierre Bourdieu). Culture's most effective role in the emerging globalisation of Western market-based economy has been to generate the *opposite* of money – substantive, tangible, place-based experiences of meaning and fulfilment for ordinary people. The era of neoliberalism has not generated a dearth in artistic production, but an expansion.

At the same time, our concept of artistic culture has been redefined in terms of an economy of creativity, where the intelligence, knowledge and skill one endemic to the arts is now structured, managed and appropriated by the organs of the general economy. In the form of the proliferation in international cultural festivals and biennials, has found the arts and culture a particularly effective, effective media for the processes of economic globalisation, it has emerged with a seductive power. Appended to the social as much as economic phenomenon of global tourism, the arts and culture are now routinely appropriated in public policies for urban development, city branding and destination marketing, and new industrial expansion (as 'creative industries'). But where within the arts and cultural sector it has become routine, if not ethically mandatory, to politically oppose what it understands as 'neoliberal' capitalism, it nonetheless finds itself in a conundrum of political resignation: for the anti-globalisation Far Left meet the nationalist Right in their opposition to reigning assumptions on the inevitability as much as the desirability of the 'global'. A rhetorical discourse of anti-capitalism becomes pervasive yet does not provide a strategic basis for actual political opposition.

The lack of actual institutional opposition to neoliberal capitalism in the established cultural sectors of European countries is not in itself surprising. The rewards of participation in economic development have been substantial. With unprecedented levels of public funding and corporate support, national cultural sectors (at least in the West and North of Europe) have enthusiastically implemented funder-driven corporate strategy-focussed, brand and target-marketing motivated, managerial approaches to organisation, and have in turn become more productive, socially accessible, and generated new levels of 'accountability' to agencies that represent the 'public' or government. And yet, each of these organisational changes are entirely homologous with global neoliberal models of business administration. The basic

techniques of neoliberal economy (strategic management, corporate marketing, stakeholder governance, and so on) have become internal to culture as an endemic instrumental rationality of neoliberal political economy. What is it to define, structure, and run an effective arts organisation, has become self-evidently sensible, responsible and effective. Why this is not routinely identified as an intolerable hypocrisy, is the way anti-capitalist rhetoric permeates the cultural sphere, along with the global ethics of universal rights, equalities and recognitions. The practical dimensions of cultural neoliberalism are assumed to be pure pragmatics, allowing for a form of growth and cultural production that remains secure in its anti-capitalist convictions.

This returns our attention to the way otherwise admirable universal ideals, classical political concepts or even critical thinking itself can be co-opted or be given a new function within a given political regime. And it is this fear that runs like a current through post-enlightenment critical modernity itself, through the 1970s and 1980s, up to early Baudrillard, earlier with Marcus's 'repressive tolerance' critique (1965), or earlier to Lukács theory of 'reification' in the 1920s, and before, the generation of German thinkers haunted by Nietzsche's cryptic pronouncement in 1888 that "The greatest values [i.e. of the West] are devaluing themselves....". We may also recall the impact of Peter Sloterdijk's *Critique of Cynical Reason* in 1983. One of his central assertions is that critical thinking (as conceived by the post-Marxist tradition of critical theory) is dead, because its very language is now the language of centrist democratic politics (Sloterdijk, 1987). European models of social democracy (and the rise of 'centrist' politics in the 1980s) to a significant extent absorbed capitalism as a positive fact along with the anti-capitalist critique of critical theory – whereby its political pragmatics assured us that advanced capitalism could be effectively managed so as to underwrite progressive social welfare provision.

CONCLUSION: CRITICAL ADVANCES WHERE THE CRITICAL IS CO-OPTED

When attempting to locate the arts as a critical international practice with political agency – engaging in its own agenda for 'diplomacy' (negotiating cross-border cooperation or solidarity) – we need a more thorough assessment of the changes and political-discursive phenomenon indicated above. In relation to the global cultural policies we hold dear, we need to interrogate their broader political function, both within the neoliberal global order as much as the intellectual movements that rail against the nation state and national democracy in the face of its capture by the political Right. We need to interrogate the lexicon of critical terms that have become rhetorical in ways that allow the neoliberal order to feign a freedom of conscience. The neoliberal order feigns pluralism, with its laissez-faire attitude to values and beliefs as much as markets. This does not denigrate the power of rhetoric, which is substantial: it has created what Paolo Virno has called (with reference to Europe) "publicness without a public sphere" (Virno, 2004: 40). The public of the neoliberal order may even be creative and inclusive, free and intellectually wide-ranging, yet play no structural role in a political order of decision making as a means of building a society.

One means we need to retrieve for this broader project of research is ideology critique. Where dogmatic, belief system-based concepts of ideology belong to

Marxist history, and the generation following Foucault and Derrida have devised more nuanced concepts of discourse or text, we are arguably still lacking an account of what older Marxists meant by 'false consciousness'. Foucault was deft in his articulation of power, but not of mass deception, or the way ideas or policy concepts can gain a universal trans-social power of ethical conviction. What does it mean for international cultural activists if both Left and Right, both political liberals and religious fundamentalists, cheer at the sound of anti-globalisation, human rights or diversity policies? Neoliberal political economy thus presents us with a dilemma in how it has co-opted of the conceptual coordinates of the original internationalist conviction in rights, equalities and recognition for minorities and the 'other', and these coordinates are liberty, free markets, civil society and mobility. Where cultural actors see themselves as preserving vital traditions of critical thought and reflection, it does not admit these to be shared with the very economic actors who jeopardise their realisation (a neoliberalism now driven by internationalist socio-ethical ideals, championed by global corporations at the forefront of Corporate Social Responsibility, diversity and affirmative action, community funds and artistic commissions).

The work of Michael Freeden on ideology and political theory could be of help here (Freeden, 1996). For Freeden, ideology is an operation internal to language itself, adapting to changing material conditions, providing the cognitive conditions for a field of compatible social relations within a range of otherwise opposing or dissenting arguments. Ideology adapts itself to whole new fields of meaning production, absorbing users and even antagonists in its work of self-reproduction, yet also generates incontestable ideals, principles, and operates to delegitimise all opposition and dissent – emptying the semantic meaning of other competing political terms. Freeden's concept of ideology demands that we understand the political function of thought-forms, and not merely their philosophical or ethical content; it demands a radical scepticism about, as once for Nietzsche, our highest values; it demands an immanent critique of the abstraction and idealism latent in what we often take to be substantive notions of social justice, or of culture itself.

Where this chapter assumed an oversight of vast tracts of historical discourse since 1945, I can only underscore that this is simply a provocation for further research. Historical policy research is rare; a historiography of policy is more so⁶; we need to consider the absence of a research into the historical development of political philosophies that have generated our global cultural policy frameworks and the universal ethics that animate them.

By implication, I will conclude with a nascent political philosophy that was not developed (or allowed to develop?), and consider how the Cultural Diplomacy does not necessitate crossing national borders but could entail internal diplomatic actions – (deliberation and negotiation over solidarities and cooperation) – within the borders and boundaries of what is now the super-complex cultural demographic internal to European nation states. Global neoliberal capitalism has overplayed its hand with its craving for cheap labour, and most European countries are now faced with an extraordinarily diverse and internationalised population, many of which we cannot assume to simply share historic European values of Enlightenment or

6 The aim and achievement of a late and valued colleague, Anna Upchurch (1957-2016): see Upchurch, A. (2016) *The Origins of the Arts Council Movement: Philanthropy and Policy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

democracy, and the terms of their migration did not necessarily contain such a demand. Our concepts of freedom and civil society are being re-drawn through the reality of a substantive diversity, where even the golden apples of 'democracy' or 'human rights' are contested or mean different things to different incoming minority groups. The Right exploit this fissure of discontent and disorientation among the population at large. This, in part, accounts for my interest in what I call the 'lost' discourse of pluralism. This does not refer to 'cultural pluralism', which has come to mean something quite specific (particularly in the U.S.A.), but a *political pluralism of culture*, where cultural policies become media for a different kind of praxis animated by a very different (if evolving) concept of society.

As a political theory of culture, pluralism does not assume culture as an ontological fact, or of stable content or grounding an identity, as multiculturalism arguably tends to do. It does not hold culture as sacred or incontestable, and identity as intrinsic to human integrity and self-worth. Culture is discourse as much as practice, and always subject to internal dynamics of consensus and dissensus on meaning, interpretation and values. This is my vignette of the growing discussions and writings, the main examples of which are UNESCO's 1996 Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, *Our Creative Diversity*, and the 1999 publication of *Towards a Constructive Pluralism* (UNESCO, 1999), along with Boutros-Ghali's edited text *The Interaction between Democracy and Development* (UNESCO, 2002).

Pluralism was emphatic in UNESCO's 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (see Article 2), where the concept of diversity (along with multiculturalism) was still in a state of formation. By the final draft, then published version, of the 2001 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, pluralism was no longer a fulcrum around which an understanding of economic globalisation, the future of nation states and their international relations, and fundamental rights and equalities, were revolving.

To be sure, many of the above cited texts use pluralism and multiculturalism interchangeably, and assume concepts of liberty and civil society that, as above, are compatible with global neoliberalism. Nonetheless, in its expansive form (if prematurely truncated) pluralism pointed to a way of forging a framework of a political agency for culture, where internationalism is maintained as a dynamic feature. While pluralism resists nationalism, the nation state is not dismissed as a fount of all evil. It is held to account as the primary facilitator of democratic systems and local forms of self-determination. Most of all, pluralism *demand*s empowerment, where citizens are educated and given the resources to defend themselves from a necessary "ruthless critique" – necessary to ensure that citizenship amounts to an active participation in the public sphere of a democratic polity, and not State patronage; necessary to ensure that the priority of citizenship is the democratic policy, and not intra-communal or sectarian interests; and to ensure that citizenship is empowered to dissolve the exclusivity of the State in representing that democratic polity and deliberating across borders on the basis for international solidarity in the world.

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Cultural diplomacy: from showcase to intercultural dialogue

Serhan Ada

This paper aims to take a retrospective look at the history of cultural diplomacy through the lens of several quite dissimilar cases; to pose questions, at every stage, regarding its basic framework, definition, and functioning; and, in the process, to make some inferences concerning its future.

When one speaks of “cultural diplomacy,” the first thing to come to mind is the more popular concept of “soft power.” The latter exists in opposition to “hard power,” which harbors an implicit threat of conflict and is represented by a “deterrent force” forbidding certain actions to the other party and relying on the possession of an arsenal and the ability to strike. “Soft power,” by contrast, consists of the “persuasive force” represented by the arts, culture, and all their tangible and intangible expressions, a force which makes the other party amenable to performing certain actions. It may seem counter-intuitive to start with this concept in an age in which states both great and small intervene militarily – whether through unmanned aerial vehicle (drone) attacks or by invading with soldiers and tanks – whenever something occurs to displease them in a neighboring country or even on the other side of the world. All the same, because cultural diplomacy is one of the elements of which soft power is constituted, it is necessary to begin from this point. Soft power, in international relations, refers in the simplest of terms to the totality of the methods through which states endeavor to carry out their intentions without resorting to brute force.

As for cultural diplomacy, it has been defined in many ways (see Coombs, P. 1964; Hecht, J. and Donfried, M. 2010). Above all, the word “diplomacy” calls to mind the business of international statecraft. Histories of diplomatic relations date the emergence of this institution to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the Thirty Years’ War (also known as the “Wars of Religion”) in Europe. Scholars of cultural diplomacy, by contrast, point out that the various peaceful methods two parties employ to “persuade” one another (including grants of things such as land, slaves, and even spouses) go back much further in time, even to the city-states of Ancient Greece. All these things aside, if one must assign a start-date to cultural diplomacy, it ought to lie towards the end of the 19th century, when colonialism began frantically dividing up the globe, and when services such as language, education, and culture were provided to citizens (colonists) living outside their home countries. In this sense, what we call “cultural diplomacy” in contemporary parlance is the legitimate child of the nation-state.

According to Coff, the author of a handbook on the subject, “cultural diplomacy can tell another story about a country” (Mac Goff, p. 2013). This oblique definition conveys more than it might appear to at first glance. Or, perhaps, it sets the stage for asking certain questions, such as what a country does or needs to do to tell that

other story, whatever that may be, and why it may not be able to tell it adequately. Or how, and by whom, the true story we know about a country (which we do not regard as “another” story) has been constructed. Nowadays, more and more priority is put on determining the subject, or actors, of cultural diplomacy. Undoubtedly – and this is a crucial point – this owes to the presence of the term “cultural” in this two-word concept.

We can now formulate our first basic question as follows: Is cultural diplomacy only the task of the state (or its executive branch, the government)?

CONCERNING MODELS OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

In our own day, cultural diplomacy is an indispensable component in the organizational charts of foreign ministries. In other words, cultural diplomacy is, in large part, planned and carried out by diplomats in accordance with policies and trends established at these ministries. It is debatable just how capably this task can be performed by diplomats with expertise in international relations or its traditional sub-fields. Indeed, in the words of Mitchell, the “cultural department in the Foreign Ministry should not be regarded as it is sometimes is, as a kind of penal posting, for diplomats who look upon culture as something subsidiary” (Mitchell, J.1986,75). As we stated above, under no circumstances should it be forgotten that culture is one of the essential components of international relations.

In terms of the ways in which cultural diplomacy is practiced, we can speak of three main models:

The first model is one of direct government supervision, of which the most well-known example is the French Institutes, which are directly linked to the Foreign Ministry of France. The directors of these institutes are appointed by Culturesfrance, which is itself under the supervision of the Foreign Ministry. Similarly, under this model, the Confucius Institutes – which are chiefly active in the field of education and research about the Chinese language and literature – operate through funds specifically set aside from the budget of the Ministry of Education. Such a hierarchized model makes it very difficult for cultural directors who are creating programs and putting on events in different cultural environments to do anything contrary to the main preferences set by official/foreign policy (and, by extension, to the rules created by the embassies with which they are affiliated).

The second model could be termed the “non-governmental agency” model, prominent examples being the British Council and the Japanese Foundation. The British Council was established through a Royal Charter and enjoys the status of a charity, yet is funded by the UK Foreign Ministry. The fact that it is not directly linked to the government does not necessarily mean that it does not adhere to the latter’s fundamental policy. All the same, British Council directors are allowed to take the initiative in the management of programming and content.

The third type, a “mixed” model falling somewhere between the first two, is seen in examples like the Netherlands’ DutchCulture. This organization operates with the

joint funding of three ministries in the Netherlands, namely those of education, culture, and foreign affairs. DutchCulture also receives support from the European Commission for its projects within Europe.

In addition to these models, one could mention the case of what is arguably the main organ of German cultural diplomacy, the Goethe Institute, whose main principles of cultural diplomacy are specified (under the name of “external cultural relations”) by the Foreign Ministry, which also funds the Goethe Institute to a large extent. In addition, the Federal Republic of Germany stands apart with its “galaxy of cultural diplomacy” in which many different institutions (DAAD, Institute für Auslandsbeziehungen-IfA, etc.) take on various semi-autonomous functions, and in which private sector foundations also contribute to this horizontally-oriented, parallel structure in accordance with their own strategies. Without a doubt, to judge from its present appearance, German cultural diplomacy has been significantly influenced by Germany’s history: its defeat in two World Wars, its subsequent division, and its eventual reunification.

Another phenomenon increasingly seen today is the organization and practice of unique forms of cultural diplomacy both on the supra-national level (as in the case of the EU’s European Union National Institutes for Culture or EUNIC) and by sub-national communities such as the Canadian state of Québec.

As we have seen, one might classify these different models in various ways. Whatever the case may be, cultural diplomacy and the institutions which practice it – leaving aside nuances such as how they choose their own managements and how much autonomy they have to carry out the decision-making process – are basically financed by governments and the ministries and departments to which governments delegate authority. In short, cultural diplomacy is a “government business.”

Whatever models exist for cultural diplomacy, one is struck by the variety of approaches to the analysis of this topic: “One set [...] of authors grapples with the tension between propaganda and diplomacy, another set accentuates the use of diplomacy as an instrument to work at the exclusion of politics, a third defines cultural diplomacy beyond the realm of the state” (Hecht, J. and Donfried, M. 2010, 9-10). Clearly, scholars are quite fascinated by the dichotomy between the cultural, on the one hand, and issues which pertain directly to politics on the other.

Among authors who have written on the topic, there are those who hold that cultural diplomacy – by virtue of the fact that it essentially remains a political matter, with political considerations predominating in the decision-making process – is inherently harmful to art and to the practice of art. (Nisbett, M. 2012, 558). Nonetheless, in an age when all goods and services – even cultural ones – are inevitably subject to the laws of the global marketplace, arguing about the true essence of cultural diplomacy is no easy task.

In deepening the discussion in order to furnish answers to the above and other questions, it may be useful to examine the recent history of how cultural diplomacy has been practiced, along with some case studies.

A RECENT HISTORY OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND SOME CASE STUDIES

If one must speak of something called “the history of cultural diplomacy,” its most contentious and conflicting pages were surely written in the 20th century.

In Europe between the two world wars, cultural diplomacy turned into a kind of weapon intended to terrorize one’s enemies (and even friends) by means of sports events and other mass spectacles. In the polarized international climate following the end of the Second World War, it was put at the service of an out-and-out propaganda machine. The fighting of the previous era had only ended after millions had lost their lives and just as many had seen their futures irreparably damaged; now there was peace, albeit one overshadowed by the “balance of terror” brought about by weapons capable of destruction on a vast scale. In this era, both sides made ample use of cultural diplomacy in order to swell the ranks in their own camps.

“The shape of the world ...will be influenced far more by how well we communicate the values of our society to others than by our will or diplomatic superiority” (Coombs, P. 1964, ix). Thus was the post-war era summed up by Senator Fulbright, the eponymous founder of the famous scholarship program which has provided a professional “formation” for tens of thousands of students and scholars by instilling them with American values and then returning them to their home countries to perform their duties in accordance with those values. The transmission of values (or, to use another expression, indoctrination) and the training of individuals capable of directing the masses in a prescribed manner were accepted as a valid method of achieving superiority over the other side. In this era, cultural diplomacy was working in concert with national intelligence services, especially when it came to the two key elements in the international balance of power, the US and the USSR.

And yet the Cold War era, whose value we only appreciate in today’s unipolar world, and about which dozens of theories were developed in the name of *détente*, was a time when *both* the sender country’s “smiling face” *and* its dissident face were showcased in order to win over the public in the “target country.” In a sense, it was the era which most inspired today’s concept of cultural diplomacy. When the McCarthyist Witch Hunt ended in the US, artists who had fled abroad in order to escape prosecution returned back to the country. It was in this way that the peoples of the USSR and others behind the Iron Curtain became acquainted with Louis Armstrong’s generous smile and American rock music. Jazz and rock were officially banned in these countries, but enjoyed a tacit underground scene. Meanwhile, audiences in Western countries – listening to the Red Army Choir or attending ballet performances by the Bolshoi – began to understand that the communist regime did not merely produce sullen athletes and stiff, unhappy-looking musical virtuosos. But while the products of cultural diplomacy were on display, the insides of the stores were in quite a different state.

If we take a quick leap into the present day, we see that the US and the Russian Federation, although for very different reasons, are hardly the front-runners in cultural diplomacy; indeed, they could be said to take up the rear rank.

Another example from recent times may allow us to approach this topic from a different angle. The example in question is The World Collections Programme (WCP). The WCP is the name of a three-year cultural diplomacy enterprise (with a budget of three million pounds) on the part of six mainstream cultural institutions (the British Library, the British Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Royal Botanical Gardens, the Tate, and the Victoria & Albert Museum) along with cultural institutions in various countries worldwide, with aims such as exhibiting works, transmitting information, and educating the public. (For more on the WCP, see: Nisbett, M. 2012, 559). The regions and countries to which it assigns priority are Africa, the Middle East, India, and China. All of the countries in question are in the UK's and Commonwealth's circle of first priority in foreign/economic policy. This perhaps helps to understand why the program is funded every year in equal amounts by the UK's Department for Culture, Media, and Sport. Further confirming this impression, Nisbett adds that the WCP was inspired by a suggestion in a report by Demos, a think tank known for its close ties to the UK's then Labor Party government.

Although it is not our intention to measure the success of the WCP, it seems that after government support was cut off, its projects have continued, albeit less frequently, thanks to contributions from other British institutions. (https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/skills-sharing/world_collections_programme.aspx) When considered in terms of education, professional formation, and capacity development, it is evident that the Program, with clear aims such as interchange among institutions and countries, and with a presidency run by the British Museum, is a "British cultural diplomacy project," all appearances to the contrary.

In speaking of different models and ways to classify them, it is evident that since cultural diplomacy is directed not only by governments but also by numerous institutions with different missions, the question of agency (i.e. which institution sets and implements the main guidelines for the policy which will followed) is a crucial issue. This is an issue having to do with both legality (legislation, legal precedents, etc.) and legitimacy. Alongside the question of agency, one needs to add the question (to be discussed below) of which artistic products have been chosen by the sender country in order to achieve the desired effect (while not forgetting that without artists' support, contributions, partnership, and artistic output, neither the state nor the institutions which it directly supervises would have any influence in this matter). Of course, the issue of which artists and which artistic practices are promoted is explicitly one of international cultural policies. In this regard, cultural diplomacy is directly linked to cultural policies and the preferences which these entail: multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue, and cultural diversity.

In light of these new considerations, let us take a closer look at the issue of authority and actors.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND "OTHER ACTORS"

As is clear from the example we have just cited, new practices in cultural diplomacy have emerged that differ significantly from examples derived from conventional channels and authorized agencies. However limited in number, such cases – which

do not adhere to classic definitions of cultural diplomacy – hint at the existence of certain new or different inquiries in international cultural relations, or, from another point of view, different expectations.

First of all, cultural diplomacy, which we have described as the “child of the nation-state,” is largely affected by the profound crisis (to put it as mildly as possible) in which that same nation-state finds itself, even if one cannot yet speak of its complete obsolescence. Any sort of message coming from a state – especially states which are uncompromisingly monolithic in structure and pay no heed, even for tactical reasons, to approaches which lie outside official policies – is questioned and received with suspicion, even if it is not openly opposed. Moreover, in the field of culture and the arts, whose actors and audiences are far more critical and antagonistic, this gap is becoming increasingly wider and more pronounced.

A tendency to oppose anything that is “official” or any cultural artifacts managed by the state requires us to consider another cultural diplomacy-related variable which has been largely ignored to date. Regarded up until now as a constant, this variable can be characterized, in brief, as public opinion in the “recipient” country. The obsolete belief that cultural diplomacy is only shaped by the “sender” country and its preferences presumes that the “other party” is an amorphous, fixed community which is prepared to receive whatever is presented to it with open arms. Nearly all practices in cultural diplomacy throughout the 20th century gave no reason to challenge such a belief. Such a state of affairs undoubtedly helps to explain why, in cultural debates over the last few decades, the themes of multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue, the diversity of cultural expression, cultural participation, and cultural democracy have taken on increasing urgency.

The aforementioned emergence of the “recipient party” factor has been significant enough to require that cultural diplomacy be reevaluated on the basis of bilateralism and mutuality. At this point, it is necessary to take account of a “new” actor (whose existence has long been acknowledged even if it has not previously figured in the discussion): civil society. When one speaks of civil society on a global scale, one thinks of the countless entities, organizations, and networks which may or may not be interconnected and which are established and supported with resources that do not come from state organizations. Though one finds frequent references to civil society nowadays, it is (perhaps for this very reason) increasingly difficult to define. At any rate, civil society is becoming one of the key determinants of the success of cultural diplomacy.

At this juncture, we need to ask the following question: “Why should we be concerned with regulating the ‘cultural sphere,’ and why have cultural questions increasingly taken center stage in...public policy debates?” (Thompson, K.2001,601) Lying behind every rights-based endeavor (including advocacy, awareness, etc.), civil society fights for goals like supporting the weak, reducing global inequality, and progressing towards a more sustainable world. It is clearly unthinkable that it should not also be active in the cultural sphere.

Though there have been many comprehensive theoretical studies of civil society which have garnered esteem on international platforms in recent years, it will

be topical and useful to return to Antonio Gramsci, who may be regarded as the founder of this concept. Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* constitute his collected works, containing his lengthy, detailed interpretations and views regarding topics like the fundamentals of Italian culture, folk literature, Dante, and Italian unification (the Risorgimento). Gramsci's conceptualization of civil society is based, above all, on culture. Gramsci formulates his concept of hegemony as the true goal of strategic maneuvering through wars of position to achieve political power. By breaking down the traditional dichotomy which, in a Marxian approach, is reduced to the dialectic of base and superstructure, hegemony adds a new dimension which cuts across both like a transversal. Hegemony, quite simply, also means cultural influence.

Although civil society is, in practice a well-known phenomenon, it still has not achieved formal recognition on a universal scale. Its future significance in the story of 21st century cultural diplomacy is not to be underestimated.

This variable of civil society compels us, like it or not, to discuss the place of cultural governance in the decision-making process and practice of cultural diplomacy. An unchanging vector in cultural policies, cultural governance makes it possible – during the decision-making process and when reestablishing legitimacy – for many different parties with dissimilar or even openly conflicting interests, parties which may have already clashed, to come to terms with each other and reach an eventual consensus. In the words of Campbell, “As Michael Shapiro argues, cultural governance involves support for diverse genres of expression to constitute and legitimize practices of sovereignty while restricting or preventing those representations that challenge sovereignty” (Campbell.D. 2003, 57). We live in an age when the world's growing North-South inequality gap is at unparalleled levels, not only in the geopolitical sense but also in terms of the relative influence of all political, economic, and media actors. In such an era, practices originating from the most unexpected, hard-hit regions of the world can be a source of potential innovation.

How can civil society – along with approaches and suggestions which challenge existing legislation (the *acquis*) – be included in the long-established channels of cultural diplomacy? While the answer to this is not yet known, it is still a genuinely real question.

IN PLACE OF A CONCLUSION, TWO “EXTRANEOUS” EXAMPLES

In order to answer the above question, cultural diplomacy will clearly have to be redefined by expanding its existing boundaries. In order to assist efforts towards this reformulation, I want to briefly discuss two cases which would not normally be regarded as “cultural diplomacy” under its current definitional framework.

The first is the cultural dialogue between the civil societies of Turkey and Armenia. In a previous, not yet published article, I addressed this topic, focusing on the dynamics of rapprochement and mutual understanding on the part of two peoples who had lived together in the same lands during the same time period and were then forced to depart these lands and to be completely separated from one another. (See A. Serhan. “Cultural Connectedness as a Possible Source of Good Neighbourhood: The Case of

Turkey and Armenia, September 2014, ICCPR, Hildesheim). A “sports diplomacy” initiative in 2008, consisting of reciprocal presidential visits to attend the matches between the two countries’ national football teams, abruptly came to an end in 2010. Nonetheless, the civil societies of these two countries (whose shared border is closed and which do not have official diplomatic relations), in the face of all obstacles and challenges, have been establishing ties through culture and, in meeting with the “Other,” have been discovering their own true identities. The 100th anniversary of the great Armenian tragedy of 1915 (*Medz Yeghern*) was marked by various joint projects, not only in Armenia but also in Turkey, with the active contribution of their civil societies. The goals of these projects were twofold: first, to ensure that all the suffering might be a lesson for future generations, and second, to create a sense of shared memory serving as the basis for a sense of intertwined destiny (which, in turn, would promote good neighborly relations and dialogue in the future). A similarly symbolic gesture occurred with Turkey’s adding the site of the ruins of the ancient Armenian city of Ani to its temporary UNESCO World Heritage List. In the absence of diplomacy, cultural interaction definitely took center stage, and in doing so helped to keep the channels of communication open between one civil society and another.

The second example, which occurred somewhat earlier chronologically speaking, is a photo of the moment the winners of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival were announced. All those watching the ceremony witnessed an unforgettable scene of solidarity as the Palme d’Or was jointly awarded to the film *Yol – The Road* (by the director Yılmaz Güney, who was living in political exile from Turkey), and *Missing* (by the Greek director Costa-Gavras, also a dissident and exile). This stands as evidence that art can be a means of bringing together the people of two countries whose relations have for decades been characterized by continual threats, lack of communication, and brinkmanship, and which have achieved independence by defeating each other militarily. It would not be wrong to view this event as the beginning of the thaw between Turkey and Greece. Thus the simultaneous awarding of the Palme d’Or to *Yol* and *Missing* could be termed a kind of “indirect cultural diplomacy.” This decision by the Cannes jury was a clear demonstration that art – which foreign ministry officials wish to use as a “showcase” for cultural diplomacy – possesses a sheer raw power of its own, regardless of where and by whom such decisions are made.

Thus, as we have seen, even isolated examples, if examined closely, show us that the boundaries of cultural diplomacy can be expanded far beyond well-known instances and can help us achieve peace and understanding on an international level.

In light of the cases we have cited here, we may redefine cultural diplomacy as a mathematical function, an equation (or an inherent inequality?) consisting of a “sender” and a “recipient.” In this sense, we can think of it as an ongoing exchange which is difficult to resolve and which can never remain in the same equilibrium. Thus, all those tours, festivals, and cultural anniversaries organized in the name of cultural diplomacy are beginning to shed their current significance as campaigns (whether “proactive,” “promotional,” or “propagandistic”) in which both sides exhibit themselves to and impose themselves on the Other.

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Cultural Diplomacy from Below: Artistic Projects with Refugees and Migrants

Monika Mokre

INTRODUCTION

The year 2015 was marked by a high influx of refugees to the European Union and different strategies to deal with this situation. Especially in Germany and Austria, these strategies shifted in extreme ways between the closing and opening of borders. These developments were accompanied by activities of civil society, most prominently represented in the so-called “welcome culture” of the summer 2015.

In Austria, many artists and cultural producers were part of this welcome culture and took different initiatives to support refugees even before and after this rather short period of a generally positive atmosphere towards refugees. These projects can be understood as part of a tradition of cultural and artistic activities related to refuge and migration. It is the aim of this paper to analyze these projects within the political context of Austrian asylum and migration politics and to ask in how far they can be understood as a form of cultural diplomacy.

STATE POLITICS TOWARDS REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN AUSTRIA

For the first time after WWII, Austria was confronted with a high influx of refugees in 1956, after an uprising against the government in Hungary. From the fall of 1956 until early summer of 1957, about 225.000 Hungarian refugees came to Austria; however, for most of them Austria was only a transit country (Ten Doesschante, 2010, p. 1065). In Austrian collective memory, the non-bureaucratic support by the Austrian government and population formed the most important feature of this time (Eppel, 2006, p. 449). Among the supporters of Hungarian refugees were artists who used their prominence to collect donations for refugees – in the streets as well as in Viennese theaters (wien.at, n.d.).

However, Austrian solidarity was closely linked to the expectation that the refugees would leave Austria again. And, after some time, the general attitude towards refugees began to shift. Arguments against refugees were, thereby, much the same as can be found nowadays: There were fears that they would claim jobs and living space needed for the Austrian population – which was only 11 years after WWII still a relatively poor country. But also the behavior of the refugees led to critique. While accepted when they showed modesty and gratefulness the refugees quickly raised negative emotions when they acted self-confidently and claimed their rights (Liebhart/ Pribersky, 2005). And even the wording print media used at this time was very similar to contemporary mainstream discourses: “At the center of considerations was the excessive burden on the Austrians who had to shelter the refugees and felt

threatened by a ‘mass migration’ and ‘inundated by human beings’” (Zierer, 1998, p. 140, translation MM).

About 10 % of the 180.000 Hungarian refugees remained in Austria; from the 1960s onwards, they developed a lively scene of cultural associations (Medienservicestelle, 2014a).

The next large refugee influx to Austria took place in 1968, after the violent repression of the “Prague spring” in the Czechoslovak Republic. More than 200.000 people came from the CSSR to Austria from the summer of 1968 until the end of the year (Stern, 2008, 1041). In this case, the Austrian government reacted in a rather defensive way, above all in order to avoid problems with the USSR and to keep up its neutral status. In this vein, the Minister for Exterior Affairs ordered the Austrian ambassador in Prague not to issue visas to Czech citizens. However, the ambassador did not follow these directions but, on the contrary, issued as many visas as possible (Der Standard 2008).

Still, in Austria, support for refugees was organized by the government, civil society, and individual persons. International support was much weaker than in 1956, partly due to a legal change: In March 1968, the first Austrian asylum law was issued according to which refugees had to apply for asylum in order to get the status of a refugee. Before that, asylum was legally based on the Geneva Convention and regulated on a case-by-case basis by regulations of the Minister and individually checked by the police. As only a very small minority of Czech citizens applied for asylum, other states did not feel obliged to support Austria in dealing with the Czech citizens on its territory (Stanek, 1985, p. 90). The feeling of having been left alone with this problem led to a much more critical atmosphere towards refugees than in 1956. However, the situation changed relatively quickly as most Czech citizens left Austria for other countries (Stern, 2008, 1068). For those who remained the existing Czech culture clubs formed an important point of first contact and orientation. Still, there also was deep mistrust between the “old” and the “new” Czechs in Vienna. One consequence of this is that the newly arrived Czechs rather founded their own culture clubs than joining the existing ones (Basler 2004, pp. 87-88).

During the 1970s Austria accepted refugees from Chile, Argentina, Uganda, Indochina and Iran, a high percentage of them as “contingent refugees” which means that they received a visa in their home country and could legally come to Austria. Still, the overall number of refugees during this time was very limited, therefore also not leading to specific positive or negative reactions of the population and civil society (Knapp 2011). However, several solidarity committees were founded, especially for Chile. They combined political critique of the situation in the countries of origin with support for refugees (Berger 2003). And also these refugees founded cultural associations – especially, the small Chilean community has upheld a vivid cultural life up to now (Medienservicestelle, 2013).

However, in the 1960s and 1970s, work migrants played a more important role for Austrian society than refugees. From the 1960s onwards, Turkish and Yugoslav migrants came to Austria, in 1973, about 230.000 “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers) were in Austria, 78,5% of them came from Yugoslavia, 11,8% from Turkey

(Medienservicestelle, 2014b). In the early 1970s, discrimination against these work migrants increased as, during this time, it became clear that they would not leave after a relatively short period of time but, on the contrary, started to bring their families to Austria (Stajić 2016). As a critique of increasing racism and xenophobia a famous poster was created in 1973 - probably the first antiracist poster in Austria after WWII (Demokratiezentrum, n.d. a)¹.

The next big influx of refugees to Austria took place in 1981 and was the consequence of the introduction of martial law in Poland in order to oppress the independent trade union movement there. Even before martial law was introduced Austria imposed a visa obligation for Poland (Wienmuseum., 2015, p.2). Between 120.000 and 150.000 Polish people came to Austria, 33.000 applied for asylum here, 18.000 left the country again during the next years (Demokratiezentrum, n.d. b). At this time, 70-80% of asylum applications from real socialist countries were accepted in Austria; however, after the Poland crisis, reductions of asylum quota were discussed (Erinnerungsort, n.d.).

In 1989/1990, due to the chaotic situation during the end of the Ceaucescu regime, many Romanian citizens came to Austria. Austrian population and media reacted in a very critical and discriminatory way to them; the term “economic refugee” became a buzzword at this time. “The winter 1989/90 and the refugees from Romania became the symbol of Austria’s break with its hitherto refugee politics. Since this time, asylum politics is part of migration politics, and, thus, part of an encompassing restriction against new immigration.”(Patrik-Paul Volf, quoted after: Wienmuseum., 2015, p.3, translation MM). Acceptance quota for asylum seekers decreased from 1987 to 1991 and, in 1991, Austria issued a new asylum law generally deteriorating the conditions for asylum seekers (Demokratiezentrum b).

In 1992, 90.000 Bosnians fled from the Yugoslav war to Austria. They were accepted as a group as “de-facto refugees”, thus, they got a legal status with weak rights (Wienmuseum, 2015, p.3).

In 1993, the populist right wing party FPÖ under its leader Jörg Haider initiated a referendum against immigration “Austria first” which was signed by 400.000 people. As a reaction against this political move, the largest Austrian demonstration after WWII took place on the Viennese Heldenplatz, between 250.000 and 300.000 people participated in the so-called “sea of light” of candles and torches. Many Austrian artists took part in this protest and popular Austrian musicians published a CD “Lichtermeer/ Sea of Light” (Archiv Österreichischer Populärmusik, n.d.).

In 1997 and 1998, Austrian asylum law was again tightened and during its EU-presidency in 1998, Austria presented highly controversial proposals to reduce migration and flight to the EU.

In 1998/1999, 5.000 of the 800.000 refugees from the Kosovo war came to Austria (Wienmuseum, 2015, p.3).

1 “I haaß Kolaric, du haaßt Kolaric. Warum sogn’s zu dir Tschusch” The poster plays with the fact that many Austrians have Slavic names. A rough translation would be: „My name is Kolaric, your Kolaric, why do they call you Tschusch (pejorative word for people from Yugoslavia)“

Further revisions of Austrian asylum legislation (generally deteriorating conditions for asylum seekers) were carried out in 2003, 2005, 2010, and, recently in 2016 (Demokratiezentrum b).

Summarizing, one can, thus, state that Austrian asylum and migration policies after WWII have always been reluctant with regard to the permanent acceptance of foreigners irrespective of the reasons for their arrival. At the same time, one can also see a continuous development towards stricter asylum and migration policies and increasing public rejection of foreigners – as well as a strong though unstable support of civil society for refugees and migrants.

REFUGE, MIGRATION, CULTURE, AND THE ARTS

Many of the refugees and migrants who came over time founded or joined cultural associations. We find a large number of Czech, Polish, Chilean etc. associations as well as associations from former Yugoslavia in Austria. With regard to the latter, the disintegration of Yugoslavia also affected their organizations: Former Yugoslav associations were newly defined according to the nationality of the majority of their members (N.N., n.d.). The multitude of cultural activities of migrants in Austria is, e.g., mirrored in the program of the Viennese Community TV OKTO featuring a program from and for communities from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and also specific programs for Albanian, Chechen, Chinese, Hungarian, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish, and Ex-Yugoslav people in Vienna (Okto, n.d.).

At several points, Austrian artists were directly involved in supporting refugees and migrants and, thereby, increased the visibility of their claims. Most prominently, such artistic support took place during the 1990s to fight the rise of the FPÖ but already in the 1970s artists used their specific means to increase the visibility of anti-discrimination activities.

These cultural and artistic activities can be understood from a broader theoretical perspective as a contribution to democracy. While, for quite some time, the constitutionally warranted freedom of the arts was understood as abstinence from politics the history of the arts and of arts theory of the 20th century can be read as the rejection of this principle and the claim of artists of several disciplines and inclinations to be entitled if not normatively obliged to intervene into politics (Mayerhofer and Mokre, 2007, 294).

But even independently of the intentions of artists themselves the arts play a political role in every society and, especially in democratic societies, and this role is always related to questions of collective identities. Every society needs some kind of collective identity, of social cohesion, and loyalty between the citizens as well as between citizens and the government. In democracies, this cohesion is especially important as democracy means “government of the people, for the people, and by the people” – and for such a kind of government, “the people” has to be constructed. In contemporary societies of the global north, this construction is usually based on the concept of a common nation – which, obviously, is a construction in itself. But this construction is extraordinarily successful and effective and has led to a strong

form of solidarity. To use another common definition of democracy – it is based on liberty, equality, and solidarity (to use a less gender biased and family related term than fraternity) – and solidarity is the presupposition to accept the equal liberty of others (Mokre 2015a).

National culture, the national cultural heritage, national artistic achievements are an important means to create national solidarity and to keep it up. This means, on the other hand, that all these elements are also used to differentiate us from other nations and national cultures and to exclude those who do not share “our culture”. Whether this exclusion is a very rigid one or if the limits of our societies and our solidarity are seen as open and changeable, depends on political interests. Cultural diplomacy, cultural exchange, and intercultural encounters are certainly ways to make these boundaries more permeable – still, they are based on the precondition that there are important differences between cultures which have to be negotiated (Mokre 2011). The same holds true for activities by cultural associations of minorities which could be dubbed as a form of cultural diplomacy from below – on the one hand, they enable and further encounters, on the other hand, they emphasize cultural differences.

Artistic projects about and with migrants and refugees play a different role. Mostly, they understand themselves as a form of political art directed against racism and xenophobia. They contest national boundaries and/or the ways in which national boundaries work as exclusionary mechanisms.

ASYLUM AND MIGRATION IN CONTEMPORARY AUSTRIA

From 1999 to 2014, only very few refugees came to Austria (Asyl-Raum, p.3). Still, during this time, a refugee protest movement took place in Vienna for nearly a year. This movement was publicly very visible and increased controversial debates on the issue of asylum (Cf. Mokre 2015b). During and after the time of the movement several artistic projects were developed; some of them will be discussed later.

In 2015, the situation in Austria changed due to the high influx of refugees, especially from Syria but also from Iraq and Afghanistan to Europe. Austria received nearly 90.000 asylum applications in this year – while, in 2014, 28.000 people applied for asylum (Der Standard 2016). During the short summer of “welcome culture” in August and September 2015 public opinion including the media reacted in a positive and supportive way to this situation: Many people helped spontaneously at railway stations and in provisional camps. About 150.000 people took part in a concert “Voices of Refugees” on October, 3rd, 2015; many of them also participated in a demonstration before this event (Der Standard, 2015). Among many others, also the president of Austria talked at this occasion. And also the Austrian chancellor supported the German policy of a welcome culture for refugees: “Austria has to decide if we accept war refugees running for their lives with barbed wire or with human, dignified accommodation.” (Trescher, 2016, translation MM). However, only a few months later, the very same chancellor agreed with the rest of the government to build a fence at the Austrian-Slovenian border and said: “We cannot accept all refugees in our midst – and this I shall advocate consistently as the head of government.” (Trescher, 2016, translation MM) And during the last year, Austria

has closed borders, tightened asylum laws, and increased deportations of rejected asylum seekers (Österreichischer Integrationsfonds 2016).

Parallel to these developments a wide range of artistic projects about and with refugees have been carried out. Artists played a more prominent and visible role during this time than in other periods of high influx of refugees and migrants. Thereby, artistic projects pursued different and, partly, conflicting aims and used different forms and procedures.

THE ARTS AND NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The first example comes out of a campaign organized by Austrian public broadcasting: “Helping as we do it”. In this campaign, some videos were created under the header “To learn to speak you have to speak”. In one of these videos, an Afghan actor recites a short onomatopoetic poem by Austrian poet Ernst Jandl. The poem consists of one word, Schützengraben, which means fire trench in German. By leaving out the vowels, the word sounds like a machine gun (ORF, 2016).

This video as well as other ones of this series shows the ability of refugees to integrate, to deal with “our” Austrian culture. The whole campaign uses texts by Ernst Jandl who is very renowned in Austria but, at the same time, was very critical towards Austrian culture (Jandl, n.d.). Thus, it is a rather sophisticated campaign leaving out more obvious markers of Austrian. Still, it remains very much within official political discourse. Refugees have to know our culture, to learn the language, they have to integrate, they have to take up “our culture” – but, as opposed to the arguments of the populist right, they are also able to do all that.

We see an Afghan actor in the clip, thus, one could argue that this is also a work of art by a refugee – still, his role is limited to present what was chosen for him. And, strikingly, only his first name is shown in the clip.

Another very prominent example for recent art works dealing with refugees is the play “Die Schutzbefohlenen” (The Supplicants) by Austrian Nobel laureate Elfriede Jelinek which was shown in the probably most renowned Austrian theatre, the Burgtheater. This project shares some features with the formerly mentioned one as both the author and the theatre possess considerable cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). However, its perspective on refugees is a different one, the play can mainly be read as a critique of Austrian government put into the mouth of refugees, e.g. in these sentences: “We try to read strange laws. Nobody tells us anything, we do not find out anything, we are ordered and not picked up, we have to appear, we have to appear here and, then, there, but which country, more loving than this one, and we do not know such a country, which country can we enter? None.” (Jelinek, 2013)².

However, in this play we neither hear nor see refugees – at least, in the Viennese version. We also do not observe a form of cultural encounter. This is the text of a (brilliant) Austrian author and was presented by (renowned) actors of the Viennese Burgtheater who are all white and native German speakers.

2 „Wir versuchen, fremde Gesetze zu lesen. Man sagt uns nichts, wir erfahren nichts, wir werden bestellt und nicht abgeholt, wir müssen erscheinen, wir müssen hier erscheinen und dann dort, doch welches Land wohl, liebevoller als dieses, und ein solches kennen wir nicht, welches Land können betreten wir? Keins.“, translation MM.

THE ARTS AND SOLIDARY STRUGGLE

Following up the play by Jelinek two other projects were developed – this time with refugees as co-authors and actors. Some of the Austrian proponents of these projects – Peter Waterhouse and Tina Leisch – have been active supporters of refugees in Austria for many years and were involved in the abovementioned refugee protests. Thus, their work with refugees has not only been motivated by their critique of national and nationalist politics and culture but also by an understanding of solidarity as the precondition as well as consequence of a common struggle on eye-level.

Solidarity, in the Marxist tradition, has been understood as international and based on class interests, the proletariat contra the bourgeoisie, the owners of the means of production. Thus, also here, an exclusionary mechanism is at work, the proletariat is unified by its class interests for which it fights against other interests (Cf. Mokre, 2015b, 125-139).

Obviously, in political struggles of and with refugees and migrants, the concept of class does not play a prominent role. But the united struggle is the common denominator of these movements with workers' movements. And, also, that solidarity is not based on assumed common national past and national commonalities but on – probably also assumed – common interests and the desire for another society.

Peter Waterhouse emphasizes above all the plurilingual and translational character of such a desired society. His association "Versatorium" – a word which does not exist in German but includes the word "verse" – in cooperation with refugee activists in Vienna translated parts of Jelinek's play to English, Georgian, Pashto and Urdu. The title of the play by Versatorium is "Die, should see be fallen in", an onomatopoeic imitation of Jelinek's title "Die Schutzbefohlenen". The project was developed in a close and intensive cooperation and the languages and words of the refugees could be heard. It can be understood as a strong and direct form of cultural encounter as all the languages can be heard at the same time. Still, it was obviously a project designed by Versatorium and Peter Waterhouse and not by the refugees themselves.

A second project based on Jelinek's play was called "Schutzbefohlene performen Jelinek's Schutzbefohlene" (Supplicants perform the Supplicants by Jelinek) and was carried out by a group consisting of asylum seekers currently living in the biggest Austrian reception center, Traiskirchen, and headed by theatre and film maker Tina Leisch. In this version, Jelinek's play includes the actual experiences of the refugees.

In both projects, the artists try to work with refugees on eye level and to develop theatre together with them; the projects can, thus, be understood as intercultural works. Still, the concepts come from the professional artists who are, at the same time, EU-citizens. And also the cultural capital remains with them – it is their name that remains in public knowledge.

The latter project, Schutzbefohlene performen Jelinek's Schutzbefohlene, gained cultural capital in a rather weird way as the extremist right group "Die Identitären" (The Identarians) interrupted one performance of this play. After this action, the play was invited to the Viennese City Hall – as a sign by official Austrian politics that they do not agree with the extremist right. Still, as Tina Leisch herself said, in a

situation of ever more restrictive asylum and migration politics, you are wondering if such an invitation does not rather work as a smoke screen for these politics– and if artists are abused in that way by politics and let themselves be abused³.

THE ARTS AS A WAY OF HELPING REFUGEES

The arts can translate and sublimate experiences, even traumatic experiences, to another sphere, another language. In this way, the arts can be a means to deal with these experiences or to express them in another way. As an example for an attempt to do this the movie project “Auf nach Europa/ Let’s go Europe” can be mentioned. The movie was conceptualized and directed by Mohamed Amine Mouaz, a former Algerian refugee who repeated his escape route from Istanbul via Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary to Austria reflecting on the way his own experiences and also carrying out interviews with other refugees. For the film maker, the movie was both a possibility to work artistically on his own experiences and to earn money. He was supported in this endeavor by a professional cameraman/cutter and a voluntary, non-professional producer. It seems doubtful if this way of dealing with his own traumatization really worked in the way the film maker hoped for⁴. Also, funding for the movie was very limited, thus, the financial gain for the director was not considerable.

Still, the financial impact of arts projects with refugees should not be underestimated. In Austria, art work is one of the very few possibilities for asylum seekers to earn money. Thus, both the projects by Peter Waterhouse and Tina Leisch were also beneficial in this way.

However, the dependence of refugees and migrants on the engagement of artists in order to make their living makes it even more difficult to act on eye level. Here, the Christian and, above all, Catholic concept of solidarity plays an important role – solidarity as universal help for those who need it – a concept that is very closely related to charity and has a definitely paternalistic touch. On the other hand, it is difficult to envisage co-operations between people with radically different privileges and life chances without this element of help, of charity (Cf. Mokre, 2015b, pp.95-124).

CONCLUSIONS

Since WWII, several groups of refugees and migrants have come to Austria, thereby, changing the population as well as the culture of this country. Associations of these minorities play an important – although rarely acknowledged – role for Austrian culture and artists have been inspired to develop projects related to refugees and migration. Thus, it seems plausible to claim that a specific form of cultural diplomacy from below and within has developed as a consequence of forced and voluntary migration to Austria.

Cultural associations of migrants and artistic projects about migration pursue different aims and have different consequences. While the former rather aim at upholding the culture of the country of origin and at stimulating cultural encounters, the latter can usually be understood as a critique of government and the attitude of the majority society towards migrants.

3 Tina Leisch during a discussion at the conference “It’s about Politics”, itsaboutpolitics.wuk.at/

4 This is a very subjective assessment I dare to make as I was the producer of the movie.

Some contemporary artistic projects stand in a direct relationship with newly arrived refugees and aim for different forms of representation of this group. As has been shown, these projects pose specific problems of representation, hierarchy, and cultural capital. These problems can be understood as part of the cultural translation taking place in these projects – “the element of resistance in the process of transformation, ‘that element in a translation which does not lend itself to translation’” (Bhabha, 1994, 321). Thus, these problems can also be made productive for the ongoing process of cultural translation in order to develop new forms of cultural diplomacy from below and within.

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Why we have to overcome paternalism in times of populism

Raphaela Henze

THE RISE OF POPULISM

The last few years, especially 2016, have witnessed a rise in populism (both on the right as well as the left) which is as alarming as the fact that it remains insufficiently explained. Within this context, Khair (Khair 2015: 59; 2016) speaks of a “new xenophobia” in Western Europe, and examines the dramatic growth which *Pegida*, and the *Alternative for Germany (AfD)* as well as the *Front National* in France have experienced. The same applies e.g. for the *Partij voor de Vrijheid* in the Netherlands, but also for *Syriza* in Greece, and *Podemos* in Spain.

Many opponents of EU membership in Great Britain have drawn attention to themselves during the past year with overtly xenophobic slogans which have motivated the majority of the electorate, especially voters resident outside the major metropolises, to support the exit camp. When people are scared, they almost invariably become isolationist. Moreover, when looking at Eastern Europe, for example Poland and Hungary, we see a dramatic swing to the right, most markedly among young people.

In Latin America, populism has been on the increase for decades. At the time of writing, it is particularly evident in Bolivia and Venezuela. In the USA, in 2016, *Donald Trump* was elected president, achieving political success through simple populist messages. Moreover, he demonstrates an understanding of the significance of borders and, in particular, of the nation state which many believed and hoped to have long since been overcome (Shibli 2016: 37; Henze 2016). *Trump's* election to the office of 45th President of the United States is often explained – albeit oversimplistically – as a rejection by the citizenry of the traditional establishment. An establishment which, particularly in the United States, has repeatedly represented the political class, and appears to be too far removed from the fears and concerns of the majority of the citizens. In addition, it is accused of arrogance towards and ignorance of the needs of a wider part of the population, especially of those living in rural areas.

“The election of Donald Trump is a triumph of the American people, a victory of ordinary people over the political establishment. It’s a victory over the politically correct globalist elites who show little interest in the well-being of the people.” Frauke Petry, AfD on November 11, 2016.

“Donald Trump has made possible what was presented as completely impossible. So, it’s a sign of hope for those who cannot bear wild globalisation, who cannot bear the political life led by the elites.” Marine Le Pen, *Front National*, November 15, 2016 in an interview on CNN.

“Wherever the elites distance themselves from voters, those elites will be voted out of office.” Norbert Hofer, Freedom Party Austria, November 16, 2016 in an interview with Reuters.

CULTURE AS A MEANS OF DIFFERENTIATION

Hardly any populist party politician has presented himself to the electorate as an intellectual.

In Great Britain, for example, the annual visit of German Chancellor Angela Merkel to the Bayreuth Wagner Festival is perceived with ambivalence. Ambitious politicians in the UK deliberately eschew high-brow cultural events in order not to be considered elitist (Tusa 2014: 9). Thirty years ago, following extensive study, Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1987) drew attention to the fact that the arts are not a suitable tool for promoting social integration, but rather one of differentiation. Decades later Bennett et al. (2009) and Savage et al. (2013; 2014) go even further and understand culture more directly as constitutive of social positions such as class.

Virtually every study supports the finding that cultural consumption is socially differentiated (O’Brien and Oakley 2015; Durrer 2009).¹ The Warwick Commission (2015: 33), a two-year large-scale, cross-campus, public engagement project launched by UK-based Warwick University in 2014, with a budget in the region of £450.000 makes clear that: “The wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse 8% of the population forms the most culturally active segment of all...”. The same applies for many other countries in the world. Arts and culture (specifically those heavily subsidised by the state) are, therefore, considered by many as having nothing to do with their everyday lives and are only of interest to an elitist, affluent, well-educated, mono-ethnic, urban establishment.² An establishment that has been firmly rejected, especially during the recent presidential elections in the USA.

When acclaimed American author Louis Begley writes in an article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) in February 2017 that he does not know a single person who voted for Donald Trump “who has not the slightest idea of philosophy, arts and science”, we have to be aware that this is exactly the problem. That the intelligentsia, living in the case of Begley on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, seems to have no idea about the concerns, worries, and hopes of the vast majority of the population especially of those not living in east or west coast metropolises.

The still widespread attitude of several arts managers but also of researchers and politicians of regarding large sections of the population only as audiences with deficits to be overcome does little for confidence-building, but, instead, deepens the already existing rifts.

In order to overcome what was considered a “gap” within society numerous publicly funded programmes have been established in Europe since the 1970s aimed at

1 The same applies for political participation (see Lane 1959).

2 DuBois (2016) in his study on the backgrounds of those in arts and culture comes to the unsurprising conclusion that the majority of those in the sector has an early childhood socialisation in the arts. A socialisation that is strongly interconnected with the social and economic status and background of the respective families.

addressing the low levels of participation³ in subsidised arts and culture through a whole range of access, participation, and inclusion strategies (Belfiore 2016: 209). If we consider the recent Warwick report numbers, they have not been overly successful so far. The kind of integration pursued over the years has unfortunately little to do with involvement in artistic processes or even cultural production – but rather with participating in offers and projects mainly focussing on whichever kind of learning, and, therefore, necessitating an upward societal mobility. (Durrer, Henze, and Ross 2016; Durrer 2009; FitzGerald 2015: 116 who discusses ethno-racial Olympic Games in this context).

THE REGRETTABLE RENAISSANCE OF CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS

The statement, “It is self-explanatory that we should give priority to our culture and its importance in our own country”, can be found on the Facebook page of *AfD* politician Frauke Petry, dated March 2015. In the *AfD*’s manifesto, point 7.2. states: “German Leitkultur instead of Multiculturalism”, and under 7.6.1: “Islam does not belong to Germany”. Very similar remarks are made by, among others, Geert Wilders, head of the populist party *Partij voor de Vrijheid* in the Netherlands. Samuel Huntington’s problematic “Clash of Civilisations” is experiencing a regrettable renaissance. Many populists have exerted a good deal of influence on a concept of culture that sadly promotes the dichotomy of “we” and “the other” / “stranger” or, from Huntington’s perspective, “the rest”. Populists use culture and religion for their historically questionable position that other cultures and religions can only exist autonomously in national contexts, while failing to acknowledge that today’s societies constitute mixtures and variations of different forms of culture and life. Without such variety and blending the supposed “own culture” would not have realised any of the developments, which led to the achievements frequently and falsely being described as purely European. (Trojanow and Hoskoté 2007: 24; Rittenhofer 2014: 143; Henze 2014: 41).

CULTURE AS SOFT POWER IN INTERNAL RELATIONS

Arts managers and cultural creators are seen as having the potential to unite an increasingly heterogeneous society and to counter the anxieties that populists use to promote their goals. It is important to ascertain how the former can react and which concepts they can and do develop in order to exploit the opportunities associated with an increasingly inhomogeneous population. In addition, it is crucial to answer the question of how they can collaborate with society to produce topics, questions and, if possible, answers that are important for peaceful cohabitation both within and outside urban centres. There are surely no easy answers to this question and more interdisciplinary research has to be conducted – research that requires continuous exchange with the sector as, for example, the Arts & Humanities Research Council funded, international network “Brokering Intercultural Exchange”⁴ pursues it. The *Suitcase of Methods*⁵, a large research project positioned within the research tradition

3 The terms participation and engagement are used interchangeably in this text.

4 www.managingculture.net (Accessed 16 February 2017).

5 <https://asuitcaseofmethods.com/> (Accessed 17 February 2017).

of Grounded Theory, set up by the *Royal Danish Theatre* in Copenhagen, proves the openness of arts organisations to this kind of research and academic discourse.

The Danish Network *Take Part*⁶, which also consists of researchers as well as practitioners, sets out to explore the important question within this context of how cultural, social, and political participation interact.

There are currently numerous arts projects in Germany within which arts managers are taking up, for example, the issue of (im)migration.⁷ A review of theatre programmes in Germany shows that hardly any stage, however small, can resist the momentum – and the current financial support easily accessible from a multitude of sources.⁸ As well-intended as these efforts in support of participation may be, they must be critically reviewed with regard to their strategy (Wolfram 2015: 20; Canas 2017) and sustainability (Terkessidis 2015 a: 81). Whether participation is not merely a blessing of a homogeneous and even elitist parallel society and, consequently, already planned in detail by the “concerned” (Terkessidis 2015 a: 81) merits as much attention as the question whether the “outsider role” does not even further perpetuate itself through instrumentalisation (Pilic and Wiederhold 2015: 23).

Tania Canas, Arts Director and member of the Australian organisation RISE, has compiled a list of ten points that provides important guidance to those cultural creators wishing to work with refugees and asylum seekers. Canas elucidates the difference between presentation and representation and requests, among other things, that the following questions be addressed: “Your project may have elements of participation but know how this can just as easily be limiting, tokenistic and condescending. Your demands on our community sharing our stories may be just as easily disempowering. What frameworks have you already imposed on participation? What power dynamics are you reinforcing with such a framework? What relationships are you creating?” (Canas 2015).

It is not only until after reading Canas’ argument that it becomes clear that well-intentioned projects, as well as numerous scientific publications, that still retain paternalistic elements, further deepen, rather than reduce, the rift between users of culture and those who have little to nothing to do with arts and culture for a variety of reasons.

Participating does unfortunately not necessarily mean being part of something. Participation still seems to be the game of those who have been around for a long time and determine the rules. Only those who accept these rules and conventions can participate. In the long term, the (im)migration society must learn a new game whose rules are determined by many different people. This is precisely the difference between the concept of integration and the more convincing one of diversity which is, unfortunately, not yet understood by many – even by politicians who use both as synonyms.

6 <http://projekter.au.dk/en/take-part/> (Accessed 17 February 2017).

7 Several international projects, which have been considered particularly successful, can be found here: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/seioc-mig-database.php> (Accessed 20 February 2017).

8 Interests of funders tend to shift quickly, which makes sustainable work on a given topic for arts managers and cultural creators difficult. The “next big thing” is already coming. A lot of funding is now available for projects that deal with the topic of digitalisation.

The fact that this development towards an even more diverse society entails anxieties about the preservation of one's own privileges must be taken seriously and moderated accordingly, especially when populism and – as is apparent – the accompanying threat to human and cultural rights and with such the decline of a free and open cultural scene are to be encountered.⁹ The Danish NPO *Freemuse*¹⁰ registered **1,028 attacks on artists** and violations of their rights in 2016 across **78 countries**, continuing a worrying trend of artistic freedom increasingly coming under threat.

It is surprising, however, that many arts institutions seem to have dealt with the topic of im(migration) only after the significant migration wave of 2015. For a long time, (im)migration has not been a marginal issue in society. The demography in large German cities, where the majority of children under the age of seven has a history of migration, speaks for itself.

If you look at the cultural institutions in many countries of the world in their personnel composition¹¹, it can be justifiably questioned how such homogeneity could all of a sudden generate and maintain diversity in the long term. (Hesmondhalgh and Saha 2013: 183; Wagner 2012). Simultaneously, one must also ask whether a certain “being among oneself” attitude was not deliberately intended and enjoyed for a long time (Henze 2016: 138). In the meantime, however, more people with a history of (im)migration have found their way into arts institutions and even, to a certain extent, into management functions. Efforts to promote diversity which have created a concept that “overwhelmingly means the inclusion of people who look different” and contribute solely to “bringing something different to the organisation” have led, however, to a perpetuation of the dominant position of one ethnic group. *Purwar* refers to this as “institutional whiteness” (Purwar 2004: 1). In this context, some authors even speak of a “Benetton model of diversity” in which diversity becomes an aesthetic style or an opportunity to give organisations a better image (Ahmed 2012: 53) but does nothing to address the deep causes of exclusion and power imbalances in the arts (Canas 2017).

However, in this important discussion about the mono-perspective of arts institutions, it must be borne in mind that discrimination is not restricted exclusively to nationalities or ethnic groups. Inequalities continue to exist amongst others on the grounds of disability, religion, age, sexual orientation, gender or language.

Consequently, further approaches regarding how diversity in arts and culture can be depicted in such a way that they are relevant to as many, and in a variety of ways diverse people as possible, who are not only seen as potential audiences but as cultural creators with real agency, must be sought and identified.

9 For example, in November 2016, *Donald Trump* accused the cast of the Broadway Musical *Hamilton* of “harassing” his designated Vice President *Mike Pence* when they chose to address Pence after the show and raise their concerns concerning diversity in the USA. Oscar-winning actress *Meryl Streep* he called ‘the most overrated actress in this country’ on his Twitter account after she had criticised him at the Golden Globes awards ceremony in January 2017.

10 <http://freemuse.org/> (Accessed 25 February 2017)

11 A study by the consulting firm *Ithaka S + R* for the Cultural Affairs Department in New York (R. C. Schonfeld/L. Sweeny (2016)) has found that in New York, where Caucasians constitute just one-third of the population, they represent 61.8% of the so-called cultural workers. The city of New York is now planning via a pilot project to provide 85 non-white students with access to 35 cultural institutions, where they will, in a best case scenario, eventually find employment.

PARTICIPATORY PROJECTS

Participative projects currently seem to be the primary choice for arts managers and cultural creators (Bishop 2012: 2; Henze 2016: 89). However, *Spivak*, in her seminal work on postcolonial theory, doubts entirely that participation is able to provide any form of added value to the so-called “subalternate”. Through their commitment, minorities would be removed or completely divorced from “their own”, because they would play a role in a rational conversation that is again governed by the rules of those who have supposedly begun the conversation and have appropriate privileges.

It cannot be ruled out that several of the well-intentioned participatory approaches currently have relatively little in common with *self-empowerment* or *self-representation*. It would, however, be an inadmissible shortcoming to, from the outset, deprive art and culture of such an opportunity, and to deny cultural creators and arts managers such an ability.

The current research aims to identify international approaches and projects which succeed in being relevant to as many people as possible. The main focus of this work is not to develop objective and internationally applicable evaluation criteria by using instrumental methods, which is for several reasons highly problematic anyway, but to identify projects with the potential to initiate discussions involving groups, with whom such interaction has so far been avoided as well as projects that enable encounters between people from many different walks of life who would otherwise not necessarily meet and collaborate. A cultural creator said “We want to transform people’s lives and we strongly believe that their lives will not be the same as they have been before we worked together”. How is the life changing ability of the arts measured? These personal and intrinsic impacts of arts and culture resist reduction because they belong to the immensurable realm of emotion and even of spirituality and can therefore not be measured like for example the economic benefits of culture (Holden 2012). In the arts, value is subjective and elusive and, therefore, hard to define (Walmsley 2013: 203).

The aspect of collaborating is a key theme since – as mentioned above – it is no longer regarded as sufficient to find ways to get an artistic product to as wide an audience as possible. In contrast, the artistic product itself has to be created in a democratised way with the involvement of many. This surely sets new parameters and has to necessitate a rethinking of the roles of artists and arts managers who will logically have to give up part of their privileges and power in return for ensuring their artistic freedom.

The widespread fear that standards are lowered to such an extent that only mainstream will be produced at the end of the day highlights exactly the understanding of arts and culture that urgently needs to be abandoned a) because it speaks of an arrogance that assumes that the majority of the population is only interested in easy-to-digest entertainment. There is no valid evidence that this is the case. To the contrary, the success of open submission events like for example the *In Your Face*¹² exhibition at the *Art Gallery of Ontario*, Canada illustrate the potential for achieving a high level of artistic quality b) if people are involved in the production they will gain ownership even of those topics and art forms they have so far been unfamiliar with

12 <https://www.ago.net/collection-x-in-your-face> (Accessed 24 February 2017)

c) the fear that amateurs will take over and professionals with extensive (academic) training will no longer be required is unfounded because amateurs have always been an integral part of the arts sector and the advancement of art products (Peromingo 2016). Professionals will be the ones to disseminate and share their knowledge, to organise and structure, and help bringing creative talent to the fore. Instead of fearing losing ground arts managers and those involved in their education should regard this as an opportunity for new fields of activity, especially with digitalisation that sees new art forms and more and diverse people creating content. The new generation of leaders will not only need a more holistic view of the cultural ecology, they will have to be ready to accept, integrate and celebrate all forms of cultural practice and identify new possibilities for a heterogeneous society to engage with the arts (Brown, Novak-Leonard, Gilbride 2011: 3)

Institutions like the *Theater X* founded by the JugendtheaterBüro Berlin (*JTB*), the *Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg* (*KVS*) in Brussels, the *Theater Zuidplein* in Rotterdam, or the *Theatre Royal Stratford East* in the young and ethnically diverse East London, which, with the programme “Open Stage”, wants to challenge the idea of cultural institutions as “effective apartheid entities” that alienate audiences more than they involve them, produce excellent work. Such examples have already found their way into the relevant literature on the subject (Terkessidis 2015, 240; 2015a: 81, Glow 2013: 132; Henze 2016: 102). In this context, it is also worth mentioning the Hamburg-based *Hajusom e. V.* already founded in 1999, which “understands its work as a peace-building and artistic intervention in the conflict zone of the contemporary (im)migration policy” and not as a contribution to integration, but to emancipation and self-empowerment (Kontny 2014: 22). Similarly the transcultural exchange entitled “KulTür auf! Wir schaffen Zugang” launched by the *JTB Berlin*, as well as the works of the artists’ collective *Label Noir* (also based in the German capital), the opera productions by *Zuflucht Kultur e.V.* in Stuttgart, the projects by *Brunnenpassage* in Vienna or *hello!earth* from Copenhagen are making highly valuable contributions.

INSTRUMENTALISATION OF THE ARTS

All the above-mentioned projects have in common a strong opposition to the instrumentalisation of art and artists. Nevertheless, this approach does not speak of an art in the sense of “l’art pour l’art”. The question of whether art should record achievements in social processes is rightly affirmed by arts managers around the world as shown in an international survey (Henze 2016). The idea that arts and culture can have particular effects (among them the ability to produce a range of social goods) has – despite ample criticism – a long history (O’Brien and Oakley 2015, Matarasso 1997). Many arts managers have raised their voices loudly against TTIP, Brexit, Donald Trump, or the exploitation of workers in the construction of, for instance, the Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi (Henze 2016: 118). It is, therefore, general knowledge that arts and culture have and always will influence social processes within and between societies. It is, therefore, not surprising that arts managers are, in certain contexts, even called change agents.

Ultimately, the crucial question is how arts managers today can moderate, accompany, and, especially, initiate these social change processes (DeVereaux 2009: 66), without

– as described above – being paternalistic and perpetuating prejudice, thus, in times of populism, not only in theory, but entirely in reality gamble away the right to exist.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF PRACTICE

On the basis of selected, hitherto still relatively unknown projects this ongoing research aims to explain how the integration of an inhomogeneous community into artistic processes and the discussion of topics relevant to society as a whole can be beneficial for all parties involved. However, it is not a matter of solely describing best practices and providing a universally applicable tool box for arts managers and cultural creators. Such an approach would not only be unrealistic, but would also not meet the complex requirements of such projects. Approaches that work in one context will not necessarily prove successful in another (Henze 2016: 155). This applies not only to country-specific contexts. It already makes a difference whether a project is realised in an urban or a rural area, a distinction which this research specifically focuses on. Most of the above-mentioned projects and institutions are located in large cities such as Hamburg, Berlin, Stuttgart, London, Brussels, Rotterdam, Copenhagen, and Vienna. In rural regions, there are completely different and often very limited cultural (infra) structures. A look at the voting attitude of the people in these regions, for example when the United Kingdom opted to withdraw from the European Union, or the election of *Donald Trump* as 45th President of the USA, shows that it is precisely these areas where populists can gain a considerable following. Thus, the work of arts managers and cultural creators in these contexts is particularly significant.

Many European arts managers too rarely leave their comfort zone, preferring to stay within the narrow confines of similar notions of arts and culture and similar funding structures and policies. As a result, a, in many respects dangerous Eurocentrism can be discerned (Henze 2016). It is, therefore, important to also identify projects from outside Europe. This is based on the conviction that answers to pressing contemporary questions and concerns in Europe are not found in Europe alone. The opportunity to learn from arts managers in, for example, South America or African countries could be helpful when approaching the complex issue of diversity in Europe. Many arts managers in the Global South have already gained ample experiences with, for example, (im)migration. Certain countries, such as Lebanon, welcome more refugees than do their European counterparts. Observing the experiences of arts managers in these countries could be markedly beneficial to those in the Global North (Fakhoury 2016). In South America, where century-long colonialism made it difficult to establish a theoretical framework for the discipline of arts management based on indigenous national experiences rather than on western influences, a seminal concept arts managers' functions has been developed. In contrast to the western model, that has a strong economic focus, the arts manager in South America is seen as a cultural agent who initiates social interventions based on creative processes. It is precisely these creative processes that contribute to addressing social challenges like violence in Colombia and Guatemala, corruption in Argentina and Peru, ethnical diversity in Chile and Mexico or inequalities in Brazil and in many other countries in the Southern hemisphere (Hernandez-Acosta 2013: 134). Not only Augusto Boal, Antanas Mockus, and Paulo Freire can still teach us lessons. Many

new initiatives like for example *Pre-Texts*¹³ and community projects are established to deal with challenges that sound, at the time being, all too familiar to Europeans as well. The social aspect of the work of arts managers has long been neglected in the curricula in the Global North while the competencies of their counterparts in the Global South have also been marginalised for too long.

Some of the projects this research will focus on during the following months have already been established for some years, for example, the *Chitpur Local* project founded 2013 by the artists collective *Hamdasti*¹⁴ in the 400-year-old historic neighbourhood of Chitpur located in north Kolkata, India or *New Paradise Laboratories (NPL)*¹⁵ founded 1996 in Philadelphia. *NPL* is a theatre company that embeds theatre in the internet and works inter alia with an online platform that allows them to collaborate with audiences and artists, blending the two as participants in their work. Other projects such as the citizen theatre project “*Wie? Jetzt!*” in Wedemark, Germany are still at the outset. The selected projects are different in terms of scale, artistic genre, budget and creative outcome but they are united by the fact that they do not work for or with communities but as communities. This entails a real delegation of power and the autonomy of the process as well as the progress resting in the hands of all those involved. This is exactly the divide that Canas (Canas 2017) draws between representation and participation.

At this point, the main focus of the research will be to establish what unites these projects despite their respective country-specific characteristics, what makes them special, and how they operate a democratic process of involving as many people as possible. However, it should also be shown where they fail, or where, from an academic perspective, wanting to support critical discourse on meaning, values and interpretations of practice, there is untapped potential. It is from these experiences of failure that new opportunities arise. The examples are also intended to address the various societal challenges and opportunities that do not – as a shortened view suggests – lie only in the area of (im)migration, but also include, for example, digitalisation.

WIE? JETZT! PROJECT IN THE WEDEMARK

At this point I would like to present one project in more detail and exemplify two of the many challenges that are common to community projects in several countries across the world. The project called *Wie? Jetzt!* (What? Now!) is a citizen theatre project in the Wedemark, a rural area in Lower Saxony, Germany. The project focuses on the theme of 70 years of peace in Germany, its prerequisites, its requirements, and its fragility. It constitutes a project allowing as many actors and communicators as possible – among them schools, retirement homes, music schools, the local choir, libraries, sports clubs as well as different other groups and associations – to work on a joint performance that will be presented in November 2017. It was launched with an inaugural meeting of all interested parties in November 2016 with the support from theatrical director, Bettina Montazem, who has many years’ experience with touring plays in rural areas. The initiative for this project came from Angela von Mirbach, director of arts administration of the region.

13 <http://www.pre-texts.org/> (Accessed 22 February 2017)

14 <http://www.hamdasti.com/> (Accessed 22 February 2017)

15 <http://newparadiselaboratories.org/this-is-new-paradise-laboratories/history> (Accessed 24 February 2017)

GET MANY DIVERSE PEOPLE INVOLVED

Calls for participation in community projects are most likely to be answered by the 8 % of the population described in the Warwick Commission report as (frequent) users of arts and culture. Brown et al. (2011: 10) as well as Villarroya (2015) see a clear symbiosis between participatory arts practice and attendance of arts and cultural events in general.

In the case of this project the response rate from, for example, teachers, librarians, and other academics is relatively high. This is surely acceptable as long as the project also succeeds in establishing what are, according to the Actor-Network Theory, *weak ties* (Granovetter 1978). These *weak ties* promote cooperation with people who are, according to the theory, communicators or intermediaries and who can open access to communities with which there have been previously no ties.

According to Bettina Montazem, as well as many other arts managers involved in community projects, it is key that the initiators base themselves within the community and develop relationships with community organisations and individuals. Furthermore, they need the ability to enthuse people and both learn and understand the motivations of those they hope to get involved.

A striking aspect of the *Wie? Jetzt!* is that, following a fierce debate, they have decided to seek dialog with the three elected *AfD* party politicians in that region. This dialogue is as difficult as it is necessary and is attempted all too rarely.¹⁶ At this early stage in the process, it is still open to debate what form such a dialogue will take and it is likely that populists do not demonstrate great interest in participating in these cross-cultural challenges. Nevertheless, the offer of dialogue, one of the most important pillars of every democracy, is there. Even if it is not taken up, it has had several effects and initiated discussions. For example, the local library, being a public space, is reluctant to host sessions where members of this party are present because they neither want to be associated with them nor do they not want to give them space. As understandable as such a decision is, the question whether it is democratic is important in the frame of a project whose key topic is democracy. How much can and must democracy tolerate?

HOW TO DEAL WITH UNCERTAINTY

Community projects, as they are understood in this research, give autonomy to those participating and engaging. Autonomy comes at the high price of uncertainty that many people have difficulty to tolerate. Bettina Montazem explained that there were moments in the monthly workshops when the increasing difficulty to handle the fact that neither a set goal nor a clearly defined outcome exists and also that no clear tasks were assigned became evident. The process and what *Angela von Mirbach* terms “happening behind the scenes” in all those participating institutions is what matters more than the festival to be staged in November 2017 that is seen as a kind of by-product. In the final analysis, uncertainty can certainly be a threat to an entire project with increasing numbers of people dropping out because they are not yet used

¹⁶ This is not about functionalisation, such as in numerous works by the German director *Christoph Schlingensief*, who, for example, worked on a *Hamlet* production with Neo-Nazis in 2001.

to more creative and artistic approaches. *The Suitcase of Methods* research project at the *Royal Danish Theatre* in Copenhagen, therefore, recommends "... be[ing] clear and distinct in the framing of definitions of the specific content". This still leaves enough room for the process to be designed in a number of different ways. It can be a thrilling and transforming experience to withstand this kind of uncertainty, to trust in your abilities as well as in those of others and to be able to generate a relevant outcome and a worthwhile experience for all involved.

In order to be clear and distinct regarding content, the *Wie? Jetzt!* project is supported Heilbronn University's arts management programme that assists with empirical research into the notion and understanding of democracy that prevails in the region of Wedemark. The range of what is understood by democracy is very wide. In order to clarify what participants actually have in mind when it comes to democracy this research is helpful and involves arts management students as a new group of intermediaries.

SEVERAL OTHER CHALLENGES

There are numerous other challenges, for example: sustainability, funding, and evaluation of community projects, the hierarchy that exists within the sector when it comes to different artistic genres, as well as difficulties that can arise because of the diversity inherent in the project team that certainly need further investigation and research. As is inherent in arts projects not every challenge can be foreseen and there is definitely no one-size-fits-all solution for different types of projects.

However, it is the relevance these projects have for diverse people with regard to topics that open up to them, or new/different methods of approaching challenges or the sheer enjoyment of being part of a team and finally having created something that is of value to many that will help arts and culture to overcome its elitist notion. When arts and culture succeed – and there is a strong belief that they can – in contributing to vibrant, liveable communities and when they succeed in transforming lives instead of just "selling" artistic products to as many as possible, populism will have a more difficult existence.

CONCLUSION

This research sets out to examine the role of arts and culture in times of populism. It uses international arts and culture projects to present suggestions as to how to respond to the increasing marginalisation and restriction of artistic freedom with greater overall social relevance. It is located at an important intersection of arts management to political science, sociology, ethnography, geography, and history, and is internationally-oriented. It addresses arts managers and cultural creators, but also politicians who want to guarantee cultural rights and arts and culture more meaningful to a greater number of people than ever before. Those working for the diverse funding bodies should be encouraged to stop financing projects with clearly defined and relatively easy to measure outcomes. Instead they should support international networks of researchers and practitioners and think less about an audience for the artistic product but more about the democratisation of the artistic process and about creating – more difficult to measure – value for all.

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Fair Cooperation? Partnership-based Cooperation in Cultural Policy & Cultural Management

Annika Hampel

THE POLITICAL CLAIMS OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Culture is often considered in itself to be “a unifying, mediating and supporting element” in the process of globalisation - concerned with “entering in dialogue with one another, encountering, and getting to know one another on the same level in order to overcome prejudice in a meeting which takes place as independently as possible of political dogma and on a peaceful basis” (Goethe-Institute 2012, p. 4). Therefore, the Cultural Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany – in common with the cultural policies of many other European nations – has devoted decades to encouraging dialogue, especially between countries of the so called ‘Global North’ and ‘Global South’¹ – above all by encouraging the exchange of artists, and enabling cooperative production. Amongst the reasons for anchoring international cooperation within cultural policies is the desire to unfold the cultural landscapes of the countries of the ‘Global South’ and to promote diversity of cultural expression, as stated by UNESCO in its 2005 convention.

The term ‘cooperation’ is used here in the sense of Richard Sennett’s concept of cooperation, and is understood as “a format of voluntary working together, with the goal of allowing something new to arise [which may not have been able to be produced individually] from the foundation of a common working process.” (Sennett 2012, p. 127) The partners (two or more artists or cultural institutions) contribute their resources, expertise and creativity in equal measure to a partnership based cooperation for a limited period of time, and all participants own the cooperation, and its working results. By definition, cooperations are assumed to place their participants on an ‘equal footing’.

Cultural policy makers and agents in Germany and Europe – such as those working in cultural institutions and ministries responsible for cultural relations – constantly stress the equality of partners. They claim automatically – without real legitimacy or reflection – a Cultural Policy whose intercultural encounters realise various political claims to ideals like “dialogue of equals”, “cooperative partnership[s]” and the “equal

1 That is, respectively: between the industrialised nations which are principally located in the northern hemisphere and ‘Emerging Markets’, which are generally found in the southern. The terms ‘Global South’ and ‘Global North’, are not precise, however, and are accordingly placed in scare quotes. The ‘Global North’ comprises, for example, not the entire geographical North, but rather only the rich and industrialised areas. The ‘Global South’, on the other hand, designates the ca. 150 ‘Developing Countries’. Characteristic of countries of the ‘Global South’ are limited industrial development, debt, a high level of inequality and poverty, lower educational attainment and life expectancy, as well as an experience of colonisation etc. (cf. <http://tinyurl.com/ngsxdem>, Accessed: 31.12.2013)

rights of cultures” (German Culture Council²).

This political claim is surprising because the understanding of the Cultural Policy and its goals has wavered considerably over the decades. Is it a cultural export – representative of a positive German image, intended to strengthen Germany’s national economic and political interests and secure its power? Or is it a cultural exchange in the sense of a “two-way-street” (German Federal Foreign Office 2003, p. 6)? Is the Cultural Policy intended to go out and persuade or to receive and to listen? Are German interests alone directive, or are those of the partners also accounted for?

This claim is even more surprising, because of the difficulty of implementing the principle of ‘cooperative dialogue’ - a phenomenon the American sociologist Richard Sennett details in his monograph ‘Together: The Rituals, Pleasures, and Politics of Cooperation’ (Sennett 2012, p. 127). As Martin Kämpchen, an expert on German-Indian cultural relationships, points out: “[...] these are well-intentioned and indeed necessary terms, but are they realistic?” (Kämpchen 2013, p. 67).

My hypothesis is that a disparity exists between the political attribution and the realisation of artistic cooperations: between the requirements of cultural policy and the implementation of cultural practice. I question whether current collaborations may even be referred to as ‘partnership-based’ and ‘equal’, as the German and other European cultural policies claim. To answer this question, the premises, processes and structures with which partnerships in the arts on the international level are realised must be known. However, the practitioners who implement international cooperation in artistic production and cultural mediation are, at present, neither consulted nor involved in the discourse of cultural policy. Whether and how cultural cooperations on equal terms are practiced in reality remains unknown. The aim, therefore, must be to explore the work conditions and practices of partnerships in the arts with the involvement of artists and cultural intermediaries. The following questions were posed to lead the investigation:

- How are cooperative artistic projects currently realised?
- Upon which structures and processes are these cooperations based?
- What challenges exist in shaping international cooperations?
- Can the current realisation of global cooperation be said to consist of ‘partnerships’ and a ‘dialogue of equals’?
- How does one bring these onto an equal footing? What criteria are required to make collective processes of understanding and cultural creation fruitful for both sides? Which cultural policy framework requirements, structures and conditions, are needed for the realisation of a relationship between equals? Finally, how can cultural exchanges succeed and be sustainable? What is actually required to build successful partnerships in the arts collaboratively?

The experiences and insights of those who cooperate to realise and implement the goals

2 See the website of the German Bundestag at: <http://tinyurl.com/oug2kox> (Accessed: 13.01.2014), <http://tinyurl.com/qadnpsn> (Accessed: 27.12.2013) and the UNESCO convention of 2005.

and requirements of the German and European cultural policies are foundational to my reflections, and key to the conception of cultural policy perspectives regarding the practice of international intercultural cooperation. The perspective of the stakeholders is indispensable. Without them, cultural policy lacks any foundation. What is required is “a conversation with the protagonists, in order to intensify [...] a dialogue with cultural creators; a cultural policy of the artists with an aspirational perspective” (Schneider 2013, p. 13 et seq.).

I interviewed eighty-one participants in Indo-German collaborations, among them cultural professionals of more than 20 years’ experience from India and Germany. Through these interviews, I received concrete statements on the practice of future international cooperation by including the perspectives of both the Indian and German parties. The Indian actors in the collaborations had their say on an equal footing with their German partners.

In addition to these interviews, I observed five divergent case studies of German-Indian cooperation in the arts in Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai in 2012 and 2013. These selected case studies serve as comparisons of the differing conceptions and implementations of cooperation work taking place under various conditions. They illustrate how cooperations between German and Indian cultural creators are actually realised, and how political claims are brought to reality in practice.

INDIA AS EXAMPLE OF ‘GLOBAL SOUTH’ COUNTRIES – A ROUGH CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

It is necessary to contextualise any research activity. Cultural collaborations are also influenced by their local context. This means at least a general presentation of the cultural characteristics and cultural policy specificities of India, the primary location of the investigation, are needed.

Many interviews named several of the challenges which Indian artists and cultural workers are required to deal with. One of these is that cultural actors have no spaces in which to practice and showcase their artistic works. Jobs like artists and cultural managers are not recognised in India; meaning art is a passion instead of a profession. Art is a hobby or volunteer activity after work, or at the weekend. The result is that cultural infrastructure is established and develops only slowly.

In addition to this, the government can censor critical art by prohibiting events, or even imprisoning artists. Meanwhile, the Indian central government is the main promoter of culture. Its limited financing system focuses on the traditional and institutional arts, while very few alternative sources of funding exist apart from European cultural institutes such as the Goethe-Institute, the British Council and the Institut français. Their support is usually in the form of core funding, as well as start-up-funding. This creates new dependencies. Neo-colonial structures manifest themselves.

Because public discourse on art and culture are rare in India, no official cultural policy exists so far. The difficulty of formulating a single national cultural policy in

a country with a five-thousand year old culture, and a diverse plurality of ethnicities, religions and languages makes this task even more difficult. This leads to the question which cultural policy, according to which theoretical framework, can and must be implemented practically, specifically with regard to the challenges facing the country in the form of an explosive population increase, environmental destruction, and violence, particularly against women and children.

The recorded observations and recommendations of my research are applied within the concrete and specific paradigm described above. However, the goal of my research is to make the German-Indian experiences and insights useful as exemplars of the overall configuration of artistic and cultural cooperation between the very different partners of the 'Global North' and the 'Global South'. This first requires a correcting balance for the existing cultural-political characteristics and framework conditions of the partner countries – e.g. through further research – and a context-oriented transfer onto other 'North'-South cooperations³. This transfer appears to be possible on three grounds. Firstly, this research incorporates the experiences of German experts who have not cooperated exclusively with Indian partners, but also with actors, for example, from Iran, Venezuela, and Côte d'Ivoire who report similarly about their joint work. I spent a total of five months in 2007 accompanying cooperations between German and Ghanaian, as well as German and Bolivian artists, in addition to the German-Indian cooperations. Moreover, since 2012, I have taken part in debates on artistic cooperation along with actors from Europe, Asia and Africa. Parallels and correlations are apparent in the conditions, structures, and processes of cooperation, as well as the associated challenges, described in all of these contexts – particularly with regard to partnerships with formerly colonised regions.

'COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIPS' PUT TO THE TEST – AN ANALYSIS OF CURRENT PRACTICE

The dimension of artistic cooperation has been barely explored, since the possibilities of this type of projects are at the moment underestimated by those responsible, who take neither the time nor the money to sustainably support cooperation projects between artists. Even if, in the meantime, deliberate efforts were made from the German side to enter into international cooperations, this dimension would still be little regarded. (Ittstein 2009, p. 134)

This précis from Daniel Jan Ittstein, who analysed the art mediation of Indo-German music partnerships, makes clear that the level at which artistic cooperations are organised and promoted lies far below their potential and their usefulness. To change this situation, I analyzed, in the first instance, the working conditions and practices of international collaboration to understand how current artistic collaborations function: what structures and processes emerge, with which premises and within which frameworks the collaborators work, and what challenges they need to cope with. This enabled me to work out some of the central aspects and crucial points responsible for the success or failure of intercultural partnerships.

3 In this case the proposed cultural measures are orientated to their context – that is, adapted to the characteristics, demands and resources available in the local situation to which they are to be applied.

The interests of cultural creators exert an influence on the shape of their cooperation work. Both partners, from the ‘Global North’ and the ‘Global South’, enter cooperations mainly to learn from one another’s skills, experiences, and knowledge – which differ in each cultural context and between individual artists. But individual and common aims and objectives are, in general, not exchanged between the participants (I_70: 98-100)⁴.

Art programmes and cultural institutions cannot ‘manufacture’ collaboration, or force partners who do not have any interest in each other to work together. Shared aesthetic and artistic ideas and interests form the foundations for partnerships. With aesthetic practice, it soon becomes clear who wants to work with whom. Collaboration emerges naturally and organically, for example, when the partners see each other on stage and develop an interest in one another. However, because they bring the monetary basis for the artistic cooperation with them, Western actors and institutions are often the ones to select their foreign partners. The partner who has the financial autonomy has the power. The focus of the Western partners is on English speaking artists who live in major Indian cities (of whose artistic and cultural landscapes including the locally active cultural institutions and actors, they often have only limited knowledge). This means the choice of partners is one-sided and limited. This elitist selection is reinforced by European cultural institutions that continuously support the same artists within their worldwide cultural exchange programmes and projects, as an Indian cultural scientist confirms:

[T]he same people over and over again, [...] and then [...] their children. [...] In that sense the [European cultural institution in India] is functioning like the rest of India, it is a certain elite that is constantly being circulated over and over again. (I_61: 20-25)

“Collaborations are just collaborations for the sake of funding.” (I_39: 6) Actors receive funding through cooperative work. Cooperation work is ‘en vogue’ and worthy of support. For partners from the ‘Global South’ in particular, collaborative work with European partners gives them the financial opportunity to build and develop a cultural infrastructure in their own countries⁵.

However these efforts usually have a limited budget and short-term deadlines. “Funding coming from Germany in general starts with jumping into the project and ends with the premiere performance or exhibition”, comments an Indian cultural and arts expert (I_67: 34). This funding is usually project-based. Without the promise of follow-up financing, medium-term planning of collaborations is not possible. This means, as a rule, most collaborative works are only ‘a flash in the pan’. Most of

4 Following the request of the interviewed experts, all statements are anonymised: I_number: number = Interview partner_Number of the interview: Number of the row of the transcribed interview. The transcribed interviews can be provided on request.

5 In general, the analyzed collaborations take place in India as German partners have the financial resources to travel to India, while Indians cannot afford this. This one-sided exchange from West to East or North to South doesn’t fulfill the political claim of a ‘dual-carriageway principle’. This observation refers not only to the process of collaboration, but also to the presentation of the cooperation’s end results. One could ask: Is what is learned, experienced and created ‘there’ (India) of too little worth ‘here’ – amongst the diverse and comprehensive infrastructure of Germany – to be shown, shared and reflected upon? A wider presentation of the outcomes of the projects could make the collaborations more sustainable, where they would be shown in both countries or even beyond the two of them.

partnerships come to an end by going up in smoke with the first presentation of the cooperative artistic piece.

Furthermore, the funding provided by many governments and cultural institutions can be restrictive, focusing on a specific country, nation, genre or theme. Funding is 'donor driven' as Anmol Vellani, the former director and founder of the India Foundation for the Arts in Bangalore⁶, states (Vellani 2009a, p. 195). For example, in 2012, the German institution Cultural Contact Point focused on European-Chinese partnerships – exclusively limiting its support to these collaborations. Such initiatives only force artists to hurriedly find partners with whom they previously had no relations, and who may have no affinity with their culture whatsoever. What is the point of nationally-focused cultural exchange with the aim of overcoming national borders?

These restrictions in funding limit the time available and force actors to neglect preparation in terms of getting to know the other partner and their work and life situations, engaging and safeguarding their cultural and aesthetic differences; building trust between the partners, stating individual goals, and finding common ground and consensus – for example by referring to the cooperation's subject – without losing respect for local identities; developing the project together, and building structures, conditions, and a framework within the collaboration can take place.

These restrictions also force the actors to neglect the process itself – which otherwise requires them to communicate with and question each other, exchange aesthetic understandings, practices and experiences, transfer knowledge, develop skills, and experiment together; as well as solving conflicts and crises, coordinating the cooperation, and undertaking the ongoing review of the cooperative work. The consequences are:

1. Collaboration is rushed with unknown partners. Trust between partners is easily questioned.
2. The various objectives of the cooperation are unclear.
3. Conflicts are bypassed and differences are denied, "problems and tensions are glossed over" (Mitra 1998, p. 2).
4. Experiments, and the unforeseen, are avoided.
5. The cooperation process is aimed towards a hasty production of tangible outcomes in terms of a high quality end result.

Instead of being promoted, diversity is inhibited and reduced; failure is sure to come. Failure is also caused when the differing realities of the partners, which influence cooperation, are misunderstood.

Sometimes collaborations can create more problems than they contribute to the production of art and art education, especially when it comes to intercultural collaborations. (I_67: 3)

6 This foundation is India's only philanthropic cultural foundation that has for over a decade accompanied and observed national and international cooperative works of Indian artists.

Cultural creators are not themselves per se culturally sensitive without preparation; yet many funders, managers and politicians in Germany still believe they are. “[W]e [are] considered inter-culturally competent simply by virtue of our special gifts as ‘culture people’”, a German cultural worker stated at the 57th Loccum Culture-Policy Colloquium in 2012. An example of struggling with intercultural differences can be seen in the popular German-Indian partnership between the Theatre for Young Audience Schnawwl (National Theatre Mannheim) and the Indian theatre Ranga Shankara in Bangalore. The Germans felt they were lacking the efficient and professional structures they were used to working in at their theatre, and had the feeling they were losing time when working with Indians who “can talk for hours without coming to the point”, as an Indian theatre actress admitted in the documentary movie ‘The seven voyages of Schnawwl & Ranga Shankara’ on the partnership between the two groups entitled ‘Do I know U?’.

Intercultural incompetence can lead to conflicts caused by ignorance and a lack of understanding. Cultural practitioners and institutions with a lack of knowledge about the foreign context they are working in with their partners present another challenge. This situation often results in offensive cultural miscommunication, or misunderstandings which can lead to frustrating encounters and failed cooperations.

Collaborative work is often adaption and reproduction – mostly unaltered – from West to East and North to South. This ‘copy and paste’ method, which does not respect local political, financial, economic, historical, geographical, and social requirements, makes cooperation useless and ineffective. For example, European cultural institutions working with artists of the so-called ‘Global South’ offer training, such as the ‘Cultural Manager Programme ATSA’ run by the Goethe-Institute, where practitioners and speakers from the ‘West’ provide and export knowledge and expertise of the successful implementation of artistic concepts, strategies and models in Europe to Asians. The powerful part is played by the German teachers, often renowned cultural actors, and the less powerful by the Indian students – mostly young professionals: the one gives and the one receives, neither are aware of the reality of the other, and both have little respect for their differences. The one-sided processes of learning and developing offered here makes the political claim to be ‘learning from each other’ a dead letter.

There are two aspects that are crucial for the sustainability of cooperations. Collaborations have a higher level of continuity when artists, having enough time and money, develop their cooperation work over several rounds and solidify their connection to each other (see above). They also exhibit a higher degree of stability if they are tied together institutionally. Cultural institutes such as the mediating German Goethe-Institute fund and organise international artistic cooperation work. They are extremely powerful partners, and can misuse this power by selecting partners, and dictating artistic topics and the locations of collaborative work. But as external guides they also offer their resources, working experiences and network structures, which are absolutely necessary for any stable and long lasting cooperation.

An exchange of cooperation experience is often missing; meaning participants’ valuable knowledge about their collaboration is lost. Failed cooperations – including failure as freedom to refuse to cooperate – are taboo because of a fear of the potential

denial of funding for current and future projects. Thus, the opportunity to improve the future culture of cooperation, and learn from the experiences of failed and successful collaborations, is wasted.

The German and Indian interview partners looked surprised when I referred to the political claims of 'equal partnership'. For them, 'equal partnership' does not exist. Every collaboration has partners who have specific roles and responsibilities within the collaboration, who enter the collaboration with unequal conditions and dissimilar prerequisites such as the level of artistic professionalism, cultural infrastructure, and capital – especially of a financial nature – that lead to an inequality in contributing to the collaboration. Division, disparity and hierarchies are necessitated. Examples include:

- The sound design for a theatre play is decided by the sound artist, not by other artists involved, such as the costume designers or actors.
- The German partner in an Indo-German theatre co-production feels frustrated about the financial responsibility they have to bear (for example formulating the objectives of the project by writing a full project concept, writing a proposal for funding, administering the budget, receiving the funding including its guidelines, reporting expenses to the donors, justifying these expenses against the objectives etc.). On the contrary, the Indian partner feels inferior in financial power, and gives in when decisions need to be made because of this financial dependency. Their knowledge and expertise go wasted and unused. Co-ownership cannot be developed.

Indian partners see a neo-colonialist cultural dynamic in Indo-German cooperations. Vellani describes this as occurring when Western artists and cultural institutions involve Indian artists in their projects simply to have an 'exotic' element in their play, screening or music; when German artists come to India with a set plan, without listening to the Indian artists, for example in terms of the topics that productions should handle, or when Western artists and cultural institutions fly into India for two days to do their show; when Western artists and cultural institutions visit India simply because they have money left, or when they are especially committed to working in Asia without having any knowledge of India, its living conditions, its cultural context, its art scene or its social discourses.

Altogether, the findings reveal the notion of 'equal footing' is an ideal, realised only in very exceptional cases following many years of discussion and approaches by the partners. More often, ambivalent and hierarchical relationships between partners from nations in the 'Global North' and the 'Global South' exist due to power asymmetry caused by the financial dominance of the 'West' or 'North'. Consequently, cultural and artistic exchanges can only take place on a limited basis. This has led to a need for a paradigm shift. An Indian actor explains by citing an African proverb:

'Up until the lion tells the story, the story will be told by the hunter.' [...] [S]o similarly up until the time we [the Indians] start directing our projects the story will be told by somebody else [the Europeans]. (I_26: 24)

CULTURAL POLICY MEASURES FOR FAIR COOPERATION IN PRACTICE

The goal of this qualitative investigation is to develop a portfolio of cultural policy tools for the future realisation of partnerships on an equal level in international exchanges.

A meaningful mode of cultural sponsorship is to motivate actors who actually want to work together, as their shared aesthetic and artistic ideas and interests form the foundations for successful and lasting partnerships. In order to identify such creative connections, artists must be able to contact and engage one another as part of a step-by-step encounter. As a representative of the IFAB (India Foundation for the Arts in Bangalore) explains:

If you start a proper collaboration programme the first thing you have to do is to provide people with money to go, see, talk, do a little bit of work, find the people with whom you feel you have some kind of connection, kind of ideas you are interested in, the nature of your practice, and then something clicks, a collaboration project might develop out of that [...]. It has to be a multi stage process. Artists get to know, understand each other. (I_67: 41)

The funders and sponsors of cultural cooperations, especially such as cultural institutions, could establish, organise and moderate platforms, for example conventions, residencies and laboratories, where potential cooperators could meet one another on a regular basis and continually exchange ideas, experiment together, and perhaps, find common ground. Neither the institutions nor the participants should have any expectations from these research activities, or the sensitive process of artists exchanging with each other in freedom. This would allow international cooperations to arise in which the possibilities and reasons for cooperation are clear for every partner.

To democratise access to these platforms, organisers must support the mobility of a multiplicity of creatives in order to break the limited circle of partners, or develop platforms in decentralised locations outside of major cities.

These platforms would also give opportunity for participants to critically reflect on and exchange their experiences of cooperation projects, including examples of best practice alongside the challenges and limitations of cooperative work. Both are beneficial to the future development and implementation of cooperative projects. As the initiator of these platforms, the cultural institutions that often sponsor and fund cultural collaborations would have the unique chance to better understand cooperation work in its various contexts, and to adapt this support accordingly.

While the collaboration project is taking place, cultural institutions, networks and agencies have a stabilizing effect by serving to moderate the cooperation as a facilitator and mentor, mediating with regard to the various cultures, contexts and cultural practices involved, and smoothing the way in the course of conflicts:

Some of the projects [i.e. cooperations] [...] were troubled by contention over issues of leadership, cultural difference, ownership and equity, and programme staff [employees of the IFAB] were called upon to function in various capacities – as motivators, intermediaries, arbitrators, crisis managers and sympathetic critics [...] in order to ease the stresses and strains of the partnerships, help settle differences and explore a viable way forward. (IFAB 1998, p. 3)

To allow a cooperation to unfold independently, it is necessary to create favourable conditions for collaboration. This integrates the following three activities:

1. It is recommended that the individual and common interests, goals and expectations for cooperation are identified by both partners at the beginning of the cooperation, and that individual and shared desires and aims are clarified. It is also important that an understanding of 'partnership' is defined, and that roles and responsibilities, as well as tasks and contributions, are clear for every participant. Clarifying these points and creating a framework in which to collaborate increases the likelihood that all parties will feel involved in what is being done. An advantage of this discussion at the beginning of the cooperation is that the meaningfulness (or, respectively, 'pointlessness') of a partnership can be discerned at an early stage. If conflicts arise, the common understanding can – as the "lowest common denominator" (I_70: 98-100) – relieve some of the burden on the relationship, and help to solve the problem. This thoughtful preparation and planning of the collaborative work fosters trust – which is prerequisite for a successful cooperation on a mutual footing.
2. A cooperative project will be shaped by the reality in which it is anchored. It is therefore necessary for the participants to be aware of this reality. The acquisition of contextual knowledge and orientation, for example on research trips to the location in question, supported and funded in terms of time and finances by cultural institutions at the beginning any cooperation, would enable cultural actors to explore and encounter the art, cultural landscape and living environment of the future partner, and establish connections within local structures for themselves.
3. Alongside the appropriate contextual orientation, intercultural skills need to be acquired:

The translation of partners' interactions and communication due to different cultural backgrounds is the tremendous achievement of every partnership in order that the collaborative work with each other can be continued. (I_68: 15-16)

Engagement with the culture of the partner can be supported by intercultural training designed to give participants an understanding of the other partner's interaction and communication within the context of their cultural differences, to deconstruct assumptions regarding their partners, and therefore to widen everybody's options for action.

The context within which culture is produced and consumed is recognised as having meaning. This recognition has a determinative effect on further actions and exchanges. When an expert shares their knowledge and experience, they must allow their counterpart the space to accept that knowledge or not, and to apply it to the situation where it will be put to use. As an Indian cultural worker explains:

Expose them to your experiences of finding answer to your challenges in your conditions and leave it to them what to adapt and adopt in their own environment. (I_78: 29-31)

This means, on the other hand, that those who are exposed to such knowledge ought to critically examine what they are learning from the experts, and make it appropriate to their specific reality by context-translation. Context-orientation – in the sense of appreciation and use of extant local systems, structures, processes, activities and networks, as well as local knowledge, and the identification of local needs – is therefore one condition for not falling into neo-colonial structures.

Rather than continuing to allocate money and time to the useless and ineffective adaptation of European or Western strategies and concepts, it seems advisable that partners in future cooperative projects between the ‘Global North’ and the ‘Global South’ develop new approaches and strategies oriented towards their individual experiences of life and work, enabling the participants to create their own local and regional solutions.

Throughout the investigation, it becomes clear that preparation and processes are essential to successful cultural productions. The cooperative work which takes place during the development process is at least as important, if not in fact more important, than the product of the cooperation, because the process is an element of a successful result.

Process orientation, like cooperation work in general, requires courage from the outset, and a willingness to take risks on the part of both the sponsor and the sponsored – who must both be prepared to exhibit a work in progress, rather than an end result.

The required preparation and process-orientation must be accounted for in the timetabling and financial planning of future cooperations, otherwise they will continue to fall victim to a focus on results. It would be meaningful to support cooperations generously according to their requirements, rather than handing out a fixed subsidy of predetermined size. This would mark a further step from a project- to a process-oriented, and therefore long(er) term, mode of sponsorship⁷. In order to allow a cooperation to unfold independently, it would be ideal if the financial conditions of nationality, genre and subject could be replaced by a more flexible system of sponsorship offering artists the freedom to decide for themselves what, with whom, and how, cooperation ought to be negotiated and undertaken⁸.

An appropriate credo could be ‘as few criteria as necessary, as much free space as possible.’ A meaningful criterion for sponsorship could be the extent to which the

7 A period of several years are meant with the expression ‘long-term’ according to my interview partners.

8 In accordance with the artistic freedom described in Art. 5, Para. 3 of the German Basic Law.

applicants have dealt with the process of cooperation itself. The context-orientation of the cooperation would be a further possible criterion, as the IFAB has already employed in their cooperation programme:

Primarily, the question is [...] whether they are able to convincingly situate collaboration in the context of their current needs as artists and the way these needs relate to the field. (Hasan 2000, p. 1 et seq.)

Success and failure are two sides of the same coin. Experimenting and risking failure is the way to success. In order to allow successful cooperation work to take place in the future, it therefore needs to become possible to address failure, to reflect on it and to discuss it. This discussion also invites debate on how various types of failure can be dealt with. The development of a culture of experiment and failure is practically possible through a step-by-step approach to sponsorship. Participants would be granted a 'small'⁹ financial contribution in order to try their cooperation ideas for a few weeks or months as an overture to potential collaborative projects:

[A] seed grant is intended to provide collaborators with an opportunity to test assumptions, confront potential sources of disagreement, and better appreciate one another's concerns and expectations [...]. (IFAB 2004, p. 13)

Following this phase, the cooperating partners could decide if it would be meaningful to take the partnership further or not. If not, then only a small sum has been lost. If the trialled cooperation idea is realised in a full-scale sponsorship, the likelihood of its success would be increased by the mutual knowledge and trust which the partners have gained in the course of the trial period (cf. IFAB 2004, p. 10).

In order to allow joint work to become more sustainable in the future, it is necessary to ensure that the partners are able to continue the project in their respective local contexts. A transfer of the cooperative work into the cultural landscapes of both parties, as independent and autonomous pieces which can then live on, would be a practical proposition. However, this transfer requires additional resources in terms of time and money.

The unequal allocation of resources, especially the financial dominance of the West, is the greatest hindrance to a partnership of equals.

A first step to overcoming this could consist of the partners recalling the "historical baggage" of their relationships (Tibi 2001, pp. 29, 37) and broaching their unequal playing fields – above all in the material sphere.

An effective way to reduce this dominance would be to distribute financial control and divide the money which has been placed at the disposal of the cooperation equally between the parties. Mutual financial responsibility makes the creation of a cooperation of equal partners possible. Ending the dominance of a single party means partners would be obliged to consult with one another with respect to the use of the funds. Consequently, decisions would need to become democratic – or at least more democratic.

⁹ As a rule, a sum in the order of some thousands of Euros.

However, this approach to common financial responsibility requires that European partners and donors grant foreign partners a share in the financial interest of the cooperation. The central question is whether the partners who have the financial power at present, as well as their patrons and donors, would be willing, or able, to give up a role that has legitimised their existence up to this point. For them, this would mean placing their own powerful and controlling position, and way of functioning, into question, and require the willingness to give up or share power.

The best solution would be if all participants in a collaboration were to invest financially in their partnership – and thus provide each other with mutual support. This would require the inclusion of partners from the so-called ‘Global South’ in the financial responsibilities. Negotiating for resources would therefore not just be the responsibility of the actors from the ‘South’ or ‘East’, but also of the European or Western protagonists. By identifying and ‘tapping’ financial sources such as cultural support institutions, businesses or private people in the ‘South’, both parties could collaboratively construct and expand their own independent financial structures.

Rather than trying to reach a full equality in ‘North’-‘South’ partnerships, it seems more realistic to seek to approach a **‘Fair Cooperation’**, which turns away from the hierarchisation of the partners, and towards a permanent debate about the equality of the parties – advocating for fairness. The word ‘fairness’ expresses justice, an “ideal state of social interaction [...], in which there is a reasonable, impartial and reliable balance of interests and the distribution of goods and chances between the groups or persons taking part” (Lackner 2010, p. 138). ‘Fairness’ is an attitude that means paying attention to equal opportunities and conditions, not taking them for granted – an attitude that has been made normative by the claims of equality, and partnerships on equal terms advanced by many cultural policies.

The results of the investigation make clear that cooperation work is highly conditional (cf. Hasan 2000, p. 5). To sum up the criteria for partnerships of equals in intercultural exchanges, the following diagram illustrates an ideal cooperation process. It is divided into three phases: the preparation or initiation, the work process, and the follow-up. It shows how to minimise power relations, promote cultural diversity, and thereby exploit the underused potential of cooperative work. To do this, intercultural cooperation requires more equitable prerequisites, structures and frameworks – which need to be created and provided by political institutions, networks and agencies, as well as others.

Preparation	Platform for exchange and experiment Partners develop cooperation idea(s) Developing understanding of context and culture Finding common language(s) Defining and negotiating interests Defining responsibilities Clarifying understanding of the cooperation Clarifying parameters: Location - Time - Money Setting the concept for the cooperation	Cooperation Management Infrastructure: Coordination Networking Moderation Mediation
Process	Experimentation and risk taking (incl. failure) Presentation of results or processes	
	Transfer in various contexts Further development of the artistic work Presentation of results and processes	
Follow	Platforms for the exchange of experiences and experimentation with new ideas for cooperations	

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Who Holds the Power in Soft Power?

Melissa Nisbett

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In a world where global relations are becoming increasingly complex, intercultural understanding has perhaps never been so important. Over the past ten years, terms such as ‘soft power’ and ‘cultural diplomacy’ have received increasing political attention and have gained traction within governments around the world. Yet despite being taken more seriously, there is remarkably little academic research on the role of culture within international relations from a foreign policy perspective.

This chapter looks more closely at the terms cultural diplomacy and soft power, and critiques the published work, beginning with the problems of the basic terminology and conceptualisations. It then examines the British case, with an exploration of recent soft power activities, and a consideration of these terms and practices in relation to global changes, the spread of neoliberal politics and the shifting world order. It ultimately asks: who holds the power in soft power?

SOFT POWER

‘Soft power’ was coined by the political scientist Joseph Nye in 1990 to describe the ability of one country to shape the preferences of another, and to do so through attraction and influence, rather than coercion. Throughout the Cold War, American art and culture (such as jazz and the avant-garde Abstract Expressionism movement) was funded by the government¹ and exported across the world for global consumption, promoting the values of intellectual freedom and, more broadly, liberal modern democracy, through self-expression and creativity. This was the antithesis of the alternative offered by the communist Soviet Union. Nye invented the term in response to claims made by academics, commentators and advisors in the 1980s that America had overstretched its resources during the Cold War, which would lead to a decline in its position within the international system and on the world stage. Whilst his initial formulation was in response to these ‘declinists’, Nye’s notion of soft power has changed over the years (see Nye 1990, 2002 and 2004), reflecting the political context of the day. Whilst these changes have prompted critics to argue that Nye’s formulation is ‘maddeningly inconsistent’ (Layne 2010:54), there is some sense in having a concept that can accommodate variation in response to political change, even if this does not make life easy for academics.

What is more problematic is Nye’s poor explication of the term. Soft power was not

¹ See Frances Stonor-Saunders’s book *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (2000) for a detailed examination of the covert funding of art and culture by America’s Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

fully elucidated in 1990 in general terms or in any detail. He was criticised for this and so his later work (Nye, 2004) was an attempt to develop the idea more fully. His descriptions and explanations go some way to sketching out the contours of soft power. However, his later texts continue to lack a coherent theoretical framework, are divorced from social and political theory, and fail to offer serious scholarly rigour and analytic depth. One example is Nye's remarks on the concept of power:

'Power is like the weather. Everyone depends on it and talks about it, but few understand it [...] Power is also like love, easier to experience than to define or measure, but no less real for that. The dictionary tells us that power is the capacity to do things' (2004:1)

It is unclear what Nye means when he says that power is like the weather and like love. Does he mean that it is omnipresent? Is he suggesting that we are preoccupied by it? Is he implying that we are at the mercy of it? Does Nye believe that we can use our personal charm to make someone fall in love with us, as we might attract and seduce a lover? Sovereign countries are not individuals. They have no higher authority to answer to and they usually act in their own self-interests. They can do what they like, within the accepted boundaries of international norms, rules and principles, and even then, there are frequent transgressions. Sometimes the motives of political leaders are transparent and their movements and actions predictable, but often they are acting in an environment of instability or even anarchy, some might argue. One country does not simply have power over another, instead power is 'chaotically distributed' (Nye in Parmar and Cox 2010:7) and diffused. International Relations theorists remind us that the international system involves a range of state and non-state actors, such as intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations, multinational corporations, the media, cultural institutions and so on. There are various schools of thought on the role of the state, whether countries act in their own self-interest, what responsibility they have to the international community, how they interact with each other on the global stage, how their ideological and moral commitments shape their policies and actions, and how they understand and relate to power. In the words of Joseph Nye, 'world politics today is like a three-dimensional chess game' (Nye 2010:7), incorporating military power, and economic and transnational relations, as well as his three pillars of soft power: foreign policy, political values and culture. I will not provide a further critique of Nye's writing on soft power, as fulsome commentary already exists elsewhere (see Parmar and Cox 2010).

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Like soft power, it has been argued that there is a lack of clarity about 'what precisely the practice' [of cultural diplomacy] entails' (Mark 2010:63). According to Bound et al, cultural diplomacy 'is not easily defined' (2007:16). In fact, many academic articles on the subject tend not to define or even describe it (see, for example, Finn 2003; Vickers 2004; Channick 2005; Saeki 2005; Hicks 2007; Brademas 2009; Keith 2009). For the political scientist Milton C. Cummings, cultural diplomacy is 'the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding' (2003:1). This definition does not suggest that cultural diplomacy is a State matter, nor that its purpose is political. Yet 'diplomacy' has connotations of negotiation, peacekeeping and international

relations, and governments directly and indirectly fund cultural diplomacy. Whilst it is often seen as part of foreign relations (Mitchell 1986), it is unclear how seriously politicians take it. For many, the stick will always be mightier than the carrot and this permeates the literature, with cultural diplomacy dismissed as a 'lesser tool' and a 'minor cog in the gearbox of foreign policy' (Mark 2010:63). Reeves (2007) wearily asks what poetry can do to reduce biological weaponry, whilst Vaughan (2005) concludes that it is unrealistic to expect cultural diplomacy to bridge wide and deep political gulfs. Whilst this work will always come secondary to 'hard power' or military capability, many argue that they remain valid components. Bound et al claim that such practices are vital in 'providing the operating context for politics' (2007:20). For American diplomat and academic Cynthia Schneider (2010), they will not solve political crises but they can help to reverse the decline in relations through increased understanding and respect.

For many, cultural diplomacy is closely linked to 'cultural relations', which is the focus of many longstanding institutions such as the Institute of International Education (US), British Council (UK), Goethe-Institut (Germany) and Alliance Française (France). All are well respected within the international system and play an obvious role within International Relations. Yet similarly, the literature suggests that cultural relations are paid little attention to and not taken seriously. Diplomatic historian Akira Iriye reports that cultural relations are 'frequently ridiculed' (1997:2) by political practitioners. This was famously exemplified by former USA President Richard Nixon, who referred to the practice as 'wish-dreams', 'woolly minded and idealist' (Reeves 2007:59). For some, cultural relations are entirely dissociated from politics, almost like a natural phenomenon. In my own research, I have interviewed many people working within cultural relations and I have asked them what the term means to them. The typical response is usually a series of abstract nouns: 'exchange', 'reciprocity' and 'mutuality'. This is a reflection of the very nature of this type of work, which is often casual and imprecise, with emphasis placed on personal encounters, cordial conversations and first impressions. This makes it difficult to justify it as the basis of policy-making, where evidence of effectiveness is often stressed. Despite cultural diplomacy and cultural relations not being taken seriously by some, they are also often accused of colonialism, cultural imperialism and propaganda (Reeves 2007). So there is an unevenness and inconsistency around the application, understanding and usage of these terms and concepts. This is not a surprise, since there is a lack of consensus around what these terms actually mean and how they are practiced.

CONTESTED DEFINITIONS

For some time now, the academic literature has been preoccupied with distinguishing the various terms cultural diplomacy, cultural relations, soft power, propaganda and cultural imperialism. This is as present in Mitchell's account in 1986 as it is in Ang et al's recent contribution (2015). Mitchell's suggestion of a continuum (with propaganda at one end, cultural diplomacy in the middle and cultural relations at the other end) is helpful in an attempt to locate the key concepts and also understand their differences. To define something is to state its precise meaning, whereas a scale offers flexibility that is not possible through rigid formulations. Despite the potential of this for further theoretical exploration and development, it seems to have been

ignored entirely. As such, Iriye was quite correct back in 1997 to argue that this whole area lacked theoretical progress. It seems that very little has changed over the last 20 years. It is now accepted that there is an abundance of terms and that these are used vaguely, loosely and interchangeably (Nisbett 2013a). Ang et al refers to this conflation of terms as a 'semantic constellation' (2015:367) but states that seeing them as distinct and separate is important for analysis. This lack of agreement on terms also has implications for policy-makers. What finance ministries think they are funding may be different to what foreign ministries think they are funding, which may be different to what culture ministries think they are funding, which may be different from what bodies such as the cultural agencies think they are supporting, which may be entirely different to what individual artists, musicians, museums, theatres and so on have in mind in relation to their own personal objectives and professional agendas. In addition to this, recent research has suggested that these terms need to be expanded to accommodate breadth, not narrowed down and made more precise. In my study of how United Nations diplomats use the arts in their negotiations, I found that when questioned, diplomats gave over 150 different responses to what cultural diplomacy is actually for (Nisbett and Doeser, 2017). This makes academic analysis tricky and results in a policy-making conundrum.

Despite us not having a clear sense of these terms in theory nor in practice, we are seeing the emergence of subsets, for example, 'dance diplomacy', 'yoga diplomacy', 'gastrodiplomacy', 'surfboard diplomacy', 'Twitter diplomacy' and 'digital diplomacy'. These imply that there is a role for ordinary citizens within International Relations, moving cultural diplomacy away from the formal spaces occupied by political diplomats and ambassadors, to street food stalls, beaches and teenagers' bedrooms. 'Many-to-many' (rather than 'few-to-few' or 'few-to-many') becomes a phrase that is increasingly used, but what does this mean in reality? We know that due to globalisation and the attendant digital revolution, we live in an increasingly interconnected world where there are multidirectional flows of communication, and that these connections transcend territorial boundaries and enable the participation of a plurality of actors and voices. This has its advantages, such as a broader engagement in global concerns, but it also problematises soft power and cultural diplomacy, as more voices potentially bring dissonance or a range of views that go against the consensual visions of politicians. We are just beginning to see how this diffusion of power is playing out. A good example is the *Black Lives Matter* movement, which began as a group of American activists who were campaigning against institutionalised racism in the form of police brutality against African-Americans. This was prompted by a number of unprovoked fatal shootings of young unarmed black citizens by white police officers. What began as a hash tag on Twitter gained international recognition and a global following via social media. Its dispersed leadership model is the key, making it difficult for authorities to shut it down or even attempt to target the individuals who are in charge. It makes a vital contribution to the image of the USA across the world in relation to structural inequality, race relations and social injustice. These are not only American problems, of course. The movement has crucially connected the struggle of black people worldwide, demonstrating a pattern that transcends national borders and crosses entire continents (Thrasher, 2015). It has been hailed as the 21st century civil rights movement (Day, 2015) and is an example of how the voices of ordinary people can go against or undermine the official messages transmitted by governments

and states, and directly influence how countries are seen and understood by the rest of the world. Moreover, it raises the question of the role of individual citizens in contributing towards the image and identity of their countries. Hill and Beadle (2014) declare that soft power is the responsibility of everyone and that we are all part of the projection of our country abroad. In the age of globalisation, it would seem, then, that anything and everything could be labelled and understood as cultural diplomacy and soft power, and anyone and everyone is responsible for it. This leads us to the question not of what *is* cultural diplomacy and soft power, as much of the literature continues to wrestle with, but what *isn't* cultural diplomacy and soft power. This line of argument has the potential to endanger these concepts, rendering them at best, meaningless and at worst, obsolete.

All of this is further complicated by the dearth of empirical research in this area. There seems to be little academic interest in engaging with those working in these fields, and also in assessing impact. The boldest of claims are made for soft power and cultural diplomacy, such as reducing the risk of terrorism (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014), enhancing national security (CACI 2009), facilitating peace and reconciliation (DCMS 2006), and reversing the erosion of trust (US Department of State 2005). The United Nations even declared that it could minimise the threat of climate change. Yet there is no evidence to substantiate any of these claims. Despite this, much of the literature sees soft power and cultural diplomacy as unwaveringly positive. This work is frequently based on advocacy (for example, Bound et al 2007), avoids empirical engagement (for example, Hill and Beadle 2014) and lacks a critical dimension (for example, Dexter Lord and Blankenberg 2015).

In terms of impact, cultural diplomacy and soft power also suffer from the classic instrumental problem, which is that they claim to persuade and influence through changing perceptions, yet a causal link is difficult to demonstrate. If causation is near impossible to establish at a community level, then ascertaining whether the perceptions of entire nations and the relationships between them have changed appears wholly unfeasible. Added to this is the point that countries do not have collective attitudes, so whose perceptions are practices like cultural diplomacy and soft power aiming to change? Politicians? Ordinary citizens? Religious zealots? Those working on soft power and cultural diplomacy initiatives continually fail to make their targets clear. Audience reception has been woefully neglected in the literature. Those on the receiving end may well not respond in the way that politicians might expect them to, flagging up the potential for unintended consequences.

Joseph Nye (2008) states that soft power can be measured through focus groups and polling data, so presumably the target of such activity is the general public. How, then, does public opinion lead to changes in foreign policy? International Relations theorist Christopher Layne (2010) summons considerable empirical evidence to argue that public opinion bears little relationship to policy-making. He argues that it is near impossible to show the connection between soft power and changes in foreign policy, and that any shift is more likely the result of hard power. Whilst organisations such as the British Council undertake some evaluation, they rely on quantifiable outcomes like visitor figures and media coverage, rather than on tracking the changes in perceptions and attitudes, or attempting to trace policy developments over time. Claims of soft power successes can be similarly critiqued. For example, the

Chief Executive of the tourism agency VisitBritain argued that following the London 2012 Olympic Games, perceptions of Britain changed and that the country began to be seen as more friendly and less stuffy, resulting in an increase in tourism (YouTube 2013). This may well be the case, but wanting to visit Britain for a holiday is entirely different to the ambitious claims made for soft power such as tackling extremism, as was recently argued by the British Council (2015). In the six months following the British referendum on leaving the EU, visitor figures surged (Allen 2017). This was due to the fall of the pound, which suggests that fluctuations in currency have an influence on a country's soft power capability, even in the face of xenophobic rhetoric and cultural intolerance. There is an absurdity to this and it is no wonder that the issues of measurement and impact remain unresolved in the literature.

This leaves us with a collective set of policy problems: there is not a clear understanding or consensus of what soft power and cultural diplomacy are, what such practices involve, who is responsible for them; who they are targeting, how they are measured and whether they work. Despite this, these amorphous concepts continue to gather global currency and political resources as accepted tools of foreign policy all over the world.

BRITISH SOFT POWER AND THE SHIFTING WORLD ORDER

Between 2000 and 2010, Britain focused on cultural diplomacy, with a strategy underpinned by the dual aims of 'cooperation' and 'competition' (Nisbett 2013a). 'Cooperation' was frequently framed as 'post-conflict resolution' (DCMS 2006), which primarily focused on the Middle East, following the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan by American and British troops in 2003, and the resulting chaos and instability across the region. Whilst culture undoubtedly has a role within post-conflict environments, it raises the question of what this type of activity aims to achieve and whether it can be effective. What hope does cultural diplomacy have if it exists purely to clear up after the less palatable aspects of foreign policy? What hope can it have of changing attitudes and perceptions when it follows a bombing campaign that led to extensive devastation involving civilian fatalities and the decimation of essential infrastructure? To take the example of Iraq, one consequence of the bombings was that widespread looting occurred across archaeological sites and museums by poverty-stricken locals and organised gangs, fuelling the illicit trade in cultural property, which forms the third largest black market activity in the world after narcotics and firearms. What did cultural diplomacy look like in this case? One initiative by the government was to fund the British Museum to send curators to Iraq to assist in the clear up mission and help their counterparts to develop and improve their archival and storage facilities, enabling them to better protect their artefacts in the future and keep track of damage and theft. Aside from the tragic irony, we immediately see how this type of cultural diplomacy becomes a mere afterthought of dubious geopolitical ambitions.

If cultural diplomacy is about the 'things that make people love a country rather than fear it' (British Council 2015), then its relationship to foreign policy is crucial. For example, the propensity of the US to deploy 'hard power', often through the use of drone strikes, does very little for its global appeal. As the journalist Roula Khalaf

remarked, ‘many people in the Middle East loved US brands and Hollywood movies, and wanted the American dream. None of that, though, could convince them to accept US foreign policy’ (2014: online). There is a wealth of similar examples. China’s record on human rights and its global media censorship impede its national image. Russia’s annexation of Crimea and its support for Ukrainian separatist insurgents have an impact on how the world sees it. Another example is the global refugee crisis, with the displacement of 60 million people from war-torn and conflict-ridden countries, and dictatorships across the Middle East and North Africa (which, incidentally, many would argue is the result of Western interventions. The emergence of the extremist militant group Islamic State and the concomitant collapse of Syria due to the civil war have been directly linked to the second Gulf invasion of 2003. See Chulov 2014). The rest of the world is able to observe the general hostility towards immigrants, with the British government’s response seen by many as slow, inhumane and inadequate. The vast majority of British media coverage framed the crisis as economic opportunism, rather than as a matter of life and death. It took a harrowing image of a lifeless child washed up on a beach to spur the government into action and this only happened after large-scale public pressure. Britain’s draconian policies around visas, the growth of Islamophobia, resurgent nationalism, the grappling over ‘British values’, and the introduction of a new *Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015* that require universities to spy on and treat their students as suspects, all build a picture internationally about how Britain views foreigners – how we see *ourselves* in relation to *others*, and how we see *our* country in relation to *theirs*. So is cultural diplomacy persistently undermined by the actions of governments or is it merely required to smooth political tensions after the event? Either way, this falls short of what most people would reasonably understand as ‘cooperation’.

Aside from conflict resolution, Britain’s cultural diplomacy has focused on ‘competition’ within the global marketplace. Culture is used to attract tourists and boost the nation’s wealth, as well as generate income through inward investment and the export and sale of cultural products on the worldwide market. The British government’s courting of countries like India and China is directly related to its use of culture as an ‘aid to trade’ (DCMS 2006) in developing and expanding opportunities for commerce with emerging superpowers. Similarly, its apparent disinterest in countries with weak economies, unfortunately referred to as PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain), further serves to demonstrate its primary interest in sales and export. Bound et al argued that cultural diplomacy was as much about ‘the quest for the tourist dollar’ as ‘the battle for hearts and minds’ (2007:18).

These dual notions of competition and cooperation reveal an inherent tension at the very heart of cultural diplomacy. The contradiction is clear. The world is not made up of a community of nations that are compatible and in harmony with one another. Cooperation and competition are not complementary aspects of global order but can be seen as opposing forces. Competition creates winners and losers, which would appear to be at odds with the very essence of cooperation (Nisbett 2013a). Thirty years ago, Mitchell warned against applying notions of competition to cultural relations:

the result would be a competition for cultural markets, a contest between national images, a recrudescence of nineteenth-century cultural nationalism, which would not conduce to understanding and co-operation (1986:80)

This is precisely what Ang et al (2015) question when they ask whether cultural diplomacy can ever go beyond national interest. In recent years, Britain has reoriented its efforts away from cultural diplomacy towards soft power, which now dominates the political discourse. Soft power became adopted as a sexy term, forming the basis of a senior government enquiry (House of Lords 2014) as well as advocacy work by the British Academy (Hill and Beadle 2014). The British Council replaced cultural diplomacy with soft power in its everyday parlance (for example, Holden 2013). However, this was not just a rhetorical shift. In reality, it signalled a turn away from notions of cooperation to a pure focus on competition, which is not without significance. Britain's wholehearted embrace of global competition is perhaps unsurprising, given that the country is governed by one of the most right-wing hardliner Conservative governments in its history. Its efforts are not going unnoticed or unrewarded. A recent report on the creative industries featured data from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (BOP 2016). It showed that the United Kingdom exported more creative goods per capita than any other country in the world. The UK exported \$361 per head, followed by Germany (\$328), France (\$305) and the USA (\$234) in fourth place. Britain frequently tops global soft power indices, such as the *Soft Power 30* and *Monocle* magazine rankings². These polls are based on various methodologies including objective metrics of soft power resources and subjective international polling data. Interestingly, the countries that have historically been powerful (for example, Britain, Portugal, France and Spain) often appear in the top half of the table, whilst emerging economies do not rank highly. For example, in the *Soft Power 30* index of 2016, the top spots were held by Britain, the USA, Germany and France. India failed to make it into the rankings and China squeezed in at number 28. This is intriguing, considering that China is four times as wealthy as Britain, 20 times as populous and 40 times bigger in scale. It is obvious why America does well in terms of soft power, with its huge global brands such as *Google*, *Apple* and *Amazon*, but it is also important to note that the former colonial powers consistently perform well in these indices. Indicators such as these may render inaccurate the accusation by the Russian President Vladimir Putin that Britain is a 'small island no one listens to' (Kirkup 2013:2). On the contrary, Britain has enormous global clout in the cultural realm, which is entirely disproportionate to its size.

Despite Britain topping the soft power polls, it has been doing less well in global economic indices. It was recently reported that despite the country's financial market being one of the most developed in the world, Britain had dropped to tenth place in the *Annual Global Competitive Index* in 2015, carried out by the World Economic Forum think tank. This places the country below Sweden, to the consternation of many commentators. This index assesses the world's economies across more than 100 indicators, from the quality of infrastructure to the flexibility of labour markets. Whilst Britain was found to be strong with regards to its institutions, scientific research and digital technologies, it is weak in terms of the instability of its public finances. The report stated that it will have to 'improve its macroeconomic environment' (Schwab 2015:25), where it came 108th out of 140 countries due to the high government deficit and public debt, which has doubled since 2007.

2 See http://softpower30.portland-communications.com/wp-content/themes/softpower/pdfs/the_soft_power_30.pdf and <http://monocle.com/film/affairs/soft-power-survey-2014-15>

So whilst it is widely accepted that economic and political power is unequivocally shifting away from the West, cultural power seems to remain firmly fixed and rooted. This may suggest that Britain's influence is inextricably bound up in its history, which has an impact on its resources, scale of production and dissemination, reputation and so on. Soft power polls should be understood as a reflection of resources, rather than a measure of progress. The fact that the traditionally powerful countries excel in cultural diplomacy and soft power is to be expected. They have accrued assets and have developed physical infrastructure such as ports, airports, railways and, more recently, information technology and communications, which is inextricably linked to their imperial pasts, accumulated from centuries of exploitation. The threads of empire ensure a rich network of global cultural and economic connections, which cements their place in the soft power arena and enables them to continue to dominate. Some would argue that this is a form of 'neocolonialism', a term that was coined in reference to global capitalist imperialism after World War II but has since been extended and expanded. It describes the economic and cultural influence or pressure by traditionally powerful countries to continue to impact others, especially former dependents or less developed countries (Young 1991). Accusations of neocolonialism are frequently applied to countries that seek to exploit the natural resources of other countries. This raises the question of how poor countries will ever compete in the global soft power arena. The United States is the obvious example and an interesting one in that it continues to dominate entire regions of the globe economically and culturally, yet has never been an imperial power or physically controlled another territory.

Whilst the British government continues to promote soft power (House of Lords 2014), it has cut many of its traditional funding streams, for example, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the British Council and many national museums (Hill and Beadle 2014). These cuts are substantial. In 2010, the FCO and DCMS's budget was each reduced by 24 per cent in real terms (HM Treasury 2010). These were further cut by 6.3 and 7 per cent respectively in 2013 (HM Treasury 2013). The British Council's grant reduced by £150 million between 2010 and 2015, a cut of 26 per cent in real terms (House of Commons 2013). The BBC World Service was cut by 16 per cent, which meant making £50 million of savings from its international broadcasting operations (Plunkett 2011). Yet soft power resources have been channelled into new areas. A current success story is the 'Britain is GREAT' campaign. This is a £114 million marketing drive that began in 2011 to maximise opportunities around the London 2012 Olympic Games. It has generated £2.5 billion to date in income through tourism and has been extended.

Due to the lack of specificity in both Milton C. Cummings and Joseph Nye's original conceptualisations of cultural diplomacy and soft power respectively, it is not correct to claim that these terms have moved away from their original definitions, as Ang et al (2015) suggest. It is perhaps more accurate to argue that soft power has engulfed cultural diplomacy and has developed in parallel with global changes over the three decades since the term was coined. The rendering of soft power as straightforwardly being about competition, and the embrace and success of it could be seen as a logical outcome of the rise and spread of Western corporations, building on the foundations of traditional hierarchies of power and domination. This firmly goes against Ang et

al (2015), who argue that cultural diplomacy needs to be seen in the context of the changing architecture of International Relations, taking the changing role of the nation state due to globalisation and geopolitics into account. Cultural diplomacy and its attendant connections with intercultural understanding has been folded into the far broader and one-directional concept of soft power, which has consistently developed in line with and alongside all of these changes. Cultural diplomacy has been usurped by the far more corporate friendly soft power and has become wholly about capital, competition and consumption. Soft power, which is about persuasion, largely through competitive means, centres on global markets. Its focus on free trade seems to be at odds with the spirit of cultural diplomacy and cultural relations, with any sense of the exchange of ideas or the fostering of mutual understanding being swiftly abandoned. The term soft power is inadequate if we judge it on its ability or potential for harmonious cooperation. Yet, if we see it in the context of creeping neoliberalism, it simply becomes another conduit for trade.

It is widely recognised that the world order is shifting, in response to a range of interlocking factors including globalisation, the spread of neoliberalism, seismic economic change, the mass movement of people, a growing middle class and technological advancement. This combination of factors has created the conditions for countries in the East and Global South to emerge as the powerhouses of the future. Implicit within these changes are questions around the significance of countries that are not in the running to become world leaders, as well as the superpowers of yesteryear. Britain, for example, is undoubtedly less important globally than it was 50, 100, 200 or 400 years ago. Relinquishing this power is not easy, especially for a country that displayed the kind of audacity required to pull off the British Empire, which covered 14 million square miles of physical territory and 450 million people, one quarter of the world's population at that time. Yet in the cultural sphere, Britain still enjoys a competitive advantage over most other countries in the world. We can see, then, that through its culture, it is able to cling on to some aspects of its power and influence in an attempt to replicate the imperial greatness that it once had but has since lost.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the terms soft power and cultural diplomacy have been explored from both a theoretical and practical perspective. It has considered how these concepts are understood within the contemporary world and it has contextualised these terms through a broader political lens. Scholarly debates continue to be preoccupied with definitions and distinctions, and have become locked into theoretical discussions, rather than paying attention to how governments understand and practice soft power and cultural diplomacy. By focusing on the British approach, this chapter has sketched out how cultural diplomacy, with its contradictory dynamics of 'cooperation' and 'competition', has been replaced by the more market friendly soft power. The adoption of this term and its subsequent development has simply become absorbed within the context of the free market economy.

Soft power has always involved the export of cultural goods. For example, *The Beatles*, once referred to as the Prime Minister's 'secret weapon' received an MBE (a distinguished medal awarded by the Queen in recognition of contributions to the arts and sciences) for their 'services to export' (British Broadcasting Corporation 2015).

This was connected to the ‘British invasion’, which refers to the phenomenon in the 1960s where British musicians and popular music gained enormous popularity in the United States, ironically by rehashing American black music such as rock and roll, and blues. So this is not new. However, due to globalisation and the accompanying stronghold that neoliberalism has across the globe, with the rise of Western corporate power, the growth of the Internet and shifting patterns of cultural production and consumption, soft power has transcended mere influence to become a significant factor in a country’s ability to generate income and boost its wealth. Any notion of intercultural understanding and cooperation, embedded within cultural diplomacy and relations, have been at best, forgotten, and at worst, abandoned.

To a large extent, soft power can be bought. The trajectory of world history means that the wealthy Western nations will always have the monopoly on soft power, as they have long established networks of influence, corporate wealth that enables vast cultural production, and the longstanding and proven channels through which these cultural goods can be distributed across the world. This means that soft power could be seen as a way of renewing and replicating existing power structures. It is one of the remaining weapons through which traditionally powerful nations are attempting to resist or slow down the shifting world order. Soft power then becomes a means by which the existing hegemony can be re-imagined, repackaged and reaffirmed.

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**FESTIVALS AS
PLATFORMS
OF CULTURAL
DIPLOMACY**

Arts Festivals are our voices in society. *Opening Speech @ BITEF Belgrade Conference*

Hugo de Greef

What an anniversary! 50 years! The number is impressive. But what's even more impressive is the history itself. Of a festival during decades of change and challenges. And if one compares this with, for instance, Avignon and Edinburgh, they are both in their 70th edition. As a strive after the Second World War to contribute to a search for peace and living together in a destroyed Europe, BITEF, founded in 1967, was part of the generation of the 'Festival Mondial de Théâtre de Nancy' founded in 1963. And we had another generation at the end of the seventies, beginning of the eighties: LIFT in London, Inteatro in Pulverizing /Ancona. And my own Kaaitheater in 1977. BITEF remains important, here and internationally. But it's interesting how the nature of this importance was different in all these decades. And how it is today to find specificity and an international position. A struggle but as well an interesting challenge. For every festival, indeed! How to stay relevant in a world of the arts that have already seen everything, embraced by a democratic society and, for many European countries, life is not so bad!

Look at our larger colleagues: how to keep the role of guide in international theatre renewal for a festival as Avignon, how to remain an example in the choice of classical music linked with contemporary creation as Edinburgh? Although they are all, still today, outstanding festivals with a strong programme and an excellent exposure but where is the uniqueness? Where is the role for looking for the arts of tomorrow and the artists changing our way of perceiving creations?

I'm very curious for being present at the debates in this congress! The themes are relevant for the arts today and for the role of festivals. A festival is a location, an environment and a setting where artists can present their work with a large degree of artistic freedom. The public goes to a profiled festival more readily than to the regular cultural supply in search of the unfamiliar and of innovation. The success lies more in the challenging artistic creation and the unusual experience than in the pure consumption of culture. A festival is also seen as a factor in the (cultural) tourism sector, with particularly relevant economic effects. When the cash tills are closed at the end of the day in bars and restaurants, the local economy certainly feels the difference the presence of a festival makes. Even if the economic added value is no more than a striking side-effect, it cannot be ignored when defining the added value of festivals.

Festivals provide the context par excellence to be *innovative* by giving artists the opportunity to create or to present themselves for an audience that is open to experimentation and the avant-garde. It is mainly through festivals that new trends and other forms and expressions are accepted by a broader public. The role of arts festivals is to programme or even produce experimental work, since it is there that new forms gain acceptance. But on the main theme: Cultural diplomacy!

Although Arts Festivals' main mission is to give the artists exceptional opportunities to create and to present, their sense can be broader. As offering the audience the possibilities to enjoy new creation, to be confronted with new visions and participate in unique moments of beauty it brings cultures together. Art Festivals are at the same time a platform for meeting and exposure. Used within diplomatic programmes it offers each culture an environment to make contacts easier, to start or to permit constructive dialogue. Festivals are instruments in cultural diplomacy. It's the challenge for a festival to incorporate the offered programmes through the promotional channels of the diplomacy into an added value for creation and for the public. Targets set out by cultural diplomacy programmes must be integrated within the artistic ambition of the festival.

It's the only condition for being successful together, as a festival programme and as a tool in diplomacy. It's not about 'using culture for diplomatic reasons'. It's connecting cultures for better understanding. If not, 'using culture' can lead to 'excluding cultures'!

Bitef and cultural diplomacy today

Ivan Medenica

Half a century ago, when Mira Trailović and Jovan Ćirilov conceived BITEF, Belgrade, Serbia and Yugoslavia were on “no man’s land”, between the two parts of the ideologically deeply divided Europe and the world as a whole: on the boundary between the Western and the Eastern Bloc. Among other things, it enabled BITEF to become, on a worldwide scale, a singular meeting and exchange point of artists who could hardly come together in a different context. We like to believe in a legend which could be the very symbol of this exchange: that the most prominent Polish contemporary theatre maker of the period, Jerzy Grotowsky, met one of the leading companies of American avant-garde theatre from the sixties and seventies, Living theatre, with its founders Judith Malina and Julian Back, in Belgrade, on Bitef. This is the legend, the rest is history: after 1967, when both companies performed on Bitef, Grotowsky went to the States, upon an invitation by Malina and Back, to give lectures and hold workshops.

A special issue is how important BITEF was for an international exposure and visibility of theatre artists from the former USSR, especially those who were seen as dissidents (Jurij Ljubimov, for example). The key note speaker of the conference *Bitef and cultural diplomacy: theatre and geopolitics*, Mikhail Svidkoj has repeated on many occasions how important BITEF was for Russian theatre makers. On a lecture given to students of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade he explained that the fact that BITEF has always had a strong and elaborated social and cultural function – and not only the artistic one – made out of it, at least from the Russian perspective, one of the two most important performing arts festivals in Europe (the other one would be the Avignon festival).

From this crossing of the iron curtain BITEF drew its international social significance, strength and reputation. When the Berlin Wall fell we believed with a great deal of sincere enthusiasm that it meant the end of ideological divisions, and even the “end of history”, but it turned out that, historically speaking, it was a very short-lived illusion. Of late we have become horrified witnesses to the rage of the bull which carried away Europa on its back in the ancient myth. Not only through a fault of its own, Europe is splitting up again, digging trenches and putting up barbed wire fences. Serbia and Belgrade are in a similar position again. They are again a boundary, except that this time it is the boundary between the rich and often arrogant North and the poor and impotent South, the centre and the periphery, the societies which close up and protect their interests and those which are a transit path for a sea of desperate and helpless people, refugees from the overseas worlds, Middle East and Africa. This position is a result, among other things, of the fact that Serbia is only a candidate for the EU, but not its full member.

We are confident that this position should not frustrate Belgrade and rather that it should represent a challenge and an incentive to become once more a unique place of

meeting, exchange and, first and foremost, solidarity among different and sometimes painstakingly joined cultures. This should be achieved in the spirit of its cosmopolitan and libertarian values, drawing, among other things, on the tradition of the Non-Aligned Movement, suppressed due to xenophobia and the wars of the 1990s. That Belgrade, which would be born from the deep insight into its own misconceptions and errors from the 90's, could become, both in geographical and cultural sense, one of the main gates of Europe, the Europe that we want and which is nowadays under strong blows and challenges. This is the Europe of the openness, solidarity, embracement of differences, civic ideals of liberty, equality, independence, rational and critical thinking... The first institution which should accomplish the mission of that Belgrade, Belgrade we should like to live in is precisely – BITEF.

One of the fundamentals for achieving such ambitions is in the already mentioned Non-Aligned Movement, or better formulated – its legacy. This movement, which associated Tito's Yugoslavia, Nehru's India and a few other countries from the South-East Asia and Nasser's Egypt alongside with the big majorities of other African countries, still exists but its importance was significantly decreased after the fall of the Berlin wall: there was no need any more for this kind of the "third way" between East and West. But its legacy still exists and it is not weak. For example, Serbia still has special relations with a lot of African countries, first of all in the field of economy and sports, but in culture as well (although, much less then in those other fields). One of the best examples of this legacy is the Museum of African Arts in Belgrade which is a unique institution of this kind: its collection is not based on the colonial past which Serbia and Yugoslavia didn't have or, put in other words, on a theft of cultural heritage, but uniquely on gifts that Yugoslav ambassadors to different African countries had been getting through years and decades.

There has always been a stream of non-European or better said non-Western performing cultures in BITEF's programme. Ironically, the very first performance ever presented on BITEF, which was from its very beginnings the festival of *new* tendencies in performing arts, was a *traditional*, kathakali performance from Kerala, India¹. This stream was never strong, but always present, and it has been presenting almost uniquely, with a few significant exceptions (like Japanese contemporary choreographer Saburo Teshigawara, to give just one example), the traditional performing forms from non-Western cultures: besides the already mentioned kathakali, we have had the opportunity to see on BITEF the Beijing opera or Japanese no-drama and kabuki. This was really "an opportunity" because otherwise we would hardly see these traditional forms in Belgrade. The other importance of these performances was that it helped BITEF's audience, both local spectators and foreign guests, to better understand what one would call the intercultural theatre from 70's and 80's. I refer here, in the first place, to the work of Peter Brook, Ariane Mnouchkine and Eugenio Barba who all, in different ways, have been combining in their theatre works Western and Asian and/or African cultures. Mainly it was a combination of major Western narratives (classical literary heritage) and different non-Western performing techniques, but there were important exceptions such as the very famous but strongly questioned and disputed *Mahabharata* directed by Peter Brook.

1 Milena Dragičević Šešić explains that the founder of Bitef, Trailović, got a political "proposal" by the Yugoslav authorities to present this performance which was on a European tour in that period and which was coming from a friendly India, one of the three countries that have recently inaugurated the Movement of the Non-Aligned countries (it was founded in 1961)

The theme of the Main Programme of the 50th BITEF, as suggested by its subtitle *On the Back of a Raging Bull*, comes down exactly to issues such as the refugee catastrophe, closing of the borders, erection of walls... This set then extends to a kindred topic, that of the “neo-colonial attitude” of the Western towards other cultures: projection of a desirable image of these cultures, their ‘exotisation’, construction of stereotypes etc. It is important to point out that the productions in the Main Programme of the 50th BITEF do not only address these topics directly: they research, problematise and shed light on their causes. Some productions, for instance, shift the emphasis from the refugee crisis itself to wars which brought it about and for which Western societies also bear a big responsibility. Do we, when we are sincerely and deeply moved by the photographs of the dead body of a small refugee, ask ourselves what responsibility our society bears for the sufferings which drove this unfortunate child and his family away from their home?

The fact that this concept questions the relations between the Western and other societies is one of the reasons why the BITEF Main Programme also features productions of Lebanese, Chinese, African, Singaporean and Indonesian artists. Another reason was our desire to take BITEF in the year of its jubilee back to its original international character and overcome the European and regional framework which has predominated recently. An important contribution to this truly international context is made by the fact that the prestigious *Thalia* Prize of the International Association of Theatre Critics (IATC) which had its 28th Congress during BITEF, was awarded in a special ceremony to Femi Osofisan, Nigeria, one of the leading African playwrights, directors and scholars. This conceptual thread is followed by two German productions, *Compassion. The History of the Machinegun* and *The Ambassador: A German-West African Piece with Swinging*, Austrian *The Ludicrous Darkness*, Lebanese *Riding on a Cloud*, Croatian *Over the Grave of Stupid Europe* and, up to a point, *Soft Machine* from Singapore. They should be added the festival production *Freedom is the Most Expensive Capitalist Word* by dramatists Maja Pelević and Olga Dimitrijević, based on their study visit in Pyongyang and addressing the topical projection of stereotypes about the Other, the *enemy*, and more specifically the juxtaposition of domicile and Western propaganda relating to North Korea.

A very important aspect of these non-Western productions in the 50th edition of BITEF is that none of them belongs to the above mentioned traditional forms of Asian performing arts. Quite on the contrary, they are examples of contemporary dance (6 and 7 from China) and documentary theatre/lecture performance (*Riding on a Cloud* from Lebanon and *Soft Machine* from Singapore). As we realise from the above mentioned facts, this is quite a radical shift from the tradition of presenting Asian performing arts on BITEF and this is a novelty that we introduce. Paradoxically, this novelty refers to the main tradition of BITEF to which the presentation of traditional Asian theatre never belonged to. As it is well known, the main BITEF *tradition*, the one that evolved from its very beginning, is the search for “new theatre tendencies”. In the 1960s and 1970s, the time when BITEF emerged and made its major push forward, it was rather easy to distinguish the artistic newness, the determining feature of modernism, from the traditional forms. Today, at a time when even the post-modern is a *passé* concept, it is much more difficult. BITEF, nonetheless, may not give way before such challenges; it needs to re-examine over and over again the very possibility of thinking the newness in modern theatre and performing arts in general. This self-

reflexive approach – already very much present in visual arts – requires the support of theoretical thinking in the form of accompanying conferences and the like.

The exploration of “new theatre tendencies” at the 50th BITEF mostly came down to the acknowledgement of the fact that the hybridisation of forms, genres and styles is ever more present in the contemporary art, so that today we do not speak about the theatre as much as about the performing arts. The Main Programme includes projects in the fields of drama theatre, contemporary dance, documentary theatre, lecture-performance, video installations and musical theatre.

This hybridisation of performing forms and their theorisation in the accompanying festival events has not been a BITEF novelty during the past dozen years or so. Anja Suša has insisted on it, but this year we sharpened the focus even more. In this sense one should single out the conference within the 28th congress of the International Association of Theatre Critics, addressing the subject which directly reflects and questions the definition of the “new theatre tendencies”. The theme of the conference is *Newness and Global Theatre: between Commodification and Artistic Necessity*. The conference was chaired by Savas Patsalidis (Greece), the introductory speakers were eminent theatre scholars Erika Fischer Lichte (Germany) and Georges Banu (France) and was attended by some twenty theatre critics and theatre scholars from France, USA, Greece, Romania, Brazil, Turkey, Serbia, India, Nigeria, Georgia, Latvia, England, Iraq and Canada. In the context of the negotiation and discussion about cultural differences – that can be one of the topics in cultural diplomacy seen in the broadest possible meaning – a few questions posed by the conference are very important. If the hybridisation of cultures and identities is the norm rather than the exception, then how does newness relate to cultural particularities and localities? How does the entanglement of theatre in the politics of colonialism allow us to re-theorise the concept of newness and its performative potential? Does our culturally diverse understanding of newness in theatre ultimately lead to a transnational conception of newness, thus turning the sites of artistic innovation into sites of unacknowledged negotiation?

Besides its conference, the 28th Congress of the International Association of Theatre Critics as a whole may be the best example of the cultural diplomacy in the frame of the 50th BITEF. The Congress fulfilled this task by presenting a small show case of Belgrade theatres chosen by the BITEF’s selector team. The show case is very important as it makes it possible for about a hundred critics the world over, from Japan to Argentina and from Canada to India, to see our productions and write about them in their media, thus making the Belgrade theatre life internationally visible – something that, we take the liberty to say, it has almost never been... This would be the last but not the less important element of the cultural diplomacy achieved in the frame of the 50th Bitef.

Festivals as Social Dramas and Metaphors: Between Popular and Subversive

Aleksandra Jovičević

My study of festivals, as social dramas and metaphors, is based on the idea that the social world is a world in becoming and not a world in being, always in a process of changing and transition, and that festivals reflect best these changes, in a symbolic and metaphorical way. Departing from the anthropological studies of Victor Turner, who coined the concept of social dramas and metaphors, as a method for analyzing social processes, I will try to apply it on live festivals with artistic and intellectual agenda, as forms of cultural performances.¹ Understanding this methodology means comprehending how these festivals are produced, how they are staged in a focused manner, how they are contextualized within larger social and political events, and what their long-term impact is. The events and festival industry has been growing exponentially and with that growth, there is an urge for creating new methods and innovative ways to examine and study this expanding phenomenon. Social dramas are always embodied in all kinds of live festivals that in turn have a paradigmatic function to make visible the most profound values of a given culture. According to Turner, such paradigmatic functions also serve to provide the outsider with “a limited area of transparency in the otherwise opaque surface of regular, uneventful social life” (V. Turner, 1992, 82).

I would like to single out two categories by Victor Turner, as crucial for analyzing festivals, such as his well-known notions of *liminality* and *communitas* (V. Turner, 2008). For Turner, the liminal is a moment in and out of the time, a state in which the society is restructured, reclassified and where the social roles, and statuses are redistributed. In festival terms, the liminal is a moment of discontinuity of the usual (historical) time in which a new (symbolic) time takes place, causing a representative standstill and a temporary collapse of social order. Liminality refers to any condition imposed from the outside or on the peripheries of everyday life, turning the regular time into the sacred time and the regular place into the sacred space.

Therefore, festivals belong to the liminal moments, as those practices where social structure is temporarily breached, reflected and restructured by means of collective actions in public that presuppose both bodily movement and affective-experiential aspects and their symbolization, which rely on pre-existing language and symbols, or advance the new ones. However, in modern societies liminal practices are often *liminoid*, being the result of professional cultural and artistic work and the professionalization of human play. They promise change but in fact they are only homeopathically healing the endangered social equilibrium.

1 See Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974; and *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982, 1992).

Communitas, or social anti-structure is a more comprehensive notion and deserves a more extensive elaboration. Festival is a potential community, a community in becoming, and carries a possible connotation of togetherness: the community and equality among people when social order and social roles are suspended. According to Turner, there are: a) spontaneous or existential communitas, which breach the norm-governed social structure and directly confront it. It is immediate and usually short-lasting. Its main power and quality is the experience of participating; b) the ideological communitas which comprises history and theory, conceptualizing previous communities, and may offer a utopian model of society; c) the normative communitas which is organized into perduring social system and thus can be very slow and long lasting.

The festivals could be broadly defined as spontaneous or existential communitas because they are immediate and short-lasting and create a possibility of equality and participation. They are extraordinary events, in an extraordinary place, at an extraordinary time for short-lasting communitas. The origin of the word festival comes also from the Latin word *festum*, which means a time of celebration, marked with special observances; feast; a periodic season or program of cultural events or entertainment; gaiety, conviviality (Webster, 1589). In today's world festivals have lost their ritual, sacred character and are rarely connected to certain religious and state holidays. The term festival refers to a far more diverse, complex and multi-faceted reality that combines different artistic and professional visions, where identities of certain cities and regions are confirmed and internationalized. Victor Turner made a useful distinction between ceremonies and rituals: "ceremony indicates, ritual transforms" (V. Turner, 1992, 82).

Currently, there are about four to five million regularly re-occurring events and festivals around the world, such as community festivals, parades, fairs, carnivals, art shows, etc., but that number is not definite and is hard to estimate. For the exact number, one should constantly check the sight of International Festivals and Events Association (IFEA), which exists for already 62 years. In addition, each country has its own association: for example, the British and International Federation of Festivals for Music, Dance and Speech contains evidence on about 300 festivals annually in Britain and beyond (France, Italy, Malta, Spain, etc.) but that number is certainly much higher, if one takes a look at the local festivities. According to the IFEA brochure, festivals and events are among the most successful and important tools available to communities, cities, states, regions and countries and they enable the increase of tourism, job opportunities and enhance the quality of life in places where they are staged. It was already Richard Wagner, a founder of the first musical festival in Bayreuth in 1876, who has recognized the festival as *an ideal cultural product*.²

In this huge number of festivals, there is little space for festivals with artistic and intellectual agenda. And among these festivals, although rare, there are festivals that are trying to create, influence and reflect contemporary culture but also an

2 For further study of festivals, see Dragan Klaić. (2012). *Resetting the Stage. Public Theater Between Market and Democracy*. Bristol, UK and Chicago, USA: Intellect Books. pp. 135-155., and/or D. Klaić, (2014). *Festivals in Focus*. Budapest: Central European University Press. Before his premature death in 2011, Klaić (b. 1950) was considered a leading expert in festival studies. He was the founder and a Chair of an international and interdisciplinary platform, The European Festivals Research Project (EFRP) that does not exist any longer, but which, for several years, gathered many scholars from around the Europe and was focused on the dynamics of artistic festivals in contemporary life.

exploration and representation of the turbulent collective experiences in the 20th and 21st centuries. If we have in mind Zygmunt Bauman's assumption that "the mission of art is supposed to lead to extending freedom by preventing the rules governing reality to become fossilized" (Z. Bauman, 2008, 20), then the role of the artistic festivals is far greater than the definition of IFEA. This is especially true for Europe, where population changes by migration almost daily, while artistic communities are transformed by guest appearances and nomadically inclined members: styles, ideas, trends and innovative cultural practices pass the boundaries of territories, cultures and languages. If the festivals could be defined as cultural performances in which a cultural content is "organized and transmitted on particular occasion through the specific media", then they can be considered specific and particular manifestations of culture without which the culture would be an abstract category.³

2.

My case study is Italy, where, like in every European country, there is a large proliferation of festivals of every genre in almost every city, being it small or large. In a country, which is ideologically torn apart, and in the midst of a huge economic crisis, *festivalization* of its culture also reflects this division, since almost every larger town has several festivals or even festival venues, of different political or economic nature. Among these, there are also festivals of "serious" intellectual agenda, such as festivals of economy, philosophy, communication, ideas, science, etc. and as such represent a certain generalization but also popularization of serious intellectual and scientific discourse. It seems that we are dealing here with a sort of carnivalization, a kind of mini World Expo, for the latest inventions and big names, placed into a pseudo intellectual framework. These kind of festivals represent a certain vulgarization and simplification of serious research and experimentation, especially because they attract a large number of ticket paying audience (at a symbolic price from 2 to 5 Euros), who attend these events to amuse themselves and not to study. For example, the latest Festival of Communication in Genoa (September 2016) was dedicated to divulgation of Umberto Eco's theories, who seems to have a status of a pop-star, and it has brought together biggest names of international scientific research in different disciplines, along with philosophers, journalists and artists from various fields, while the main prize was given to the famous Italian actor, Robert Benigni. This four days festival was presented in a form of scientific carnival without a real impact on the larger society.

However, on the second thought, even if considered mere entertainment, such festivals can be seen almost as an opposition to today's society of Empire, a concept coined by Michael Hardt and Toni Negri to define a new political order of globalization (M. Hardt, T. Negri, 2001). This society of Empire is, first and foremost, present in electronic media that are placed in the center of social life, from which any serious cultural content and debate has been expelled. Therefore, these festivals, even if they are de-centralized and marginal events, could represent a counter point to an overwhelming new populism and anti-intellectualism that is reflected not only in Italy, but in almost every postmodern society, and not only in the electronic media,

3 See Milton Singer *Traditional India*, Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959, 1970, this on p. XII; and also Catherine Bell, "'Performance' and Other Analogies", in Henry Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, pp 88-97.

but also in the larger political debate, as well as on every level of social life, university included. Therefore, the festivals with intellectual and artistic agenda promote a quality debate, otherwise absent in the wider society and perhaps they could become an instrument for social change because they assert alternative modalities of thinking and debating. These festivals also create the only space in which intellectuals can exist as public figures.⁴ Perhaps new ways of social exchange will emerge thanks to those festivals – because, although they can be criticized from an instrumental viewpoint, they can be considered successful from a point of view of education and emancipation of the audience.

The importance of the audience is perhaps a major change introduced into the theater since the 60's and is reaching its full swing nowadays. Empirical sociological analysis of the theater and enormous influence by post-structuralism became the foundation for many major studies in the field. What spectators “do” during the live performance, how they act, react and make sense of what is presented to them became a central issue in the performance studies, but also in the reception theory, anthropology and neurosciences.

Most of the scholarly work and theory concentrates on the attempt to theorize the corporeal, affective, as well as cognitive activity of the audience (a long list is leaded with the works by Anne Ubersfeld, Richard Schechner, Patrice Pavis, Erica Fischer-Lichte, Hans-Thies Lehmann, Bruce McConachie, F. Elizabeth Hart, Nicola Shaughnessy, etc. to name the few).

In her book, *L'école du spectateur*, Anne Ubersfeld focuses on the spectator, who is not only “the object of the verbal and scenic discourse, the receiver in the process of communication, the king of the feast”, but also “the subject of a doing, the craftsman of a praxis which is continually developed only with the praxis of the stage” (A. Ubersfeld, 1982, 303). Ubersfeld identifies various ways in which the spectator performs this activity – generally with reference to instructions given by the text, the performance, or the performance situation – and various sources of audience pleasure. There is a pleasure of discovery, of analyzing the signs of performance, of invention (when the spectator finds her own meanings for the theatrical signs), of identification, of experiencing temporarily the impossible or the forbidden, and finally there is the total pleasure suggested by the Indian notion of *rasa*, found in *Natjasastra*: “[*Rasa*] is the union of all affective elements plus the distancing that gives peace” (A. Ubersfeld, 1982, 342).

However, Ubersfeld does not conclude her book on this harmonious note, but on a suspended one of limits and “desire as lack”. Since *rasa* can almost never be attained during the performance but only after, through appreciation, memory, analysis, interpretation, and theory, then ultimately the spectator must experience the “absence” of the performance, the lack of total fulfillment of total presence, both physical and intellectual. If one is ready to accept the role of the spectator that also

4 For many years, Roberto Saviano, Italian writer and journalist, known for his book *Gomorra* (2007), and who was forced to hide from Neapolitan mafia, and was banned from many TV shows, would just show-up in the official program of these festivals but unannounced officially. The same could be said about the late Nobel prize winner, Dario Fo, who was a public enemy number one of Berlusconi and his government and was impeded, although not officially, to appear in any of state television programs.

means that one is ready to accept this condition of unfulfilled desire. In this sense, the festival audience is in a perpetual quest for something completely different and more compelling, almost a discovery of what they do not encounter in everyday life.

On many occasions Bertolt Brecht stressed that “the audience is a collection of individuals, capable of thinking and reasoning, of making judgments even in the theater; it treats them as individuals of mental and emotional maturity, and believes it wishes to be so regarded” (B. Brecht, 1979, 78). In this way, artistic and intellectual festivals, in fact, reflect the revival of interest in the public sphere and resume the terms of Plato’s polemics. Plato confronted the so-called poetic and democratic community, with a true, “choreographic community” where nobody remains a motionless spectator, but where everybody is moving according to “the communitarian rhythm, which is determined by the mathematical proportion” (J. Rancière, 2009, 5). According to Jacques Rancière, Plato placed the question of the spectator at the heart of the discussion of the relations between arts and politics. Rancière formulates community as a different performance of bodies that occupy certain place and time, as bodies in action, as opposed to a mere apparatus of laws, a set of perceptions, gestures and attitudes that precede and pre-form laws and political institutions. The festivals, where all those forms of spectacle, such as dance, drama, performance art, etc., place bodies in action before an assembled public, remain the only place(s) of direct confrontation of the audience with itself as a collective, because the festival audiences are different than any kind of audience. It means that festival remains the name for an idea of the community as a living body and it conveys an idea of the community as self-presence, from an elite audience (Bayreuth) to the audience from the suburbs (LIFT Festival in London).

It should always be remembered that when we speak of theater and performance that we are dealing with a live art form, made anew each time, which creates a sort of an alliance between each person there at that moment, or “the active body of community enacting its living principle”. (J. Rancière, 2009, 5). Artistic and intellectual festivals also hide in them a possible revival of the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which is supposed to be the apotheosis of art as an organic form of life but actually proves to be a diminishment of some strong artistic egos. The strategy that Richard Wagner has formulated in his essay, “The Art Work of the Future” (1849), is that the artists should overcome the distinction between various creative genres. Overcoming boundaries between various media would require artists to form fellowships, in which creative individuals with expertise in different media would participate. Furthermore, these artists’ fellowships must refuse the inclination to adopt themes and position that are merely arbitrary or subjective, while their talents should be used to express the artistic desire of the people, who are ready to collaborate with each other on an equal basis, and could represent a formation of a new multimedia artist, who is at the same time a writer, composer, theater director, designer, choreographer, video artist, performer, and a critic, or even a *producer*, a term coined by Walter Benjamin. According to Benjamin, “only by transcending the specialization in the process of production, that in the bourgeois view, constitutes its order can one make this production politically useful; and the barriers imposed by specialization must be breached jointly by the productive forces that they were set up to divide” (W. Benjamin, 1978, 230). For both Wagner and Benjamin, a synthesis of artistic genres is more a means to an end: the unity of individual human beings, the unity of artists among themselves, and

the unity of artists and the people. The crossing of the borders and the confusion of the roles should question the theatrical privilege of living presence and bring the stage back to a level of equality, where the different kinds of performances would be translated into one another, entering “the growing, molten mass from which new forms are cast” (W. Benjamin, 1978, 231).

According to Boris Groys, a tendency toward collaborative, participatory practice is certainly one of the main characteristics of contemporary arts and thus festivals where they are presented. “Emerging throughout the world are numerous artists’ groups that pointedly stipulate collective, even anonymous, authorship of their artistic production” (B. Groys, 2012, 197). Many of these collaborative practices are geared towards motivating the audience to join in, to activate the social milieu in which these practices unfold.⁵ Obviously, we are dealing with numerous attempts to question and transform the fundamental condition of how modern art functions, precisely on the blurring of radical separation between artists and the public. For this reason, many postmodern performance artists have tried to regain common ground with their public by enticing them out of their passive roles, involving political or social engagement: “When the viewer is involved in artistic practice from the outset, every piece of criticism he utters is self-criticism” (B. Groys, 2012, 200). This decision by the artists to give up their exclusive authorship would seem primarily to empower the viewer but also the artist. “This sacrifice ultimately benefits the artist, however, for it frees him from the power that the cold eye of the uninvolved viewer exerts over the resulting artwork” (B. Groys, 2102, 201).

This brings us back to the key question of what does specifically happen to the theater audience, and thus to the festival audience for that matter, which would not happen elsewhere? Is there something more interactive, more common to them than to the individuals who watch together a television show transmitted directly, or participate at the same time an online performance on the Internet? According to Rancière this “something” is just “the presupposition that the theater is communitarian by itself” (J. Rancière, 2009, 4). This also recalls Alan Badiou’s idea of an event, of representation, because “a theatrical representation will never abolish a chance and in a chance the public must be counted” (A. Badiou, 2004, 97). The audience is a part of what completes the idea, and without it the artwork could not be finalized. Meyerhold considered the spectator a fourth creative artist in a theater production: “We produce every play on the assumption that it will be still unfinished when it appears on the stage. We do this consciously because we realize that the crucial revision of a production is that which is made by the spectator” (Meyerhold, 1969, 256). On many occasions, Heiner Goebbels confirmed almost the same idea, saying that an audience of a few hundred is always more intelligent and sees more than a small directorial team of few people, and as a consequence his work is never finished without an audience. The collective power, which is common to the spectators, does not represent their status as a collective body, but it is within the individual power of each spectator to translate, in her own way, what she is looking at and participating in.

In this constant search for emancipation, the spectator will slowly transform herself into a new kind of a spectator, who has more empathy and understanding for the performance in front of her than an average, traditional, spectator: she will reclaim

5 See Boris Groys op. cit., and also Clair Bishop, *Participation*, London: Cambridge, MA 2006.

an individual power to translate and interpret directly, in her own way, what she is looking at and sometimes even participating in. The common power of both the performer and the spectator will then become the power of the equality of intelligence. This power binds individuals together to the very extent that it keeps them apart from each other, but enables them to find with the equal power their own way through a performance. This could be the principle of the “emancipation of the spectator”. The effect of this idiom cannot be anticipated. It calls for the spectators to become active as interpreters, who try to invent their own translation in order to, appropriate the story for themselves and make their own story out of it. “An emancipated community is in fact a community of storytellers and translators” (J. Rancière, 2009, 22).

Festivals produce organized public, which is an abstraction on which modern democracies continuously count on, because this public can get mobilized occasionally in the moments of crisis. Most of the festivals are performative but also cognitive acts and they echo variations of representative democracy, generating and reformulating public life, even if these changes are very slow or marginal. Therefore, the revival of interest in the festivals with intellectual and artistic agenda represent a direct response to the restricting changes in the public life and accompanying media. If we, today, are witnessing that the cultural elite (as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, and noted in recent researches by John Goldthorpe) is disappearing, then we can also conclude that this cancellation of limits between high and popular culture, seemingly futile and immediate, could bring a greater, albeit capillary impact on the society. It can create a new relationship between the intellectuals and the rest of the society, making it almost an underground endeavor for the new *communitas*. The festival audience(s) can represent a passage from the spontaneous or existential *communitas* to the ideological one that can offer a new model of the society. Every public interaction, thus the festival, can be considered a political act, promoting and projecting forms of citizen’s participation in the state: “To be in an audience is above all to *play the role of democratic citizen*” (S. Goldhill, 1997, 54).

Jürgen Habermas, in his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, examines the rise of the bourgeois public sphere in 18th century as a third instance that mediates between society and state (J. Habermas, 1962, 1989). Being excluded from decision making in absolutist states, the audience started to gather in alternative spaces. Habermas envisages the liberal, public sphere as a public body that transmits the needs of a bourgeois society to the state. “As the public sphere is primarily a discursive arena located between private individuals on the one hand and state bureaucracy and business on the other, it occupies a crucial role in the functioning of so-called free or open societies” (C. B. Balme, 2014, 4-5).

According to Christopher B. Balme, any discussion of the public sphere must begin (but not end) with the seminal work of Habermas. His text went through several critical interpretations since its first publication in German in 1962, as well as its belated publication in English in 1989. It has often been noted that the English translation of the German word *Öffentlichkeit*, as a “public sphere” was not adequate to the original, because the German original connotes more the presence of people rather than a space, although in a collectivized and abstract sense. The German word can also connote group of people or something presented “in public view” and thus implicitly spatial. Therefore, according to Balme, the public space, as theorized

by Habermas, “is primarily a discursive and not physical space”, and should be understood as an institution embodied by people. “Its constituent elements – freedom of access, freedom of speech, autonomy and equal status of participants – form in the best of all possible worlds a central precondition for democracy” (C. B. Balme, 2014, 6).

Richard Senneth, in his *The Fall of the Public Man* (1977) gives a historical perspective on what he calls the end of a public culture, his well-known study of changing forms of public and city life. In this book, the public life of the past was described as a *theatrum mundi*, in which all men were considered actors because they acted. However, in 19th century, the belief in the expressive powers of individuals who together build a common social order was lost and it has been delegated to professional artists. Furthermore, the commercialization and commoditization of culture and media, as well as changes in political organization, especially the emergence of pressure groups and lobbyists, have largely taken over the process of opinion making from private citizens and relocated and professionalized them, making this difference even deeper. (C. B. Balme, 2014, 6) Thus, festivals, as utopian *communitas*, could be defined as different mechanisms by which private issues are made public, through specific procedures and protocols and the festival audiences, as their most important asset for attaining the ideal of equality.

In his *The Ignorant School Master* (1991), Jacques Rancière, analyses the life and work of Joseph Jacotet, to argue in favor of a pedagogical methodology that would abolish any presupposed inequalities of intelligence such as the academic hierarchy of master and disciple. For Rancière, equality should not be thought of in terms of a goal to be attained by working through lessons promulgated by prominent social and political thinkers. On the contrary, it can be a very axiomatic point of departure whose sporadic reappearance via disturbances in the set system of social inequalities is the very essence of emancipation. This also brings us back to Turner, according to whom, what is interesting about liminal phenomena, such as the festivals, is the blend they offer of “lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship” (V. Turner, 99).

It is also important to understand the private and public categories are not naturally given but always socially constructed and in constant change. Therefore, seen as social dramas and metaphors, the festivals are no longer attractive only for their aesthetic and entertaining dimensions, but for their potential social and political impact. In this sense, these kinds of festivals can become a new social tool for emancipation, because they offer new modalities of social criticism and resistance. A central argument of this paper is that the artistic and intellectual festivals, seemingly marginalized, cannot be reduced to pure entertainment, nor can the festival audience be reduced to the regular pleasure seekers. The subversive potential of such festivals require a more profound study on the dynamics and synergies that are created between the “performers” and the “audience” that together form new *communitas* during these liminal events, through which they could regain their social and political efficacy as in previous times.

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The foundation of Bitef (1967) and cultural diplomacy of socialist Yugoslavia

Ksenija Radulović

The foundation of Bitef (Belgrade International Theatre Festival) in 1967 was one of the key events in the cultural policy of socialist Yugoslavia, the country which is – and for a reason- considered to be the most important modernist project in the region. And furthermore, the beginning of Bitef was also a special event within the framework of a particular Yugoslav cultural policy implemented towards foreign countries. In this text we will explore the social, cultural, and political context in which cultural policy was used as a “soft power” form of presentation of a small country to its foreign neighbours, as an “instrument of diplomacy”. At issue were really the early forms of cultural diplomacy, long before the concept itself became the focus of numerous direct political practices, research, or the academic system.¹ In our examination of culture as a function of foreign policy, we simultaneously view the foundation of an avant-garde international festival as a narrative framework for understanding the social situation during the era of socialist Yugoslavia and Serbia as one of its republics.

Bitef festival was founded in 1967, which was during the first half of former Yugoslavia’s existence (1945-1991), and the 1960s were the decade of the first stronger liberal impulses in the one-party society of the time. Political scientist Ivan Vejvoda points out that the first radical shock in the sphere of international relations in communist Yugoslavia happened in 1948, when the party led by Josip Broz Tito rejected cooperation with the Eastern bloc, led by the Soviet Union and J.V. Stalin²: this event is considered to have been the first serious “crack” in the communist system after World War II.³ The next decade saw Yugoslavia taking the first steps towards opening up to the world. Let us mention that, even though the activities of the liberal wing of Yugoslav communists are usually mentioned as happening since the late 1960s⁴, it was as early as 1952 that *Ekonomska politika* [Economic Policy] magazine appeared, in which the possibility of a Yugoslav “middle path” (neither the East nor the West) and of implementation of a Western, not based on statism, model of economic policy was discussed.⁵ Vejvoda also sees the decade of 1950s as

1 It is believed that the definition of the term cultural diplomacy was first used by the State Department in 1959. On that: Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović, *Cultural Diplomacy and Identity of Serbia*, Clio and Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade 2014, 27.

2 On the interior plane, the consequence was the opening of the Goli otok camp in the northern Adriatic, where a large number of citizens suspected of being sympathisers of Stalin were imprisoned in cruel and extremely inhumane conditions.

3 Ivan Vejvoda, *Sve što smo zaboravili i ovaj telefon* [Everything we forgot and this phone], a catalogue of the exhibition devoted to Mira Trailović, CZKD 2008.

and: *Vreme magazine*, 30 October 2008 (interview with I. Vejvodom: Borka Pavićević and Vladimir Tupanjac. We must also mention that said interview with Vejvoda was one of the key sources in this paper.

4 Liberal communists were in power in Serbia for only one term (1968-1972). In spite of the relative short period they spent in power their activities continue to be an important topic of public discourse even to this day.

5 Mijat Lakićević, *Srpski liberali* [Serbian Liberals], www.pescanik.net, 28.10. 2014.

the *formative period* of the Yugoslav society⁶: when Khrushchev came to power in 1956, Yugoslav ties with the Soviet Union were re-established, and preparations for the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement were underway. Yugoslavia's role in the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement and its special position during the Cold War was of great importance not only for how it conducted its international policy, but also its cultural one. In addition, despite its economic poverty and undeveloped society during the first decades following the war, the country had a highly developed public diplomacy, which may be considered the nucleus of cultural diplomacy as well.⁷

Some historians argue that we might speak of an accelerated acceptance of modern European paradigms in Serbia from the early XIX century (some modern laws and a liberal constitution in the XIX century can be cited as examples). The implementation of said cultural matrixes became particularly fast after World War II. Some authors have described the formula of the rule of Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslav President in the socialist era, as "authoritarian modernisation".⁸ The 1960s were an interesting period for several reasons, as this was the time when a large part of the population made the transition from an agrarian to the industrial society (although socialist industry failed to survive in the post-industrial era),⁹ in our context this decade was important primarily due to events in the sphere of culture. Within few years, almost all important cultural platforms geared to the international context (the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Bitef festival, the Bemus festival, Fest, etc.) were established.

Very soon after the end of World War II, numerous theatres and other cultural institutions were founded in Serbia/Yugoslavia. One of the key events in the sphere of modern art was the foundation of Atelje 212 Theatre (1956), whose repertoire initially included works of foreign¹⁰ and then also domestic avant-garde playwrights. The theatre manager between 1961 and 1983 was Mira Trailović, who went on to become the person who contributed the most to the foundation of an international festival in Belgrade (Bitef). She became the theatre manager after holding the position of an assistant manager, and her closest associate at the time was Jovan Ćirilov, who was later a long-time artistic director and selector of the Bitef festival: "The city authorities were for a long time hesitant to allow Mira Trailović to manage Atelje 212. Radoš (Novaković – author's note), and then Bojan (Stupica – author's note) were managers that the authorities found more to their liking. I guess Mira was not given management of Atelje 212 – although everyone was aware that she had started the movement – because she was not a party member, or they thought her too young, or too Western in her views, I don't know. But Mira waited and she finally became the manager of the theatre, whose heart she had been from day one"¹¹. ("She was not in

6 Ivan Vejvoda, *Ibid*.

7 Although "there is no general consensus in literature on the relationship between cultural diplomacy and similar concepts". On that: Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović, *Ibid*, 29.

8 On that: Todor Kuljić, *TITO sociološko-istorijska studija [TITO, A sociological and historical study]*, The City National Library Žarko Zrenjanin, Zrenjanin 2005.

9 Mari Janine, Calic, *Istorija Jugoslavije u 20.veku [A History of Yugoslavia in the XX century]*, Clio 2013.

10 Atelje 212 was the first theatre in socialist Europe to perform *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Becket.

11 Jovan Ćirilov, *Strast za uspehom [A Passion for Success]*, Teatron magazine, No 116/117, temat *Bitef:35 godina[topic Bitef: 35 years]*, The Museum of Theatre Art of Serbia, Belgrade 2001.

a rush. She knew she had more to learn”, says Ognjenka Milićević.¹²⁾

The idea about an international theatre festival was first voiced in 1964, with the intention to start a festival of small stage plays, or small avant-garde theatres (“without the baroque pomp of the middle class”, as Mira Trailović emphasised). It is interesting to note that 1964 might have been the crucial year for the development of avant-garde theatre in Serbia: apart from the promotion of the idea of the future festival, it was also the year which saw the performance of the first play in what was to become a very popular and unique “Atelje style”¹³, lacking the classical stage conventions which had predominated before, and there were two first performances of plays written by leading post-war Serbian avant-garde dramatist Aleksandar Popović, for the first time in his career.¹⁴ Incidentally, Atelje 212 was established with the original idea of not having a permanent troupe (of employed actors), which would have meant relatively small subsidies from the state, although this concept was abandoned very soon. On the other hand, it is remembered that in her negotiations with authorities Mira Trailović was frank in saying that founding an international theatre festival involved a large financial investment –which was a clear difference in the manner of foundation between these very important institutions of Serbian/Yugoslav culture.

A small socialist country opening up to the world and the launch of an international festival of new tendencies was possible in a society where, as Ivan Vejvoda remarks, there was an important difference in political leadership compared to other socialist regimes. Yugoslav communists, led by J.B. Tito, understood that it was possible to create a *non-political* sphere of the society, without in any way jeopardising the monopoly of the party and the state. (“There was not a hint of pluralism in the *political* sense there”¹⁵ – emphasis by K.R.). Some other favourable circumstances on the social, as well as the cultural and art scene, also contributed to the foundation of Bitef. The period of so-called socialist realism in Yugoslavia after the war was brief, and by the time of Bitef’s foundation the long and fierce debate between traditionalists and modernists on the art scene had already ended – the modernists having scored a victory in this public debate. Vejvoda reminds us that the pre-war tradition of avant-garde had also been strong in Serbia, not the least because some modernist authors from the period between the two World Wars went on to become part of the political establishment in the socialist society. Some even held high-ranking political positions after the war. The most famous of these were Koča Popović (surrealist, and a legendary Minister of Foreign Affairs), poets Dušan Matić and Marko Ristić, painter and journalist Moša Pijade, writer Oskar Davičo... Owing to this, there were people within the communist establishment who were sensitive to the spirit of the times. Furthermore, Vejvoda argues that the country’s location has to be kept in mind: it was near the Western European centres of cultural and university life, and the elites had been educated in the West even before the war, so it was only natural that a certain cultural and political substrate from the West was not felt to be alien to the Serbian society.¹⁶ Compulsory reading lists at schools were diverse – Russian

12 Ognjenka Milićević, *Skica za portret [A Sketch for a Portrait]*, Teatron, No 116/117, Ibid.

13 Alfred Jarry’s *Ubu the King*, directed by Ljubomir Draškić. On that: Ksenija Radulović, *Moj narod me iz publike aklamira [My people acclaim me from the audience]*, Zbornik radova FDU, No 25-26, Belgrade 2014.

14 *Ljubinko i Desanka [Ljubinko and Desanka]* in Atelje 212 i Čarapa od sto petlji [A Sock with a Hundred Loops] at the Igralište University Theatre.

15 I. Vejvoda, Ibid.

16 The author also mentions the role of Russian immigrants between the wars, who actively participated in the cultural life of the country.

and Western writers were present in equal numbers (a “minor” culture has this paradoxical advantage to the great ones – that it is not so self-absorbed). Generally speaking, the Yugoslav society accepted influences from the Western (and more particularly American) culture at different levels, which is symbolically testified to by the title of a book on socialist Yugoslavia – *Coca Cola Socialism* (written by historian Radina Vučetić).

With the liberalisation of the socialist society, the state began financing cultural exchange with foreign countries. From the existing documents (e.g. a competition for foreign government scholarships in 1968) “it can be seen that scholarships from Eastern and Western European countries were equally frequent”.¹⁷ Speaking about this formative period in the country’s opening toward other countries, Vejvoda cautiously notes that it might be worthwhile to search archives to see exactly how the cultural policy was defined, who got the opportunity to travel and who didn’t – but he also stresses that in the bigger picture this period was also important as the beginning of a process that “gained speed” during the 1960s. And although the 1960s are most frequently mentioned as the time of first economic successes and improvement of the standard of living in former Yugoslavia, the same author reminds us that it was also in mid-1960s that the first significant economic crisis was recorded. In order to prevent the looming high unemployment rate, the government opened the country’s borders enabling the people to leave and work in Western Europe (“the gastarbeiter phenomenon”). And not only did this not threaten the regime, it also made it even stronger.¹⁸

Looking at the bigger picture, we must bear in mind that the Bitef festival was also founded in special circumstances globally. The 1960s were the decade that brought a liberal spirit to the public sphere, and saw radical changes in art (e.g. post-war theatre avant-garde), an interest for non-European forms of culture, and the counter-culture; finally, the first Bitef was held at the time when the coming spirit of the student rebellion of 1968 could be felt. Apart from the mentioned circumstances on the global scene, there were very important and numerous special “internal” aspects of the social and political life of former Yugoslavia. Both the written and oral histories of the theatre stress the already mentioned role Mira Trailović played in this process: even though the attributes of being energetic and “persistent like a bulldozer” are most frequently used in public or private discourse in connection with Mira, a more complete description of her personality can be gleaned from the book entitled *Mira Trailović – gospođa iz velikog sveta* [*Mira Trailović – A Lady of the Big World*], which has so far been the only publication on her life and work.¹⁹ Although of middle-class background, as a widely educated, modern, and left-oriented (in the most general sense) person, she was among the intellectuals and artists who were deemed acceptable by the communist establishment. Jovan Ćirilov declared her negotiation skills to be “almost Byzantine”, and she utilised these to find “a formula that would work”.²⁰ Her “programme manifest” is remembered, and she used it in

17 Anja Suša, *Bitef i pobuna – šezdesete i recepcija internacionalnih pozorišnih uticaja u Jugoslaviji* [*Bitef and rebellion, the 1960s and the reception of international theatre influences in Yugoslavia*], *Teatron*, No 116-117, 32-38.

18 I.Vejvoda, *Ibid.*

19 Feliks Pašić, *Mira Trailović – gospođa iz velikog sveta* [*Mira Trailović – A Lady from the Big World*], The Museum of Theatre Art of Serbia, Belgrade 2005

20 Jovan Ćirilov, *Strast za uspehom* [*A Passion for Success*], *Teatron*, *Ibid.*

negotiations to argue for the necessity of founding the Bitef festival: it would be wrong, she said, for the capital of a country which was opening wide to the world and played an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement not to have an international festival; “so let’s start from the theatre!”. The negotiations on founding such a festival lasted several years, and a number of cultural workers who also had high (or relatively high) positions in the administrative system were also involved. We must mention the role played by the legendary Belgrade Mayor Branko Pešić (architect during whose term in office Belgrade was turning into a modern European capital), and particularly, his close associate Milan Vukos.²¹ Oral histories also mention that in the fight to establish an international festival, an important role was also played by a poet and theatre critic of the influential *Politika newspaper*²² Muharem Pervić, who was also a state official in the sphere of culture. All of them had in common a left-wing orientation in terms of an open and in principle cosmopolitan outlook, a good education, and sensitivity for the spirit of the times. The programme concept of the new festival pointed to its dual tendency, and as such was in fact tactically well-thought out and presented: the Bitef motto thus had the ‘both - and’ modality – both the new trends in theatre avant-garde of the time *and* the new tendencies in classical/drama theatre. The second often entailed a new reading of drama classics by great international directors. During the struggle to found Bitef, this conceptual duality made it possible to “buffer” some disappointment from colleagues more involved with traditional artistic expression, but, perhaps more importantly, that of conservative politicians, concerned about “importing harmful influences” from abroad, particularly from the West.²³

However, by the time Bitef was founded, Yugoslavia had already started activities that exemplify the strategy of cultural diplomacy as the country’s representation in the world. Milena Dragičević Šešić writes that the key events in this sphere were the exhibition of sacral Yugoslav art organised by Miroslav Krleža in Paris in 1953, the launch of the Modern Music Biennial in Zagreb in 1961, and finally the foundation of Bitef in 1967.²⁴ Along with these, it is worth mentioning the establishment of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade in 1965, which was the first museum in the region completely based on the latest principles in museum operation. During the 1950s, a group of visual artists who followed the latest trends publicly advocated the opening of a gallery. And so the Modern Gallery was originally founded in 1959, and in 1965 when it moved into a new building it grew into a museum. At a journalist’s remark (*Vreme magazine*, 2012) that from today’s perspective founding a museum in Tito’s state seems simpler than it is now (when the two central museums in Serbia have been in reconstruction and out of full operational capacity for over ten years – both the National Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade), Miodrag B. Protić, the founder and first director of the MCA, responds that this impression would be false. He can testify to the fact that in the 1960s the state did reach a decision to establish a museum – but primarily with the intention that it should be a kind of administrative centre, not a truly influential and dynamic institution. According to

21 The founder and provider of financial resources is the City of Belgrade.

22 The most influential daily newspaper, at the time fully controlled and financed by the state.

23 The participation of some people with liberal and modern outlook in the political processes in the country should not lead to a hasty conclusion of the predominant nature of such administrative structure.

24 Interview with Milena Dragičević Šešić, the chair at the conference “Bitef and Cultural Diplomacy: Theatre and Geopolitics”, at: www.festival.bitef.rs

Protić, the proof of this is that the Museum was not opened by a politician – but by himself.²⁵ However, after opening, the Museum of Contemporary Art, as a Yugoslav – and not just Serbian – and international centre of visual arts by concept immediately became one of the most important cultural institutions in the region.

Some events from the period can illustrate the need for a cautious, and conditional, use of the term liberalism in Yugoslavia in the 1960s. For example, less than a year before the first Bitef was held, painter Leonid Šejka²⁶ was arrested, along with a group of intellectuals from Belgrade and Zagreb. The group had intended to publish a bi-monthly magazine entitled *Slobodna misao* [Free Thought] which was supposed to be democratic, socialist and Yugoslav in orientation (these were artists and intellectuals who were left-wing in the general sense, liberal and cosmopolitan in orientation). Šejka spent two months in custody, in solitary confinement while under investigation and interrogation.²⁷ At the time he lived near the poverty line, with a relatively marginal impact in society. But his close friends and associates were painters and writers, strong individual voices with no relations to the party establishment. His arrest can thus be seen as a “preventative measure”, which was supposed to prevent not just any possible issues raised about official party policies, but also any spread of similar ideas. That is why the phrase *Yugoslav liberalism* should be used with a certain caution – the opening of the country to ‘the outside world’ without any risk to the party monopoly. But at the same time this was the social climate in which it was possible to start an international festival of new theatrical tendencies, such as Bitef.

The festival was founded by decree of the City of Belgrade as standing event of special importance for the city. The first Bitef in 1967 was organised with a huge advertising campaign, and tickets were sold out within three days. The programme of Bitef was conceptually similar to Yugoslav foreign policy “on a small scale”, like a diplomatic framework projected to the plane of culture. And just as Yugoslav foreign policy during the Cold War was based on not belonging to either of the two dominant political blocs and an active role in the Non-Aligned Movement, where countries of the Third World played the most important role, the concept of the Bitef festival was from the very start based on a similarly wide platform. In fact, the programme duality of Bitef – the relations between the East and the West – should be understood in two ways: as the Western civilisation in opposition to the Eastern one (the Orient), and the Western Europe as opposed to the East. Aleksandra Jovičević points out that in the latter case these were “two distinctly different European cultures” which were separated by the Berlin wall until 1989.²⁸ Yugoslav foreign policy had, in fact, in launching Bitef, significantly before the fall of the Berlin wall, anticipated the idea of a united Europe (or, even more precisely, the First, Second, and Third Worlds).

Primarily we need to note that from its very beginning Bitef entailed a step beyond a Europe-centric framework. The selection was based on the widest world/international context – along with plays from Asia, in whose theatre European directors were

25 On that: *Put ka celini* [A Path to the Whole] (interview with Miodrag B. Protić), *Vreme magazine*, Belgrade 21 October 2010

And also : *Kako je Moderna galerija postala Muzej savremene umetnosti* (grupa autora)[How the Modern Gallery Became the Museum of Contemporary Arts (a group of authors)], MSU 2016.

26 L. Šejka (1932-1970), painter, member of the Mediala group of artists.

27 On that: Aleksa Đilas, *Vermer iz Titove Jugoslavije*[Vermeer from Tito's Yugoslavia], *Sveske magazine*, No 104, June 2012.

28 Aleksandra Jovičević, *Multi-kulti Bitef*[Multi-Culti Bitef], *Teatron*, No 116/117, Ibid.

showing a marked and renewed interest at the time, Bitef was also a place where Europe met with theatre traditions from other continents. The first Bitef opened in precisely this spirit: with the play *Ramayana* by an Indian Kathakali theatre, which signalled the multicultural dimension of the festival. (However, Aleksandra Jovičević holds that the multiculturalism of this festival has not been seriously investigated, that this aspect of the festival has been marginalised, and that this tendency has not met with great interest from either the theatre audiences or the theatrical circles²⁹, which merits a longer discussion elsewhere). Among other plays performed at the first Bitef were also *The Constant Prince* directed by Jerzy Grotowski (Teatr Laboratorium), *Antigona* directed by Judith Malina (and Julian Beck) performed by the Living Theatre, and performances by theatres from Paris, Glasgow, Budapest, Prague, Geneva, etc.

Bitef was from its inception also surrounded by intellectual “machinery” – talks with artists were organised, and catalogues printed in which authors wrote about their ideas, and each season the festival had a different subtitle, as the aesthetic synthesis of its selection.³⁰ But the intellectual spirit of the festival spread much further than its selections and the debates held on the performances. Ivan Vejvoda proposes that Bitef was much more than just a series of avant-garde theatre performances. The festival was actually a medium through which debates on important social issues were conducted, issues such as political freedom, authoritarian rule, etc. Given that social and political debates could not be held in the public sphere in a direct manner, they were transferred to the medium of the theatre. And actually this ‘crafty’ festival slogan of *new theatrical tendencies* served as a kind of mimicry. Conversely to the strictly *artistic* motto for the outside, important political debates went on the inside.³¹ Vejvoda argues that this gave the people the encouragement to believe that the boundaries of freedom could after all be moved, regardless of the ideological monopoly of the one (and only) party. “It seems to me that this wider context, perhaps an (un)intended consequence of the whole idea, and thus it was so successful and attractive to the people who came from beyond the so-called “iron curtain”, and also for the Westerners who had the opportunity to meet some great creative people that they otherwise couldn’t meet. (...) And we see openness, an exemplary eagerness, and it seems that the country is stable and open and offering diverse opportunity. But we also know that a conflict with liberals was coming in Serbia ...”³²

Two years after Bitef, Bemus (Belgrade Music Festival) was also founded in Belgrade, and the first Fest (International Film Festival) was also held in January 1971. With a series of similar events, from the perspective of today it is no wonder that this period is held to have been the “age of Pericles” of Serbian and former Yugoslav culture. The first Fest was held under the aegis of Josip Broz Tito as the President of Yugoslavia, and a huge number of special awards and recognitions was given to famous international actors (most were not present in Belgrade). It is also important to note that the leading national theatre festival, Sterijino pozorje, with the motto “Yugoslav theatre games”, was founded as early as in 1956, in Novi Sad. In spite of a certain “reputation” that Sterijino pozorje got as a festival that Broz frequented as the national theatre festival, unlike the avant-garde Bitef whose openings and

29 On that: A. Jovičević, *Ibid.*

30 Jovan Ćirilov, *Ibid.*, 15.

31 I. Vejvoda, *Ibid.*

32 I. Vejvoda, *Ibid.*

performances he did not attend, available documents in archives show that he only attended the Pozorje festival three or four times (during the period between 1965 and his death in 1980); likewise, Tito's direct relations with Bitef were mostly negligible.

Immediately after the foundation of Bitef, Serbia, as one of the republics of former Yugoslavia, entered a unique political phase, primarily concerning issues of domestic politics. Several months after student demonstrations, in November of 1968, representatives of the moderate, liberal wing of the communist party (the Communist Party of Serbia) came into power in Serbia. They were dubbed liberal and involved themselves particularly in an attempt to carry out economic reforms modelled after the Western markets. During their term of office, in an apparent paradox, there were certain recorded cases of censorship or bans in the sphere of culture (one of the possible explanations might be that liberals deliberately 'sacrificed' culture in an attempt to gain "room to manoeuvre" and implement reforms in other spheres). Strong censorship tendencies and stifling of freedoms continued particularly after they left power in October 1972 (formally they resigned but they were in fact removed from office). During the liberal mandate and after their fall from power different segments of the society felt the brunt of political oppression. Certain projects in the sphere of culture were directly hit by the wave of oppression – some plays, books, and comics were banned; there was also the phenomenon of censorship of "black wave" films which presented issues of and critically viewed the contemporary Yugoslav society. The most radical example of direct intervention of the government in the field of culture in this period was the banning and confiscation of the film entitled *Plastični Isus* [Plastic Jesus] (1971), which was the graduation project of director Lazar Stojanović (1944-2017) who was sentenced to three years in prison³³. However, only future research might answer the question of whether during the term of office of Serbian liberals, and especially during the years after they left power there were certain differences in the way in which cultural projects for "internal" use were treated by the party establishment compared to those, like Bitef, which were geared for "the outside", and the widest international audiences. Still, it is even more important that Bitef, both then and later during diverse turbulent moments in the country, managed to survive – as an important theatrical and social/intellectual platform.

The festival's exciting 50-year history is a testimony to this. Although it came to be in a country without true political pluralism, but at the same accompanied by strong 'authoritarian modernisation', Bitef managed to turn from a "cultural project as an instrument of foreign policy" into an important tradition in the former Yugoslav region, and a real phenomenon of Serbian culture. It is now facing a new challenge – how to invent the concept of *novum* in the changed/contemporary circumstances of a globalised world?

33 The film was first screened in 1990.

Also, apart from other forms of government intervention in the cultural and intellectual sphere, there was also the firing of a group of professors from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade in 1975. (this was an „instructive demonstration“ for all others, says one of the professors, Dragoljub Mićunović).

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Bitef in the New Millennium: From One Crisis to Another

Anja Suša

This text will focus on the changes in Bitef development in the period between the year 2000 until today, in the context of the altered geopolitical coordinates of former Yugoslavia, with the negative heritage from the wars in the 90ies, and with a particular emphasis on cultural reintegration of post-Yugoslav region.

Special attention will be given to the way the festival was treated in the context of local political changes which inevitably influenced its status, firstly in terms of financing but also in terms of essential (mis)understanding of the diplomatic potential this festival could have in defining the image of contemporary Serbia.

Bitef was founded in 1967, in a very specific political and cultural climate in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and in the rest of the world. It was the time of the 1960ies liberation in all spheres of life and culture, and a time that eventually led to the 1968 student rebellion worldwide. On a more local level, it was the time after the big conflict between the representatives of the so-called Modernists and the so-called Conservatives in literature, which took place in 1950ies, with the Modernists coming out of it as winners. Many representatives of the Yugoslav Surrealist-Movement, who were also additionally credited for being a part of the Communist Revolution Movement during the WWII took over the course of the fragile Yugoslav culture which had been in the process of making after the war and during a very dangerous and insecure times followed by the Informbiro Resolution which pinpointed the separation of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. This is important to take into account in order to understand the social and cultural pretext which led to starting several very progressive and state-supported institutions within just a couple of years, such as *October Salon*, *Museum of Contemporary Arts*, *BEMUS*, *FEST* and of course, *BITEF*. This political decision clearly marked the divorce between the socialist ideology and realistic art which in other socialist countries had been using the criterion of »an ordinary man« as the supreme parameter in defining a »proper« socialist culture from an »improper« one. Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, thus, played a great role in the cultural and social project of a great uniqueness in the contemporary history of Europe. It had its very dark moments, of course, being a part of a One Party System, culminating in a random banning of films, or theatre plays that were »over the top« for the socialist criteria, but generally speaking, in comparison to other socialist countries of the time, it was fairly rare and with few severe consequences for the banned authors. The birth of Bitef clearly marked the course of Yugoslav international communication and diplomacy as well as the country's very specific, completely unique and carefully nurtured image in the Cold War's division between the East and the West. Not belonging to any of the blocs, trying to create its own identity and to be recognized as some sort of a bridge connecting the best of the two worlds, Yugoslavia paid a lot of attention to the field of culture, understanding it as a very precious tool to achieve that goal.

At numerous meetings held in this period, Yugoslav communists expressed their concern about an increased level of commercialization and kitsch in culture. In those times, communists were searching for an ideal model which would bring “genuine cultural values” closer to the people.¹ In regard to that matter, special attention was drawn to the necessity of creating long-lasting cultural policy which would oppose “primitive needs taken from the semi-rural small-scale capitalism and petit-bourgeois clamor coming out of the giant industrial entertainment of the developed civil society”. The emphasis was placed on the necessity of creating new socialist culture which would accompany new socialist society.

Mira Trailović, a director, and Jovan Ćirilov, a teatrologist, the main initiators of the international theatre festival, describe the atmosphere which gave birth to the first BITEF: “The world was a different place. The Youth Revolution was in the air and not only in the field of eroticism: America was troubled by the Vietnam war, Spain and Portugal were ruled by aging dictators, while other dictators just came in power in Greece; Egypt and Israel were at war, Soviet Union had been without Khrushchev, and Yugoslavia without great international debts. Those were the days when Yugoslavia played an important role in the world, when the rise in standard promised our country would enter the big league of the developed, the days of increasing interest for foreign countries and for the wish to learn as much as possible about that world. Meanwhile, Belgrade, the capital of that Yugoslavia, didn’t have a single international festival”.²

It is very important to note that the idea to start an international theatre festival was largely accepted among the politicians and that the festival was funded from the city budget.³

“Hunger for other countries” brought to BITEF some of the most popular but also most controversial international theatre artists, some of whom were *The Living Theatre* from New York and Teatr laboratorium, led by Jerzy Grotowski from Poland.

In order to fully understand how daring that first BITEF selection was, we should take a look at the typical Belgrade theatres’ repertoire at the time. The National Theatre had several, mostly realist plays by Serbian authors, a renaissance play *‘Tis Pity She’s a Whore* by J. Ford, and M. Sholokhov’s *The Quiet Don* (staged on the occasion of 50th anniversary of the October Revolution). Yugoslav Drama Theatre also contributed to the anniversary by staging the play *Red October*, apart from which it also showed *The Death of Uroš the Fifth*, by S. Stefanović, George Bernard Shaw’s *Heartbreak House*, *Klara Dombrovska* by J. Kulundžić, *The Woman from Hvar* by M. Benetović, and *Henry IV* by Pirandello.

On the repertoire of Atelje 212 were: *Pig in a Poke*, by Feydeau, *The Homecoming* by H. Pinter, *Prometheus Illbound* by A. Gide, *Next Time I’ll Sing to You* by James Saunders, and several plays by Serbian authors.

1 see: IAB: fund: CKSKS, box: 515, *Reminder of some questions which should be addresses at consultations, regarding preparing congress documents for VI Session of the Communists League of Serbia*, Belgrade, December 1967, Materials on political, cultural and educational issues, agitation and press; year: 1945-1973

2 V. Stamenković, *The Kingdom of Experiments*, Belgrade, 1987, p. 249

3 V. Stamenković, n.d., p. 249

Contemporary Theatre had many musicals on its repertoire: *Wedding in Malinovka*, *The Gipsy Princess*, and plays by Serbian playwrights.

As we can see by this partial overview of theatre premieres in 1967, theatres followed well-trodden paths of classics, occasionally opting for contemporary plays by authors from Serbia and from abroad.

Speaking of the effects BITEF caused, placing thus Yugoslavia in an interesting position by turning it into a one of a kind theatre place equally interesting for artists from the East and from the West, Mira Trailović wrote: "That, in short, was the path which has led us into this present phase of a theatre which, without any false modesty, managed to enter people's minds not only in the Balkans but in the world as well. It still happens, occasionally, that some friends from afar mention theatre from Czechoslovakia thinking of Yugoslavia, while some others still think that BITEF is a theatre and Atelje a workshop, but that is not important. What is important is that we have managed to win our place under the Sun, and that this society has accepted and supported one unconventional movement which promotes the ideas that have not always matched typical ideas of art. Still, art is wider than current trends so the society accepted the liveliest and the most valuable ideas this theatre relied on".⁴

Skillfully balancing between the East and the West, the state provided generous funding to cultural exchange between Yugoslavia and other countries. Grants for residences, trips, tours, as well as tours or foreign authors' visits to Yugoslavia, notable inflow of theatre literature, new plays and journals – all of that contributed to establishing stronger links between Yugoslav and international theatre production. At that time, special contracts were signed with significant number of countries from the Eastern and from the Western Europe. The documents kept in the Republic Secretariat for Culture in 1968 demonstrate the frequency of visits of Yugoslav theatres to other countries. According to the conventions about cultural cooperation made with foreign governments, "in the period between 1960 and 1968, 428 people stayed in 28 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, in the overall duration of 3987 months".⁵ The same document also states that, in the field of arts and culture, altogether "117 people stayed in overall duration of 833 months". It is also stated that the "Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia will, in the school year 1969/70, use foreign governments' grants for 416 months, apart from a certain number of grants for Greece, Turkey, Iran, Tunisia, UAR, Sudan, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Jordan, Morocco, Syria, Burma, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Chile." The call for grants by foreign governments, which was issued by the Republic Secretariat for Culture and Education in 1968, shows that there is an equal share between the stipends by East European and West European governments.⁶ What is interesting is that the contracts of international cooperation made with France and Poland state

4 M. Trailović, *Self-management and Theatre Based on Atelje 212 Experience*, Scena, 1973, IX book, No. 3-4, p. 36-43

5 Archives of the Association of Dramatic Artists of Serbia (AUDUS), folder No. 1/ 1968, *Socialist Republic of Serbia, Republic Secretariat for Education and Culture*, 03 No. 6942, 26th November, 1968, Belgrade

6 AUDUS, folder 1/1968, The Call by the Republic Secretariat for Education and Culture for Foreign Governments' Stipends

that France and Poland each guarantee to try to bring one of their theatre ensembles to BITEF in 1968.⁷

The Communist League of Serbia also paid close attention to detailed analysis of problems in the field of art and culture. It was similar on the federal level. The predominant attitude was that the contemporary Yugoslav society needs an open cultural politics and the freedom of artistic creation. "Communist League of Yugoslavia is of opinion that the struggle for cultural freedom is an inseparable part of struggle for the freedom of man. The League will, therefore, strive towards securing freedom of creation which is closely connected to the establishment of cultural politics and the democracy based on self-management. It is inseparably linked with further reinforcement of free developments of cultures of all the Yugoslav peoples, their openness towards international trends and active participation in them."⁸

With the downfall of Yugoslavia, and the change of the geopolitical frame for BITEF, this festival came to a very gloomy and dark phase in its existence almost reaching the point of non-existence, due to heavy sanctions against the country which included the cultural embargo as well. It was really hard to sustain an international festival without an international program. It was thanks to Jovan Ćirilov that the festival survived during that time and reached the shore of the new millennium which was at the same time the period of a new optimism and a huge belief in the sentence "Serbia is the world" which stood at the banner that symbolized a rebellion against the regime of Slobodan Milošević.

Serbia really wanted to be a part of the world and that was the beginning of much better and happier times for Serbian culture, and for Bitef, for that matter.

I was invited to join the festival in 2006, by Jovan Ćirilov, and I remember the first couple of years as very easygoing, with decent budget and a lot of big plans. One might say that after the dark times of the 1990-ies, this was the time of some kind of a "new internationalism" which exploded in Serbian culture both on institutional and on the independent scene. There was a lot of exchange going on between institutions and on an individual level. This was the time when Bitef came back to the world map, after being away for the whole decade of the 1990s. The Festival started doing serious international networking, as well as connecting to the rest of the theatre-festivals universe, by doing big co-productions with important and prominent international partners. It was also a part of the strategy of Serbia to become an equal participant in progressive tendencies in the world's politics. In spite of the very good climate and the official support to the Serbian culture in the beginning of 2000s, it is neither easy nor true to say that it was a part of some defined and articulated cultural strategy of the State as it was in the 1960s. It was more a general feeling of joy and freedom after the years of repression and a huge appetite for the rest of the world which was

7 AUDUS, folder 1/1968, The Program of Cultural Exchange between Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of France for years 1968 and 1969, Art exchanges, p. 8 *Program of Cultural Exchange between Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Polish People's Republic* for years 1968 and 1969, p. 9

8 Archives of Yugoslavia, fund No. 507, folder VII – II/7-b, No. 229, CKSKJ Committee for Social and Political Questions of Education, Science and Culture; *Development of Culture Based on Self-management Social and Economic Relations and the Communists' Tasks*, Belgrade, 24th January, 1969, p.7

opening more and more, reaching its climax with the suspension of the visa-regime for the EU countries.

The lack of real strategy and vision was very clear, which created the possibility to leave the Serbian culture after 2000 almost entirely in a somewhat arbitrary position and completely dependent on the level of competence of individuals who were appointed by different political parties to run different institutions at the time. Luckily, thanks to the new optimism, there were a lot of competent and hardworking professionals who accepted the challenge and took over some of the most important theatre institutions and the results were very good. So, the lack of general cultural ideology paradoxically opened a lot of small niches for brave and daring individuals to make some difference. I consider this time to be very productive, even if short for the Serbian culture.

The changes in the political climate which were enhanced by the Global Economy Crisis left a big mark on the entire Serbian society as well as on culture.

With the change of political paradigm and the rhetoric which started while the Democratic Party was still in power, the Serbian Culture and Bitef Festival started facing yet another challenge. The neo-liberal paradigm about the market in culture contaminated the political elite, and the so called “politics of saving” completely took over. This opened a new chapter in the history of Bitef faced with the continuous budget cut-downs that have been ongoing since 2009. During that time, the budget was cut down to almost one third of the budget that the festival was using for its 40th anniversary. It was the time when the budgets for the international exchange in theatre institutions were also completely suspended. Clearly enough this was the time when the State, obviously, didn’t care much about the Serbian Culture as a potential tool for diplomacy. This was a time of a strong nationalistic political discourse focusing mostly on flirtation with the still omnipresent nationalistic tendencies and not being able to make clear cuts with the recent past in order to change the dominant political course that would lead to serious and very much needed political changes and reforms. This was also the time when Bitef was again forced to question its program orientation. Using its unique position of the most popular or at least most visible theatre festival in the former Yugoslav Region, during the last couple of years the festival has turned more towards the idea of using its fame to establish a platform for the international presentation of theatre from the Post-Yugoslav space. It wasn’t playing on nostalgia so much, even though for many Yugoslav theatre-makers it has always been a very important element of their theatrical reflection, but it rather tried to bring all the small and not visible enough post-Yugoslav theater practices to a bigger, international arena. It started as a showcase of the Serbian Theatre in the early 2000s, but it became clear very soon that Serbian theatre alone can’t produce enough shows that would suit the requirements of the festival like Bitef, so the strategy was developed further into the direction of the entire post-Yugoslav space. The breaking point was the edition of Bitef from 2009 when the Grand Prix of Bitef Festival was awarded to the Serbian performance “The Enthusiasts” by a young director Milos Lolić. This course of thinking about the selection continued further on to the next editions of the festival which presented some of the most interesting and authentic theatre artists from Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, which hugely supported their visibility and strong artistic presence

in the international theatre context. I am speaking about the artists such as: Dalija Aćin, Borut Šeparović, Oliver Frlić, Tomi Janežič, Andraš Urban, Bojan Đorđev, TKH Collective Matija Ferlin, Boris Liješević, Ana Tomović, Ivana Sajko, Simona Semenič, Maja Pelević, Milan Marković, Biljana Srbljanović, etc. All of those artists have become more visible through Bitef, and it seemed that after so many years of facing an identity crisis resulting from the political events from the 1990s, Bitef has finally reached the new identity position in the International Theatre Universe. This resulted with a significantly increased number of foreign guests and programs and more attention in the foreign media, which were, naturally more interested in the authentic theatre that could only be seen in Belgrade.

After the latest political change in 2014, which was more like a personal change, because of the general lack of ideology in the Serbian political spectrum, this, very interesting and internationally recognized and supported orientation of Bitef, has been put under the question mark. The political change has led to an even stronger neo-liberal obsession about an art market and to even more severe cut-downs of budgets for culture, emphasizing the prefix “national” as the most important, defining the national heritage as the basic value of Serbian culture. Contemporary art and independent culture have either almost disappeared or have come to the verge of invisibility and complete atomization. The institutions have been suffering, too, but they have been at least granted some minimal financial means to make them up and running. That, unfortunately, has been the case of the Bitef Festival, as well. Even though there hasn't been a direct intervening in the concept of the festival, the official attitude was clearly stated by the most drastic cut-down of the festival's budget which happened at the last year's edition of the festival, when it was given the lowest amount in its history. That edition was also the first one after Jovan Ćirilov had passed away and the decision made by the founder of the festival – the City of Belgrade carried a lot of symbolic potential, since the festival was dedicated to the memory of Jovan. This went hand in hand with the more or less direct messages from the top that Bitef should give up the policy of reuniting the region and continuously bringing Croatian and Slovenian directors to the festival, with an argument that it is not a Yugoslav Festival. Here is another example of not understanding the contemporary festival politics and its diplomatic potential in the very sensitive political processes in the Region which have been one of the most outspoken priorities of the current Government especially in the field of economical exchange. This example either casts a shadow on the true nature of that kind of political messages or just shows the lack of interest of our State for culture, failing again to see its' enormous diplomatic potential.

Without too much hesitation we can conclude that the cultural diplomacy and Bitef were closely linked only during the period of former Yugoslavia and that, from today's prospective, it appears like a long lost and forgotten concept.

Inclusive Practices at the International Performing Arts Festivals

Knowledge transfer and agenda setting in the international cooperation

Darko Lukić

Contemporary theatre festival programming and curating pay more, but still not enough attention to the diversity of their audiences and performers. In a generalised scope, one can notice that inclusive projects are much more occasional and apposite than intrinsic and implicit. Lack of experience of curators and producers in dealing with inclusive projects could not be the excuse for a serious analysis. As each inclusive project needs a specific treatment and each different participant needs individual, personalised approach, dealing with inclusion for sure makes quite a challenge. Despite additional demands, such as specific knowledge and special skills and competencies, an inclusion of the “Invisible audiences” (which is a less discriminating term than often used “ineligible audiences”) and integration of various inclusive productions make an important impact of the festivals on the level of their social output. The regular mainstream theatre (and cultural) production often exclude large groups of different minorities, making them ineligible or “invisible” audiences such as persons with disabilities, persons with chronic diseases, socially unprivileged (underpaid and undereducated persons), cultural minorities (ethnic, racial, religious immigrants...), audiences in prisons and correctional institutions, children with learning difficulties and gender minorities. Basically, the dominant cultural production never considers such groups as potential theatre (cultural) audiences, and the exclusion is visible on different levels. That model of exclusion is not only dominant strategies of hegemonic monocultural practices but also a pure result of ignorance and lack of consciousness about excused groups and individuals. International theatre festivals present the potential tool and mode to set the agenda on a very high cultural level, using their media influence, social visibility and image to address the problem of inclusion. Such practice could be one of the BITEF’s comparative and competitive advantages in its future (re)shaping the image and content.

Analysing the differences between theatre festivals according to the agendas, it is generally possible to recognise three basic types. The first group consists of the festivals with strong tendency to the excellence, which count with the most prominent artists, most prestigious companies and most celebrated performances. That kind of approach brings to the festival a kind of exclusivity and ensures trademark and reputation of the trendsetting event. Their exclusivity address sophisticated audiences and elitist critics. Just the opposite, the second practice would be that which first of all values the popularity and mass attendance and entertainment itself. That type of festivals are, therefore, attracted with mass audience appealing spectacles, popular productions and a multitude of the events for as much spectators as possible. Such festival mission is logically focused on cultural tourism and commercial aspects of

the festival production. The third kind of theatre festivals, which will be the topic of this paper, are riskier and with much less certain outcomes. That kind of festivals in their visions try to push the limits, to explore the unknown possibilities, to challenge and to provoke, and to make something new and different. That curator's visions are trying to encourage audience engagement, promote some kind of social activism and access an important level of community inclusion. All three approaches mentioned above are, of course, quite valid and more than legitimate.

Speaking about the long and fruitful history of BITEF, we can easily recognise all three types of the approach, separated or even mixed in particular issues of festival or in particular periods of its development. Evaluating BITEF in its historical, cultural and geopolitical context, and, especially, in the context of its cultural diplomacy role through the decades, the third approach, knowledge transfer and agenda setting, for sure seems the most important and most significant one.

Putting BITEF in the contemporary context, (national, regional and trans-regional), it also seems the most necessary and the most promising one.

After the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the bipolar world in late 1980-ties, and after extremely brutal conflicts during the decomposition of Yugoslavia in 1990-ties, the festival itself has been positioned in a very different situation and radically changed environment compared to the ones which assured his development and profiling during its first 25 to 30 years of existence. A decade during the Balkan wars left traumatic changes to all of cultural environment, which left deep traces on BITEF as well. Looking toward its future and necessary repositioning in completely new circumstances, (political, economical and cultural), the festival for sure has to find new answers for the completely new set of questions and to react to some new competitive challenges. Rethinking its new position in terms of programming, audience, response to technological challenges, international collaboration and cooperation, and surely its role in cultural diplomacy, BITEF has to continue on the best roots of its tradition and history, but also to reposition itself in the context of incomparably new relations on European and regional theatre festival mapping and demands of new kinds of cultural production. For all these reasons it seems to me that the third type of festival programming, agenda setting and knowledge transfer, shows the most promising perspectives for BITEF and its new phase of existence and development.

Such types of socially engaged festivals necessarily have to start rethinking their curating strategies with three key questions: "for whom?", "with whom?" and "by which agenda?".

One of the less explored and most ignored in regional festival mapping is for sure the agenda focused on the festival programming or particular special festival events especially addressed to the invisible audiences. My plead for using term "invisible" instead of any other, especially the highly discriminatory term "ineligible" audiences (often used in marketing strategic planning) is much more than the pure linguistic one. It's a kind of terminological (and therefore mental) agenda setting necessary for the changed paradigm we need for approaching the applied theatre and its festival opportunities. (see Lukić, 2016:9, 2016:29/30). Invisible audiences are, in a nutshell,

all the groups and individuals which are not usually taken in account as the core and main audiences of the theatres and its festivals. Mostly, they are not considered at all. We could also use the words such as “ignored, neglected, overseen, forgotten” to describe the position of the invisible audiences. Their needs, their situation, their possibilities, even their very existence are, unfortunately, invisible for most of the mainstream theatre festivals. The reasons for such invisibility are, of course, mainstream politics of representation, countless social strategies of domination, an incredible spectrum of oppression, ingrained privileges and cultural dilapidation of our societies, which makes this kind of agenda setting even more important and more urgent.

To avoid the threat of marginalisation closely connected with any kind of ghettoisation, agenda setting focused on the invisible audiences should insist much more on the inclusion of such audiences than on their institutionalisation. That, in short, means treating invisible audiences as visible in the core and main events, instead of putting them in special encapsulated programmes especially (and separately) organised only for the invisible audiences, beyond or beside of the main festival programme.

The invisible audiences highly overlap with groups and individuals usually labelled with term “minority”. To understand the position of invisibility, it’s more than useful to ask ourselves what the social minority is, who defines it and by which criteria.

According to the UN survey of global population (see Concise Report), current state of humankind on Earth according to different “minority groups” seems more or less like this: persons with disabilities comprise 15% of human population, (around one billion of individuals, which makes them the biggest “minority” on Earth). To this number, we can add another 10% of the population with chronic conditions (different chronic illnesses). There is 20% of people living in poverty, 26% of children under age of 15, then 11% of the elderly population over the age of 65 (with a constant tendency of growth), 7% imprisoned persons, 3,5% immigrants (both of the last two categories are, unfortunately, in tendency of growth too), 50% of female population, and at least 8% LGBTQ persons. The simple linear sum of these “minorities” gives an impossible percentage 150.5% (meaning the whole world and a half of it more) of the human population constituted by pure minorities. Which brings us to question who the majority in such a world is, and how and why “the rest” can constitute the “majority”.

Of course, it is scientifically meaningless and logically impossible to simply cumulate the percentage of minorities like I just did, first of all, because most of them overlap (making double or triple or multiple minority positions). But this example serves only as a demonstrative and exemplary impossible account which in all its absurdity shows quite radically that the very idea of “minority” is nothing but a pure social construct. And a very unfair one. Such a pure social construct, without any foundation in science or even common sense, is the very concept of “majority” as well. And the fact is that such a random, ideological and arbitrary social construct is used as the only and definite argument for the exclusion and for the production of the status of invisibility to large social groups and numerous individuals.

So what can festivals do to repair such wrongdoing and injustice? First of all – setting agenda(s). Using curators’ strategies of agenda setting as a kind of activism, festivals

can raise awareness of the phenomenon of The Otherness, making festivals open to different groups of The Others¹, promoting the cultural and festival politics in which “We” can exist without any kind of “Them”. Offering inclusive instead of exclusive programmes and activities, festivals can assure access to their events to the invisible audiences and make them visible.

Unfortunately, such a kind of festival policies is still more predominant in cultural production than adopted practices, with the tiny exception of the most developed and most liberal societies. Why?

The answers usually sound like excuses. Very logical excuses, very convincing ones, but still just the excuses and nothing more than that. The most usual answers are: “Such programmes are not interesting for the majority of potential audiences, We do not have the technical capacities, We do not have enough know-how in such a kind of production, There is no large interest in such events, There are no financial resources for special productions...”

Even though all mentioned is deeply true, this is not invariable, and it is, to be very straight, the language (and mentality) of the majority ideology. Therefore theatre festivals can successfully overcome such obstacles (or ideological excuses) by agenda setting. That means strategic planning and tactical agency which constantly (and simultaneously) works on raising the interest, (re)solving technical problems, educating the producers, fundraising on special places and addressing a variety of potential partners and networks. And, first of all, changing the paradigm and reshaping the very idea of the festival programme. There is no doubt that such a shift is hard and very demanding. Especially in the most delicate and the most vulnerable point such as financial resources, the fundraising is much harder, more complicated. But on the other hand, there is a variety of diversified possibilities for fundraising suddenly opened by the new concept of inclusive politics.

By all means, a decision to enter such a challenging changes of paradigm, embracing inclusivism as the general policy, is a rather difficult and very brave decision. But as an encouraging fact, it's necessary to add that the opportunities are much bigger than challenges.

Basically, agendas which promote inclusion and explore margins, rather than reinforcing social segregation in an exclusive mainstream, require delicately ruminated designed intervention in cultural order. That is deliberate cultural animation, social intervention, community-oriented cultural production and engaged activity which is making the difference. But as it is not “merely” an activism, but highly developed and sophisticated cultural production, not only does it require good will and social sensitivity, but also knowledge, skills and competencies of the festival curators and producers which are usually not the basic part of educational curricula.

The most demanding part of such festival programmes is not their challenging production, but their complex and elaborate evaluation. The usual evaluation which counts on indicators measuring quality, such as project excellence, reviews, artistic glamour and media coverage, definitely cannot be applied. Neither quantity parameters such as the number of tickets sold, income, revenue, the total number

1 Writing The Other with capital letters we designate them as a cultural concept

of spectators or number of events could be suitable. In a radically changed cultural paradigm, the new agenda(s) requires new criteria of evaluation as well. It is very important to define properly what and how to evaluate, and to set and adopt the adequate methodology in evaluating values, evaluating social impacts, community benefits and cultural shifts in long-term evaluations.

The care for the invisible audiences is a special indicator of community benefit and cultural added value in such evaluation. The projects with special cultural outputs in socially responsible cultural production count on social impact and social benefit. For that reason, they should above all measure the cultural values (see Holden 2004, Holden 2016), and implement the instruments of assessment matching social needs (see Anttonen, Riikka et al, 2016). Only such a kind of adjusted and proper assessment can show the results, achievements and gains of the socially sensitive and community-based festival politics.

In the long term, the most important benefits are numerous and various. Among the main opportunities, we can highlight the development of structurally new audiences, building communities (see Borwick, 2012), create not only the new number of jobs, but also totally new types of jobs, initiating new knowledge through innovative practices, and encouraging lifelong education. Not to mention the benefit of improving life circumstances for excluded, invisible individuals and groups, which means creating the better community and through it the better society too.

For BITEF as the most significant regional and one of the most recognisable European festivals, in not so bright transitional social situation, situated in the turbulent and provocative cultural environment, that could be not only the challenge and the opportunity but the important vision as well.

Whenever we are so lucky that we are able to make even the slightest positive change, we should simply be eager to do it.

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The Dialectics of Cultural Diplomacy – Example of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival

Ana Žuvela

This paper aims to address the concept of cultural diplomacy by questioning its motives, forms, dynamics and manifestation with underlining dubiety to what and how cultural diplomacy communicates, what, why and whom it represents. Being an essentially elite concept, from political, cultural and economic perspective, cultural diplomacy is controversial in relation to the contemporary developments and aims for more equitable cultural policies, practices and politics of cultural discourse. In that sense, the concept of cultural diplomacy needs wider legitimisation and continual revisions. Focusing on the example of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, a national institution with a tradition of 67 years, the paper tracks the genesis of role of this institution throughout the developmental phases of cultural policy, not only in providing an institutional *raison d'être* but also rationale for engaging in cultural diplomacy in both explicit and implicit manner. Hence, the example stretches into the times of socialist rule in Yugoslavia and intensive global situation of bipolar divisions and tensions, when cultural diplomacy wasn't affirmed or articulated as a policy concept or operating syntagm, yet was a generally accepted and utilised mode of political action and cultural planning. Along the historiographic trajectory of Dubrovnik Summer Festival, the paper illustrates the overspill effects of "cultural diplomacy" project from the institutional to the wider local setting and detects fluctuating, yet constant levels of political and economic instrumentalism employed in exercising cultural diplomacy. Finally, based on the finding from the analysis of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival example, the paper proposes that discussion on cultural diplomacy is not a discussion on new concepts and constructs as much as it is a discussion on new idioms and frameworks.

THE CONSTRUCT OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION

The approach to cultural diplomacy in this paper is not taken from the theoretical position that perceives this construct as a sub-field of public diplomacy that defines it as a method of promoting national culture and building integrity and credibility through cultural exchanges (Hong, 2011; in Kim 2011). Rather from the diplomacy perspective, cultural diplomacy is approached from the cultural policy perspective, thus abridging the conventional instrumentality of culture and adjectivity that cultural field brings to other areas of public policies. For this reason, this introductory chapter gives insight into changes and developments that have been significant in the domain of "culture" rather than "diplomacy", encompassing the spatial rearrangements of cultural policy as well as debate on the role of cultural institutions. Given that the main trait of this paper's subject is its (local) institutional character (and the political and power affiliations that come with it) it seemed indispensable to begin with the explanation of the applicable cultural policy context.

The relationship between culture and public diplomacy is explained through the concept of power, which is essential to the issue of representation. The issue of representation has become an ever-present *maladie* of the cultural policy discourse and practice. The initial contestation between the capital theoretical streams in cultural policy (between Foucauldian and/or Habermasian readings) evolved with the metaphorical and actual dissolution of the welfare nation states, leading to the defragmentation of cultural policy as “a territorial or spatial concept” (Volkering, 2001:437; in Bell and Oakely, 2015:9). As a result, cultural policy has increasingly been nesting its focus on local levels, making cities loci of articulating visions of culture as symbolic capital “particularly for place marketing and branding and the instrumental use of the cultural industries to boost local economic growth and potential” (Isar, Hoelscher and Anheier, 2012:5). Indeed, “most exciting cultural visions, projects, exchanges and networks and developments of the day are to be found or generated by cities rather than by nations” (Isar, Hoelscher and Anheier, 2012:3). The focus on sub-national (spatial) dimension of cultural policy was adapted through two main rationales – first; growing infiltration of the free market logic in the (public) cultural sphere that has been further advanced with the creative city theories that emerged during the 1990s (Matarasso, 2015), and second through the lens of cultural democracy and local struggles to maintain and develop cultural values of minorities and all sub-cultural groups that were ignored by the institutional structures and placed under pressure of global economic flows. As a consequence, the process of de-fragmentation of particular national culture narratives opened the prospects for more extensive and inclusive cultural differentiations and distinctions that both shape and are being shaped by institutionalised arrangements (Volkering, 1996). In other words, with nation-states being the (initial and traditional) central stakeholders, the workings of cultural diplomacy become increasingly heterogeneous and seek inclusion of multiple and diversified actors in the international cultural communication. Subsequently, the inevitable suspicion and scepticism raises on the question of what, who and to what end cultural diplomacy communicates and represents through the particular format of cultural institutions that withhold the status of national relevance but are operationally situated on local levels and are governed by both local and national political and public administration.

The institutional setting in the domain of cultural policy in Croatia is a conundrum in the sense of institutions no longer being the focal point of urban social and cultural life, yet retaining the privileged position within the cultural policy structure. The institutional segment is one of the three sub-fields that define Croatian cultural system and include, apart from the institutional sector, independent culture and market oriented culture (Švob-Đokić, 2010). The persistence of institutional domination within that system indicates the resilience towards the „dynamic of cultural transformations“, thus maintaining regressive articulations of cultural differentiations (Ibid.). This resilience of cultural policy and its traditional cultural institutions has been explained by Kangas and Vestheim (2010) through the example of the Nordic model of cultural policy which, though different to Croatian model, has been tracking the resistance to change in the cultural policy system and the traditional cultural institutions since 1980s and resonates with DiMaggio’s writings on policies institutionalisation and encouragement of arts institutions to become larger, more bureaucratic, and more dependent on the institutional subsidy in the quest of maintaining their permanency (DiMaggio, 2000). As Kangas and Vestheim (2010)

note, faced with deep structural social changes, cultural institutions experience their legitimacy being questioned. In Croatia, the dependency of the traditional cultural institutions on the political system is blatant to the level of cultural institutions serving as polygons for manoeuvres of political disputations, negotiations, trade-offs and particular interests¹. Though the institutions in the previous socialist system functioned politically by default, with the introduction of liberal democracy, the grip of political influence remained as powerful, yet the common denominators in the political interest have gone amiss and have been replaced by dispersed, short-sighted conceptions of cultural development by distinctive political parties. In that respect, the substance of communication in the cultural diplomacy becomes a matter of accidental, *ad hoc* decision-making which randomly, if ever, involves representatives of the non-institutional cultural domain. This is substantiated by research findings presented by Švob-Đokić which underline the standpoint of surveyed Croatian cultural professionals that cultural exchange and interactions are “difficult or impossible to foster institutionally”, or, rather that cultural exchange should be “deinstitutionalised” as institutions are “heavily reliant on the state and state’s budget” (Švob-Đokić, 2010:163). Moreover, Švob-Đokić continues, institutions are considered to be inert while non-institutionalised cultural actors and artists show higher and more dynamic levels of international networking, cooperation and adaptability. In that respect, the respondents state that it is not sufficient to change the system as much as it is important to operate in sub-systems (Ibid.). The concept and practice of cultural diplomacy, in both unilateral and multilateral form², thus assumes polemic interpretation in relation with the developments of cultural agendas that are more open, equitable, participative and reliant on “live culture” that creates and communicates new values”. (Švob-Đokić, 2010:164).

SETTING THE SCENE: DUBROVNIK SUMMER FESTIVAL AND CULTURAL POLICY TRAJECTORIES

«The first Dubrovnik Summer Festival was held in 1950 the period in which the first Dubrovnik Summer Festival was organised was an extremely difficult time for all of Yugoslavia. The country was just regaining its composure following the destruction of the war. The people were building only what was most important: schools, roads, hospitals, factories and food was

1 To provide an illustration from the level of local governance in culture, the Croatian Act on Governance of Public Institutions in Culture (NN 96/01) states that the appointed members of the institution’s Governing Board should be prominent cultural and artistic professionals. The research undertaken for the background analysis of the City of Dubrovnik’s Strategy of Cultural Development (2014) indicated that out of 33 members of the local public cultural institutions’ Governing Boards, 23 persons were members of the ruling political parties with no professional affiliation with the cultural field, while 10 members were representatives of the institutions. In other words, all appointed members were political appointees.

2 In his article *Cultural Diplomacy of the Republic of Croatia*, Gotal defines cultural diplomacy through two basic functions; first function refers to the concept of *soft power* in which nation-states conduct set foreign policy agendas unilaterally. The second function involves establishment, development and promotions of international cooperation. In both instances, culture is used as a means for achieving particular interests – in the first it is considered as an ownership of a nation-state utilised for presentation and representation in the international sphere, while in the second it serves as a tool for cooperation (Gotal, 2015: 143).

distributed with food stamps. It was also a political time when Yugoslavia had said its «NO!» to Joseph V. Stalin and was just setting out on its independent path to the future. The country was pressured by the economic blockade, and arms were rattling at the country's borders. Today it might seem a little odd that there were plans underway for an art festival at such a time of stress. But even at those turning points, culture was honoured with the same treatment it had during the national liberation struggle. For it was never the last in priority in the Yugoslav socio-cultural context. » (Krtalić, 1984).

When deliberating on or critically analysing the dynamics of action in cultural institutions, from whichever approach, it being artistic expression, audience development, cultural participation and/or cultural diplomacy, these actions must be given correlation clarification in the form of the context of cultural policy development. In the case presented in this paper, the evolution stages of the cultural institution in question, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, tracks several disparate, yet corresponding cultural policy settings and witnesses profound transformations not only on the local or the national scale of transition, but in the wider global situation. According to the changes brought on by developmental stages in cultural policy, the role, position, influence and relevance of cultural institutions changed which has had an impact on all spheres of its activity.

The Dubrovnik Summer Festival was founded by President Tito in 1950 as a 40-day long celebration of drama, ambience theatre, dance, ballet, poetry and music. Festival's stages of development stretched throughout the period of post Second World War Europe from the initial periods of cultural policy development encompassing monoculturalism and the domination of high-brow culture, through subsequent welfarism and cultural democracy from 1960s onwards up to marketisation or neoliberal hegemony in cultural policy and nationalism (Volkerling, 1996; in Katunarić, 2007). The rationale for founding of the festival corresponds to the attempts in Yugoslavia that strived to develop idealistic socialist culture that confronted the discourse of high bourgeoisie culture. In this scenario, cultural institutions had an important role not only in the production, distribution and facilitation of artistic and cultural expression, but also in the education of the population.

The cultural institutions were considered nucleuses of social life in urban surroundings and served as magnets for increasing creative potentials of the cultural and artistic community. However, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival was initially founded as a cultural manifestation – as stated in the *Red Book on Cultural Policy and Cultural Development of Croatia* from 1982, the Festival was the most significant cultural manifestation on the Adriatic coast along with the Split Festival. The difference between cultural institutions and manifestations was defined with manifestations being a counter reaction to the “classical institutionalism in culture” (Šuvar, 1982) while classical institutionalism in culture was interpreted as the privilege of the “consecrated”, distant from the public realm, “slow and rather boring and too heavy for wider audiences”. Cultural institutions were professional and treated audiences as mere consumers of culture required to have educational background in order to follow cultural programmes of the institutions. Manifestations were, on the other

hand, operationally and conceptually aspiring beyond the constrained institutional limits and promoted cultural democracy and cultural decentralisation. Still, these new formations in the cultural terrain of the socialist Yugoslavia were not created as a response to the cultural needs of the actual social community which were, as Gjanković (1981) noted, on a much smaller scale. Cultural manifestations, in their number, scope and image, reflected the trends in then bipolarised world of the East and the West and were a result of individual (mostly political) decisions which were developed by a smaller group of cultural workers and enthusiasts. Manifestations were carefully classified to those that promoted cultural cooperation between the federal republics and those that “serve for affirmation of our culture in the world enticing wider socio-political consultations” (Šuvar, 1982). As manifestations were initially rendered as non-permanent formats of cultural activity, most of them, Dubrovnik Summer Festival included, assumed the institutional status hence securing its longevity and financial stability.

During the socialist period, due to the relevance and magnitude of its international presence, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival was generously funded by the first federal government. The introduction of decentralisation and devolution of governing powers in culture (from the federal level to the level of the republics and then the local level) in the socialist period made the case of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival funding an example of the decentralisation process that proved itself as highly efficient at the time as after 1966 when the Festival was funded from the republican (Croatian) sources (about 50%) and from its own profits (40%)³. It must be noted though, that apart from utilising the quality of the institution’s cultural substance for cultural diplomacy and international cultural communication, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival became an example of “best practice” funding schemes with the introduction of Festival Tax in the 1980s. The amount of the tax came to one third of the regular Local Tax (paid by each tourist and guest visiting Dubrovnik) and charged in the period of the Festival only, from 10th July to 25th August. All funds gathered from the Festival Tax were repaid into the DSF accounts and were logged as Festival’s own profit. The funds were invested in the building of world-wide reputation of artistic and cultural eminence that, coupled with the city’s cultural heritage of universal value, made the city of Dubrovnik an unavoidable cultural point, geo-politically conveniently located in Mediterranean parts of a non-aligned country, in between politically charged tensions of the East and the West. In many aspects, the tactical positioning, both temporal and spatial, made the Dubrovnik Summer Festival a representative case of an institution committed to cultural diplomacy, which, at the time, was not a construct that sustained specific or explicit policy provision. Rather, cultural diplomacy was articulated through the register of international cooperation and implicitly interwoven through the main ethos of the Festival which reflected key interests of political power of the time.

Interests in international cooperation were elaborated through the development of cooperative work in culture reliant not only on institutions and manifestations, but on cooperation between cultural producers, cultural workers – generally people

3 The information was obtained from the Dubrovnik Summer Festival archives and interviews with the Dubrovnik Summer Festival officials, namely Ms Karla Labaš from the Office of Public Relations and Marketing. The author thanks Ms. Labaš for the cooperation in obtaining all information on the Dubrovnik Summer Festival that was necessary and used for the purposes of this paper.

who work and create in the cultural and artistic sector. The proclaimed aims of the international cultural cooperation included the historical task of building Yugoslav culture as a culture of collectiveness on the criteria of equality, solidarity and mutual respect: “the path towards cultural cooperation must be permanently grounded in full respect and acceptance of values and attainment of all and of free communication which will by priority be carried by working self-management organisation, socio-political communities, cities and villages...working people, and by all means cultural institutions and creators” (Šuvar, 1982:216). In that respect, decentralisation was a prerequisite to all forms of cultural cooperation as key development component of cultural progression. Moreover, the “barriers” of international cultural cooperation were continuously revised which resulted in complementing traditional art&culture formats (folklore, visual and drama arts, music, etc.) with new ones (audio-visual and multimedia arts, etc.) as well as increasing the interdisciplinary traits of international cultural cooperation through adding education and science to the combination.

Programming of the international cooperation was a complex and significant process of identifying realistic interests, needs and possibilities of all parties involved and then balancing it with federal development objectives and foreign affair relations. Cultural cooperation on the international level was implemented according to the cultural policy priorities which rendered a clear line of priorities which spoke of tactical arrangements of utilising cultural contacts for what Bound et al. (2007) named forum for political relationship-building, recalibrating relationships and keeping negotiating channels open. The first place on the list was given to non-aligned and developing countries, followed by neighbouring and Mediterranean countries, socialist countries in Europe and finally Western countries. The cooperation was affirmed by trans-national conventions/agreements on cultural and educational cooperation as well as direct communication between institutions, organisations, associations, cities and multilateral cooperation between programmes of international governmental, non-governmental organisations and Yugoslav committees of those organisations (namely UNESCO, PECD, AICA, AIPA, ICOM, ICOMOS, ITI, etc.). As a result of decentralisation process, Zagreb lost its primacy in being the capital point of international cultural cooperation after 1979 when the intensity dispersed on other cities in then the Socialist Republic of Croatia – Osijek, Rijeka, Šibenik, Split and Dubrovnik.

Music was the most represented artistic medium of cultural cooperation, followed by visual arts, film and literature, while it was noted that the reciprocity levels of cooperation indicated Yugoslav cultural partners to be more receptive, or in other words, they were more passive in exporting cultural programmes and more inclined to hosting programmes from abroad. This was also evident in the Dubrovnik Summer Festival’s programming principle – in sixty-seven years of existence, with the emphasis on the pre-1990s period it has featured the most prominent artists from the European and the global art scene. The Dubrovnik Summer Festival archives features evidence listing names from Hebert von Karajan and Berlin Philharmonic, Sviatoslav Richter, Miles Davis, Martha Graham to Eimuntas Nekrošius, Royal Shakespeare Company indicating that setting up a festival like this would hardly be attainable in the present day as public authorities and political establishment became more concerned with corporate and managerial logic in governing national assets, rather than building concrete layers of social and cultural capital with high international relevance and resonance.

Statistics and reports from the socialist period of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, or rather, from the period where cultural value did have to be justified by measurable indicators and figures, show a number of 3.2 million visitors attending more than 3,000 performances during the first 35 years of the Festival. In addition, right from the second and third year of its existence (1952/53) up to 1991, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival was an inevitable point of interest for international media from all global continents⁴. After 1990s, Festival's presence in the international media decreased and became a topic only in instances of international co-productions⁵, while in the last and the present decade the Festival has shifted from the culture to tourism sections in the media⁶. Throughout the decades, the Festival's operation has reflected the transition in political and policy systems and has continued to follow the ideological trends which expressed the cultural objectives of the ruling political aims. The Dubrovnik Summer Festival's declarative objectives remained consistent through both political systems: presenting and representing national culture. The definition of national culture corresponded with the proclaimed political aims, for instance, in socialism national meant both Yugoslav and Croatian with the emphasis on self-management socialist outline of the society or in the independent Croatia meaning of national is homogeneous with strong emphasis on heritage as an outline of national identity. Still, a great amount of institutional autonomy in the choice of artistic content was permitted.

Nowadays, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival has almost identical organisational set-up and management formation: it is still under the High patronage of the President of the State, it is governed by the Festival's Board of Directors. The Board has nine members – by given authority those include the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Croatia (also the President of the Board), the Head of the Dubrovnik & Neretva County, the Mayor of the City of Dubrovnik, the appointed Dubrovnik Summer Festival Managing Director with Artistic Directors and three independent members as appointed by the Minister. The governing mandate is for four years standing for all members apart from the independent representatives whose mandate period is two years. The appointment of the Artistic Directors is recommended by the Board for the Minister's approval, while the Managing Director gets nominated and elected by the City of Dubrovnik City Council. This implies that the key management structure of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival is dependent on the political system

4 The data from Dubrovnik Summer Festival archives shows that the Dubrovnik Summer Festival was regularly covered by following international media: Theatre World, Die Presse, Tribune de Lausanne, Mandens Blad, Het Toneel, Politiken, The Times, Tempo, Yorkshire Evening Post, Lukemista Kaikille, Arts, Le monde, Franfurter Rundschau, Deutsche Zeitung, Literaturen Front, Divadlo, Combat, Athens News, Corriere del teatro, La scala, Iredalmi Ujsag, Verdens Gang, Opera News, Teatr, Varlik, Argentinisches tageblatt, Wiener Zeitung, La metropole, Le devoir, Rude pravo, Večernik, Maroc-demian, Musical Courier, The Listener, Music and Musicians, Volksstimme, Livres de france, De groene amsterdamer, The Illustrated Weekly of India, Jediote Ghadashoth, Nagy Villag, Trybuna Ludu, New Times, Le monde ou travail, La libre belgique, San Francisco Examiner, Chichago Sunday Tribune, The New York Times, L'unita, Guardian, New York Herald Tribune, Theater heute, El dia La Plata, Washington Post, etc.

5 For example, in 1996, *Canto delle citta*, a coproduction with Teatro Settimo was covered by Gazzetta, Der Standard and Il piccolo. Similar occurrence of steep increase of international media presence happened in 2003 with Peter Brook's *Hamlet* and in 2009 with *Orgy of tolerance* by Jan Fabre.

6 In such capacity, Festival still gets media coverage by Russian, Chinese, Polish and German media as well as media from former Yugoslav republics.

that has the sole authority of governance. Hence, the funding and consequently the whole functioning of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival is under control of the Croatian Ministry of Culture and the City of Dubrovnik which allows for political and ideological influence and manipulation, and consequently influence political instrumentality for the purposes of cultural diplomacy.

MOVING FORWARD BY STANDING STILL – DEVELOPMENT TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

“...I am convinced that the Dubrovnik Summer Festival will successfully continue its rich tradition, making a full contribution to the cooperation between artists from all parts of our country, and cultivating in this important field of activity the spirit of brotherhood and unity. By strengthening ties with artists and cultural institutions from other countries, it will further widen knowledge about our achievements in culture and help our people to better acquaint themselves with the cultural creativity of other nations. In this way the Festival will at the same time bear witness to what our self-governing socialist society is doing to make the life of our working people more pleasant, meaningful and humane.” (Excerpt from a letter written by the President Tito on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival).”

As already stated, from the perspective of more pluralist and inclusive principles and policy provisions, cultural diplomacy can be understood as very debatable due to its inherent and direct connection to political structures which is also evident in the case of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. It once served the purpose to showcase to the world that Yugoslavia was not a backward communist country, but a worldly nation open and accommodating to the forefront of then global arts and cultural scene. Obviously, these ambitions of pervasive foreign policy and building of culturally aware image were abundantly supported by the public funds and political patronage. But, it is important to underline what was supported; the political rendering of the festival included both creating the centre of artistic and cultural convergence between the East and the West reinforcing the positive image of a communist country in the Balkan region, influencing the public opinion from the micro-local to the global stage. It shaped the reputation of a city and country externally and internally through showing cultural assets, potentials and capacities for the production of artistic excellence in a country that was proclaiming itself as a nation of working people. But in reality, despite a certain degree of community engagement carefully crafted from the “top-down” political processes, working classes were included in the festival’s functioning as either workers or audiences. The decision making and planning were, and still are reserved for the political and cultural elites. In that respect, the transition from the socialism into democracy brought little, if any improvements.

The most evident change is that, in the past two decades the role of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival has complied with the overall trend in economic instrumentalisation of cultural resources. This trend implies adaptive re-use of heritage properties in urban environments and their transformation into sites of “consumer-oriented

entertainment package – a Disneyland – in pursuit of greater economic profit”, all under the aegis of progress and rule of the free market (Thorsby, 2010:118). In the process, from once significant actor in the sphere of cultural diplomacy, Dubrovnik Summer Festival has become yet another cultural offer in a rapidly de-urbanised, Disneyfied international tourist city-destination. As the Dubrovnik city streets and public spaces vanish under the pressure from mass tourism industry, Festival finds its position diminished not only on the metaphorical level, but also on the physical level. Its role is becoming increasingly ornamental, much like a heritage institution that serves as a symbolic centre, trapped in a nostalgic warp of its own relevance from the past. This is supported by the concept of festival’s artistic programme that repeatedly revolves around re-creation of the most famous domestic titles from the past repertoires, seeking not the international recognition and positioning, but the approval from the local media, political establishment and the audiences.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: BLURRED LINES BETWEEN FICTION AND REALITY OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

In line with the repetitive need of institutions and communities to re-construct their image in the reflections and relations of the past, a fair share of inspiration for this paper came from contemporary performing arts project by two young Croatian female artists Mila Pavičević and Zrinka Užbinec. The object of their piece that was presented in the Art Workshop Lazareti in Dubrovnik in September 2016. was the supposed visit of the infamous global terrorist Carlos Ilich Ramirez Sanchez aka The Jackal to Dubrovnik between 1972 and 1976. Supposedly, The Jackal was seen and recognised in the Rector’s Palace which has been the central venue of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival since its inception, where this terrorist responsible for thousands of deaths worldwide was recognised by one of the museum workers. What supposedly followed was James Bond type of action in which the Jackal managed to escape from the police and secret services. In the piece, his visit to Dubrovnik was connected to the alleged visit of the Yasser Arafat to Dubrovnik, although during the period between 1972 and 1976, many of the world dignitaries were in Dubrovnik to which the presence of world-class mercenary could be linked. These range from Nelson Rockefeller, Santiago Carrillo; the general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party; Sheik Mudžibur Rahman, prime minister of Bangladesh; Julian Emery, State Secretary in the Foreign Office of Great Britain; Ismail Fahmi, Egyptian minister of Tourism; Jose Corre, president of the Federation of Unions of Uruguay; William Rogers, American Foreign Minister; Pierre Turdeau; Canadian Prime Minister: Li Kuan Ju, Prime Minister of Singapore; Andrej Kirilenko, Member of the Central Committee of The USSR Communist Party; British Queen Elisabeth II and her entourage; Farah Levi, Minister of Construction of the Republic of Cuba; Kifle Vodadp, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Military Government of Ethiopia; Bhichai Rattakul, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Thailand to Japanese Prince Akihito with his wife Michiko, etc. The long list of these names was narrated during the play as a part of the pseudo-documentary performance with the aim to exaggerate the urban myths of Dubrovnik’s grandness that are specific to the places, institutions, individuals whose existence becomes more frivolous or peripheral over time. The intriguing undertone of the performance was encapsulated in the fictional quality of the role

of political systems, but the significance in the performative pseudo-documentary narrative about the famous terrorist and his connection to cultural activity is that multitude of different meanings, functions and practices can be concealed in the veneer of cultural diplomacy or international relations in culture. In that sense, in the context of cultural policy, the conventional understanding and practices of cultural diplomacy could be to an extent identified with what Raymond Williams (1984; in McGuigan, 2014) distinguishes as the cultural policy “display” exemplified with national aggrandisement, rather than cultural “proper” or continuously negotiated constructions of cultural identity.

The approach to the role of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival in cultural diplomacy was as strategic and systematic as the original rationale behind the founding of the Festival – it was one of the conduits for international boasting on the strengths and enlightenment of then a working-class nation. This agenda was created and sustained in historical framework of monolithic and hegemonic understanding of the State and the role of public institutions as principal points of (national) cultural representation. As the example of Dubrovnik Summer Festival indicates, the State persists in the role of the principal “player” of institutionalised discourse on cultural diplomacy, even though profound transformations of socio-political systems and global tensions of power, then bipolar and nowadays multipolar, and even though the State as an ideal or governing power is no longer sole and *bona fide* source of representation. All of these factors inevitably bring the construct of cultural diplomacy into question and seeks what Bound et al. (2007:65) suggest as “next generation cultural diplomacy”, one that will not underestimate the enormity of the cumulative impact of the changes that have been and are happening. This implies overcoming the discrepancy between traditional notions of formal cultural cooperation and exchange on international levels that has been sustained in linear terms on the one hand and on-going changes locating cultural creativity in different forms that disrupt the pre-defined sequential order, looking beyond political and/or national interests and conventionalities on the other hand. In this way, the State and its institutions remain important points in public interests; diplomacy, cultural and foreign affairs included, but as the facilitators which entail coordination and promotion of culture and its ever-changing and diverse terrain as well as obsolesce of state control with the emphasis on substantive content and orientation of cultural activity being left to the cultural aims and ends rather than political ones.

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Theatre, theatre festivals and cultural diplomacy

Mike van Graan

INTRODUCTION

In addressing the theme of geo-politics and the role that theatre and theatre festivals do or may play in cultural diplomacy, I will begin by sharing a few stories from my own experience and then conclude by reflecting on these, and extrapolate the points relevant to our discussion.

THE UNIVERSITY AS A “SITE OF STRUGGLE”

Thirty years ago in December 1986, I served as the Coordinator of a Festival with the theme “Towards a People’s Culture” in Cape Town, South Africa. It was in the midst of a state-of-emergency, an intensely repressive period during which the arts had emerged as a shield behind which to continue to resist apartheid. The Festival would celebrate alternative values and ideas such as democracy, anti-racism and non-sexism but, just before its opening, the Festival was banned by the security police who deemed it a threat to national security.

The following year, I returned to the University of Cape Town to do a post-graduate degree in drama. My thesis topic was “International models of political theatre: functions, forms and techniques and their relevance to the development of political theatre in South Africa”. The Drama Department had no staff member to supervise me; notwithstanding being based on the African continent, the Department’s curriculum was overwhelmingly determined by the European theatre canon and contemporary American theatre.

The University was a prestigious institution, but it was reserved for white people. I was classified “coloured”¹ and so, to gain undergraduate entry into this university, I had to do a subject not offered at the university that the apartheid government had established for “coloured” people. My permit subject was drama. As black students – for that is how we identified ourselves in terms of Steve Biko’s black consciousness philosophy² – we had an ambivalent relationship with the institution: this was not “our” institution, we boycotted our graduation ceremonies for example; we were there to obtain the best possible education available to us, to best serve the anti-apartheid project as we understood it.

My two sons are now studying at the University, except that the university has been shut for the last two weeks. This, because of national student campaigns for free higher education that have at times turned violent with university buildings being

1 The apartheid regime classified the population according to four broad racial categories: White, Coloured, Indian and African. This determined where – depending on one’s classification – one could live, go to school and university, whom one could marry, etc.

2 Steve Biko led a movement in which all people who were not classified “white” would identify themselves as “black” rather than use the racial categories prescribed by apartheid.

set alight, for example. The “Fees Must Fall” campaign evolved from the “Rhodes Must Fall” campaign of last year to remove the statue of Cecil John Rhodes, a British mining magnate/politician who had bequeathed the land as the location for the university. This campaign was a proxy for the broader campaign to “decolonize the university”. Art and photographs of previous – white – leaders within the university were destroyed in a bonfire, much to outrage of many who believed these to be acts of “barbarism”, unbecoming of “civilized” study.

More than twenty years into South Africa’s non-racial democracy, students who have no institutional memory of colonialism nor apartheid were – are – now demanding the fundamental transformation of their publicly-funded universities at which they feel uncomfortable or “othered”. They are reminded on a daily basis – through the semiotics of the university – that despite living in a constitutional democracy with non-racism as one of its founding principles, “whiteness” and “white privilege” still hold sway and form the over-riding backdrop to their studies.

ONE CITY, MANY CULTURES FESTIVAL

In the late nineties, just a few years after the historic elections that ushered in Nelson Mandela as the country’s first post-apartheid President, Cape Town was rocked by a series of violent attacks with pipe bombs being placed at restaurants with an American affiliation³ and at gay bars⁴ and drug lords were attacked.⁵ These attacks were attributed to People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD)⁶, a community-based structure that had started out as a peaceful attempt to organize people at the local level to stop the pervasive spread of drugs in some of Cape Town’s poorer communities. The leadership of PAGAD appeared to be largely Muslim men, and this resulted in increasing polarization within the city with Jewish, Christian and Muslim adherents and institutions divided against each other.

The political leadership of the City of Cape Town together with the main English language morning newspaper, Cape Times, launched the One City, Many Cultures Festival as a way of addressing this polarization. I was appointed as the coordinator of the Festival whose primary brief was to use the arts and culture more generally (cuisine, religious beliefs, etc) as means to bring people together across the divisions. Supplemented by daily articles in the newspaper which educated its readers about how different faith communities celebrated births and weddings, and marked death, for example, the Festival was a local exercise in “cultural diplomacy”, a concerted attempt to bridge divides that were largely based on ignorance about each other’s beliefs, values and practices, and to attempt to do so through artistic and cultural events.

3 One person was killed and at least twenty-four were injured in a blast at Planet Hollywood in the popular Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in August 1998

4 At least six people were injured in a bomb blast at the Blah Bar in November 1999

5 Rashaad Staggie, a well-known drug lord was shot and burnt to death in September 1996

6 Members of PAGAD were found guilty of some of these attacks

HARARE INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS (HIFA)

One of the artistic oases in the cultural funding desert that is Zimbabwe, is the Harare International Festival of the Arts (HIFA) that takes place in early May each year. With all the political and economic challenges in the country, it is a miracle that the Festival takes place each year; its continued existence is a testimony to the hard work of its committed leadership and staff.

I have visited the Festival on two occasions and my impression is that much of the programme – given the lack of local funding – is created with works that are supported by external donors, with various embassies supporting productions from their countries to be part of HIFA.

On the one hand, it is good for the festival to have international work that supports its programme and offers local audiences access to such work. On the other hand, precisely because of the political challenges in the country (works that apply to be part of the Festival have to be screened and approved by a censorship authority), the international works that are supported by foreign embassies are generally politically safe and unchallenging, doing little to rock the political status quo.

TSHEPANG

South Africa has a high incidence of sexual violence against women and children.⁷ There was a particular period when babies and toddlers were being raped because of a myth that AIDS could be cured by having sex with a virgin.⁸ In 2001, the country was shocked by a news report that a nine-month old baby had been raped and sodomised by her mother's lover. The baby came to be known as Tshepang (meaning "hope").

Lara Foot, a celebrated South African theatre-maker, created *Tshepang*, a play that spoke to this pandemic. The story had made headlines not only nationally, but also internationally, so that when the play was invited abroad, the South African ambassador to the country in which the play was to be performed, asked to see the piece beforehand, concerned that the play would "put the country in a bad light".

SOUTH AFRICA-NETHERLANDS THEATRE EXCHANGE

A few years back, I was invited to serve as an artist-in-residence at a theatre in the Netherlands. It was part of a South Africa-Holland exchange project where three Dutch and three South African theatre-makers would create a play with students from both countries and professional actors from Holland.

The play which I wrote was directed by a member of the Dutch theatre company.

It was an interesting learning experience for at least three reasons.

7 <http://rapecrisis.org.za/rape-in-south-africa/#prevalence>

8 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/nov/03/aids.chrismcgrear>

First, as opposed to the South African (and generally, the Anglo world) where the writer and director have equitable status (directors are not permitted to alter scripts without the permission of the writer), in the Dutch theatre tradition (and this is true of most Northern European countries) directors may use the script merely as one source in pursuit of their artistic vision.

Secondly, the emphasis in Dutch theatre – it appeared to me anyway – was more on form than on content, whereas for South African theatre (generally made with less resources than our Dutch counterparts), content – “the message” – was at least as important as form.

Thirdly, audiences in Holland responded differently (more positively) to the piece than South African audiences (who generally thought that the piece was “indulgent”).

My key learning was that there are different – mainstream – theatre traditions and that what works in one social context, may not work in another.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL CO-OPERATION: REFLECTIONS ON THE ABOVE EXPERIENCES

Cultural diplomacy exists all around us

If cultural diplomacy is about persuasion through engagement around values, ideas, beliefs and worldviews through cultural means, then “cultural diplomacy” is being exercised all the time, whether we are consuming these abstractions consciously, or not. We are surrounded by architecture, language, symbols like monuments, street names and commemorative events that reinforce dominant histories, ideas and worldviews. A student may now enter university unrestrained by political impediments, but the language of education is not her mother tongue so that she may feel inferior when expressing herself; the lecturers are predominantly white; the art and photographs on the walls speak of white dominance and history, and so on.

When translated into a global context, our “cultural diplomacy” strategies play themselves out *in addition to*, and against the backdrop of Western cultural hegemony, articulated and disseminated through news networks with global reach, television programmes and movies with their embedded worldviews, international events like festivals and commemorations, the dominance of colonial languages, and the mobility and freedom of movement that are reserved for a minority (mainly from predominantly white countries), thereby “othering” most of humanity. The apartheid university system, in other words, finds its contemporary expression in stringent global north visa regulations for people of colour from the two-thirds world.

We may engage in cultural diplomacy strategies – e.g. an art exhibition or a play around a particular theme – to achieve a particular end, but these take place within the context of a world in which the ideas, worldviews and ideological assumptions of economically and cultural dominant countries already play an influential role in shaping consciousness.

It is against this background that the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions has relevance. With the decline of the bi-polar world in the nineties, the World Trade Organisation established global rules for trade that would facilitate greater market access, with nation states having little recourse to protectionist instruments to protect their industries. Wealthy countries such as France and Canada argued against the application of these “free trade” principles to the creative industries sector for fear that creative – particularly audio-visual – products from the United States of America for example, would flood their markets. Their argument centred around the need for cultural democracy, to spread and maintain a diversity of ideas, values and perspectives globally through creative products such as movies and television programmes, rather than the homogenization that – in their view – would result from “free trade” that would allow creative products from dominant countries to enter their markets with little constraint. Consumers would consume these products and imbibe their embedded worldviews and values, thereby leading to a loss of identity and to greater uniformity of thought and worldviews.

The 2005 UNESCO Convention aims to address this by allowing governments to support their creative industries with subsidies and other protectionist measures where necessary e.g. local music quotas, without these being regarded as unfair interventions in the market. The Convention also promotes fairer global trade in creative products with wealthier countries encouraged to invest in the creative industries of less-resourced countries, and to provide preferential access to their markets for creative goods and services from poorer countries. The aim is both to promote development through earning foreign exchange via the exporting of creative goods, but also to circulate ideas and perspectives from a range of countries and providing access to these for their citizens.

It is precisely because “cultural diplomacy” happens all the time through trade in creative goods and the consumption of such creative goods like films, television programmes, news channels, advertisements, etc. with such “diplomacy” favouring more resourced countries that the Convention aims to promote more equitable diplomacy through cultural means.

Whether the Convention actually achieves this in practice – other than helping wealthier countries protect their cultural turf against other wealthy countries – is moot. The reality is that the effects of economic recession on the one hand, and increasing security concerns on the other have constrained support for international cultural co-operation to promote diversity as well the mobility of creative practitioners from the global South to countries where, in terms of the Convention, they should have preferential access.

Soft power, hard impact

Cultural diplomacy is spoken about as “soft power”, the capacity to change behavior or achieve one’s interests through persuasion and attraction rather than employing coercive, “hard power” means such as military, political or economic tools to do so.

However, as the creative sector, we know that human beings are more than physical entities. By perpetuating the myth of “soft power”, we ignore the psychological,

emotional and spiritual violence committed through the semiotics of conquest, symbols that remind many of their subjugation, of their imposed inferiority, and the assumption of superiority by those with a history of colonial and apartheid rule for example. Much of what is today regarded as the “civilized world” was built on the barbarism of slavery and apartheid, and today it is sustained through cheap labour outsourced to countries far away, ruled by local elites, armed with weapons supplied, more often than not, by these “civilized” countries.

Simply because a particular strategy does not have an obviously adverse physical impact on its intended targets, does not mean that psychological and emotional violence has not been wrought on those targets.

Even when “soft power” strategies are implemented and have some effect, the long term effects of hard power strategies – economic sanctions, military intervention, political marginalization, etc – may have had such a deep impact that soft power strategies prove to be ineffectual, or at best, superficial.

It has been noted that there is more funding for the arts within the USA military than through the National Endowment for the Arts⁹, because of the recognition of the need to win hearts and minds after the bombing has stopped. But the bombing could have wrought such deep psychological and emotional damage that soft power strategies have little impact in influencing the behavior of local citizens in support of USA military and political objectives.

Some speak of Africans suffering from a culture of humiliation as a consequence of colonial and apartheid practices. However, many black and brown Africans still experience a culture of racism, both locally and internationally, where they simply serve as faceless collateral damage to secure the economic and security interests of primarily white nations, or in the context of a culture of global North superiority, a hegemonic culture that arrogantly sets the terms for engagement with other cultures; a culture of ignorance that breeds fear among its own - all of which give rise to cultures of resentment, of anger and ultimately of disengagement or of violent engagement, not only among Africans, but among other people who experience similar dehumanization.

If it is true that “hard power” strategies have deep, damaging effects and that “soft power” is exerted all the time through language, creative products, monuments and other symbols of conquest or hegemony, then it should not be surprising that such emotional and psychological violence sometimes finds expression in acts of physical violence.

Cultural diplomacy as the handmaiden of other forms of diplomacy

Diplomacy seldom happens in isolation from other forms of “persuasion”. Diplomacy generally serves particular political, economic and security interests and is often pursued in parallel with forms of “hard power” – economic sanctions, trade boycotts, military intervention, or the threat thereof. Cultural diplomacy – particularly that sponsored by governments – is a part of a nation state’s need to pursue its interests.

⁹ Speaking at a conference on artists’ mobility in January 2015, the head of Atlantic Philanthropies at the time made this comment.

Do artists who engage in such “cultural diplomacy” projects understand or are they committed to the diplomatic ends to which they are being used, or, because of their always-desperate need for funding, do they willingly play the role of “useful idiots” to serve some agenda, to which they have not even the slightest commitment? If an ambassador or government official decides that a particular creative project does not present the country in a good light, would the artist remain committed to the affirmation of her right to freedom of expression, or will she compromise for the sake of accessing the public funding, the opportunity to present abroad and future invitations to be part of such projects?

Real diplomacy takes years of building relationships, trust and mutual – if reluctant – respect; cultural diplomacy projects – often one-off in nature and dependent on public funding – appear to be designed to tick a box. How effective is cultural diplomacy beyond an initial point of introduction?

Festivals are sites for the engagement of ideas, ideological assumptions and values but beyond the festival, how is cultural diplomacy sustained? The very fact that a festival exists and the particular works it presents – whether publicly-funded or otherwise – could be an expression of cultural diplomacy. So, for example, in a repressive society such as Zimbabwe, the fact that the Harare International Festival of the Arts exists, or is allowed to exist by the Mugabe dictatorship, gives the impression of the regime’s support for freedom of creative expression. Do works presented at the Festival that are politically mute – especially works funded by international governments through their embassies – perpetuate the impression of a government that seeks to project itself as tolerant of freedom of expression, when in fact, the converse is true?

International cultural co-operation and inequality

Cultural diplomacy projects often take place in the context of inequality, particularly where they involve some form of artistic collaboration to promote intercultural dialogue. Within such projects, there are unspoken power relations. In a world characterized by enormous inequality with respect to economic, political, military and cultural power, it is those with resources who mostly determine the geo-political needs and focus of cultural diplomacy projects: yesterday it was North Africa, tomorrow it is China, the next day it will be Brazil. It is also they that determine the aesthetic direction and nature of such projects, precisely because their counterparts are dependent on the resources and opportunities offered by the project.

The weak may have little leverage, and may only be able to offer resourced nations crumbs in the way of strategic, geo-political or other benefits, but in terms of where we are currently, I believe that it is in the long-term interests of wealthy nations to – from a cultural diplomacy perspective - engage more with the global South from a position of quiet, to listen, to experience, to be more open to insights and reflections that may be challenging, that may not be easy and comfortable, but that may be necessary if we are to ensure a more just, more humane world order, in which we all feel safe and secure.

What we really need currently is a global dialogue about the challenges our world and the next generations face, and about how we will deal with this globally. However, within the creative and cultural sector, we tend to follow the leads of our governments or in the case of failed or failing states, of international donors, who themselves are subject to funding directives. There is a need to negotiate these dynamics more honestly and thoroughly.

CONCLUSION

Cultural diplomacy, intercultural dialogue and international cultural co-operation do not take place in political vacuums nor on economic islands; these generally serve particular strategic, security, economic and image-building ends. Cultural diplomacy – and the projects that comprise such strategies – take place in the context of often deeply unequal economic, political, military and cultural relations. It is thus necessary for practitioners to interrogate their role within such projects to determine whether the interests they serve are consistent with their own beliefs, whether the cultural diplomacy strategy has political and aesthetic integrity and whether the partner/s with whom they are engaging in the project have their interests served equitably within the project.

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Transition of the Festival's Ideas

Ivana Stefanović

I would like to contribute to this discussion as a person from another, but nevertheless related profession. I will speak about Bitef indirectly, looking for its reflections in similar cultural phenomena and activities, as a mirror in which the image of Bitef will reflect itself. In particular, I will speak about the Bemus music festival, which became kind of a twin to Bitef. But these twins, as it turned out, were not from the same egg.

After the October Salon, that had been initiated in 1960, and after Bitef that had been established in 1967, there came Bemus in 1969. Two years later, the Fest film festival was established. The 'October package' of cultural manifestations was rich: The October Salon, Bitef, Bemus, The Book Fair, The Joy of Europe... All of these events, on different occasions jointly, were used to mark one important day: the Liberation of Belgrade in the Second World War.

Bitef and Bemus have been mutually affiliated from the very start, not just because music and theater share the same 'birthplace', but also because throughout history we see these two arts as closely connected. That closeness and familiarity of theater and music, was pointed out by Dragutin Gostuški in the first sentence of his text published in the program leaflet of the first Bemus¹. He stated: 'The Belgrade music festival comes to us slightly belatedly. Namely, the first music festivals, quite similar to modern ones, were held in many places of ancient Greece 2500 years ago. The Middle Ages were equally prominent in the number of massive artistic performances in which actors and musicians had the leading roles.'

Our two festivals were familiar not just because actors and musicians prevailed in them, but also because they summoned small and huge ensembles, they involved choirs, operas, costumes, scenography, orchestras, halls and auditoriums, the artists' demands and wishes, technique, logistics, marketing in their programs. Bitef and Bemus were initiated in the same city, in the same social and political system, in the same geopolitical and other circumstances. They were formed in the same centers of power, control and decision-making and, with the same firm structure and cultural and diplomatic idea behind them. All of this embedded many similarities in them but also gave rise to some differences.

Milena Dragičević Šešić has stated that Bitef and Bemus were 'important steps of Yugoslav cultural diplomacy at the time – not just because they meant opening ourselves towards the world but also because they meant our culture a part of world culture'². But to what extent?

From the very start, Bitef turned itself towards the world, decisively and vigorously. Its direction was determined by Mira Trailović. Bitef represented 'the meeting of

1 Dejan Despić. *Bemus, 1969-1998. Trideset godina Beogradskih muzičkih svečanosti*. Jugokonzert, 2000. p.8

2 Intervju s Milenom Dragičević Šešić. *Kulturna diplomatija i Bitef*. Ludus, 2016.

Western and Eastern worlds'. It was courageous enough to invite dissidents from all systems. Bitef's guests may have been slightly dangerous sometimes, but were they dangerous to that extent that the state should be feared and intimidated by them? Bitef encouraged critical thinking and let the crucial problems of the time be reflected through it' (Milena Dragičević Šešić, again).

Bemus, for its part, was in certain respects just like Bitef. It represented a well-balanced meeting of cultures of the Eastern and Western worlds of the time before the fall of the Berlin Wall. It was a strong and successful manifestation, with many renowned guests from all over the world. It brought a number of seminal musical works. Nevertheless, Bitef and Bemus were not the same. Bemus remained 'local', and its program was deprived of any risk.

My goal is not to analyze the nature of the difference between Bitef and Bemus with regard to their cultural and diplomatic mission, their accomplishment, courage or their exploratory spirit. Perhaps the main difference lies in the non-verbal nature of music. Music is not an art that easily *takes stands*. Perhaps it had more to do with indulging the audience, even perhaps fearing it a little. Or perhaps it was something else. Whatever the cause, Bemus's focus was on "importing" high quality "goods" from abroad. During the first thirty years of its existence, it hosted artists from both the East and the West, like the Berlin and Leningrad and Sofia and Stockholm philharmonics, operas from Berlin and Bucharest, but also those that before Bemus had already had their performances on Bitef, like the Chinese opera and, fairly recently, Heinrich Goebbels.

That said, it should be noted that a more open, more outward-looking music festival did see the light of the day in Yugoslavia at the time. A music festival that was in this sense more similar to Bitef, went to Zagreb however. The Zagreb Biennale (established in 1961) became a counterpart to what Bitef was in Belgrade. If there was anything provocative, experimental, subversive or 'dangerous' in the music world of the 1960s, it went to the Zagreb Biennale.

Only a day after the opening of the first Bemus, *Politika* published an editorial article, which contained the following sentence: 'The first Bemus, although "old-fashioned", provoked a considerable interest in the audience... and the first concerts will show how much this festival will succeed in bringing back Belgrade's fairly "modern" audience to the classics...'³. In these few lines we already see a certain tension: modern vs. old-fashioned, audience vs. program. Although under quotation marks, Bemus was declared 'old fashioned' at the very beginning of its life, while the audience was branded as 'modern'.

Be that as it may, Bemus was flourishing during the 1970s and 1980s. According to the monograph written by the academic Dejan Despić for the Festival's thirtieth anniversary, Bemus hosted musicians such as Vadim Repin and André Navarra and Michel Dalberto and Rozhdestvensky and Gina Bachauer and Segovia and Rostropovich and Frankfurt Opera and ballets from London and Cologne... It was a period of 'culture of hope' (a nice term introduced by the French author Dominique Moysse). What was missing then? Apparently, nothing. However, during the 1990s,

3 Dejan Despić. *Bemus, 1969-1998. Trideset godina Beogradskih muzičkih svečanosti*. Jugokonzert, 2000. p.10,11.

when along with sanctions there came poverty, festival programs started looking like dilapidated buildings. It was impossible to maintain a clear idea, concept, or strategy of any kind. Nevertheless, everyone found Festival 'wonderful' just because it managed to survive, and to bring new artists and new musical interpretations, and because it prevented music from disappearing into silent.

In the year 2000, in its 33rd year, Bemus entered a new phase. We could call it the second phase of optimism and hope. A document entitled "Bemus for the new era" was accepted. It envisaged certain changes in the Festival's concept. Perhaps somewhat naively, those changes were brought into connection with the changes in the country's social system, in geopolitical circumstances, in the transition to a new century. Broadening the concept of the festival implied broadening the scope of musical genres, as well as the forms and modes of presentation (television, video, film...); It meant that great attention was directed towards the audience and its development, especially towards children and young people, as well as towards ensuring a wider social impact. A more open way of communication with the general public and with experts was introduced. Demystifying the music scene, introducing formerly forgotten forms of traditional culture, opening of multicultural musical contents -- all of this was part of it. Apart from regular concerts, daily performances were introduced, as well as programs for kids, choreodramas, dances and other forms of bodily expressions, world music, ethno, fusion, video presentations and films about music, musicians, musical topics, exhibitions of music literature, mediatheques, exhibitions of instruments, connections with universities. Public opinion insisted on the preservation and promotion of our musical heritage through Bemus. Exploratory musical workshops accompanied the concerts, as well as lectures and educational seminars for young people. There was also a search for the new look, a re-design of the Festival. Above all, the challenge was to find innovative ways to present the content of the festival and to ensure the festival represents an opportunity for all our talented musicians who had to leave the country, to perform or to have their work performed. In 2001, Bemus largely relied on musicians who had left Belgrade, willingly or not. Bemus wanted to bring them back to their home music scene.

In addition since the year 2000, Bemus has been the only institution of Serbian culture that (in accordance with worldwide practice) commissioned new works from Serbian composers. New Serbian operas could also only be heard at Bemus.

Potentially the most serious repositioning of Bemus happened when the festival was accepted into the European Festivals Association in 2002. In that year, Europe became a little closer. The Festival was opened by France de Ruiter, President of the Association that Bemus joined after 34 years of waiting. Membership in the EAF had its consequences; after another couple of years, on the wave of that membership, the No Borders Orchestra was founded in Belgrade. It was a project of the young conductor Premil Petrović. The orchestra was made up of mainly young musicians from the whole region.

In accordance with its artistic philosophy, there was one year when Bemus and Bitef overlapped. The two festivals touched one another; they came closer in their program design and shared a common aesthetic space. 'Ballet for Life', performed by the Ballet

Béjart⁴, closed the 40th Bitef and opened the 38th Bemus in 2006. Jovan Ćirilov and I, as the artistic directors of the two festivals, stood together on the stage of Sava Center.

This state of 'what Bemus could perhaps become' lasted several years. I do not want to dwell on what happened later. But, justifiably or not, the main organizer of Bemus, Jugokonzert, has been put out of business in recent years. Its successor is not an agency specialized in music or stage events, but a general office. Its work is not worthy of inclusion in a serious discussion. Its methods are those of the illiterate.

In September 2013, it seemed that Bemus would cease to exist. A few days before its scheduled opening, there was no program, there were no announcements, the selector resigned, and the director of Jugokonzert was unwilling to move a finger.

Then there came a rebellion. A musicians' rebellion. The rebellion of those who thought that music as an art could not be simply extinguished, that it could not be neglected, forgotten, left to die silently, that musicians could not lose their professional positions and public attention just like that. As Bemus silently transformed itself and went mute, hiding under the surface of public attention, Belgrade became a European capital deprived of a regular concert season. And it is still deprived of it. Hundreds of people, young and old, established and those just starting to build their careers alike, have been left practically without any possibility to perform. They have been left without a stage and therefore without any possibility of, or right to, an artistic existence!

And so the rebellion that had at first appeared on social media networks in the form of several hundred individual voices, turned into the BUNT Festival. BUNT is a reaction to Bemus, Bemus produced BUNT. Apart from the original meaning of the word BUNT (rebellion), the name also became an acronym for New Belgrade Artistic Territory).

The first instance of BUNT was a bit of an eruption and came about in a completely unprepared way. The program was made in a rush, within a couple of days: the artists from Serbia and from abroad applied by themselves, suggested what they could play, those who were in a position to do so bought their plane and train tickets themselves. The directors of cultural institutions offered their spaces free of charge, those who wanted to design marketing material and those who wanted to translate them, volunteered, as did those who knew how to tune pianos. All of them worked for free. Above all, the artists offered their programs. Communication went out solely through social media networks, facebook, twitter or text messages. There was not a single piece of paper, or contract, there was no flow of money, no bank accounts...

And what was the program like, how long did it last, and what reactions did it provoke?

During the first year, BUNT hosted 9 concerts with 61 artist taking part. There were 6 film projections with 8 films about musicians (acquired free of charge from the Serbian Radio Television). There were 4 concerts dedicated solely to young musicians, as well as a program named 'Together', for kids with special needs. There were 11 compositions by Serbian authors. Importantly, BUNT was heard by more than

4 <http://www.bemus.rs/sr/38-bemus.html>

2000 visitors, and 3371 people visited the website. More information about all this is available on the festival's website⁵.

This total collision between the festival's high musical and artistic quality this festival which has had superlative reviews, and great visibility and vitality, still functions entirely outside the system. It tries, through volunteers and small grants received from foreign cultural centres, the EU delegation and several foundations, to transport itself into another reality - a reality in which its undeniable virtues will be recognized. The moral and verbal support that BUNT enjoys is very pleasant, but at the same time completely 'inedible'.

Another detail deserves mentioning, a paradox that completes the picture. After the first BUNT, the City of Belgrade awarded it - it won the April Award! That high honor now adorns the biographies of Ljubiša Jovanović, Peca Popović and Ivana Stefanović, but it is not at all helpful for the continuation of the Festival. The award did not help BUNT gain any grants from the government. Instead, the three laureates invested their award money into the next edition of the Festival.

This 'rebellious' Festival is still outside the system. For four years now it has been so. Nevertheless, BUNT has a clear concept behind it, a concept that can be understood even from a great distance.

BUNT favors young artists to prevent them from leaving the country for good or becoming corrupt or abandoning music.

BUNT puts emphasis on the participation of foreign artists with programs that can rarely be heard in Serbia (as an example, we could mention the sensational piano duo Emar-Stefanović, which enabled our audience to hear the music of Pierre Boulez for the first time after more than thirty years).

BUNT continually opens space, in the form of panels and concerts, for to the music of contemporary Serbian authors.

Every year, BUNT has a separate program for children and people with special needs (autistic persons), involving them creatively and engaging them in performances.

BUNT openly advocates for the intellectual side of the art of music, and not just their popular or virtuoso component.

BUNT openly struggles for 'true values'. That struggle implies the preservation of artistic quality and the fight against hollow attractions. It opposes the fashion of attracting attention by means of visual effects, 'fast playing' and the application of popular 'condiments' in the performing arts (all of those being well-known from Guy Deborg's 'society of the spectacle'). All of these endanger art and performing levels.

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By presenting two music festivals, Bemus and BUNT, the former state-funded, the latter completely self-reliant and receiving practically no support at all, I wanted to show how 'cultural diplomacy' can start from nothing, how a 'bottom up cultural policy', as defined by Emina Višnić, can come about.

At the very end, two almost identical questions can be asked: Will Bemus, on the one hand, *want* to make connections in the new geopolitical order? How will it do so? And with whom?

Will BUNT, on the other hand, *be in a position* to make connections? If yes, how, and with whom?

**S H I F T I N G
T R E N D S I N
C U L T U R A L
D I P L O M A C Y
(F R O M A R T S
T O G A S T R O -
D I P L O M A C Y)**

Implications of Multiple Identity Layers for Cultural Diplomacy of Serbia

Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović

Modern cultural diplomacy and world politics in general, have in many ways become the competition in the “credibility of the competitiveness”. Today, governments compete for credibility not only with other governments but also with a wide range of stakeholders, including the media, corporations, NGOs, intergovernmental organizations, celebrities, etc. In the general struggle for public attention, for gaining trust and credibility, the measure of success is the “story” as a discursive system that mediates between binary oppositions: harmony and disharmony, fiction and reality, the centre and the periphery, local and global, East and West, “us” and “other”. According to Joseph S. Nye, in the information age, politics is ultimately boiled down to “whose story wins” (Nye, 2011: 133).

What is the position of Serbia in the world at the age of uncertainty? What are the capacities of cultural diplomacy of Serbia in terms of changes in its international reputation? The position of Serbia in the world is in connection with an identity crisis of Serbia, of both national and cultural identity. The mythical interpretation of the past of Serbia and stereotyped media representations have influenced the determination of the symbolic position of Serbia in the world. It is necessary to find an answer to the question of what type of presentation of the past, which would be both culturally and politically relevant, can help in the current (re)positioning of Serbia. Culture can contribute to gaining the credibility in the presentation to the world, and therefore the necessity of changes in the conceptualization and strategic organization of cultural diplomacy Serbia are even more important.

MULTIPLE LAYERS OF SERBIAN IDENTITY

Historical sources of dichotomy of Serbian identity are extremely deep. From the Ottoman period and loss of statehood, through the influence of the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy, the Cold War and varying between East and West, to the “return” to Europe, to name just a few, Serbia has built its identity on a turbulent path. The problem of collective identity, it can be said, is one of the key problems of imbalance and disorientation of Serbia during the twentieth century, which has been extended into the new millennium.

In the context of analysis of the national identification and identity of Serbia, myths, religion and language have an important constitutive position. Kosovo as a synonym for “cradle of Serbianism” as a symbol remains an indispensable part of the discussions concerning the identity of Serbia. The construction of Serbian identity as a nation, which is at the same time a “victim and a hero” by the Kosovo myth exists in variations since the XIX century. “Kosovo archetype” is embedded in the folk tradition of heroes and freedom. In the Kosovo myth there are many Christian

motifs: the betrayal, the last supper, beheading, the kingdom of heaven as the ideal, and so on. It is clear that Kosovo had a significant role in the creation of cultural and national identity of Serbia, both as a historical reality and as a kind of timeless metaphor. The issue of Kosovo, therefore, equally appeared in the form of symbolic representation through the myths and epic poetry as a historical fact, and thus served for the construction of the past in the narrative consciousness of the nation. This paradoxical glorification of real political defeat through the cult of Kosovo is an attempt to transform it into a spiritual victory (Bakic-Hayden and Hayden, 1992: 1-15). Thus, separate “symbolic collective accents” of the myth became the basis of stereotypes of Serbian identity.

Another important identity layer of Serbia is linked to the Yugoslavia and to the idea of pan-Slavism, Yugoslavism and Yugo-nostalgia. As cultural and political movement among Slovenian nations, in the nineteenth century Pan-Slavism was dedicated to the promotion of the common Slovenian history and the study of Slovenian language, but also to the establishment of the balance of political forces in Europe. The creation of Yugoslavia after World War I relied on Pan-Slavism from the previous period. The ideas of German Romanticism became crucial in forming the initial Yugoslavism, in the form of unification of all South Slavs and through overcoming differences. In the early stages of construction of the Yugoslav identity as a symbolic foundation of the unity, especially in Tito's speeches, the “heroic tradition and jointly shed blood,” and later, “international prestige and multinational vision”, then transnational concept of “brotherhood and unity of the nation,” were emphasized, while in the late stages the Yugoslav unity was based on economic interest and the common Yugoslav market. Thus, a specific Yugoslav version of “unity in diversity” was built. Additionally, the Tito cult as a constitutive political myth eventually became the core determinant of Yugoslavism under the slogan “Yugoslavia equals / means Tito.” Yugoslavism was seen as a kind of internationalism and as part of the global integration process. Supra-national Yugoslav models of different orientations fought for predominance – from Western oriented modernists, to the left-wing oriented and Soviet internationalists with collectivist orientation (Wachtel, 1998: 156). Establishment of the Yugoslav identity as a civil-democratic identity had never crossed the border from “latent possibilities” to “real certainty” because of the political aspirations of national political oligarchies that politically instrumentalised not only national and patriotic feelings, but also the complete notion of “Yugoslavism”. This unfinished Yugoslav identity “collapsed” before even establishing itself, thus giving way to the radical redefinition of collective identities in all the republics of Yugoslavia (Vasović, 2001: 101-137). These processes have resulted in extreme nationalism and the destruction of Yugoslavia at both the factual and symbolic level. Thus, in almost all former Yugoslav republics “Yugo-nostalgia” (Boym, 2001) assumed the role of a counter-discourse to the dominant public discourse, both as a pillar of identity and as a critique of the current post-communist reality.

The Balkans appears as another layer of identity of Serbia, and the Balkan stereotype as a commonplace in the definition of what Serbia is. In most definitions the Balkans stands out through its liminal position; it is “something in between” East and West, Europe and Asia; it has the status of an intersection of cultures, languages, religions, traditions, civilization. This “transitional” region is constantly between stagnation and progress, between the past and the future, between preserving the

existing situation and the revolution... Balkanisation has become a synonym for the return of the tribal, backward, primitive and barbaric, through which many negative connotations of the Balkan discourse are inscribed. Aggressiveness, as the main stereotypical frame of the Balkans, has been associated with the East, which even more emphasized the oriental nature of this region, and intensified the feeling of foreignness, as the 'inner other' in relation to Europe (Todorova, 1997: 106). The Western imagery through the media and popular texts has imposed the negative image of the Balkans (and Serbia). One of the paradoxes in the representation of the Balkans is that duality, that it is both fully known and completely unknown, that its essence is in divisions and fragmentation (within itself), and yet the integrity and unity (towards others, such as Europe).

Leaving the Balkans and the cultural narratives of belonging to Europe, the so-called "Return to Europe", Europe as a cultural construct ("European Culture", "European identity"), creation of the "European cultural space" and strengthening awareness of the "common cultural heritage" are among the long-term aspirations of the Western Balkan countries, including Serbia. Europe cannot be considered a coherent cultural community in the sense that its cultural identity is achieved in the single geographic area, and it is difficult to speak about an epicentre out of which cultural values would be created and spread to other areas. Therefore, the questions about the extent to which Serbia is a part of Europe actually belong to the day-to-day political discourse, rather than the geopolitical and the geo-cultural. However, these processes of inclusion and exclusion in particular, are of great importance for redefining the notions of the identity of Serbia and its position in the world. This is a wide field of mutual cultural, historical, ethnic and/or religious overlapping, whether it comes to Serbia or Europe as a whole, which if denied could cause the dominance of the "black and white" image of the world.

CHALLENGES FOR (RE)POSITIONING OF SERBIA THROUGH CULTURE

Symbolic (re)positioning concerns the reconstruction of the identity and image of the country, and is reflected in relations of "we"-"other," East-West, the Balkans-Europe, the local (national)-the global (transnational), centre-periphery, myth-reality. What is the relationship of symbolic constructions of "otherness" and cultural sources upon which they are based, and what role do these practices play in the context of contemporary representation in public? This, in fact, once again raises the old question of whether Serbia today is the "East" in the "West" and the "West" to the "East"?

A very negative image, not only of Serbia but often of the entire Balkan region, produced a picture that in a negative context shows this area of Europe and the world. In public discourses Serbia and Serbs were stigmatised and presented through extremely negative stereotypes as a primitive, violent and even genocidal nation. Developing symbolic oppositions, such as the "good guys and bad guys" or "victims and criminals" in political publics in Europe and the world, led to a "collective fascination of Serbs" in shaping the dominant image of the conflict of the nineties in former Yugoslavia (Đeric, 2005: 72). The use of the Cold War paradigm, according to which the West is the "free world" is opposed to "communist" or "totalitarian"

slavery of the East, combined with the broader paradigm of a clash of civilizations and the West as the “civilized world” as opposed to the other “barbarian” world, served as a framework for explanation these ethnic conflicts (Bakić, 1999: 15).

Stereotyped representation of Serbia became the basis for the self-identification, under the slogan “we are the way we are seen by the media”. From the external level, stereotypes have begun to shift to the internal level of identity shaping. In such circumstances, the internal division into “two Serbias”, between “us” and “them”, precluded any possibility of a social consensus. Symbolic boundaries between “indigenous”, “authentic”, “historic”, “patriotic” and “national” and occasionally “heavenly” and “Orthodox” as opposed to “anti-nationalist”, “pacifist”, “modern”, “European”, “cosmopolitan” “civil” and ‘liberal’ Serbia, were underlined through both the external, and internal stereotypes, and the radicalisation of the “inner other” (Naumović, 1999). In these representations of Serbian identity, a very clear distinction between Serbia and Europe is made, but not as an unambiguous contrast to the West. This kind of self-representation, often expressed through self-stereotypes actually rarely put Serbia in the East, in contrast to the representations and the paradigm of the East-West opposition that dominated in the nineties.

CULTURAL POLICY UNDERPINNINGS FOR SERBIAN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

In the nineties of the twentieth century Serbia lost its political reputation internationally. Followed by complex events in the political life, this fact about the ruined reputation of the country has remained to this day one of the factors that make it difficult to establish a stronger position of Serbia in international relations. Since 2001, the commitment of Serbia to the EU became one of its main foreign policy priorities, such as establishing cooperation with world centres of power, the development of regional cooperation, improving its position in the world, and redefining its identity and its interests. “Transitional fatigue” which overtook Serbia five years after the reforms showed not only the unsustainability of the expectations that were set too high, but also a general disorientation regarding the fundamental direction and outcome of transition. Doubts regarding the European path were conditioned also by the incompleteness of previous modernization process in Serbia. The culture-value rift that was expressed in the dichotomy of “traditionalism-modernism” included a substantially wide range of conflicting value orientations which have gained in intensity with the acceleration of the process of modernization in Serbia. In the circumstances of European integration, Serbia remained with many challenges in relation to its own socio-political and cultural identity frame.

Serbia hasn’t succeeded in building a strong system of cultural policy, which, among other things, would deal with the identity and its representation to the world through cultural production, as well as through organising cultural life to promote cultural diversity, and communication with other cultures and peoples. In such circumstances, in the Serbian society, which lacks not only cultural policy, but also an awareness of cultural values, other diverse factors have led to the image of being “locked up” in traditionalism. As a result, different practices of the instrumentalisation of culture were developed and to a certain extent continued in the years after 2000. The hitherto explicit and implicit cultural policy of Serbia hasn’t articulated and translated into practice the priorities, goals and instruments in the context of international cultural

relations. In the quest for a new sustainable model of cultural policy, the question of the importance of culture in shaping cultural diplomacy remains a question of political will. In pluralistically oriented model of cultural policy, the state would be only one of the factors, and the private sector with the active participation of the civil sector would also be the bearer of cultural policy. What remains as a major task and as a result of a long period of discontinuity, is the need for redefining the relationship to various social traditions, cultural matrices, and identity layers.

WHICH WAY TO EUROPE?

The underpinnings defining the symbolic (and political) position of Serbia through public and cultural diplomacy could be one of the blend of the East and the West, and the promotion of the rich cultural diversity in this area. When asked where Serbia on the world map is in this sense, the answer might be: “Where the Danube meets the Balkans”. For the conceptualisation of public and cultural diplomacy of Serbia this would mean no more tossing up between the West and the East, but the conversion of the previously established stereotypical image into its own strengths. Serbia can be a Danube country and the Balkan country, modern and traditional, and in the East and in the West. The perception of Serbia in the context of liminality of the Balkan region (between East and West) prevails in this conception. Mastering the tradition, not its rejection, is a task that is the right and obligation in policy attitudes towards the past, i.e. the politics of memory. Balkan historical, cultural and geographical heritage, with all its complexity and ambivalence, can become an advantage, and not necessarily a burden. The idea of accepting all cultural and historical layers of identity that are overlapping, or even in conflict, regardless of their harsh, and sometimes cruel historical-political dimension, would lead to a better understanding of peoples and the establishing of trust – which are also the primary goals of cultural diplomacy. This would, perhaps, be a step further in overcoming the generalized notion of the “Balkan burden”. A similar observation can be made towards the redefinition of the relation towards the Yugoslav legacy which remains a permanent feature of the Serbian identity layer.

Therefore, the challenges that are imposed in terms of strategic design and planning of public and cultural diplomacy are complex and stem from a lack of basic value orientation. This effort in changing the image related to the foreign public perceptions of Serbia is a very important step. The affirmation and promotion of identity, presentation of cultural heritage and creativity and scientific innovation as a part of the cultural capital of the country, may be important factors in improving the reputation and image of Serbia as well as in establishing trust and respect in international relations. Therefore, it is an imperative that the state with other actors defines general guidelines and the concept of public and cultural diplomacy within the priorities of foreign and cultural policies, as well as to provide greater financial and organisational long-term commitment to developing affirmative scenarios of the future of Serbia.

Note:

The text is based on the book *Cultural Diplomacy and Identity of Serbia* (in Serbian) by Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović published by Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade and Clío.

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Cities and Regions in International Cultural Relations: Fostering Cooperation Through Cultural Networks

Leda Celia Laggiard Fuentes

CITIES AND REGIONS IN INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

The continuous changes in the configuration of global affairs jointly with the acceleration of the process of globalisation have led to the increase of a 'relatively new and potentially powerful set of actors in world politics: globalising cities' (Amen, Toly, McCarney, & Segbers, 2011). What is particular about cities and regions in the international milieu? Why their position is different from the position of the States in this case? What are the possible outcomes of their international actions? What is the potential of culture in local and regional field?

The phenomenon of regional government's action in pursuing a form of diplomacy that is slowly changing the diplomatic environment and practices, often called 'paradiplomacy', can be a motor of reterritorialisation. Even though the spectrum of issues in which the regions and local governments are involved is varied, most of subnational actors focus on just some international matters, since they cannot perform numerous simultaneous actions in many subject areas (Zubelzú, 2008, p. 37). Nevertheless, local actors expand the work field in international relations by executing paradiplomacy, enabling significant results, sometimes even better than what the central government can do on the local level.

Interdependency arises from possible coordination of joint lobbying (central and local government) in favour of common objectives, while paradiplomacy can pair conventional state diplomacy, overturned in the national interest, with the possible incorporation of other actors such as local civil society, and definitely local interests in the international arena. Many cities have created in their administrations an area of international relations to relate from the local to the global and exercise their paradiplomatic activities. In this spirit, decentralised cooperation is the type of cooperation that exists between sub-national authorities, seeking both to position in some of the cases in the global economic system and to influence and be considered actors in the global political system. Hence, it is international cooperation that occurs outside the centre or the central state (Marx, 2010, p. 42). Over the last decades, cities as actors in international milieu, justifying its international role, are introducing aspects of public international law related to political theory or the theory of the state. Accordingly, international activity in this case is seen through the concept of

paradiplomacy, which leads to the use of other related terms already incorporated into daily practice, such as *municipal diplomacy* or *city diplomacy*.

Stressing the importance of local actors in international relations nowadays can be explained by 21st century challenges, with the acceleration of urbanisation where some global communities have greater impacts than ever before on individuals worldwide. As an outcome of this fact 'a generation from now will be influenced far more by how well we communicate the values of our society to others than by our military or diplomatic superiority' This is why cultural relations are accepted in many countries as an essential third dimension of foreign relations; 'third, because they accompany politics and trade (for some American writers, they come fourth after politics, trade and defence)' (Mitchell, 2016, pp. 2,3).

The term 'Cultural Relations' here is fundamentally separated from the term 'Cultural Diplomacy'. Even though these two terms are sometimes used as synonymous, differences can be complex and fairly subtle, for example, cultural relations are understood as the execution and the craft without or with little state influence. Anyway, it is important to mention that some international cultural activities cannot develop if they are not helped or supported by politics (e.g. responsible to the foreign ministry or encouraged by the state authority, the ambassador, etc.) and some others have better performance if organisations that enjoy an appropriate degree of independence of the state implement it. How cultural relations function in the case of 'aid relationship'? Is cultural mutuality possible in the process where more dominant actors transfer its values, together with its capital and technology to the less dominant actors? In this case, the most possible problem of international cultural relations should be in the regression of two-way relationships. Such relationships definitely should be fortified and improved by the mediation of well-informed and sympathetic supervisors, who can assist the process of desirable and possible international cultural relations between 'North and South', demonstrating an important dimension of human as well as executive qualities.

The need for intercultural dialogue is increased by globalisation since international interactions have increased. In this transforming world environment it is necessary to develop strategies and tools to deal with diversity and cultural conflict, not only at national, but also at the local level, where cities and multicultural regions must fight discrimination and to adapt its institutions, governance and services to the needs of a diverse population. Informal networks, especially at the local or community level, can play a quiet respected part in reconciliation of different viewpoints since they are a neighbouring part of the society with dialogue problems. Their beneficial role is particularly useful when they involve people who have previously been excluded from dialogue. In this case, there is a need to foster competences and skills in dialogue by advancing understanding. It is important that diversity is considered not only as a challenge but as a resource that enables learning from others.

THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL NETWORKING

The need for cultural networks has risen from the need to gather good practices from different actors, discuss about obstacles, bring the support to or influence on some political decisions and policies and advocate for favourable conditions for societies' gradual and constant progress and development.

All networks stimulate collaboration, since all networks have the same logistic goal to gather people and/or organisations, cities, regions, etc., which might happen at the local, regional and/or cross-border level. Namely, networking is taking diversity mostly as a value, although systems from all over the world work differently.

As mentioned earlier, intercultural communication is an important tool in managing global interdependence. Obstacles and barriers of intercultural communication – like stereotypes, prejudices, emotional empathies – must be eliminated through interaction, contacts etc. Here is where Networks have an important role to play. What is more, networks have to encourage working together, connecting people/organisations from different backgrounds. Therefore, communication within the networking is crucial and respect becomes essential.

However, mapping cultural networks is a complex task. It is important for networks to face diversity of the world in many ways and by all means, include different actors as much as possible in every approach and on every level (local, national or international), bringing the essence of diversity into cultural interaction. In order to prevent actors to ‘go astray’ of the path of cultural networking, diversity and richness of the world must be understood. This act of cultural networks nowadays can be usually offered through facilitation of cross-border cooperation, gathering together big and small cities and regions, giving them the opportunity to, according to their own needs and desires, participate in mayor interchange of policies, ideas or goods. On the other hand, the role of cultural networks is becoming more significant as governments distinguish their responsibility to take such actors in the decision-making and implementation processes. By this fact, cultural networks potential as effective and efficient organisations responsible for the course of the meaningful dialogue is recognised. In this case, networks are taking the role of mediators facilitating the way of different ideas among actors.

NETWORKS AND GOOD PRACTISES IN FOCUS

United Cities and Local Governments and its Agenda

United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) was founded in May 2004 with the mission: to be the united voice and world advocate of democratic local self-government through the implementation of the appropriate instruments to guarantee the democratic participation of citizens in the formulation, exercise and evaluation of public cultural policies, promoting its values, objectives and interests, through cooperation between local governments, and within the wider international community. UCLG plays a major role in the promotion of the place of culture in sustainable local development. The *Agenda 21 for culture* is the key document promoted by the UCLG Committee on Culture. Its contents can be summarised thematically: i) Culture and human rights, ii) Culture and governance, iii) Culture, sustainability and territory, iv) Culture and social inclusion, and v) Culture and economy. It is the first document at the world level to set out the principles and commitments of cities and local governments for sustainable cultural development: culture, diversity, creativity (the first such recognition of the role of culture in local governance).

UCLG is preparing regional governments' contributions to the international agenda, in particular through collaboration with its Sections and members, with a specific focus on Habitat III and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The implementation of Sustainable Development Goals highlights the need to create spaces for territorial cooperation as well as to adapt public policies to the real needs of the population by strengthening the role of local and regional governments. Territorial development in intermediary cities promotes the inclusion of topics such as local development (in its economic, social and environmental aspects), the decent work and territorial strategic planning, particularly in the urban-rural context. So, the need to adapt regional and local public policies, and strengthen the role of local and regional Governments as agents of development is also important.

The example of the Santa Fe region in Argentina stands out for its innovation in developing policies jointly with municipal governments and its population. These policies respond to specific needs such as land use in both urban and agricultural lands, the reduction of child labour within the rural population, the promotion of employment over the creation of added value through the implementation, among others, of innovation policies. Provincial Strategic Plan Santa Fe (Argentina) aims at projecting the province on the region and the world. It includes integration and cooperation policies that promote economic, social and cultural development at the international level. The emphasis is made on intangible projects that prioritise relationship management among players and promote creativity among citizens and in the territory. The new strategic plan has converged both the economic factor that allowed international visibility, and now links the cultural, what makes this province an example of regionalisation. Like in many other countries in Latin America, medium-sized cities in Argentina have had constant demographic growth accompanied by disorganised processes of urbanisation. Nevertheless, the local government of the Province of Santa Fe designed the Basic Plans and later on, together with the local governments and citizens, launched the programme 'Basic Plans in Intermediary Cities'. As part of the Provincial Strategic Plan the joint work was carried out with the help of UNESCO Chair from the University of Lleida on 'Intermediary Cities: Urbanisation and development' and UCLG.

In Santa Fe province, as well as in the majority of the Argentinean provinces, major inequalities occur in terms of regional development. Consolidating substantial achievements and changes that help improve the lifestyle of Santa Fe citizens, through the most essential rights, indicate development through the active participation of citizens in the definition of their future. This unique example in South America aimed to put in place sustainable urban planning and land-use planning as public policies, with the guidance of UCLG, implemented through the collaboration from both provincial and municipal levels of Government, using citizen participation as a key element for legitimisation. As a result, five intermediary cities submitted their Basic Plans for development and urban growth (one for each of the regions that composes the Province of Santa Fe), with a clear projection for the future. This initiative expects that thirteen other localities will also later on submit their Basic Plans, demonstrating the positive outcome of the joint effort between the province and municipalities; which at the same time enables the consolidation of the network of cities in the Province of Santa Fe.

These outstanding circumstances developed a 20-year-long State policy: the Provincial Strategic Plan Vision 2030, which is looking for mutual solutions to different public and shared space of the province, joining public and private problems. Within this, citizens and their rights gain greater importance, and particular emphasis was placed on the power of their capacities to achieve an integral development. Precisely, the Provincial Strategic Plan Vision 2030 opens up a second stage of strategic planning, focusing on human development and consolidation of social cohesion. Thus, priority is given to the promotion of solidarity, inclusion and equality values, as well as to the projects that direct their efforts towards their achievement. Vision 2030 bets on consolidating the foundations for a Santa Fe more supportive, more inclusive and with equal opportunities for the full exercise of rights.

Mercociudades and Eurocities

The idea of presenting networks 'Mercociudades' and 'Eurocities' is beneficial to present a different point of view on how associating in international milieu can motivate cities and regions to find the adequate network that can respond to their own requirements and necessities.

Mercociudades is the main network of local governments from MERCOSUR and a prominent reference in integration processes. (MERCOCIUDADES) Founded in 1995 by the initiative of the leading mayors in the region with the aim of encouraging the participation of local governments in the process of regional integration, promote the creation of an institutional environment for cities within MERCOSUR and develop exchange and horizontal cooperation among local governments in the region, as stipulated in its statutes. Since then, the network has been expanding and incorporating new members. It currently has 303 associated cities in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Peru and Colombia, where more than 114 million people live. Under the belief that culture plays a decisive role in improving the quality of life of citizens and in democratic construction, it encourages the exchange and horizontal cultural cooperation between cities, fundamental tools to promote development in the region.

In recent years they have been promoting various measures that aim at institutional strengthening of the areas of culture and linking the Thematic Unit of Culture with other international cultural networks in order to create opportunities for exchange of ideas and good cultural management practices in cities around the world.

Eurocities is a network founded in 1986 that brings together the local governments of over 130 of Europe's largest cities and 40 partner cities across 35 countries. Its objective is to reinforce the important role that local governments should play in a multilevel governance structure. Through six thematic forums, a wide range of working groups, projects, activities and events, the network offers members a platform for sharing knowledge and exchanging ideas, influencing and working with the EU institutions to respond to common issues that affect the day-to-day lives of European citizens. One of the aims of the network is to shape the opinions of Brussels stakeholders and ultimately shift the focus of EU legislation in a way that allows city governments to tackle strategic challenges at the local level. Their objective is to reinforce the important role that local governments should play in

a multilevel governance structure. The strategic framework planned for the years 2014-2020 identifies some of the challenges and opportunities in cities that are closely linked to developments at the EU level. Eurocities works as a platform for members to network and exchange on policies and practices implemented in cities. The culture forum focuses on promoting culture as a means of social change; using culture to improve relationships between people, especially young people; promoting links between creative industries and culture; and exchanging best practices for improving the quality of life through cultural experiences and development.

In the case of networking in the cultural sector, before asking about the level of interdependency between Europe and Latin America, it is firstly necessary to tackle what are the similarities and/or differences between the 'pulses' of European cities compared to the Latin American ones. As can be seen, after presenting Mercociudades and Eurocities networks, although both networks nucleate cities, there are many differences as much about what the focus of each of them is and how each presents its agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUITABLE ACTIONS

Since balancing of actual facts, theory and countries' necessity is the complex local authorities' task, the comprehension of own limits for manoeuvre in the international milieu is important. Therefore, recommendations in the context of cultural affairs, consists of three elementary steps for cities and regions: (1) be linked as much as possible with different foreign actors, (2) carefully keep up with global challenges and affairs, and (3) be updated with a variety of appropriate/adequate actions in front of those challenges.

The first step of local authorities is networking. This step implies the notion of international cooperation through exchange and sharing (experiences, knowledge, know-hows, etc.), since networks are efficient instruments for cross-border cooperation. Additionally, since networks can highlight small projects and help them grow, networks can gather small and big actors on one scene. As a result, designing real and virtual spaces for interactions, in the name of development, through official interactions, can be more than useful.

Nevertheless, it is seen in this case that numerous problems within the clash of ideologies, one-way interdependency, accepting and understanding the world and its diversity. Because of that there is a need to promote awareness among less powerful actors about the benefits of intercultural dialogue, but bearing in mind its potential instrumentalisation. Also, 'face-to-face' relation remains 'luxury'; despite the improvement of online tools, long distances are a problem in networking since money can be a challenge.

However, in the context of culture, networks can be easily adapted in order to improve their efficiency. Since it functions as a meeting place, it promotes diversity as an advantage. Sharing and/or exchanging within cultural networking allows different, alternative ways of cooperation. So, cultural networking has a different sense and the aim of networking, it is usually actors' spark for new ideas; e.g. local authorities

may gain time and energy because they learn from other practices and therefore it is a way to inform people, to raise awareness and to develop stronger organisations. As a result, all kinds of initiatives for international linking should be maintained.

It is important to mention that networking at the local level is as much as important as at the international level. That can be seen in the example of the Santa Fe region presentation; discussion between city managers, cultural operators and decision makers were reorganised considering that the perception of reality of all of them is different. This led to a better understanding.

The second step for local authorities' actions is related to awareness of the existence of the world where different actors can advocate for different causes. If this is pragmatically accepted it is able to clarify the essence of the action of local authorities and its causes. Namely, one of the key questions can be answered: *Why is important to emphasise the role of cities and regions in the international arena?* The updated point of view with global challenges and affairs could explain, from the local perspective, the need and potentials of local authorities action.

In particular, it is important to keep in mind that actors act according to their own beliefs and necessities. For example, thanks to UCLG, who advocate for the explicit mention of culture, owing to the fact that the belief is that a city cannot be sustainable without it (Blasco, 2016), it is possible to be informed and guided through the process of obtaining the benefit for the local community. The result on this issue is that more than 500 cities, territories and organisations all over the world are engaged in the *Agenda 21 for culture* and in the promotion of culture as the 4th pillar of sustainable development, unanimously approved at the UCLG World Congress held in Mexico in 2010. Therefore, this is successful development of international network activism.

By this means, the approach to certain issues (attention and balances economic feasibility, social equity, environmental responsibility and moreover cultural vitality) can significantly affect international relations. Moreover, the initiative of local authorities shows that actors can be active in international milieu, they can try to take their own future progress under control. Consequently, actors' awareness/consciousness of the happenings worldwide and its update to it can be a vital element of the actors' progress.

The third key step, recommended for local authorities is to be informed about the variety of appropriate/adequate actions in front of worldwide challenges. In this thesis it is shown that it is possible through constant exchange of ideas, captivating information on seminars, conferences, reunions, etc. However, it is important to mention the alternative way by taking advantages of technology. This might not be the perfect answer to an effective exchange of knowledge; however, it is certainly a valuable tool for the development of personal relationships and the creation of more cost-effective means for this exchange. Face-to-face meetings and exchange of knowledge are ideal, but given the economic constraints that are facing most cities, it is not always possible. With this in mind, technology should be used to support relations and exchange.

What is the level of interdependency (related with networking in cultural sector) between Europe and Latin America? This question incited the definition of vital qualities of

relations in international ambient where actors are not equal. In particular, it is very important to clarify that Latin America should not be seen (always) as one region without acknowledging the diversity and the richness of the different countries within this area. But also, it is vital to acknowledge that, no matter how powerful one of the actors in international cultural relations could be, the less powerful one, doubtless have in some point of cooperation to offer a significant good/suitable/useful example. If the cooperation is only characterised by 'give-take' attribute, than it is not as beneficial as it should be, since the role of one actor is reduced.

It is necessary to indicate 'regular interdependency' as a norm of cooperation in international cultural relations since local actors are usually the 'smaller' ones, the ones that receive help and assistance from other, more powerful ones (e.g. national authorities). This issue is presented in order to indicate not just the role that local authorities can indubitably take, but also its consequences, possible instrumentalisation, welfares and acknowledgment within the international ambient.

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Cultural Diplomacy, a dialogue with the civil society

Biljana Tanurovska Kjulavkovski

INTRODUCTION

This text reflects on the role of the civil sector in the cultural diplomacy and conditions in which this role can be effectuated. Depicting the political situation in context of Macedonia in which the independent cultural scene has been acting in the past, for nearly ten years, I will try to argue that cultural diplomacy if not represented as political ideal of inclusion of its diverse opinions, concepts, ideas, methods and approaches based on dialogue with civil society, can be(come) an instrument of political ideal of exclusion.

In the book *Cultural Diplomacy and Identity of Serbia* Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović underlines a distinction between ‘*diplomacy*’ and ‘*relations*’, and maps the field of cultural diplomacy, explaining how the field “imports” methods and principles of different fields of scientific and social discourses. The concept of civil diplomacy as a political concept is related to the representation of the country by its citizens, individuals or civil society organizations, and it can be an organized or a spontaneous act, articulated through touristic, working, academic or other visit to a foreign country. An ideal of the civil diplomacy lies in the networking among the civil society actors through which cultural diversities are prevailed by the personal narratives and direct interpersonal communication. Instruments of the civil diplomacy are often overlapping or are interrelated with the cultural diplomacy, however, the purpose, or final goal remains different. Civil diplomacy can be developed in the contexts where governments are collaborating with the civil society (Rogač Mijatović, 2014: 78-79). This is a prerequisite for a cultural diplomacy in its totality, and hereby I argue and question, why, and how a civil society can contribute if the government excludes it from the collaborative processes.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT: A CONCEPTUAL ANTAGONISM

Throughout its actions, cultural diplomacy should not represent only the nationally constructed and represented cultural identity but also other identity politics formed through the socio-cultural content produced in the public, private and civil sector. It is related with the culture in its totality, not just to the nationally constructed identity narratives.

Cultural diplomacy is a part of the general cultural policy. Contemporary cultural policies are oriented towards the citizen, individual, in the whole territory of the country. Territorially conceptualized principles of cultural policy, or territorially (state) conceptualized/motivated cultural policies are putting the citizen and the whole territory of one country in the centre of attention. It is a cultural policy based on a civil concept which is also an ideological concept versus the traditional or

ethnical (Dragičević Šešić, Dragojević, 2006: 166). Civil concept of cultural policy differentiates from the cultural politics that is based on the ethnic community that is constructed as national, and works with the instruments of “cultural representation” of the state and nation, preservation and promotion of the cultural identity. Territorially conceptualized cultural policy presents pluralism, diversity or ideas, actions, concepts and enhancement of new production processes and cultural content. Such cultural policy approach is inclusive, and involves diverse cultural content produced in the public, private and civil sector.

Cultural policies as a set of practices are addressing the questions of everyday life within a society or social relations, and are reshaped through normative regulations. Culture, seen as an autonomous societal field, can be positioned as such only if its autonomous role is supported and performed by certain political acts. Furthermore, cultural policy is one segment in the public policies therefore related to the changes in other segments of public policies as well as to socio-political and economic changes.

The Civil sector is the active part of society that takes a responsible role in the reformation and decision making policy discourse and has an important role in those processes. However, in certain political contexts it is under attack, or it is excluded from those processes as in the Macedonian political discourse in the past years, where all decisions are taken without consultative processes with the most active part of the cultural field, the independent cultural sector. Cultural policy, if shaped without participation of the civil society, excludes the content from one of the most vibrant cultural sectors and is related to general political ideal represented as “official” culture within the state system. Cultural diplomacy as a part of the cultural policy is inevitably related to the same political ideal represented within the state system.

The question is how in a political ideal where civil society is marginalized and put under scrutiny by the establishment – can a cultural diplomacy be activated or how it is performed by the players in civil society?

The general cultural landscape in Macedonia is dominated by the alleged “official” culture created by an unwieldy/unmanageable system of cultural bodies, heavily centralized, being under the direct control of the state administration (central, regional and local). Cultural institutions inherited the principles of governance from the previous system. They have been detached from the developing needs in the larger cultural field, and in spite of the rapid socio-political and economic changes have not experienced a significant structural transition. Such situation only works on preservation and conservation of the traditional or cultural policy of “cultural representation” based on insignificant support of plural and diverse cultural content which produces “crises of cultural field”. Evidence to that, is a very small, or no support to independent, contemporary art productions, favorizing of the content related to the construction of national narratives and semiotics. The production of the symbolic basket of mainstream production serves as national mobilization instrument. Moreover, here we can witness a cultural policy completely subjected to a national ideology where proactive engagement of other actors is not facilitated. Or, the state systems are not permeable, not inclusive and do not include the actual actions developed in the independent sector.

National cultural strategies on the other side after the 2008 economic crises are changing the terminologies and focus of the interest to commercialization instead public interest. We cannot deny the economic aspects of some cultural production, and it is important to note that different market driven strategies and policies tend to neglect various social functions of culture and its public role.

On the other hand the civil sector, or the independent cultural sector directs its strategies towards the production of public goods and content and it is a catalyst of the diverse citizen interest and voice.

The civil sector or the ‘independent cultural sector’¹ develops specific values and employs models of collaboration which are democratizing the environment. Independent sector models involve the process of self-organization, self-management and other collaborative, participative approaches as inclusive, flexible and open to transformation in order to address the presence – the actual socio-political economic and cultural processes.

Civil sector also mediates or intervenes and negotiates, and creates a possibility for a creation of dialogue between artists, cultural operators, audiences, institutions etc. In the independent sector artists, producers, thinkers, activists, cultural organizations and initiatives create and act in a similar manner, sharing common values and tend to build a society in which they would like to live together with their audiences, participants and supporters.

Specifically, organizations from the independent cultural scene are busy with the reflection of the reality; they are operating in the field of contemporary art and production where the social materiality is reflected in the content. Everyday active participation in the socio-cultural, political and economic context relates them to the present, or the actual needs, problems. Content developed by these organizations creates another symbol apart from the one presented through official policies, based on diversity and inclusion, created through articulation from a critical stand point, from where the critique is reflected in the context, with the aim to develop a perspective for a different future.

Moreover, in the field where contemporary performing arts operate, problems include reflections of the community, the collectives, since these works are produced in collaborative processes and with many others, or together. Therefore, these organizations are thinking about “togetherness” by rethinking and producing new or dynamic systems of collaboration where communication and dialogue are two-way streams, and operate equally among all parties included.

With such inner communicational and collaborative structure, cultural diplomacy of this sector is a creation of vivid relations, streams, structures that allow presentation of values they stand for, their aspirations, activities and plans.

1 It is a term used in the region of ex-Yugoslavia with aim to distinguish a part of the civil sector in culture that is independent from the state and other decision making powers in their governing, programming and operational processes.

FROM THE POLITICAL IDEAL OF REPRESENTATION TO THE POLITICAL IDEAL OF INCLUSION, OR CONCLUSION

Absence of a dialogue in Macedonia made the citizens in Macedonia hostages of nationalistic illusions of the establishment that put the country in large political crises and antagonism of the ones with the ethnical ideological concept and those for the civil concept of the state development. Macedonia becomes a binary opposition of those aiming for political ideal of citizen inclusion, and those struggling to defend the traditional ideals.

Dialogue occurs when we use each other's presence and activity, in order to mirror and check, doubt, deepen or reaffirm what we think. We see it as a space and as an activity at the same time.²

Dialogue by different thinkers is seen as a multi-dimensional, dynamic and context-dependent process of creating meaning (Philips, 2011: 25-26).

Or, David Bohm, Donald Factor and Peter Garrett in the paper Dialogue – A proposal³ talk about the dialogue:

“In Dialogue, a group of people can explore the individual and collective presuppositions, ideas, beliefs, and feelings that subtly control their interactions. It provides an opportunity to participate in a process that displays communication successes and failures. It can reveal the often puzzling patterns of incoherence that lead the group to avoid certain issues or, on the other hand, to insist, against all reason, on standing and defending opinions about particular issues. Dialogue is a way of observing, collectively, how hidden values and intentions can control our behavior, and how unnoticed cultural differences can clash without our realizing what is occurring. It can therefore be seen as an arena in which collective learning takes place and out of which a sense of increased harmony, fellowship and creativity can arise.”

Absence of communication processes and dialogue created deviation of the cultural models and enabled ethnocentrism to come to its pick.

Bohm, Factor and Garrett are explaining also that dialogue is concerned with providing a space within which attention can be given, and can be experienced both individually and collectively.

They also make a distinction to what is not a dialogue:

“Dialogue is not discussion, a word that shares its root meaning with “percussion” and “concussion” both of which involve breaking things up. Nor is it debate. These forms of conversation contain an implicit tendency to point toward a goal, to hammer out an agreement, to try to solve a problem or have one's opinion prevail. It is also not a “salon”, which is a kind of gathering that is both informal and most often characterized by an intention to entertain, exchange friendship, gossip and other

2 Dragana Alfirević on Dialogue in Nomad Dance Academy advocacy platform

3 Dialogue - a proposal, paper by David Bohm, Donald Factor and Peter Garrett, http://www.david-bohm.net/dialogue/dialogue_proposal.html

information. Although the word “dialogue” has often been used in similar ways, its deeper, root meaning implies that it is not primarily interested in any of this.”

Cultural Diplomacy can be articulated in its totality only in dialogue with all sectors representing one state.

If there is no collaboration and dialogue, civil society would present and disseminate the paradigm based on critical reflection of the identity politics of the government as a parallel. Civil society would create a field in which diplomacy is implemented through actions of actors of cultural scene in the international scope where the information and content are shared bottom-up – aside of the centralized top down politics of the higher diplomacy.

Despite the obstacles, the independent cultural scene in Macedonia operates alongside/parallel to the established or dominant system, promoting new cultural and artistic content together with innovative work practices.

Together with the international partners, it promotes new models of collaboration in forms of networks, platforms, promotes new models of institutions, being active in various advocacy processes with the goal to affect cultural policies, on the national, local and regional level.

On the other hand on the official level collaboration is still sporadic, non-systematic and occasional. I would name some regional and local cultural diplomacy bodies – or networks, platforms, such as Nomad Dance Academy, Kooperativa – a regional platform for culture, Associations of independent cultural scenes on national levels (Jadro Association of independent scene in Macedonia), and not only, but many bodies of individuals or organizations which are the voices and diplomats that are initiating, presenting and developing plurality in the cultural scene, particularly, in environments of political and social crises such as Macedonia.

In order to have a cultural diplomacy that would be effectuated in its totality, a cultural policy system or the political ideal should be stretched or reshaped from the political ideal of representation to the political ideal of inclusion of its diverse opinions, concepts, ideas, methods, and approaches based on dialogue.

It has to be constructed as a trampoline (as a metaphor for platform) from where action of diplomacy can be started. And a platform is a space for action or a space that allows different actions to happen.

With such an approach, Cultural Diplomacy as course of actions, based on exchange of ideas, values and other aspects of culture or identity, aiming to strengthen relations, but also to generate new, as well as to enhance socio-cultural collaboration etc., will be performed.

Otherwise, it can stay to perform only the political ideal of cultural representation oriented towards presentation of cultural identity narratives that exclude the majority of the active cultural players.

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Contemporary Art Practices in the Conduct of Cultural Diplomacy

Milica Savić

SHIFTING TRENDS IN CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

In recent conceptual considerations, there has been a widening of the scope of cultural diplomacy. This trend has implications on the direction that cultural diplomacy is heading to: instead of being defined as only pursuing a national/state agenda, cultural diplomacy and the concept of the non-state agent in cultural diplomacy have populist objectives.

In relation to the idea of the non-state agent, there is the concept of the citizen diplomat. Citizen diplomacy is a concept that every citizen of a nation has the right, and even, the responsibility, to help shape their nation's foreign relations, based on a few possible reasons. In terms of cultural diplomacy it implies that because of globalization and the ability for the public to communicate beyond borders, anyone can act as a diplomat. It does not even need to be as organized as with the non-state agent which implies that any action produced by a citizen or someone who wishes to represent a nation, is a method of cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, each citizen becomes a tool of cultural diplomacy. This is the most radical concept related to cultural diplomacy as it completely widens the official definition of cultural diplomacy and removes the need of the structure of the state system, which removes the idea of state agents and state objectives. By removing the structure of the state system, non-state agents and citizen diplomats operate on their own agenda, voluntarily, which is guided by their interest and intention.

New trends in concepts on cultural diplomacy also reflect a change in the methods and objective of cultural diplomacy. The ERICarts "Mobility Matters" report in 2008 that new approaches to cultural diplomacy such as the "thematic approach", which meant a change from "self" promotion to "value promotion". Once characterized by the modernist belief in authority and leadership which was reflected in cultural diplomacy agendas, it is now replaced by a more critical form of cultural diplomacy that engages in time-specific or contemporary cultural debates. Both the non-state agent and the citizen diplomat are outside of the state structure, with a voluntary agenda and objective for representing their state. The widening of the scope of cultural diplomacy to non-state actors and agents is a radical view of cultural diplomacy when compared to the traditional understanding of cultural diplomacy. By removing the role of the state in the function of cultural diplomacy, scholars supporting this definition are adapting cultural diplomacy to the contemporary context, not only where institutions are not enough, but where the marginal sector civil society and independent agents of culture, offer a more populist and critical view of national values and issues. It also emphasizes the role of individuals in being a crucial part of changing the paradigm.

CONTEMPORARY ART PRACTICES AND ROLE OF THE ARTIST IN THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FIELD

There is a specific distance between the artist and the society in that the artist views the realities of the society much more openly, as a way of addressing all sorts of problems. He is objective to the state; he works by his own methods and rules that are informed by a different agenda than that of politics. What makes the artist diplomat an interesting position is the understanding that artists are usually not in line with government agenda, as well as sometimes oppressed by the government, and therefore might address a theme or an issue in a different way than the state. This artistic “vision of the world” means that the artist has a critical opinion of globally spread issues such as globalization, government, social problems, capitalism, immigration, commercialization etc. Therefore, the medium of art actually embodies much more than art itself, yet all aspects of a culture such as values, traditions, and ways of life. In addition, artworks generate a discourse around the issues, leading to both a critical message to the public as well as a form for self-reflection or critique.

ARTISTS AND ART PRACTICES OF SERBIA

Following WWII, it was Raša Todosijević and Marina Abramović who were two the key figures of the Nova Umetnicka Praksa (New Art Practice), a group of alternative artists who broke free from their mainstream institutionalized methods and independently ran the Student Cultural Center (SKC) in Belgrade starting in 1968. Part of the premise of this new art practice was its influence by the political and social changes in Serbia, which in turn became an independent discourse of social, cultural and political life in Serbia. The New Art Practice and the works of Raša Todosijević and Marina Abramović signaled the peak of neo-avant-garde activities in East-Central Europe, making Belgrade not only the center of the progressive Yugoslav art scene but also the center for East-Central European art practices. Their production of meaningful and exciting contemporary art represented the society as being intellectually and artistically curious and capable of placing them into the realm of high quality art standards and practices on the international level. Yugoslav art practices reflected its “modernness” and its cultural distinctiveness.

During the 1990s, on the marginal cultural field, artists and cultural workers were once again empowered to react to the political, social and cultural realities of this system. This represented the new kind of artists of the 1990s – the generation that is rooted within a specific geopolitical/social/cultural context that was confronting history, and where specific questions about their local stories were inseparable from their art practices. Since during the 1990s, Serbian cultural contact was sporadic because of its isolation from the international community, the main figures in the art scene from the 2000s onward, become increasingly interested in self-management, reflection and articulation of their own position in relation to the official cultural policy. Serbian contemporary artists and their art practices became not only an independent representation of the alternative image of Serbia but also of the key cultural debates in Serbia. Miško Šuvaković also uses the phrase “art in the age of globalization” to understand the art scene in Serbia after 2000 (Šuvaković, 2010). By this he means that “art is produced inside a “planetary” process of networking on a social, political, economic, cultural and artistic level” (ibid). Serbian art during this

period, based on its context (of internal turbulence amongst internationalization of practices) becomes a critical platform for the analysis of the changes in Serbia and the representation of Serbia in an international context. Milica Tomić, Tanja Ostojić and Uroš Đurić fit into this generation. The new generation of artists in Serbia whose careers started post-90s is also in a specific context of their careers succeeding these periods, such as Boba Mirjana Stojadinović. However, they still feel the weight of the consequences of the 1990s and 2000s on the cultural sector, as well as the disorganization of the state system and the low support for artists.

Tanja Ostojić is an independent international performance and interdisciplinary artist. Although from Belgrade, she does not consider Serbia her country, pointing to the fact that she was born in Yugoslavia, a country that no longer exists. Her work draws inspiration from her own experience as a non-European Union citizen, a traveler and female artist. She considers herself Situationist performance artist and uses diverse media in her artistic research, thereby examining social configurations and relations of power. She works predominantly from the migrant woman's perspective and the approach in her works is defined by political positioning, humor and integration of the recipient. Her work, which is mostly centered on public interventions, deals with the issues of the female migrant in EU countries. She has been active internationally since the late 1990s.

Boba Mirjana Stojadinović became the President of Frekvencija, a non-profit small-format artists' association dedicated to production and promotion of innovative, experimental and critical art works and projects from all fields of contemporary culture. It works mainly in the fields of visual arts commonly in form of public discussions-forum, exhibitions, book publication and events. Her work also deals with the idea of "positions" – of positions of here and there, inside(r) and outside(r), as well as 'un-belonging' as way of deterritorialization. She is a member of DEZ org. In 2004 Mirjana was the personal assistant to Milica Tomić. She has also hand several production jobs such as for BELEF summer festival and for the Venice biennale.

Raša Todosijević is of the main protagonists of the Belgrade group of conceptual artists, a group that began to use new media, video, performance, actions, etc., to provoke and question the structure and functioning of current art practice, and society. His work is political, exploring the interrelations and tensions between authority and personal freedom, between Nation and the Individual. In so doing he advocates the role of the artist as social critic and political activist. He has exhibited in over a hundred solo and group exhibitions in Serbia and abroad in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje, Edinburgh, Florence, Paris, Modena, Turin, Brisbane, Tübingen, Priboj, Glasgow etc. His works are included in numerous museum and private contemporary art collections. His art is composed of installations, performance, video, paintings, sculptures, as objects made of different, clashing organic and non-organic materials: bread, fish, rubber plants, mud, plaster, water, metal, found objects, transistors, etc. Since 1973, he has also written essays on art theory, "art texts" and stories related to art.

Milica Tomić is based in Belgrade and Vienna. The topics of art include politics of memorialization, issues of political violence, nationality and identity, tensions between personal experience and media constructed images. She employs a

multimedia new technology approach with a focus on process and documenting/archiving. She has had over 100 solo and group shows on 3 continents, exhibiting worldwide since 1998. She is the author of many projects, workshops, lectures and conferences, as well as a visiting artist in international institutions of contemporary art. In 2002 she founded the art collective Grupa Spomenik or Monument Group.

Uroš Đurić took part in Belgrade punk movement in the early Eighties (Urban Guerrilla). He founded the Autonomist (anti) movement with Stevan Markuš in 1989. Uroš is a multi-disciplinary artist, appearing in several feature films & documentaries, as well as working as a graphic designer and DJ. He is one of the founders of REMONT as well as a regular contributor to several art magazines.

Marina Abramović is a Montenegro-citizen yet Belgrade-raised artist based in NYC, pioneer of performance art, also a part of the conceptual art movement. Topics of art include relationship between performer and performance, performer and the limits of body, with strong ties to Balkanist/Yugoslavian/Serbian symbols, values, rituals, tradition. Starting her career as a teenager, she only received international attention when she left Serbia. The show “The Artist is Present” 2010 at the MoMA NY, placed her in the international spotlight, thus creating an impetus to know her previous works and make documentaries about her and her life. In 2013, she appeared alongside rapper Jay-Z during his performance piece, “Picasso Baby” which extended her. She is also the founder of the Marina Abramović Institute for Performance Art in Hudson, NY.

Keeping in mind the context of both Serbia’s political and cultural history, the following analysis will further examine how contemporary art practices by the select Serbian artists function or overlap with the function of cultural diplomacy.

NARRATIVES OF THE SELECTED CONTEMPORARY ART PRACTICES

While Serbian contemporary artists investigate unique topics in relation to one another, after analysis of the research data, there are many overlapping and repeated topics and issues present in Serbian contemporary art practices by the selected artists in the period of 1990-2013. Here are nine categories of topics and issues present in Serbian contemporary art practices in the selection of artists through 1990-2013: Feminism, Politics of Memory, Eastern European Art, Social Issues (Global), Social Issues (Regional), European Integration, Contemporary Art as Genre (Curating, Role of Artist, Concept), Identity, Balkans, Artist Lecture, Intercultural Dialogue.

While there are 10 categories of topics and issues that are seen in Serbian contemporary art practices, there are also larger categories of classification in which we can delineate them in order to understand their possible function as manners of cultural diplomacy.

Identity, Feminism, European Integration, Social Issues and Politics of Memory relate to issues of Serbian culture, history, and socio-politics –

which includes issues of regional cooperation, intercultural dialogue and the position of Serbia in the international field.

Contemporary Art as Genre and Artist Lectures as forms of contemporary art practices relate to the capabilities of Serbian contemporary art practices and artists as agents of international models of contemporary art. It also places Serbian contemporary artists on an international art field through their own progress of contemporary art practices and in international exchange between Serbian artists and the world, on the premise of art. Another practice incorporated in this category is the presentation of awards, granting of residencies and studies.

'Balkans' and 'Eastern European Art' relate to two things: one is the use of the theme of the Balkans as a meta-signifier for Serbia. The second is the Balkans and Eastern Europe as a regional approach to curating group exhibitions, whose themes spread across shared-themes and issues. Because of this, we can also say that these topics also relate to regional cooperation, intercultural dialogue, as well as issues of identity and politics of memory.

Intercultural dialogue and Social Issues in a global sense, measures up to international cooperation, regional cooperation, and the relation of Serbian culture to the international discourse about society and identity.

While I have outlined the main categories of topics and issues present in Serbian contemporary art practices, the following section will look at specific semiotics, in order to understand the specific treatment of these issues in regards to the Serbian context. For the following section of the semiotic analysis, I have chosen selected *key* art practices of each artist between 1990-2013 for analysis, keeping in mind their thematic involvement as well as their degree of international contact.

EU Integration: On the one hand, these topics take on a form of activism, as seen in Tanja Ostojić's and Milica Tomić's artworks, addressing the debates and issues of the female body or of new art practices. However, they mark the intellectual and creative capabilities of Serbian contemporary artists and their excellent work in the field of international art practices addresses certain debates and issues seen between the EU and the non-EU (female) citizen. Instead of dealing with Serbian values explicitly, by using the EU as the forefront of the issues of the Yugoslavian citizen, they inversely represent the Yugoslavian nation through its undesirable connection with global structures, basing the identity of the Serbian on the *non-identity* of the Serbian as an EU citizen. Ostojić's work presents the phantasmal perception of the EU and the emotional citizen behind the idea of Europe and the position of Serbia which is harmonious with citizens from countries further East. This in effect links the position of Serbia to the position of countries who also produced refugees in the early 21st century, and instills a discourse on the relationship between the inferior and the superior, and as the artist, takes the stand of the critic through an exposé of the still conflicted relationship between the West and the East, and the position of Yugoslavia as geographically in-between, yet due to politics, closer to the East.

War, Yugoslavia: The topics of war and politics of memory are constantly replayed and

reused, concerning the Yugoslav wars (*Balkan Baroque*, *Towards the Matheme*, *I am Milica Tomić*), WWII (*Living Death Camp*), and pre-20th century wars (*Balkan Erotic Epic*). It is not only used as the topic for investigation, but is also represented through symbols of war (partisan hat, rifles, Kalashnikov, wounds, bones, the image of the battlefield, war narrative). It is also used in relation to the use of micro-biographies (*Balkan Baroque*), which connects the artist directly to issues of war. In *Living Death Camp Project*, while the topic is related to WWII as opposed to the all-too-typical Yugoslav wars, it occurs in a post-context and represents the constant revisiting or “re-digging” (alluding to forensic science and archeology) of the past – this obsession with the past becomes a characteristic down the line of the selection of art works. These works are predominantly focused on the issues prevalent during Serbia in the 1990s such as war, ethnic violence, and social issues. This constant revocation of certain aspects of Serbian culture and values by artist is something to be mentioned in and of itself. Artists, as mentioned in the theoretical chapter, are influenced and inspired by their surroundings, finding inspiration in problematics: if there is still a need to address the same topics and issues that relate to recent Serbian history as a way to explain or investigate these topics to a public, then perhaps these are the topics and issues that are still prevalent in the Serbian society today. These are also topics that have shaped contemporary Serbian cultural identity.

The Balkans: The Balkans was a big topic for Abramović after the Yugoslav wars. When investigating the Yugoslav wars, the topic of “responsibility” comes up as well as shame, guilt, repentance (*Balkan Baroque*), and teetering around the idea of a “collective responsibility”. She investigates regional shared history and culture (*Balkan Erotic Epic*) showing the roots and pulling the thread once again between Serbia and former Yugoslav countries, during a time when Balkan stereotypes were very high. Investigating Serbia through the meta-signifier of the Balkans is another way that Serbian culture is portrayed in the selection of artworks, primarily in reference to folkloric cultural identity and politics of memory of war in the region.

Representation: One use of representation is through the use of familiar symbols (faces) in order to use the modes of representation to one’s advantage (*Down and Out in New York*) in order to create a correlation between two cultural scenes (Serbia and New York). While one admits to the powers of visual representation in terms of luring the audience or seducing their knowledge, another treatment of representation worked with the underlying question of how can we devise a new system for representing something? (*Gott Liebt die Serben*) This comes out of a post-modern skepticism of previously accepted historical notion of representations. This is used by the artists not only to call for critical reinvestigation of the meaning of symbols (*Gott Liebt die Serben*), but also for finding new meanings in representations (*HEMA/HEMA*).

International Cooperation through Contemporary Art Methods: There are also varying degrees in which the art practices are instigating cultural contact. Art practices in the form of conferences (*Towards the Matheme*) are linked to scientific and political gatherings, but by being artist-organized, questions emerge as to who are the agents in the international field and who is administering international contact. Who is motivated or inspired by creating relationships with foreign nations? Lectures and performances as an art practice (*Living Death Camp Project*) open

up the possibilities for communication as these forms of practice demand artist-audience communication. Also, through the prevalence of public performance art as a method of contemporary art practices, where art is initiated through a process (*Looking for a Husband*) Serbian contemporary artists present, in the form of a process and the use of the self as subject as well as the use of narrative, a critical story about Serbian culture. Process pieces also have a lot to offer in regards to the guest country or the partner country in which the artist is cooperating with, such as their rules, regulations, values and perspectives on Serbia. Perhaps, most explicitly, networks and associations of independent artists create an independent cultural cooperation which receives updates on projects, residencies and cultural news. Also through the printing of the publications, cultural news is disseminated not only within the association but also throughout the international contemporary art scene (publications were handed out without charge as a form of promotion).

IMPLICATIONS ON CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND SERBIAN CULTURAL POLICY AGENDA

The case study also begs the question: what are the implications of presenting the issues in Serbian society to the international public during a time when Serbia is widely misunderstood internationally and its image is anyways tainted by the image of war, ethnic violence, and nationalism?

Art practices that deal with issues and questions of Serbian culture, rather than *explicitly* presenting Serbian culture, through symbolic power, present a certain discourse around the subject of Serbian culture which is a part of a larger discourse existing both domestically and internationally. Additionally, while cultural diplomacy methods often deal with a certain topic (history, language, food, art), art practices work intertextually and can incorporate many aspects of culture within their cultural product – which in itself can be seen as a form of multi-layered cultural diplomacy.

Using their own biographies, micro-histories, as well as the representation of the self – the artist becomes the starting point of his/her own empirical research about the topic. (*Balkan Baroque*, *Balkan Epic*, *I am Milica Tomić*, *HEMA/HEMA*, *The Whole in the Hole*, *Looking for a Husband with an EU Passport*, *Illegal Border Crossing*, *After Courbet*). The use of the narrative, self, micro-biographies are much more than a mirror-image or narcissistic representation of the *self* and the story of the self, but function as a takeoff point for conceptual considerations about culture and society.

Noting the premise of the soft-power approach (Joseph Nye) which is the ability to seduce the audience or the masses rather than coerce, art practices, through topics and methods are acting seductively, through images, topics, and methods. This is seen in all of the works in varying degrees. Most of all, the art practices are provoking. Part of this provocation is also on the use of the exotic Easternness or Balkanist discourse throughout works (*Balkan Erotic Epic*, *Balkan Baroque*). This act of provocation and of seduction mirrors the actual perception of Serbia, yet chooses to explain and present Serbia through these themes, re-representing, re-questioning and re-probing perceptions of Serbia, which are felt in the international community.

Overall, there is an overwhelming emphasis on issues that have to deal with politics. While it is often considered that politics and culture are like oil and water, politics very largely defines culture. This is seen in the culture of Serbia, whose cultural identity is so clearly shaped by its different political phases as well as by international politics.

During the 1990s, due to the political status of Yugoslavia, artist involvement in international exhibitions was limited. Although artwork was still being produced within Serbia, with a strong emphasis on values, issues and debates about Serbia's political situation as well as its consequence on the social situation, it did not reach an international audience, until the 2000.

What is seen through the research is that there are overlaps between the activity on the contemporary art scene and the agenda of cultural diplomacy. Specifically, it is seen that during the period after the 2000s, which was oriented around the "re-opening of Serbia to the world", contemporary art practices also had a strong presence internationally. These international exhibitions were mainly "retrospective" in that they presented art works produced during a specific time-period preceding the exhibition and reflecting a time of turbulence. This means that the form of "re-opening of Serbia to the world" when it comes to art, is to fill in the blanks of recent Serbian history in order to foster cultural understanding.

What this achieves is intercultural understanding, fighting of stereotypes, and the opportunity for future relations, either culturally or publically between Serbia and other nations. However, the topics and themes dealt with by the artists were less about "warming" the world to Serbia, but rather shows Serbia to the world through themes, debates and issues, which show a disconnect between the intentions of official cultural diplomacy and outcomes of independent practices.

Ostojić's media scandal creates an interesting situation concerning cultural diplomacy as it is widely agreed upon that cultural diplomacy, as its objectives deal with fighting stereotypes and maintaining good relations internationally, should improve relations between cultures through positive exchanges, which is not the case in some of Ostojić's work. Also, considering the nature of cultural diplomacy in creating relationships in-between nations and cultures, and especially considering Serbia's socio-political agenda following the 2000s, works like *After Courbet* and *Count on Us* actually instigate a tension, such as between Serbia and the E.U. and the U.N.

Art in the use of cultural diplomacy as a form of showing social and cultural discourse, not only within the nation but also surrounding the nation, was the topic examined through the research.

Based on the definitions and concepts of contemporary art practices, the contemporary artist is informed by issues in society, taking a more philosophical and critical approach which creates a space for discourse, apt for analysis in regard to the cultural diplomacy function. In terms of artists, demonstrating values and the interest in values can be seen directly in their artworks and exhibitions, specifically through the selection of topics, the representation of time-and-space specific values and issues and the symbolic/semiotic capital of art practices in this regard.

In terms of representation, as shown by the research, artists do function as cultural representatives of their nation and often work side-by-side within cultural events and even being delegated as representatives of the state (officially or unofficially). The selection of Serbian contemporary artists are repeatedly involved, not only with one another, but also with the general cultural and social themes and issues present in the Serbian nation, in this way lending them useful to the idea of the citizen diplomat. In the main international exhibitions, renowned artists, such as Raša Todosijević and Milica Tomić, and Tanja Ostojić, are constantly being represented. Their role as artists who are constantly being represented in the important and key international exhibitions on Serbia, solidify the role of the artists as critical “spokespeople” or main “presenters” of Serbian culture abroad.

What is also clear is that no artist represents their country in the same fashion. Politically or socially-driven (activist artists) such as Milica Tomić, Tanja Ostojić, and Uroš Đurić, are constantly represented as key figures of the Serbian contemporary art scene, constantly cooperating with one another, acting as cultural diplomats for the Serbian nation, but internationally as well as domestically. Each artist embodies a specific cultural and social debate or question in relation to Serbia. For instance, Ostojić’s work is centered around European Integration, migration and the female; Tomić’s work is a research on politics of memory; Stojadinović, while still young, investigates the lucrateness of cultural exchange through intercultural cooperation between artists on art projects; Uroš Đurić focuses on social issues in the wake of capitalism and globalization; Raša Todosijević and Marina Abramović both act within the topics dealing with contemporary art practices specifically although they intertwine with Serbian issues and themes. Because of the specificities of each artist through their own practices, it can be argued that each artist acts within a certain field of culture, even though they all use contemporary art practices as a method. Because of these qualities of the artists and their selection of art practices, according to the widening of the scope of cultural diplomacy towards non-state agents, and the creation of a mini ‘civil society’ through the re-representation of the selection of artists with one another, artists can act as citizen diplomats.

However, it seems that in the case of Serbia, it is perhaps a mixture of this antagonism towards state by artist and the attitude about representing or presenting any ties with the state (even if they are not necessarily ideological), and the attitude about representing Serbia based on the issue of identity tied in with the complicated recent history of Yugoslavia as shown with Abramović and Ostojić. This also reveals the issues with national identity in the age of globalization when border shifts and the increase of migrants means a rethinking of national identity. Therefore, this brings up the complication of cultural diplomacy in a world where identity is becoming more personalized to the point where citizenship no longer defines loyalty or even servitude to the country.

Considering all the ambiguities of new approaches to cultural diplomacy, I can glean that because of the critical nature of contemporary art practices, they lend better to the idea of cultural diplomacy than cultural relations because they offer a standpoint, rather than merely intermingle cultural bodies. Art practices produce representative works, by artists who act as, and often *are* cultural representatives of the state. What the research shows is that in the Serbian context, where the government’s efforts

of cultural diplomacy are disorganized, ad-hoc and consist of short term projects, contemporary art practices and the artists which can be seen as a form of a “civil society” engage in international cultural contact and disseminate cultural works that deal with Serbian culture and the presentation of Serbian cultural and social debates in their practices. Because of this, independent artists as citizen diplomats eradicate the issue of the *cultural propaganda*.

Perhaps what we are encountering instead is that in the event of disorganized or confused policies (as seen in the case study of Serbia), low level of standing in the international sphere, which is the case in marginal societies (as marginal societies demonstrate low levels of the sense of national purpose or consensus), marginal groups within marginal societies, such as independent artists become the main representatives of national culture, even though their representations resemble a critical research on societal issues, rather than an explicit representation of culture. In practices such as lectures, forums, networking, there is high potential for international cultural cooperation based on the role of the community (audience or participants).

It is also seen that sometimes the artists’ interests and works of art are often not parallel to government’s interests or even against it. This brings into question where the borders are for understanding “diplomacy” during the process of the widening of the scope of cultural diplomacy. For example, is diplomacy entering the world of public relations which is often noted as working with the motto of “no publicity is bad publicity”? Is art perhaps too critical to serve as cultural diplomacy?

On the other hand, as seen through the case study, in the case of problems between countries, specifically such as the United States and Serbia starting in 1999, cultural relations, to some extent still remain. Thereby, when we think about culture in the role of diplomacy, we see how culture can prevail over other sorts of tensions, such as political tensions.

What is also seen is that contemporary art practices introduce a new self-reflective cultural diplomacy, where culture is not made merely to be exported – its visibility is as important inside the nation, acting diplomatically internally as well. By engaging the international or regional community in the debates on Serbian culture, the international community aids in helping the Serbian nation overcome these issues – introducing new complimentary links with international cultural cooperation.

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Gastronomy as a Tool in Cultural Diplomacy and Nation branding of Serbia

Tanja Strugar

The international reputation of Serbia has persistently borne an unfavourable overtone echoing since the conflicts of the 1990s. Generations have already grown up feeling disconnected, lacking a sense of national pride as well as a strong and clear vision of the future. It is difficult for these new generations to have a drive to move the country forward or to represent it constructively as it is primarily viewed, internally as well as externally, as a nation with little to offer to its younger generations presently (hence the growing Diaspora of people who left Serbia looking for employment). It is becoming increasingly clear that this is an issue of utmost importance, and to attempt to alter this atmosphere and image through political diplomacy alone is difficult to imagine. Serbia's government has to turn to and rely upon defining elements in its national and cultural foundation as a solution. Determining these elements of what it means to be Serbian, and utilising them to that end, would inspire, motivate, and give drive to the young generations to work towards building a better country with a positive image.

Culture is one of the major defining components of a nation's identity. Represented and utilised adequately, it becomes easily and clearly identifiable and recognised around the world, especially in a globalised digital age. In the case of Serbia, culture's role is a historical one, its presence vanishing from the government's list of priorities and left to survive in history, heritage, and the set values of the Serbian population. This has left the national identity to be defined by lifestyle traits acquired through net worth and lifestyle choices made in order to affiliate with other identities and their values. With this as the new way in which Serbian identity is developed the long-term approach of the government to its cultural policy should be based on an understanding that they themselves are the creators of the perceptions and image of Serbia.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY & ITS MANY FACES

Due to culture's ambiguous characterisation, cultural diplomacy encompasses a variety of societal features and translates them to the outside world. Besides the classical examples of cultural diplomacy, this has also been seen with some less known elements of culture such as sports, architecture, and food.

In the last decade a term was coined in order to describe a cultural diplomacy tool known as culinary diplomacy, or gastrodiploamacy, and has been utilised by a variety of countries as a soft-power instrument for boosting their public image. Culinary diplomacy has proven itself successful through the diverse efforts of especially Asian nations, where its use first became popularised amongst government organisations. The forms in which it is applied vary greatly, ranging from chefs

behaving as ambassadors, to food festivals, campaigns abroad, and governmental offices established specifically to participate in diplomatic affairs through food. Thus gastrodiploacy has already proven itself successful as a soft power instrument of public diplomacy. The importance of its identification is highlighted by the general trend of globalisation, where it is becoming more difficult, especially for smaller countries, to showcase their national identity. With the possibility of launching gastrodiploatic outreach programmes, these smaller countries' need for international recognition in order to stimulate tourism, popularity and national pride has become more feasible. It has the potential to reshape public diplomacy through its promotion of gastronomic exchange between nations, as well as its strengthening of cultures through its encouraging pride in nationals. The number of ways in which a nation can utilise gastrodiploacy is endless, but ultimately it leaves us to wonder what the chefs of the world have in store for us.

NATION BRANDING: A BITE OF CULTURE

The term “nation branding” was originally coined by Simon Anholt, the ‘father’ of nation branding, who described it as “occur[ing] when public speaks to public; when a substantial proportion of the population of the country – not just civil servants and paid figureheads – gets behind the strategy and lives it out in their everyday dealings with the outside world” (Anholt, 2003: 123). This method of altering the reputation or image of a country and its people follows the understanding that each country already had a set brand that was interpreted somewhat organically, before the structuralised perception of a nation was being monitored and controlled. Today one will find many rating systems established that determine the strength of a country's national brand, including a variety of factors such as corruption, tourism and economy.

Tourism has acted as one of the major contributors to a nation's brand, pushing an international reputation through a variety of media and travel offers. Specifically, it occurs when there are direct efforts to communicate aspects of a nation's cuisine to foreigners in the hopes of drawing food tourists, or ‘foodies’ in to visit. This tool has become such a fundamental part of tourism as a whole that the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*) releases a report on the global state of affairs within food tourism. The UNWTO has determined that “over a third of tourist spending is devoted to food...[and] the cuisine of the destination is an aspect of the utmost importance in the quality of the holiday experience” (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*, 6-8). Additionally they acknowledge the necessity of food tourism in the definition of a nation's brand and image, especially with tourists and expats who experience the culture of the host country” (*The Global Report on Food Tourism*, 12).

Food tourism has become one of the most popular reasons for travelling to specific nations, and that is mainly due to the strategies implemented by the hosts to maintain quality and improve the promotion and communication with interested parties. With these examples we can begin to envision what it would take to apply certain methods to our particular case study, which we will discuss in the next chapter..

SERBIA – DORMANT GASTRONOMIC STRENGTH

Serbian gastronomy has been reflected in the diversity in the nation's history, specifically its interaction with other religions, cultures, and nations. These interactions have resulted in traditional dishes varying from classical Turkish pastries, to Greek musaka, to dishes belonging to Serbia and other countries equally, such as sarma, proja, ajvar, etc. Serbian cuisine expands to other traditional meals that don't necessarily include meat. Examples of this would be sarma, which is a leaf of sauerkraut used to package rice and minced meat, and proja, a type of corn bread that usually has fresh cheese or kajmak within it. There are a variety of pickled foods that are considered delicacies, as well as slatko, which is a jam-like food that is usually eaten by the spoon. To tie all these flavours in is rakija, a brandy made of any fruit one can think of. Serbs have rakijas made of strawberry, apricot, quince, plum, grapevine, walnut, cherry, and many others. Though there are a variety of other dishes that could be mentioned, Serbian cuisine cannot claim to be a national cuisine, as it is a hybrid of various cuisines, as well as a variety of cuisines that exist within its borders, such as the Vojvodina gastronomy being particular to its geography. Vojvodina acts as an ideal example of both the external influences of other national cuisines as well as locally developed cuisine. Being influenced by primarily Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak cuisine, it offers a variety of dishes customary to those national cuisines, while simultaneously portraying its own customised version of the aforementioned. Examples include "Srem homemade sausage, Srem salama, Apatin Jelen beer, Futog fresh sauerkraut, Fruška gora linden tree honey, Karlovac Riesling, Pearl Island-Muscat krokan, Petrovac sausage and Bermet." This hybridism has until now offered not only a wider variety of dishes, but has mostly posed as a problem in the patenting of these dishes (Gagic, 2012).

Serbia's relationship with its culinary culture has long stood as a symbol of its history as a melting pot of cultures, offering Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, Greek and many other national dishes. Besides dishes of particular nations one can also find variations of dishes that have been blended together to form a hybrid Serbian meal. Many find it hard to define what exactly constitutes as "Serbian" cuisine, which leaves the questions how does one determine what is Serbian cuisine and whether this should be defined more accurately. Kajmak is the ideal example, belonging to the cuisine of not only Serbia, but also Turkey, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This fact would not only affect the capability of branding Serbian food as solely theirs, but also their right to claim any authorship over the dishes.

The interrelation between culture and tourism has received positive reviews, such as the opinion of Vesna Đukic Dojčinović in her book "Cultural Tourism." The development of "a tourist and cultural offer includes not only an offer for tourists, but locals as well, who, perhaps even before the others, should become familiar with their cultural resources to help them better understand and respect those resources. So, on the one hand, we obtain a new framework for a dynamic cultural life of the local population and on the other, an attractive tourist and cultural offer of the city and the village, which can attract tourists to better understand their distinctive cultural resources" (Dojčinović, 11). As the elements of culture are inclined to be presented in variations regarding its authenticity, one can only draw conclusions for specific cases, meaning that certain cultural elements belonging to specific nations could be utilised in tourism properly or commoditised into a quasi-version of their true nature.

The Tourism Organisation of Serbia created a campaign titled “Soulfood Serbia,” where a 12-minute promotional video of Serbia’s gastronomy was created, depicting the specialty of each region of Serbia and how it is created. Additionally they created a pamphlet that describes various recipes and lists gastronomic events taking place within each region. These actions have achieved a fair amount of PR success for Serbia, with the promotional video receiving eleven awards in various festivals. This initiative almost seems to have acted in direct response to the study mentioned previously, as it accomplishes the marketing aspect of the whole operation to promote gastronomic events. From this perspective it would seem that the food tourism of Serbia has a lot to offer and is not living up to its full potential because of this confusion as to what is suitable for marketing and what is not. Furthermore it would appear that Serbia’s government is still working on defining Serbian gastronomy, and cannot move forward until it has accomplished this.

Festivals can be found throughout Serbia and typically represent a food that this region is known for, such as a cheese or cured meat. The campaign “Soulfood” used this form of classification to present Serbian gastronomy, noting a variety of events that take place around the country. The main types of events are bio food, meat/livestock, themed festivals, and museums.

The events oriented around livestock and meat or fish are also quite popular and take place all over the country. An event that deals with the exhibition of livestock in general is the Biodiversity fair in Dimitrovgrad, which brings farmers together to showcase their best livestock. Besides this, most events deal with a particular form of meat, such as fish festivals. Some examples include Fishermen’s Evenings (Alaske Večeri) that occurs at Veliko Gradište, the Riverside Cauldron (Porečki Kotlić) in Donji Milanovac, and the Golubac Cauldron (Golubački Kotlić) in Golubac. These events typically have competitions for preparing specific dishes, such as riblja čorba (fish chowder). Other events of this variety include the Pirot Lamb Festival in Pirot that also has a lamb roast competition and exhibitions of honey and cheese, as well as the Barbeque festival, in Leskovac.

Finally there are the museums, which are fewer in number, but just as particular as the festivals. The three main ones that exist in Serbia are: the Museum of bread in Pećinci, the Museum of tobacco in Telečka, and the Museum of apiculture in Sremski Karlovci. These museums offer a more sustainable option to the events that only occur once a year, making regular touring a possibility.

These sectors only make up a fragment of the private institutions that have contributed to the food tourism sphere of Serbia. Food fairs, markets, television shows, restaurants, etc. place importance on the gastronomic element of Serbian culture, and revive a once crucial aspect of daily life and reformulate it in order to appeal to wider and younger audiences. The cooperation between these institutions and governmental bodies could bring forth an even stronger national culinary brand through food tourism, but this would require an official intersectorial collaboration and cooperation, which we have yet to see.

SERBIA'S CURRENT POSITION

When looking at all that has been revealed in this chapter, one sees potential form all sides. One has to first see where the fault lies in the negative implications of Serbia and its reputation. The government seems to stand as a very large obstacle for Serbia's development and progress, as many foreigners noted the corruption being one of their main disappointments. This is also seen in the survey with the nationals, where their view of their relationship with the government was either negative or non-existent. This has its effect on the national brand, as many found that this translated poorly into systematic and administrative issues, and took its toll on the mentality of the people.

This isn't the only case of Serbs and foreigners having issues because of the government; many foreigners noted that their biggest problem with Serbia was the mentality of the Serbs, seeming to always live in the past and always addressing the national situation as a hopeless one. This bothered many foreigners, as they felt that Serbs cannot progress while still stuck in the past. Other elements that would need to change in order for the national brand of Serbia to gain a more positive light include the issue of racism towards minorities, the dirtiness of the cities and towns, and the general need for transparency in many offices and institutes. If effort was put into the removal of the corrupt and the progression of the Serbian mentality towards one with a more democratic theme then perhaps the national brand would slowly begin to change into one that reflects all the potential within the country's elements. The other component that would need to be more thoroughly developed is initiatives in cultural diplomacy. As we have discovered, besides the cultural centre in Paris, there are no official cultural representations abroad for Serbia. In the context of changing the national brand the implementation of such centres would be the most traditional form of spreading awareness as to what Serbia has to offer. This field in Serbian governmental affairs has a lot of potential to assist in our efforts to rebrand Serbia, making it something with delving into more deeply later on. Another note that must be taken is that many foreigners come to Serbia for non-tourism related matters, making it appear as though Serbia's tourism promotion could perhaps not be as effective as one would suppose. With many foreigners stating that they came to Serbia because of work and significant others, it is clear that there is a need for more a sustained and comprehensive effort with a long-term objective of making Serbia an attractive tourist destination, like Croatia and Montenegro. It must be noted that this initiative cannot be achieved quickly, must be maintained with continuous effort, based on an attractive element of Serbia that can be offered to tourists, and finally, must be maintained through partnerships between private, civil, and governmental sectors. Only with the development of a project such as this can the tourist market begin to develop into a sustainable element of Serbia's economy, social structure, and indirectly influence the need for transparency within the governmental and private sectors.

Another element in the field of tourism that was concluded to be beneficial was the natural scenery of the country, with many foreigners stating that that element was one of the enjoyable aspects. With this in mind perhaps initiating a campaign similar to Montenegro's 'Wild Beauty' one would boost global awareness as to Serbia's nature and scenic getaways. The other element that should be developed further is the

thematic routes that go through Serbia. The historical, architectural, religious and artistic themed routes can be found crossing through almost every city in Serbia, so the development of the offer of these routes and complementary promotion would also prove to be effective.

Concerning the relationship between Serbia's gastronomy and image, based on what we have seen already occur with its role in cultural diplomacy and nation branding it would appear that its presence does in fact assist in the positive rebranding of Serbia. Specifically, the 'Soulfood' campaign garnered interest from foreigners, positive feedback from nationals, and, with its awards from various film festivals, effectiveness in our tourism efforts. Having said this, each individual effort made with gastronomy in the relevant fields has its positive aspects and negative: In the context of culinary diplomacy, in official practice Serbia has no initiatives belonging to the field. Though they have received positive feedback when presenting national dishes abroad there have been no events placing the meals centre stage. With this in mind, the use of food in diplomatic affairs as an official representation of Serbian culture should be further developed.

The largest problems Serbia faces in its use of gastronomy are the definition, protection, and offer of Serbian cuisine. The first issue is the unclear definition of what Serbian food in fact is. With each dish's origin that correlates with Serbia's own history, it is hard for Serbia to truly argue any right to its dishes. Many nationals are aware of this, as seen in the survey, but understand that this is also the case with many countries in the region. With this in mind it is in turn difficult to protect food that one cannot define. With this in mind, it also means that while Serbia determines what they consider their own and what they do not, other nations with even less claim to certain meals (ex. Slovenia with ajvar) patent the name and remove the possibility for Serbia to establish a gastronomic identity even more. Finally, if the previous issues were somehow resolved then the Serbian government's attention could move to the last issue, which is the offer. As mentioned previously in the context of food tourism, the offer in Serbia is divided between the government's promotion of the gastronomy as a cultural element, and the actual offer in the form of food festivals, which lacks coordinated and effective PR. Additionally, neither can truly coordinate until there is a marker for official Serbian cuisine. Only once something of the sort is developed can both begin to thrive from foreign and local interest.

Gastronomy can in fact be used as an effective tool in cultural diplomacy and nation branding. In the case of Serbia we have seen glimpses of the role it could play in its rebranding both internally and externally. The presence of national cuisine in a variety of events where foreigners interact with the culture has resulted in a positive impression being made on the aforementioned. From 'Soulfood' to simply discussing dishes at diplomatic events, gastronomy has proven itself a relevant element in Serbia's image, and holds the possibility of assisting in its rebranding. With this in mind we now look towards what food can offer in the future and how we can implement it in the cultural policy of Serbia.

POTENTIAL ROLE OF GASTRONOMY DIPLOMACY IN SERBIA

With what we know about the role of gastronomy in Serbia today, it is clear that it has the capability of assisting in the rebranding of Serbia both in the eyes of foreigners as well as nationals. There are three main efforts that are interconnected and need to be pushed through one at a time in order to establish any concrete role of food in nation branding and cultural diplomacy. Without these three actions any efforts made by the government or the private sector would be futile, as they would be built on unstable ground.

From our research it is clear that none of the traditional dishes prepared can be considered exclusively Serbian, but on the other hand they cannot be considered exclusively anyone else's either. Like the case with Slovenia patenting ajvar, the lack of the presence of a dish in a national gastronomy does not exclude that country from claiming the right to place it under their jurisdiction. Therefore, if Serbia has any claim to dishes or foods that are considered to be traditionally Serbian then those said dishes should be considered for the definition of the national cuisine. The first action that needs to be taken is the *defining of what Serbian gastronomy is*. Specifically, relevant governmental bodies need to come to a consensus as to what dishes, food, and beverages they wish to identify as 'Serbian.' Without taking this action it would be useless to take any initiative towards utilising food in the rebuilding of the reputation of Serbia, as most efforts could be easily dismissed due to a lack of claim. But this effort alone would not be enough, which is why our second step is equally necessary.

The *patenting of the chosen dishes* would have to be the next step, ensuring that Serbia holds onto its cultural right to using its gastronomy as a part of its cultural and national identity. By placing the selected dishes from the previous step under Serbia's protection the nation would then gain the right to exclusively manufacture it, turning the gastronomy into a unique aspect of Serbia. This would not be enough to protect the dishes though, as the Serbian government does not have a body that monitors and enforces the patents. Therefore this step would also have to result in the establishment of a governmental body dedicated to protecting the cultural heritage and patents of Serbia's government, for if this does not occur then the patenting would be futile.

The final step that would need to be taken in order to open the possibility of using gastronomy in the rebuilding of Serbia is to *establish a criterion for restaurants and producers of national cuisine*. This criterion would use the clear definition of each dish or food, how it is prepared, and where it is produced, and label it as the official form of the dish. All restaurants that offer those dishes or produce have the opportunity to register themselves as carriers of the food, and will be placed on a list of official gastronomic representatives of Serbian culture. Even more specifically, they would then be allowed to place an official marker by the dishes on their menus that certify it as part of the 'Soulfood' campaign. This would in turn help improve the sustainability of the governmental promotional campaign, and open the floor for government-private collaborative food tours.

Once these three steps have been established only then could food be properly utilised in the nation branding of Serbia. After they have been completed the possibilities do not end there; the Tourism Organisation could then go on to establish sustainable efforts dedicated to promoting Serbian gastronomy as an element of cultural heritage. This can be done in a variety of ways; with tourism fairs taking place all over the world bringing the national cuisine to the events could help boost the reputation of Serbia and invoke curiosity in passers-by, potentially resulting in an interest to visit Serbia. Moreover, the food campaigns could then present more clearly defined food tours that collaborate with routes or other heritage sites across the nation, adding an additional dynamic to the tourist experience. Whatever the case, the Tourism Organisation would have the gastronomic door held wide open for infinite possibilities for the promotion of Serbia.

Additionally, it would also open the door to efforts in cultural diplomacy, as with the definition of its cuisine touring campaigns could be established. From a cultural diplomacy perspective the possibilities with gastronomy are endless. From simply offering official dishes in embassies on Serbia's national day, to having special gastronomic events hosted across the globe, the opportunities for the expansion of ambassadorial efforts in raising cultural awareness can be condensed to using ajvar and presenting it in the right way. Based on what is already available to the government, the most logical first step would be to mobilise the Serbian Chefs Association and have them tour through embassies to host gastronomic events dedicated to raising cultural awareness in the host country. Additionally, organising exhibitions depicting the cultural heritage behind Serbian cuisine could also present an interesting element into ambassadorial efforts.

On a national level there is the potential for social interaction to be 'rebranded' through food. This would primarily be accomplished through the re-creation of narratives around food, as well as the resurrection of social practices that utilise food. The re-creation of narratives around food entails the reinforcement of positive ideals and values held by Serbs through the use of food in social circumstances. Traditional examples such as *slavas* use food as a justification for gathering together groups with common interests in order to promote the narrative that lies behind the occasion. With this as a blueprint we look at how this equation can be used to establish modern narratives through food, which would unite neighbourhoods, minorities, etc. Examples of events that do this in a less structured way are the preparing of winter foods such as roasting peppers, distilling *rakija*, curing meat, and so on. If specific narratives of social practice were to be sustainably promoted through social events positioned around food, then this could assist in the potential restructuring of social interaction and the fundamental value system within Serbia.

With the three points of action still incomplete little can be done with food in the fields of cultural diplomacy and nation branding for Serbia. Having said this, the potential that exists in initiatives done with gastronomy to successfully rebrand Serbia leaves endless opportunities and possibilities. With a clear goal in mind as to what the message behind the campaigns should be and what the efforts should strive for many reputational issues Serbia faces can be changed for the better, it all comes down to the government determining what it wants to achieve. This alone cannot result in sustainable programmes for Serbia, but the inclusion of a new cultural policy would ensure that these efforts are maintained.

Serbia's private, public and civil sectors have the capability to resurrect the positive narrative through a systematic approach to national gastronomy. Intersectorial initiatives should be established in order to strengthen Serbian gastronomy and its value, not only in the economic sense, but also in the context of national identity. Such a structured approach is essential in, on the one hand, rebranding Serbian gastronomy and reviving its cultural narrative, and on the other, utilising it in promoting Serbia's tourist attractions that revolve around food. Based on these positive experiences and values, Serbia's international reputation would be improved, and in turn, the sense of pride in Serbian culture and heritage reinforced in the country.

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The Roles and Practices of Fashion in Cultural Diplomacy

Mina Popović

SOFT POWER AND THE CREATIVE / FASHION INDUSTRIES

While cultural diplomacy is usually written about as a deliberate function and agenda of government institutions and leaders, an alternative to this view of cultural diplomacy exists in the cultural sector and nowadays, leading countries of the world see culture creative industries as a tool both for sustainable economy of the country, but also as a significant tool for soft diplomacy. Based on the development of domestic cultural industries underpinned by politics of identity, cultural diplomacy relates to global competition through two paradigms: soft power (political) and the creative economy (economic). These independent paradigms refer to sociopolitical and economic implications of cultural diplomacy. Culture serves a communicative function of channeling cultural industries texts to foster desirable socio-cultural outcomes amongst foreign citizenry. The way in which 'culture' is adopted in practice also differs from state to state. Reasons for states all over the world to conduct cultural diplomacy are numerous. It provides opportunities for practitioners to construct and present a version of the national and cultural identity abroad that gives impression of a united, culturally rich, well-functioned, political and cultural union of its citizens. Of course, governments tend to present their countries in the best possible light to the foreign audience and to many different target groups. The specific version of national and cultural identity that will be presented through cultural diplomacy has to be highly selective: not every aspect of the state can possibly be included in such an image, even if there was this aim. This as a result has, among other things, a clear presentation on states' national, political and cultural unity inspired by a set of cultural and other values, components which are often considered a part of the successful international image of the country in question.

Looking from the other angle, this image that is projected abroad has its blowback on the country itself so it can be used as a tool for enhancing national social cohesion and feeling of belonging to the imagined national community. The reaction abroad to the presentation of a version of national identity, when reported back home by the media can be thought of as another form cohesion and felling-good atmosphere among citizens, similarly as national sporting events and successes, political or traditional ceremonies the country is known for. All these aspects of cultural diplomacy can provide the material which the media often use to give shape to the idea of an imagined community, creating a sense of national pride and confidence. On the other hand, governments often rely on this factor, preaching and fostering the feeling of a successful community both abroad and back home. Creating that double loop – projecting a desirable image abroad, and at the same time having a sort of a national-building role back home – enabling the state to assert the sense of national pride in its history, its achievements and its future prospects – can be considered as ideal for cultural diplomacy's

The communicative power of fashion's artistic practices can bring challenge to the present political situation and can also support or influence identity and solidarity within an existing culture or society in a variety of ways. But have we ever noticed that fashion crossed the line in taking political opinion? As it was setting up trends in fashion, this industry was very successful in following the trends in politics and cultural diplomacy as well. From using fashion as a vehicle for social commentary, men's skirts, anti-terrorist slogans, feminist runway protests and reflections on wartime hardships, we can't help but notice how fashion served here exactly as one of the ways of using soft power in order to send the message – isn't that, in another form of course, what cultural diplomacy tends to do?

FASHION AND NATION BRANDING

Before looking in detail at the concept of treating a nation as a brand, we should take a look first at some definitions of what is meant by a 'brand'. Often quoted definition of a positive or successful brand 'a successful brand is a name, symbol, design, or some combination, which identifies the 'product' of a particular organization as having a sustainable differential advantage' (Dinnie, 2008: 15). Some approaches applied, such as an increasing importance on the symbolic value of products, have led countries to emphasize their distinctive characteristics.

Nation branding must not be confused with propaganda; it is only successful when the "brand" is lived by the citizens of that country. The freedom of the press and the efficiency of today's communication technologies do not allow for governments and private public relations agencies to promulgate exaggeratedly positive information, especially when reality does not reflect the message accurately.

Nation branding capitalizes on the entirety of a country's identity, which can be subdivided into the following dimensions (Kalamova & Konrad, 2010): Tourism: Perception of a country's natural and man-made resources; Governance: Perception of governing style and role in nation building; Capital and Labor flows: General perception of the country's economic conditions, and a business' willingness to invest in the economy; Culture and People: Represents the attractiveness of a country's media, history, language and society.

In today's fluid globalized world, 'nation branding' is already emerging as an important concept. As businesses seek to attract customers on an increasingly competitive global market, positive preconceptions of a country can help improve the competitiveness of a nation's exports. From these points it is clear that unlike corporate branding, whose primary objective is to promote the consumption of goods and services, nation branding is a sum total of the day to day standard of living in any given country. But speaking about corporate branding, even though their main goal is to promote their own brand and production, we cannot help but notice that by doing that, they are sort of involved in nation branding. Art, culture, people, gastronomy, geography and business – pretty much all the sectors of creative industries can help position a country. Promoting their own conception of goods and services, it can also help in creating an image of one country.

The image of a country is developed over time due to a variety of reasons; from

tourism to exports to simple media coverage. If a country wants to project a specific side of its character, then the powerful impact of brands should additionally be taken into account. What is most important is that brands can be used to help reinforce or develop a country's brand positioning in the minds of people around the world. Would a car made in Morocco be well engineered like the one made in Germany? Would a financial institution from Nigeria be as reliable as one from Switzerland? I believe it can be, but it's our perception rather than reality that counts. Would France be associated with glamour and style if the likes of Chanel and YSL never graced our stores? Perhaps not, but now the perceptions of these nations are so fixed in our minds that the answers to these questions are probably irrelevant at the moment. We could continue mentioning more examples in order to prove this theory, but we are going to stick to the topic and try to prove how fashion, as one sector of the creative industry, used cultural stereotypes of countries in order to set up fashion trends, and how these fashion trends contributed in creating an image on one country. By observing how closely linked the image of consumer brands are with their country of origin we can begin to gain an understanding into how the image of such nations can be developed over time. And it's interesting that many corporations and countries seem to realize the mutual symbiotic advantage of having a product associated with a place and a place associated with a product.

Therefore, we will observe the terms "looks" in fashion. It is interesting how certain fashion trends are designed to represent the fashion trend of the whole nation, which of course is not always the case. But just by distributing these trends in that form, fashion has constructed their national identity around it. We are surrounded by various tips such as *"Parisian chic in 10 easy steps"*, *"Best of British - How to get that 'British' look"*, *"Elegant Italian Style Secrets You're Going to Want to Learn ASAP"*, and we have more than noticed that there has been an influx of headlines reading about the endless allure of dressing and "must have" fashion trends for every season. And we often hear ourselves saying that product that has been made in Italy – must be good and stylish or that French people dress so sophisticated since France is famous because of fashion and art, or that Scandinavian clothes has high quality of materials – and that is exactly how we are taught through media, fashion weeks, magazines and we tend to accept these facts and we trust more the image and reputation a nation enjoys in the world.

FRENCH LOOK

French designers take all the credit for creating the most renowned and desired fashion brands in the world. Always stylistically innovative and technically uncommon, extraordinary reputation of the French fashion industry can be traced as far back as the 17th century, and it is a reputation that has only continued to strengthen since. France has been a leading country in the fashion design industry, as a center of high-end fashion, designing clothing, shoes and accessories that expose elegance and sophistication. From the stylized designs of the old French royal courts to the trendy lines created by modern-day French fashion designers, French fashion manages to maintain its old-world approach of glamour and smoothness, while incorporating fresh styles through innovative design approaches.

There are three main types of clothing in French fashion: haute couture, prêt-à-porter (as known as "ready-to-wear") and lingerie. The fashion term, haute couture,

refers to high-end, tailor-made clothing. Some French haute couture designers include Chanel, Christian Dior and Louis Vuitton. In 1966, French fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent revolutionized the industry by designing ready-to-wear clothes that were manufactured for mass distribution. French lingerie includes designs incorporating various delicate fabrics made of lace, silk and/or other fine materials.

Paris is a well known home to one of the largest textile industries in the world, working with numerous design houses, manufacturing facilities and therefore, represents a synonym for top prestigious fashion city. French designers continue to experiment with fashion, using different styles and numerous textiles, while starting new trends that influence future generations of the fashion industry, as well as fashion devotees.

Keywords that we link with the French fashion and the look are reduced-pastel colors, sophistication, and elegance, chic. We tend to emulate their style, as well as the French lifestyle. Media plays maybe one of the most important roles in building our style. If you just type “French style” in Google, you will immediately get numerous articles, blogs and commercials about “*How to get that French look*”. Surrounded by these “guidelines”, especially when it comes from the well-known media platforms (for example Vogue), we are instantly accepting these advices, and what is maybe the most important – we are unconsciously experiencing a nation as such. This is, of course, and perhaps generally not always the case, but this type of stereotyping is so deeply rooted in the minds of people, that’s very likely that French Look, along with French art, culture or food – will always stick so strongly to the French identity.

ITALIAN STYLE

La moda, va-vu-voom—a la Sophia Loren, Dolce Vita-era, Milan Fashion week, la donna Italiana to the Italian woman is something exuded from within, and even though a rich design history may help, their style is unmistakable.

The birth of Italian fashion can be declined since its glamorous 1950s heyday, where most of Hollywood movies were shot in Rome and Florence, in la Cinecitta studios. Audrey Hepburn was an actress who was known for promoting Italian designers both on and off the set. Made in Italy moment became a synonymous with tangible virtues of quality, craftsmanship and design, and “ready to wear” became the new fashion language from 1980 onwards.

Italian designers have helped to define every decade since the end of the second world war, from the abstract prints of Pucci in the 50s through the structural wonders of Roberto Capucci in the 50s and 60s, Missoni’s zigzags in the 70s to Armani’s unstructured suits in the 80s, and the knockout glamour of Versace and Tom Ford’s Gucci in the 90s. That, of course, was also the decade in which the waywardness of Prada emerged. The influence of Italian designers became so influential and prestigious locally and abroad as a so called “Cult of Designers”.

Montreal (Canada) was one of the cities that first sent its department store buyers to buy Italian fashion for the first time. From 1951 onwards department stores like Holt Renfrew and also Morgan’s were sending their buyers to Italy to buy the best of Italian collections really leading the way in terms of North America patronage of Italian fashion.

Every nation comes with its own stereotypes attached, but sometimes those clichés aren't all that bad, in terms of the picture that can be created about the country and specifically the profit and prestige that can be gained. While New York women have mastered the power of dressing and Parisians have effortless elegance down to a science, Italian women get credited with excelling at dressing like bombshells, and oozing with easygoing sex appeal. What really distinguishes Italian style from others are “united colors, united fabrics”, and all the elements pulled out of a look together into a model of coherence. Shirt collars sit pointedly over quality knitwear. Watches glint from beneath expensive shirt sleeves. Trousers break precisely on leather uppers. Shiny shoes and gleaming sunglasses suggest a top-to-toe lucidity. As for Italian look, clothing for both women and men has been heavily represented on street-style blogs, magazines. Every article will say that virile and invariably well-dressed, Italian men are probably the most stylish of male representatives from all the other nations. If we have to go further in order to prove how fashion has deep roots in Italian global appearance, and not just in terms of street fashion of common people, it would be interesting to mention that the stylish Carabinieri uniform (Italian police) was designed by the Italian fashion house Valentino. Similar to the already mentioned “French look” we can notice how Italy through history had also built a recognizable worldwide mark through fashion – besides culture, art, cinema, food etc. It is not hard to see why the appearance of cohesion is woven into people's wardrobes.

BRITISH LOOK

London has always been in the race with the two largest centers – Paris and Milan. And when these two cities were dominating in terms of fashion, London was representing a competitor behind the shadow. However, the situation has changed significantly. And if take a look through history, we can find significant movements that made an impact on the development of British fashion, and made it internationally recognized as the best source of original talent and watching designers. It will always have huge problems competing with other capitals, which exert huge power through their advertising budgets, but creatively, it has proved itself by now. As a lasting effect, London became a city where new talent is allowed a unique platform to grow.

The British royal family has been a constant source of fashion inspiration, from women wearing corsets to try to copy the slim silhouette of Elizabeth I, or when Queen Victoria helped popularize the practice of wearing black when in mourning, and the tradition of wearing black to funerals is still widespread because of this. Most fashion trends before the 1900s can either be traced to the royal family, or came into prominence because of them.

Looking at the British fashion during the 20th century we can notice that the styles and trends were changing so drastically each decade, and often show parallels with what was going on in the country at the time. For example, the flapper girls of the 1920s wore daring outfits and reflected the new freedoms women were gaining, such as equal voting rights with men. The outbreak of World War II influenced clothing, as it was now acceptable for women to wear trousers due to the rationing of fabrics, and as they took on more masculine jobs. After the war had ended, women in the 1950s began to enjoy more stylish clothing as the country became more prosperous. 1960s exploded in bright, swirling colors. Psychedelic, tie-dye shirts and long hair

and beards were commonplace. ‘Queen of the Mods’ Cathy McGowan in the mid 1960s, made the miniskirt famous, and in that way popularized the short length the world over. The British world domination continued with Twiggy, supermodel with androgynous features, very short blond hair and round eyes enhanced with false eyelashes. Twiggy became one of the world’s first supermodels as well as the face of London’s “MOD” scene. For the first time in the 19th Century, London, and not Paris, was the center of the fashion world. It swept into all parts of life, especially clothing. Through the decades, we had an invasion of punk rock style and traditionally British fashion such as Doc Martens shoes, corduroy jackets and bucket hats came back into style. British designers such as Vivienne Westwood became household names in the world. Some of the elements of punk – the slim silhouettes, the leather and the deconstruction – have become classics everywhere in the world.

Today the British fashion industry contributes £280 billion to the UK economy. London is known for producing young design talents, because their education system invests in their designers which give them a foothold. All these impacts and achievements in terms of fashion helped Britain build a recognized status in the world and create an image of British people and lifestyle too. So is our first thought when we hear a “British look”? Swinging 60s, Burberry, Britpop, punk style, flowery chiffon short tea dress, cashmere cardigan, tweed jackets and short biker boots? British fashion has been acclaimed for its “fearlessness” and Brits are world famed for their individual sense of style.

NORDIC CHIC

Is it possible to tackle and influence the global market with such a specific style? Even though Nordic countries’ role might be considered minor in the global design industry scheme due to no such reputation through fashion history or perhaps their small size by population, but it is not. In fact, in the last decade, Scandinavian design had a persistent, influential stand in the fashion market worldwide. *Nordic chic* became a synonym for the high-quality raw materials, which most often are natural fibers giving the design a unique look, functionality and modularity independent from the context of wearing.

Nevertheless, Scandinavian brands existed in the world of design, ever since talented designers such as Arne Jacobsen (1902-71) and Armi Ratia of Marimekko (1912-79) introduced a new and democratic style whose naturalism and simplicity came to define the teak-chic modernism of the ’50s and ’60s. And since 2010, Nordic chic strikes again, the region’s influence on the world of contemporary fashion became significant. What is more interesting, Nordic fashion project has a full support of the government. The core objective of the joint Nordic effort is to enhance inter-Nordic cooperation to develop a stronger Nordic identity and global positioning, leading to increased export of Nordic fashion brands and products.

Also in 1947, Hennes in Västerås, H&M has started up a new business model for Scandinavian fashion, taking on the intricate web of global trends can lead to unprecedented success. This project was followed by the motto “Fashion and Quality at the Best Price”, the aim of which was to promote the brand under the cover of Scandinavian culture but as an accessible, global one. It is obvious that the key

underlying factor of Scandinavian success lies in its commitment to quality, whilst understanding their consumer and their brand.

In this view, Nordic design has been presented to the world as an illustration of the cultural heritage and societal values of North Europe – “the simplicity, timelessness and longevity that Scandinavian design offers”. Scandinavian street style is all about making it easy, while “embracing great materials and minimal shapes”.

Quality textiles, minimalism, functionalism, comfort, sustainability, androgyny, neutral colors and effortless elegance represent the keywords to describe the Scandinavian look. That’s how they describe their fashion, but that’s how the world sees Nordic chic too. Scandinavian influence has long held sway over the world of design, and now it’s seen in “very understated and truly modern” street clothing. The successful export of Nordic “cool” culture is not accidental, on the contrary, these countries have all made a significant effort at promoting their global brands in a strategic way which includes but also goes beyond cultural aspects. The Nordics show they understood that design is about creating diversity and values that represent a wide range of cultures and traditions and both soft and hard power capacities are the critical components that create a nation’s global brand.

JAPANESE HARAJUKU

Even though Gwen Stefani’s video song may have introduced Harajuku to more Western audiences in 2004, Harajuku fashion has been a recognizable trend in Japan for decades.

What really made this trend internationally popular was the “Cool Japan” movement started by The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan. Cool Japan policy started in 2003 and was very suitable for the cultural diplomacy to implement its “soft power.”

Japan’s national image had been vital to the economy and the social systems so the government realized it was needed to construct and promote a new national image by utilizing Japan’s potential resources. The solution the report proposed as follows was to utilize Cool Japan’s cultural products.

The aim was to promote the modern Japanese society and its new attractiveness internationally by constructing a national image that contains the social system that Japan has developed since the end of World War II, such as distributed attractive cultures as fashion, anime, manga, computer games, music, movies, drama and other forms of creative content, the young people’s “cute” fashion of Shibuya and Harajuku, healthy Japanese cuisine and diet, safe and delicious food products, and the high-performance consumer electronics of Akihabara, J-Pop, and robots.

In 2009, MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan) appointed three young females to be the nation’s “ambassadors of cute” (*kawaii taishi*). Each of the girls wears a different style of cute fashion: Lolita, Harajuku, and schoolgirl (Galbraith 2009, Sakurai 2010). The main mission of the three ambassadors was “to transmit the new trends of Japanese pop culture in the field of fashion to the rest of the world and to promote understanding of Japan by their attending cultural projects carried out by the Japanese Embassies and the Japan Foundation” (MOFA 2009).”

This project achieved its goal in promoting the Japanese culture and lifestyle because the world looks to these components as “Cool Japan” with fascination and admiration.

Harajuku street fashion is popular with both girls and boys, and can be described as an eccentric pop fashion, consisting of collisions of colors, fabrics and aesthetics culminating in this single square mile where it all started (Harajuku street of Tokyo), by overloading the district with boutiques, clothing chains, and fashion malls all catering to the ever-growing sartorial scene.

In this epicenter of street fashion, tens of thousands of fans and followers visit the area every day to see what is currently trending because it represents now one of Tokyo’s hippest scenes, and actually gets much larger (and more colorful) crowds than any clubs or other tourist destinations.

Harajuku Girls have received exponentially more attention from magazines, fashion designers, the Japanese media, the international media and social media, but in the last decade a new Japanese style tribe has appeared on the scene, as a subgroup of Harajuku fashion, called “Kawai boys”, that destroyed the gender stereotypes of 21st century way and have sent the world the image of modern Japan.

This style can be described as neither “pretty” nor “sexy” (though many of them cute), which distinguish this fashion from all the others. It became a recognizable Japanese trend and it is easy to conclude that they did that by telling the world what they were, without the world telling them.

FASHION INDUSTRY AS A MECHANISM FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND NATION BRAND MARKETING

As already mentioned in section about cultural diplomacy, it is easy to underline that today diplomacy of one country, plays an important tool in the global battle for political influence, investments, trade and tourism. Large countries are starting to realize that in order to make their image stronger on the world stage, it is a necessity to make their brands or icons stronger, which will help to strengthen the national identity. Their aim becomes to build national images through a combination of changes in the reality of a country and to project it through marketing, as well as to develop symbolic projects and in that way attempt to strengthen deeper relationships with other countries. Basically, the idea is to have a clear national story that can unite the different public sector stakeholders with the dynamics of the private sector, and in that way provide an opportunity to promote international image and standing.

It has been proven many times through this thesis how, like it or not, private corporations represent one of the tools for cultural diplomacy. For example, UK, China, and Australia recognized the potential and benefits behind booming creative industries, and started to support them. In the following sections, I will try to prove how fashion industry, as a part of creative industries, using the marketing strategies for the sake of their own profit, at the same time serves as a mechanism for cultural diplomacy and by branding their own label, influences the branding of its nation as well.

The common relationship between a nation brand and the commercial brands and magazine articles that highlight their country of origin deserve attention because the nation branding activities of a country may impact perceptions of a country's product and corporate brands. In order to prove this statement I have chosen a couple of examples of fashion advertisements and magazine articles that reflect the brand image of their countries of origin. If we take a close look at Vivienne Westwood's campaigns and her British Heritage, her clothes reflect rebellion, aristocracy combines with tartan, and classical tailoring mimics the 18th century. The same can be seen for Tommy Hilfiger: embracing the American Dream, pulling together American sports and American idols, to create a unique brand image. And there are many more brands which are stitching together the past and the present, brands that don't exclude their countries history and global social issues.

Fashion week is a fashion industry event and refers primarily as an opportunity for fashion houses to promote their brands, show new trends, artistic talents and cutting-edge clothing. Whether it takes place in the "Big Four" (Paris, Milan, New York of London), or any other capital, fashion week represents more than just an announcing the season's fashion trends – if we take a closer look, this event is representing a historical culturally important show of creative and luxurious items of clothing displayed on the catwalk for the world to see. This is where designers and models from all parts of the world have a chance to promote themselves and their brands. NY Fashion Week was originally known as "Press Week" where journalists could promote and review the American fashion. This event became profoundly successful for the American fashion industry, especially as exclusive magazines like Vogue, started to write about and praise the American designers. Even nowadays, Fashion Week continues developing very differently within different countries, setting up trends, promoting brands from all around the world. The fashion capitals are the large metropolitan cities, London, Paris, New York and Milan – but there are models and audiences from all over the world attending. Even though it started out as a clever way of broadcasting new national trends to the world, today it has become more than that; FW tends to describe itself as a cultural experience with traditional values; a place that advocates for cultural exchange and social development around the world, promoting cultural diversity and understanding, but also initiating some of the current socio-political issues. Clearly it is, since it is representing a platform where designers from all parts of the world come to show their clothes, made from different materials and designs perhaps, influenced from a designer's country of origin. We proved many times in this thesis, how there is a significant impact of the country of origin on designer's work, whether it is in style, design, materials, or in advertising them. Therefore, we could say that FW is an event of assembled various cultures, races, nations, religions, designs and traditions; and since everyone has the same objective, collaborations and mixing ideas become a common tool for it.

It is obvious that the fashion industry follows the socio-political problems of today, and through its campaign promotes their opinion about it.

Racial Diversity – "*Black Models Matter*" is one of the consistent topics in the fashion industry. It can be noticed that racism is representing one of the important issues in global politics, but also in the fashion industry. Fashion activist and former model

Bethann Hardison¹ founded the *Diversity Coalition/Balance Diversity* in order to eliminate racism during casting and get more women of color on the runway and in editorials. She recalled a time when designers “just weren’t seeing black people”. She also said that the implications of industry whitewashing extend far, far beyond the runway. Fashion “doesn’t just have an effect on people of color”, she stresses. “It has an effect on society – how we look at things, how we see things. If we all become inclusive, we start seeing things in a different way, and it’s actually a better feeling. If you can see color, then you start to believe in color.”

Gender Diversity – The aim of this movement was to prove how fashion moves beyond gender. So far, it has been a successful campaign for some time and fashion’s trans models served as representatives of a powerful movement. Andreja Pejic became the first trans model to appear on the pages of *Vogue* – and the first to garner a major cosmetics contract. (See: photo 85) Pejic’s work with Make Up For Ever makes her the first trans face of a cosmetics line, following the footsteps of Lea T for Redken and pioneer Tracey Norman’s work for Clairol in the 1970s. Hari Nef broke boundaries as the first trans woman signed to IMG. (See: photo 86) The opening of New York’s first transgender modeling agency earlier this year, Trans Models, serves only to strengthen the momentum.

Expansion of Indian models – Since there has been a lots of criticisms of fashion’s treatment of minority models centers on the concept of *tokenism*², where we could see maybe one of the models who were representatives of one majority group, now the situation on the catwalk is changing. Fashion houses started hiring more and more models from India. For a nation of its size, India has long been sorely underrepresented in the modeling industry, but this year’s breakouts, Pooja Mor and Bhumi Arora, became ever-present on runways across the fashion month.

Dolce and Gabbana unveils Muslim couture – whether it’s a marketing ploy or targeting wealthy Muslim shoppers in the Middle East, this campaign made a stir of interest on social media with designers Dolce&Gabbana generally winning praise for demonstrating that “*dressing modestly does not have to mean dressing drab*”. While countries across Europe are wrestling with the issue of the Muslim veil – in various forms that obscures the identity such as the body-covering burka and the niqab, which covers the face apart from the eyes because of security reasons, D&G launched a collection of hijabs and abayas featuring headscarves and the loose, full-length outer garment favored by some Muslim women and in that way gained sympathy from Arabic consumers. In recent years brands such as DKNY, Oscar de la Renta, Tommy Hilfiger, Mango and H&M have produced one-off collections in a similar style, often sold around Ramadan. It seems like the industry of fashion is trying to follow up with the global socio-political issues, perhaps because they understood that it is an inevitable relation in terms of success and profit, or because it is simply a today’s trend, but they definitely tend to present the runways looking like the real world.

1 Activist Bethann Hardison, a model in the Seventies and later a model agent, was rewarded for her work in championing diversity by the prestigious Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA)

2 The practice of doing something (such as hiring a person who belongs to a minority group) only to prevent criticism and give the appearance that people are being treated fairly

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, the importance and presence of arts and culture in a society cannot / should not be called into question. This thesis, empowered by the idea that without a strong cultural institutional presence and support and without a strong position on the international stage, cultural diplomacy could have difficulties in accomplishing its goals and existing in terms of the old-fashioned approach in managing diplomacy activities. Today, the trends, priorities, concepts and approaches are rapidly changing. In a fluid globalized and competitive world, it is becoming essential to keep track with innovations. Trends towards increased ambiguity of the concept cultural diplomacy, serve the master thesis as well. However, there is a question regarding the understanding of cultural diplomacy: are those new models of cultural diplomacy less about a nation branding and more about a discourse or intertextuality of cross-cultural commercial dialogue which can take on the form of abstract representation. If they are, how is it even possible to analyze the effectiveness of fashion industry in the function of cultural diplomacy?

Considering all the facts made through this research about new approaches to cultural diplomacy, I can point out there is inevitable relation between these two parts. What the research shows is that sometimes the government's efforts in cultural diplomacy are disorganized, ad-hoc and consist of short term projects, while creative industries (in this case study, fashion industry) and designers can be seen as a form of the civil society's sustainable engagement in terms of international cultural contacts. According to this, independent fashion industry and designers can be defined as "citizen diplomats" and in that way eradicate the phenomenon of the so called *cultural propaganda*. Instead of becoming a tool of the government, designers are still acting independently from the state and have the choice whether their activities will be in relation with their national culture. The independency of creative industries lies in their positioning in relation with the state, ability to create, as a private corporation, profits and recognition that allows them freedom in organizing. It is also seen that sometimes the fashion designers' interests and activities are often not parallel with government's interests or even against it. This opens the question whether the cultural diplomacy is entering the world of public relations which is often noted as working with the motto of – no publicity is bad publicity? What is certain is that we are a part of a globalized world that is rapidly changing, setting up the new rules of values, often seen through profits and production. As it was shown both in the theoretical framework and the research part of this thesis, the development of the creative industries has shown multiple benefits not only in terms of economical development but also in terms of social development and cohesion. But also, there are opinions that creative industries use an individual's creativity, skill and talent for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.

This premise makes sense, taking into account that the main objective of creative industries is gaining profit through production. But we would be wrong if we say that they are not representatives of culture. Correctly speaking, representatives of commercialized culture. Fashion industry can be argued to function as a form of diplomacy – it unites and maintains relations between people, groups and societies. While it represents just one of the forms of this 'alternative' cultural diplomacy, it stands as a worthy example. And whether we accept this fact or not, we must take into consideration its rapid development, and since we cannot change or stop the system and objectives of the sectors of creative industries, at least we can, by collaborating with them, take advantage of it and accomplish a win-win outcome for both sides.

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**CHALLENGES AND
PERSPECTIVES OF
EUROPEAN AND
INTERNATIONAL
CULTURAL
COOPERATION
IN SERBIA**

Creative Europe Programme as an Instrument of European Cooperation, Internationalisation and Strengthening the Capacity of Cultural Organisations and Institutions in Serbia

Dimitrije Tadić

The Creative Europe Programme relies on a series of strategic documents of the European Union and offers clear guidelines for the development of the culture system in Europe. European Agenda for Culture¹, as the main strategic document and as one of the legal bases of the Creative Europe Programme, highlights three strategic goals: promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue; promotion of culture as a catalyst of creativity and, in accordance with the Lisbon strategy, – employment, innovation, competitiveness; promotion of culture as a vital element in international relations of the EU. Another important document is the Work Plan for Culture 2015-2018² the priorities of which are accessible and inclusive culture, cultural heritage, creative economy and innovation, followed by cultural diversity, mobility and culture in the function of the EU's external relations. It is necessary to emphasise that not only are these two strategic documents directly related, but they also frequently refer to and follow up on other documents such as the Lisbon Strategy (2000-2010) which was superseded by the Europe 2020 Strategy (2010-2020)³. Both documents are concerned with the wider social field and are based on sustainable development, increasing employment opportunities and new professions, energy efficiency, enhancing the quality of the educational system, development of the European digital platform, etc. Therefore, culture is placed in the broader social aspect and the importance of culture in the development of a society that cares for its citizens is emphasised.

The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue⁴ from 2008 is also at the centre of the European cultural policy. The very term “intercultural dialogue” upgraded the term “multiculturalism” which implies co-habitation, and the basic difference is that intercultural dialogue puts emphasis on dialogue, contact and exchange between different social groups, notably not only the ethnic ones, but also all others differing

1 European Agenda for Culture:
https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework_en

2 Work Plan for Culture (2015-2018):
http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2014.463.01.0004.01.ENG

3 Europe 2020:
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52010DC2020>

4 See:
https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf

in their respective, frequently multifaceted identities, because nationality, ethnic and religious affiliation are not the only bases we differ from each other on. Thus the term “intercultural dialogue” confirms that every citizen has a multitude of identities such as sex, age, gender, interests and tastes, sexual orientation, level of education and the like. The White Paper on Cultural Dialogue gives culture a very special social place and it is observed as an important instrument in the development of a society through emphasising the necessity of social dialogue of all stakeholders, development of critical consciousness and support to diversity.

Therefore, it is important to understand that the strategic paper of the European Union, as well as other documents such as declarations, conclusions and the like, are directly related to them and are based on a series of research exercises and data. Exactly these data depict the relevance of the European cultural policy and, hence, the Creative Europe Programme. This is why an informed and evidence-based cultural policy is insisted on in implementing projects within the Creative Europe Programme.

The Creative Europe Programme therefore promotes ideas of importance both for the entire society (not only culture) and in the sense of international relations development, positioning the European continent in the global world, and promoting culture as a powerful means in cultural diplomacy. It is clear that the Creative Europe Programme contributes in the development of the European (cultural) space, develops European unity and promotes European values such as democracy and human rights, equality, dialogue of all social stakeholders and respect for diversity – all those postulates the European Union is based on as well. At the moment when populism and demagoguery are globally on the rise, these values become increasingly important.

There is a great importance in the internationalisation of the work of cultural institutions and organisations, which in this way not only strengthen their capacities, but also enables them to powerfully contribute to cooperation, elimination of prejudice and to the exchange of knowledge and experience, both with narrowly professional ones and with those related to social activism and promotion of positive social values. The Creative Europe Programme is precisely intended for institutions and organisations wanting to move out of the already familiar professional frameworks and step into establishing new European and international contacts. This enables exchange of good practices, applying new models, getting familiar with local or regional contexts and comparing different experiences. The liveliness and modernity of every cultural system is exactly analogous with the level of communication and the relations with other environments because being closed and self-sufficient always leads to the calcination of the system. In today’s connected world, the most vital environments are those that communicate, that are inclusive and present within international frameworks. In the context of the “soft power” of culture and the placement of the narrative, international exchange plays an important role in strengthening the quality, positioning, spreading reputation, but also empowering the market. Regarding the market development in culture, it should be said that it is necessary to emphasise the traps of the mercantilist attitude to culture and problems stemming from such an attitude. Moreover, culture can connect or divide people, hence, in the European context unity and diversity is insisted on, as well as

on contemporary interpretation and critical reception of cultural heritage. Therefore, the year 2018 was declared as the European year of cultural heritage, and the aims of the project are development of education and life-long learning, raising the citizens' quality of life, inclusion, participation and social cohesion, and also the development of economic resources of culture primarily through connectedness of culture with other fields such as tourism. It should not be forgotten that cultural heritage and contemporary creativity are a powerful means in creating narratives and presenting the reality of a society. However, what is at the forefront of this field is still presentation, rather than interpretation of cultural heritage, while the potential of contemporary culture is neglected. A famous example is the City of Berlin, which generates big profit, both artistically and economically, exactly due to the created image of an open and inclusive European city inclined towards contemporary art and culture. Another positive example is given by the new television series "The Bridge", realised through Danish and Swedish coproduction which is funded by the Creative Europe Programme. There are clear indicators showing that after the great success accomplished by this series, the number of tourists visiting these countries increased, even though the series radiates atmospheric, but still morbid and anxious procédé of serial murders.

It is certain that the field of culture is in dire need of being connected with other social fields, and in that, not only with those that culture is "traditionally" connected with, like education or science for example, which contributes, among other things, to development of nowadays much needed critical thinking, but also with tourism, healthcare, economy, ecology. New models of business in culture, very desirable within the Creative Europe Programme, can find inspiration in different models typical of other fields, and inter-ministerial cooperation, *i.e.* connecting culture with other fields, certainly strengthens the position of culture in society and influences the decision makers, especially those who do not recognise the social importance of culture or who merely declaratively advocate for a bigger influence of culture in society.

A good example is given by the newest competition of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia for funding artistic works in the field of visual arts, initiated in 2014, through which, apart from funding and modernising the collections of cultural institutions, projects implying the creation of new production or buying the existing ones for public fields, healthcare, educational and other institutions such as hospitals, schools and faculties, fostering institutions, maternity hospitals and others are also funded. At the same time, this competition emphasises the problematic points in the cultural system in Serbia, and these are primarily the insufficient readiness of cultural institutions and organisations and other fields to cooperate in joint projects, unclear bureaucratic procedures of institutions from other fields, primarily due to being unaccustomed to cooperating with institutions and organisations in the field of culture, but also an insufficient number of cultural managers who would mediate the cooperation between artists and institutions from other fields.

Moreover, the competition for funding the artistic work in the field of visual arts reflects the concept of audience development, an important guideline of contemporary European cultural policy and one of the priorities of the Creative Europe Programme.

Works of contemporary artists become accessible to citizens who may have never been to an exhibition or to whom contemporary art is completely unknown, and in visiting institutions of other fields they are given a chance to get in contact with contemporary creations. Also, the importance contemporary art can have on the quality of life of these institutions' employees should not be forgotten. Audience development signifies a multitude of notions: attracting the broadest possible circle of audience; working with specific and frequently smaller target groups; winning the non-audience over, *i.e.* citizens who are generally not interested in culture; including the audience in the very process of creating content in culture – the process where the audience has an active role and is not merely a passive observer, but also citizens participate of in the process of decision making; developing and widening the cultural market. Ultimately, audience development emphasises the importance of culture for all citizens and not exclusively for cultural professionals.

The Creative Europe Programme insists on various connections, both in the sense of inter-sectoral cooperation (culture and education, culture and tourism, etc.) and in the sense of cooperation between institutions and organisations of the public, civil and private sectors, and in the sense of interdisciplinarity and multimediality of artistic concepts. In designing the artistic concepts insisting on unusual connections, a good example is given by the project “Quantum Music” the project leader of which is a Serbian organisation – the Musicology Institute of SASA (Serbian Academy of Science and Arts) from Belgrade. Thus, the project links music and physics because music is composed from particles producing sound by moving through space, and the project also implies the production of quantum music instruments. In the context of cultural diplomacy, Europe as a continent can take pride in a new type of music based on this project of pronounced innovation – a new type of music conceived exactly in Europe. This kind of projects brilliantly emphasise the importance of culture in global relations, even with “competitive” continents, primarily the Asian and the American continent.

In the process of internationalising the work of cultural organisations and institutions, an important role is played by mobility, as one of the priorities of the programme, which applies to professionals from the field of culture, but also to collections, therefore, the mobility of contents. Mobility gives an opportunity to cultural professionals to exchange knowledge, skills and experiences through direct contact, but also to get familiar with cultural systems of other environments. Another very important thing when it comes to mobility is that in this way cultural professionals are geared towards joint creation of contents. This is precisely in accordance with the “philosophy” of European cooperation and by extension with the Creative Europe Programme as well, because European cooperation signifies processes which are completely in opposition with, unfortunately, still very present practice of individual work with no real connection at the national, and more importantly European level. Hence, all activities of projects concerning joint work and residing in other environment, such as for example residential programmes, are very welcome. Apart from securing financial means for project implementation, establishing new and strengthening the existing European partnerships lies at the very core of the Creative Europe Programme. The competition of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia for mobility was initiated in 2015 precisely with the aim of supporting European and international networking and cooperation.

It is necessary to constantly develop the international activity of cultural organisations and institutions in Serbia. Statistics of the competition of the Sector for Contemporary Creativity show that, understandably, a far greater number of projects are taking place in Serbia, however, when it comes to international cooperation these indicators remain the same. This means that a far greater number of projects of international cooperation are being realised in Serbia, as opposed to those being realised abroad, whereas this is not just about the number of supported, but also the number of submitted projects. A plausible reason for this is insufficient continuous financial support to projects being realised abroad, but also insufficient connectedness of our cultural professionals with their colleagues across Europe. Nevertheless, a number of domestic actors, mainly from the civil but increasingly from the public sector as well, are fairly networked on the international level. The concept of the programmes of a number of domestic initiatives is compatible with the work and activities of their European counterparts.

The most intense international exchange certainly takes place through the realisation of the most representative projects which have been carried out for decades each year, such as BITEF, the October Salon or BEMUS, since these projects bring together a large number of foreign cultural professionals and to some extent reflect the international connectedness of domestic cultural actors.

Residential programmes are also important agents of the international cooperation development, and the majority of such programmes in Serbia are realised in the field of visual arts. Even though there are several residential programmes in the field of dance or literature for example, art colonies in Serbia are displaying important vitality since they are realised in a longer period of time and the tradition of realising art colonies is very pronounced ("Sićevo", established by the painter Nadežda Petrović in the early 20th century, is considered the first art colony), especially in the period of Yugoslavia. For the sake of modernising the concepts and improving the quality of art colonies, the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, together with a civil society organisation of the Cultural Front from Belgrade, initiated the project *AiR Serbia* (realised in the period from 2010 to 2012). One of the priorities of the project was precisely internationalising the work of art colonies.

Apart from financing the international cooperation projects through the existing yearly competitions of the Ministry of Culture and Information, the Department for Cultural Heritage and primarily the Department for Contemporary Creativity, or the specialised competition for funding of projects in the field of translating the representative works of Serbian literature abroad, new financial instruments of cultural policy have been initiated in the previous period: open call for co-financing projects in the fields of culture and art supported through international funds (2014); the already mentioned mobility competition (2015); open call for co-financing organisations and realisation of the annual programme of presenting Serbian literature and publishing in international book fairs (2015) and the competition for programme/project proposals in the field of culture and art for the Cultural Centre of Serbia in Paris (2015).

When it comes to the only cultural centre of the Republic of Serbia, operating in Paris, an important novelty is the introduction of the specialised competition of the Ministry

of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia for selection of programmes/projects in the fields of culture and art, the realisation of which is planned at the Cultural Centre of Serbia in Paris. Through this competition commissions of the Ministry transparently select projects that will be funded by the Ministry. In the context of the Creative Europe Programme, a very important instrument of cultural policy is the open call of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia for co-financing of projects in the fields of culture and art supported through international funds. The competition is important because all those organisations and institutions from Serbia that received support of international funds, and also the Creative Europe programme, have the possibility to obtain additional means necessary for the realisation of these projects.

Nevertheless, the greatest challenge to the development of international cooperation of the Republic of Serbia remain on the one hand continuous strengthening of capacities and investing in functioning and activities of cultural organisations and institutions, and, on the other hand, conceptual questions of what type and which models of international cooperation we need. Would it be realistic to expect a relevant exhibition such as Documenta in the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Belgrade, the same way it is currently being realised in the Museum of Contemporary Arts in Athens, even if the Belgrade Museum's functioning were unhindered? What is the position of Serbia in the map of contemporary art and culture in Europe and what should we strive to do? In what way is it necessary to position domestic artists in the artistic landscape of Europe? How to provide domestic cultural professionals with greater access to the European cultural scene? How to apply the *zeitgeist* in the process of internationalisation?

These are some of the important questions the answers to which also depend on the answer to the question of what contemporary identity of Serbia consists of. An interesting example is the celebration of the centennial of statehood of the Republic of Finland, a state project that adopts winter, nature, design and the internationally recognised artist Tom of Finland as determinants of the contemporary Finnish identity. The winter and the sophisticated relationship with nature are clear associations of Finland, as is the recognisable Finnish design, while Tom of Finland as an artist who was persecuted for his sexuality in his country, in the context of intercultural dialogue symbolises a new contemporary relation towards all citizens, and different social groups living in Finland.

The Creative Europe Desk Serbia is an office implementing on the national level the main programme of the European Union for culture – Creative Europe, and it consists of two organisational units dealing with the sub-programme of MEDIA intended for the audiovisual sector and the sub-programme of Culture intended for other artistic fields. It has been operating since 2014, *i.e.* from the very endorsement of the programme and it consists of two offices – Culture Desk Serbia and MEDIA Desk Serbia. The coordinator of the Creative Europe Programme is the Ministry of Culture and Information, within which the Creative Europe Desk Serbia, as a programmatically autonomous body, was established. The headquarters of the Culture Desk Serbia are also at the Ministry of Culture and Information, while the MEDIA Desk Serbia operates within the Film Centre of Serbia. An integral part of the Culture Desk Serbia is also the Antenna office formed within the European Affairs Fund of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.

The Creative Europe Desk Serbia ambitiously strives to be an important agent of European cooperation development, internationalisation and strengthening capacities of domestic cultural organisations and institutions. The Creative Europe Programme should not be observed merely as an opportunity for obtaining financial support, even though it is very important for high-quality realisation of projects, but primarily as an opportunity to build capacities. Participating in the programme enables dialogue, constructive comparison of different cultural systems of (European) countries, establishing long-term partnerships, networking, and gaining experience in international project development.

Until now presentations have been held in Belgrade, Niš, Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Subotica, Sombor, Kraljevo, Novi Pazar, Kruševac, Valjevo, Kikinda, Čačak, Šabac, Gornji Milanovac, Užice, Požega, Smederevo, Zrenjanin, Prijepolje, Čuprija, Vranje, but also other smaller municipalities. Two-day trainings take place each year, primarily in Belgrade, but also in Novi Sad and Niš, where all aspects of the programme and the applying process are discussed, from conceiving the idea of a project, to designing activities, determining the budget and partnerships, to filling in competition documents. A landmark activity of the Culture Desk Serbia is a four-day held since 2015 in the Open-air Museum Old Village in Sirogojno which possesses accommodation capacities able to cater to up to 40 representatives of cultural organisations and institutions from Serbia. In 2017, the seminar will take place in the Cultural Centre of Loznica, in Tršić. A similar seminar is taking place for the second year in a row in the Centre for Economic and Technological Development of Vojvodina in Andrevlje, organised by the Antenna of the Culture Desk Serbia.

Until now a great number of individual meetings have been held in both offices of the Desk, where, apart from getting familiar with priorities and functioning of the programme and giving advice for more successful applying, individual project ideas are also deliberated on.

The first conference of the Creative Europe Desk Serbia “Creative Europe Programme 2014-2020: Serbia and Perspectives of European Cooperation”, which at the same time marked Serbia’s participation in the programme, was held in 2014 and gathered over 550 cultural professionals and stakeholders, out of which 43 participated in the panels of 35 European and Serbian organisations, such as: Rob van Iersel, the European Commission; Milena Dragičević Šešić, University of Arts in Belgrade; Jovan Čekić, Singidunum University from Belgrade; Laurence Barone, *Relais culture Europe*, Paris; Violeta Simjanovska, Centre for Performing Arts Multimedia, Skopje; Emina Višnić, Pogon, Zagreb; Per Voetmann, Kulturkontakt Nord, Copenhagen; Stéphane Bauer, Kunstraum Kreuzberg/ Bethanien, Berlin; Marie Le Sourd, On the Move, Brussels; and many others. Representatives of the organisations which participated in the conference were selected on the basis of their international reputation and experience, but also on the basis of the programmatic orientation towards the priorities of the Creative Europe programme.

Conference held in 2015 in the Cinematheque of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, strived to offer answers to important questions, such as: Are business and culture in love or hate, are they, like creative cities, in a crisis of new concepts in culture, and why is, in this context, the concept of audience development important? How can culture

develop in contemporary society and contemporary economic conditions; what can we, coming from the cultural field, learn from the business sector, and which messages should we convey to the business sector? Dominique Sago-Duvauroux from GRANEM, University of Angers, one of the leading European experts in the field of economics of culture, gave the introductory keynote speech, and one of the core theses was that cities which significantly invest in culture at the same time generate the most revenue.

The most ambitious activity is the Creative Europe Forum, a conference taking place annually and gathering a large number of domestic and foreign cultural professionals and an audience reaching over 500 stakeholders. Each Forum has a special topic: the topic of the first Forum were priorities of the Creative Europe programme; the second Forum was concerned with the development of international cooperation in Serbia, within which working groups for each artistic field and the field of cultural heritage were formed, and which after analyses gave recommendations for the development of each field respectively; the 2017 Creative Europe Forum was concerned with cooperation between macro- and micro-European regions and the development and European positioning of South Eastern Europe.

All forums also consisted of presentations of successful projects, workshops, presentations, programmes for young and future cultural professionals, speed-dates, but also the accompanying artistic programmes. The selected artistic initiatives were the ones promoting contemporary artistic capacities and models of cooperation, and European unity.

One of the characteristics of the MEDIA Desk Serbia is a special bottom-up and “one-on-one” approach due to the existence of 14 various competitions intended for different target groups and professionals from the audio-visual sectors. Moreover, MEDIA Desk Serbia is present at numerous film festivals in Serbia, the region and in Europe, as meeting points of professional actors. The most characteristic festivals of this kind are the Cinema City in Novi Sad, Auteur Film Festival and FEST in Belgrade, European Film Festival in Palić, film festivals in Sarajevo, Zagreb, Tirana, Cannes and Berlin.

Publications published by the Culture Desk Serbia are related to the priorities of the Creative Europe programme, but also to important topics of cultural policy. The first publication “A Guide through the Labyrinth of State Administration for Future Cultural Professionals” (edited by Đurđijana Jovanović, 2014) is based on the accompanying programme of the Desk’s first conference, intended for young and future cultural professionals. The publication offers an overview of the basic notions of domestic legislation, legal framework in culture of the Republic of Serbia and international treaties signed and ratified by the Republic of Serbia. Three publications following the 2015, 2016 and 2017 Creative Europe Forum were also published, where topics of each Forum were presented, but also all successful projects including participation of Serbian organisations and institutions. Publication “Transcripts” presents all panels of the conference “Creative Europe programme 2014-2020: Serbia and Perspectives of European Cooperation”, and it was published in 2016. Publication “Audience Development in Serbia”, apart from offering explanations of the notion of audience development and its contextualisation, also presents projects

in Serbia dealing with this topic, and projects not participating in the Creative Europe programme, but having great potential for the development of European projects were purposefully selected. A characteristic of the publication is that projects were also presented through the opinion of the audience which was interviewed related to their experiences about these projects.

The website of Creative Europe Desk Serbia is very informative and it consists of information about competitions, topics and the legal framework of the programme, a gallery and presentation of publications of the Desk and all successful projects participants of which are organisations and institutions from Serbia, but also important current affairs and news about the programme, activities of the Desk and European cooperation. Apart from the library of the Desk which consists of publications about European and international cooperation, cultural policy, management and contemporary concepts in culture, a very important segment of the website is the section “Find a partner”. Through this mechanism among other things, it is possible to register an organisation or an institution on the website and publish a short description of a project or activity, which creates a unique notification to other organisations and institutions about interest in cooperating within the Creative Europe programme. Until now, 135 organisations and institutions from 21 European countries have been registered on the website of the Desk.

The Facebook pages of the Culture Desk Serbia and the MEDIA Desk Serbia are very active and offer not only important information about the programme and supported projects, but also about European cooperation in general – about cultural projects, research, conferences, residential programmes, but also other practical information. Moreover, the Facebook pages of the Desk are also used to disseminate the partner search forms from different European countries which helps in finding European partners. During 2016, other social networks of the Desk were also initiated – Instagram and YouTube – through which a greater visibility of the Desk and the Creative Europe programme is achieved.

The visual identity of the Desk, in accordance with the no-logo concept, reflects precisely what the Creative Europe Desk Serbia, with its two offices, wants – to give its contribution in the development of European cooperation and networking, internationalisation, positioning and strengthening of overall capacities of cultural organisations and institutions in Serbia through its fluid, creative, tailor-made approach.

Strategic Development of European and International Cultural Cooperation in Serbia

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: WORKING GROUPS

Nina Mihaljinac

1. INTRODUCTION: THE CREATIVE EUROPE FORUM 2016 AND WORKING GROUPS

The Creative Europe Desk Serbia organised the Creative Europe Forum in April 2016 at the Endowment of Ilija M. Kolarac, within which working groups composed of experts in culture were organised with the aim of offering systematic recommendations for the development of international cooperation in seven fields of culture in Serbia: audio-visual production, visual arts, performing arts, literature and publishing, creative industries, cultural heritage, science and theory of culture and art.

The convened professionals – independent experts or employees of public, civil and private organisations in Serbia, made strategic analyses of specific fields of culture with a focus on recommendations for improvement of international cooperation. Afterwards, the results of working groups were publically presented within the Creative Europe Forum with the aim of including the general public in defining concluding remarks and recommendations for the development of international cooperation.

The core questions asked before experts and the gathered public were related to recognising the main issues affecting a particular field of culture, finding key opportunities for their solving, but also defining clear recommendations for the development of the field in question, specifically through international cooperation. It was also important to precisely express in what way the Creative Europe Programme can be used with this aim.

Organisation of working groups within the Creative Europe Forum is one of the initial steps towards comprehensive strategic thinking about international cooperation in Serbia; hence the reached results are also a base of core ideas and dilemmas that should be dealt with in the forthcoming processes of strategic cultural development. Therefore, this publication offers important insights into the state and perspectives of cultural development in Serbia, but also an encouragement for further deepening of these topics.

2. MATERIAL USED WITHIN WORKING GROUPS FOR THE CREATION OF STRATEGIC ANALYSES OF FIELDS

With the aim of finding potential shared problems, opportunities or solutions related to the development of all cultural fields in Serbia, working groups used the same methodology of strategic analysis. SWOT (*Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats*) analysis is used to map the strengths and weaknesses of one field, but also threats and opportunities that exist and come from its surroundings. Based on the conducted analysis, each working group was supposed to define priorities and a series of strategic recommendations, which was also aided by the proposed questions inspired by the document *Balancing Act: Twenty-one Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*, whose authors are François Matarasso and Charles Landry, Council of Europe, 1999.

The offered methodology served as the starting point for work, whereas all groups shaped texts of analyses in accordance with the discussion and key conclusions reached. Even though final texts differ in form due to this, their content answers the key question of international cooperation development in Serbia.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

- What self-image should we send?
- What are the basic aims of international cooperation?
- What are the geographic priorities of cooperation (the EU, the region, countries of the diaspora, other continents...)
- What are the strategic fields of international cooperation development?

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

- Which concept of culture and art should be advocated and promoted (culture as art – culture as a way of life; art as a self-justifying value – art understood as a field of social-economic development)?
- Should prestigious, high art be promoted or different forms of cultural and artistic creativity, and which ones (alternative art, pop culture...)?
- What are the priorities of international cooperation? (E.g. for the EU these are: audience development, mobility, creative industries).

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION DEVELOPMENT FIELD STRATEGY

- To what extent should the state be included in the development of international cultural cooperation and which governmental bodies should provide support to this field?
- Who are the key actors – bearers of international cooperation development in this field?
- Should more investment go into the development of the public, private or the civil sector?
- Which measures and instruments of cultural policy could serve the purpose of reaching the defined goals?
- Which professions should be invested in first (lifelong education)?
- In what way can the participation of Serbia in the Creative Europe programme be used?

SWOT

<u>Resources</u>	STRENGTHS <i>What are our unique resources?</i> <i>What are we best at?</i>	WEAKNESSES <i>What are our weak points?</i>
1. Human	What are our unique knowledge and skills? How capable are we to adapt to change? Which professions do we include in our work?	Which expertise and capacities do we lack?
2. Programmatic	Which are the best (unique and most important) projects and programmes we realised (organisations of the public, private and civil sectors)? What is their greatest success? Due to what are our programmes and projects internationally relevant?	Why are some of our programmes and projects internationally irrelevant? What are the main weaknesses of our programmes in terms of the concept? What is the main reason for failed realisation of programmes and projects?
3. Financial	Which sources of funding do we use (donors, sponsors, own funds)? What guarantees long-term financial stability – who is offering the greatest support to our development?	What is causing our financial instability? What are the basic problems in financing? Which expenses are not covered?
4. Technical and technological and spatial capacities	What are our technical and technological resources (equipment, digital collections of works, archives of works, spaces...)	What do we lack in terms of space and equipment?

5. Connections, information and communication and organisational capacities	Which groups of audience did we win over abroad? Which foreign organisations have we established long-term partnerships with? Where are we positioned (geographically, by specific fields)? What are the reasons of our success in terms of visibility on the international scene? Due to what is information about our work available to the international community? Which channels of communication do we use for communication and coordination with foreign countries and why are these efficient (networks, platforms, databases, info centres, meetings, etc.)? In what way do we present ourselves to the international community, what positive messages are we sending?	Why is potential audience uninterested in our programmes? Why are foreign organisations uninterested in working with us? What are the reasons for failure in positioning in the international landscape? What are the reasons for our failure in the sense of visibility on the international scene? Why is the information about our work not available to the international community? Are we sending out negative messages to the international community?
6. Legal	Are there signed documents, agreements, etc, on international cooperation relevant to our field?	Are there legal obstacles for the development of international cooperation in our field?
	OPPORTUNITIES <i>What opportunities exist in our surroundings that we are not using</i>	THREATS <i>What threats are coming from the surroundings that can disturb our development?</i>
1. Human	Where, how and from whom can we learn (existing programmes of permanent education, benchmarks...)? Are there cultural professionals who have not been, but could be engaged in our projects of international cooperation? Where are they located and how can we animate them?	What is the key threat to the development of human capacities (knowledge and skills), which is coming from the surroundings?
2. Programmatic	Which programmes should we develop that we have not so far? Which existing projects and programmes could we get involved in?	Who are competitors and what are they doing and why do their activities represent a threat to the development of our programmes?
3. Financial	Which sources of funding exist and are available, but we are not using them?	What are the key economic threats from the surroundings?
4. Technical-technological and spatial capacities	Where can we acquire new additional equipment, funds for digitalisation, etc. (and we are not using these sources)? What spaces can we win over?	Are there and which factors from the surroundings that are threatening in terms of losing equipment, work spaces and other technical and technological capacities (equipment becoming obsolete, not being maintained etc...)

5. Connections, information and communication, organisational capacities	Which organisations and individuals can help us in accomplishing and developing international cooperation? Which are the potentially interested groups of audience for our programmes? Which are the potentially interested organisations –strategic partners for future programmes? Which channels of communication do we not use for internal communication (networks, platforms, databases, info centres, meetings, etc.), and we could? Which channels of communication are we not using in communicating with foreign countries (networks, platforms, databases, info centres, meetings, etc.), and we could?	Which are the external threats to establishing and nurturing connections and relations with partners abroad and audiences from foreign countries?
6. Legal	Are there any documents and agreements in existence or in preparation that we could join or initiate in the sense of international cooperation development?	Are there threats to abolish an existing legal regulation encouraging international cooperation (agreement dissolution, etc)?

3. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Comparative analysis of results of work of seven expert groups in fields of audio-visual production, visual arts, performing arts, literature and publishing, creative industries, cultural heritage, music, and science and theory of culture and art showed that separate fields of culture have the same strengths, that certain problems affect all fields of culture, and that in accordance with these working groups reached similar solutions and offered recommendations which can also be understood as general guidelines for the development of international cooperation in Serbia. The general conclusion is that the existing strengths being used and problems affecting the regular functioning of cultural institutions and scientific organisations in culture also have reflections on the field of international cooperation.

The working groups defined a number of common values and priorities of cultural policy and international cooperation:

1. **Culture should be understood in the broadest sense** – as a way of life, a field where not only art is created and shaped, but also knowledge, beliefs, morality, values and forms of social behaviour, the one where all citizens participate; such a concept of culture advocates for the principle of **participation** which implies active participation of citizens in the cultural life – processes of designing cultural programmes, decision making about cultural development; this means that nurturing cultural diversity, and also audience development are basic tasks of the cultural system, and it is important that preservation and promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity, and also audience development

are the main principles and priorities of the Creative Europe Programme, and European cultural policies; related to that, it can be concluded that the priority is **harmonising with European (democratic) cultural policies and values**.

2. **Culture understood as a developmental field**– in accordance with the concept of culture as a field where values and forms of behaviour are shaped, it is emphasised that institutions and organisations in culture should be actors in the development of the society in its entirety, and this can be achieved primarily through support to **interdisciplinary** projects and establishment of **inter-sector cooperation** – culture with tourism, science and education, urbanism, economics, ecology, social protection and other fields. Accomplishing strategic inter-sector cooperation can have far-reaching positive effects on social development, for example in the field of culture of remembrance – development of culture of tolerance and peace-making, creating inclusive narratives of the past; civil rights and social equality – respecting and promoting cultural diversity, encouraging integration, economy, ecology and other aspects of sustainable development – job creation, environment protection. The basic idea is that cultural projects should be designed with the awareness of their social function and the influence they have on the shaping of the public sphere and decision making about its development.
3. **International cooperation should be a priority** of development of specific fields, but also of the entire cultural system in Serbia. Even though just few groups stated this explicitly (e.g. the group for audio-visual production, group for science and theory), it could be said that there is a consensus that international contacts and participation in international programmes are prerequisites for the development of the cultural system in Serbia.
4. According to the members of the group for visual art, international cooperation of Serbia should be based on the concept of culture as **an open dialogue platform for countries with interesting history**. Such a concept of international cooperation assumes initiating of dialogues and inclusion of citizens and professionals of different profiles from Serbia and the world (sociologists, architects, economists and others) into the process of understanding the social-political past and the current situation of Serbia, Europe and the contemporary global society. The dialogue would be realised through artistic cooperation, public debates, media contents, scientific research and other cultural projects with the aim of raising awareness of the importance of understanding the common past and present, and creating a common future.

When it comes to topics and quality of cultural projects in culture and humanities, specifically related to the concept of culture as an open platform for dialogue about the past and the future, the general conclusion is that the **specific nature of the cultural and historical heritage** represents the main **strength** of culture in Serbia from the aspect of international cooperation (especially the period of socialism, but also the ethno-heritage). The importance of critical studying of the period of socialism is in the fact that ways out from the current economic crisis can be found, and also the solutions for burning problems of the contemporary society such as social inequality, exile, terrorism, instability. The development and international

promotion of the domestic ethno-culture achieves preservation of cultural diversity and variety of cultural expressions, but it also opens a field for studying an interesting meeting point of the Eastern and Western cultures (the Ottoman and European influence). Apart from this, members of some working groups identified market advantages of investing into the ethno-culture (music, creative industries...).

Apart from this, all working groups recognised **enthusiasm, expertise and established professional connections of individuals** (but not of institutions!) as the key strength for the development of international cooperation, whereas this primarily refers to artists and other cultural professionals who live in Serbia, while some working groups also spoke about potentials offered by firm international positions of individuals from the **Diaspora**.

All working groups stated important **international cultural projects**, so it can be deduced that Serbia is very active and internationally present in all fields; however, a more precise estimate of that participation was not given in terms of quantity, while the quality of projects in some segments was praised, and in other segments criticised. Criticism primarily concerns the fact that cultural projects in Serbia mostly deal with local themes or that they were not designed with the awareness that certain local narratives have great importance in the international context.

Problems with human resources and the problem of **insufficiently developed audience** and insufficient participation of institutions and cultural organisations in the public space were determined as basic obstacles to the development of international cultural cooperation.

This is why working groups primarily emphasised the importance of the development of **new knowledge and skills** necessary for creating concepts, implementation and management of international projects. All groups spoke about a great need for permanent education and **hiring narrowly specialised administrators or project managers**, and some groups recognised the need for establishing **new professions in culture** such as a mediator and an animator in culture who would deal with connecting institutions and the public, audience development, increasing visibility and social impact of the projects. Therefore, recommendations were given to ease the development and employment of new staff on the one hand (legal-administrative instruments), and on the other one, to enhance the capacities of permanent staff through training and other instruments of employee policy in culture. Some of the listed instruments are **competitions for mobility** (such as the newly opened competition of the Ministry of Culture and Media), **awards for young artists and professionals** in culture which would serve the purpose of encouraging contemporary creativity, **networking** for the sake of knowledge transfer and raising capacity of employees.

Apart from human resources, an important conclusion is related to the necessity of **audience development**, active participation of cultural and scientific institutions in the public space, better communication with citizens, greater availability and development of participation. In order to achieve better results in audience development, a great importance of several things was emphasised:

5. **Cooperation at the public-private sector level** (which will not only contribute to better success in audience development, but also to higher quality of cultural project designing, more intense exchange of knowledge and skills of employees, exchange of resources, better and simpler organisation and realisation of cultural projects, etc.);
6. **Inter-sectoral networking** (when it comes to audience development, primarily connecting culture with tourism and culture with science and education);
7. **Forming interdisciplinary teams** (in science: connecting scientists, theoreticians and artists, practitioners, whereas connecting the field of artistic production and theory and science is important for art in the sense of conceptual-theoretic development, and for science and theory in the sense of wider application, audience development, achieving visibility, greater influence on the public).

When it comes to specifically international cooperation, especially praised was the **opening of the Ministry of Culture's competition for co-funding of projects** which gained support of international programmes, and on the other hand, what was emphasised was the necessity of **creating a strategy and plan of international cultural cooperation**.

Almost all groups recommended founding an **information and service centre** whose mission would be dissemination of information about opportunities for development of international cooperation, and also organising trainings and other forms of education for conceptualising and management of international cultural projects. Some groups emphasised that the function of such a centre would also be connecting the domestic landscape and monitoring and promotion of artistic and scientific and research production, but also there were discussions about the opinion that due to audience development and achieving greater visibility, this **centre could be organised as a physical space** – a hub or laboratory where theoreticians, practitioners and active audience would meet. Finally, for some fields such as the theatre and dance, it is of vital importance to **modernise technical equipment** (in the language of EU policies: **digital shift**).

It can be concluded that all given guidelines for the development of international cooperation in Serbia are completely **in accordance with the European cultural policy guidelines**. The basic priorities of the Creative Europe programme of the EU are audience development, mobility, the capacity-building for institutions and organisations in culture (development of new knowledge and skills); only the development of creative industries which is an important topic at the level of the EU, was not recognised as a priority of international cooperation in Serbia. Domestic experts rather put emphasis on capacity building of human resources, raising the quality of production and achieving better communication, both within the scene (professional cooperation) and in communicating with the audience, and also with the wider surroundings (inter-sectoral cooperation).





The audiovisual sector – international cooperation as a necessity

Nevena Negojević

Participants of the working group

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Jelena Mitrović, Baš Čelik, Belgrade

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Nikola Popević, Film Redaction of Radio Television of Serbia, Belgrade

Dušan Milić, film director

Darko Lungulov, film director

Nevena Daković, the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, University of Arts Belgrade

Mila Turajlić, Dribbling Pictures, Belgrade

Jovana Nikolić, Prababa Production, Belgrade

Dragan Nikolić, Prababa Production, Belgrade

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Moderators: Vladan Petković, film journalist and critic and Nevena Negojević, coordinator of the MEDIA Desk Serbia.

Apart from them, the formulation of the report was aided by Professor Nevena Daković, Faculty of Dramatic Arts, University of Arts Belgrade.

Without international cooperation there would be no development of the film industry – this was one of the core conclusions of the work group. International cooperation, and especially in the form of co-production, secures some of the key factors for the development of the industry: access to new and bigger markets, access to new funds, increase in the quality of production, access to special equipment, technologies and skills of foreign colleagues, desired locations and transfer of knowledge.

HUMAN RESOURCES

When it comes to how much the domestic cinematography is adaptable to change, primarily to being included in the systems of functioning of the MEDIA sub-programme, but also other international bodies regulating and financing activities in the sector, the participants of the work group emphasised as the biggest challenge our learnt patterns of behaviour (the mentality) and the habit to constantly think about how the system should be tricked. Lack of understanding and acceptance of the European system of working was noticed, i.e. the lack of desire and knowledge to adapt to this system. The only way to solve this is through permanent education. The educational system is the most sluggish one and new courses should be introduced in it which will form new professions within the sector.

On the other hand, a challenge to international cooperation, but also to the development of the entire sector, is the lack of adequate personnel. This challenge is primarily reflected in administration and finance and what is already noticeable is the necessity to realise trainings which will allow people already working in the sector to participate in international co-operations and programmes, from this, administrative-technical aspect.

A lack of innovative ideas and authors represents no challenge for the domestic cinematography. In this sense, the sector is very well supported – directors, producers, screenwriters, actors, creative teams (directors of photography and cameramen, production designers, costume designers, sound engineers), but what is also noticeable is the lack of staff not visible to the public and at the same time necessary for unobstructed functioning of a professional community.

These are: film accountants or production managers (administration staff) familiar with the system of work in international institutions and funds, advocates of media rights, portfolio managers, insurance specialists – insurance houses in Serbia have no knowledge about the peculiarities of film production and cannot make an estimate of the value of a film, so they propose insurance policies that producers cannot pay off.

When considering the question of insurance a discrepancy can be noticed between the existing system in Serbia and international regulations. On the international level, film insurance is implied, whereas on the national level mechanisms which would enable cooperation of insurance associations and film professionals were never created, hence there is basic misunderstanding between them. It is also interesting that national funds, in copying the rules of the international funds, are also looking for insurance which actually shows insufficient familiarity with the problematic of the question itself.

This leads us to the basic problem when it comes to human resources, which is that administration is not sufficiently educated because they are not familiar with the practice of the film business. The Ministry of Culture and Media, and the Film Centre of Serbia (FCS) do not have adequately educated lawyers and financial managers. Legal and financial experts do not exist in institutions. Boards drafting the rulebooks are not aware that some regulations are simply not applicable to the real situation: for example, they are demanding an expected cash flow, and producers who depend

on funds, cannot know in advance when the money will be in their accounts or when will they reach the funds. Communication between those setting the rules and demanding fulfilment of specific agreements and situation on the market is not sufficiently developed.

Apart from this there are specific problems concerning one part of the sector such as the production of documentary film. The entire domestic audio-visual public is confronted with the fact that in Serbia there are no producers specialised in producing documentaries. Moreover, the issue most commonly encountered with documentary film makers is the clearing of rights as a very serious obstacle not only to the creation of documentary films.

Core issue: lack of logistic support by the public side of the sector towards actors in audio-visual professions. The old institutional system was not fully transformed and adjusted to the problems of modern audio-visual industry. It is also recommended to research possibilities of transforming the infrastructure, whereas it should be emphasised that some problems can be solved in a simple way through informal education of institutions' employees within different seminars supported by the MEDIA programme and the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia, and in the future the Ministry of Education as well and others dealing with similar issues, but also through the management of the labour and social policy.

Recommendations: to establish an agency/body/service which will deal with legal and insurance questions, where employees will be experts in the fields, additionally trained for peculiarities of the film industry. The issue of inadequate logistic support of the maladjusted institutional system to its users should be solved through a dialogue between both sides (on one side the employees in institutions, and on the other employees in the independent sector), through future consultation sessions (of a similar character as the CE Forum) and research of the wider circle of users (the public and the audience), and sharing the results with interested parties.

The issue of the lack of adequate education for producers of documentary films can be mitigated by organising educational workshops and seminars lead by domestic and foreign experts, until the moment adequate conditions for improvement of study programmes of film production in higher education are created, which should be worked on systematically, through joint endeavours of professional associations and the Film Centre of Serbia in a dialogue with art faculties.

PROGRAMME RESOURCES

Successful programmes in different branches of cinematography are mostly incident in character and are a result of endeavours of individuals who succeed in animating and receiving government support (followed by the support of the European funds).

Film production is logically primarily counting on the minimal local market because often they do not reach the international one. On the local market, the biggest percentage of viewership is induced by screenings on festivals – which a sufficient indicator of the state this sector is in.

A prominent problem is the non-existence of distributors interested in domestic films which do not have an obvious cinema potential – distribution of populist titles condescending to the audience is not an issue – the issue is the distribution of all other films, and among them high-quality domestic films.

On the other hand, the audience has lost trust in the domestic film because it has been tricked countless times. There is a lack of responsibility in all parts of the chain – from production (carelessness for scenarios, clumsy development of projects, careless directing and lazy acting), post-production (bad quality copies), placement (false PR, inadequate representation on festivals), and distribution (lack of cinemas).

It is necessary to educate the domestic audience, because after several decades it was the first to lose parameters about what a good and important film is (and this is not solely the audience's fault). On the other side deeper, more responsible engagement of distributors is needed, as well as the subsidies of the state (the Ministry of Culture and Media) for those screening domestic and European films. The audience is not aware of the existence of high-quality films even when they are released – the state should, thus, subsidise the promotional part of the chain as well.

Moreover, until recently, the main obstacle to the development of international cooperation and also the AC sector was the lack of competitions during the period of two years. These competitions and the work of FCS are the only constant and long-term financial support the sector can rely on. These are of utter importance for the financial stability of the sector itself.

Even though competitions are now established, there are certain issues with them as well, which are essentially issues of the lack of human resources, however, their consequences are pouring over into the programmatic part. For example, budget estimate for documentary films should be conducted by an expert specialised in the field, and especially so during a competition for project development – since this is the key stage in a documentary film. A large part of this are the development and co-production markets, and participating in them is always costly (application fee, travel and accommodation expenses), where the shortlisted circle of famous people festivals is entered, who can later have easier access to competition programmes of these festivals. When one such film wins a festival award, the state takes credit for it through the media, even though it most commonly did not sufficiently aid in the creation of the film in question.

Furthermore, many projects submitted to FCS do not allocate a part of their budgets for promotion and distribution, and the system of copyright royalties is problematic. This issue is again something stretched between two fields – the field of human resources and the programmatic field. On the one hand it is an obvious consequence of insufficient education of the project author and producers, but on the other hand this is an issue of the lack of clear criteria for the evaluation of project proposals.

The introduction of clear and precise criteria by professionals is something that at the bottom line would also contribute to the success of our authors applying for European funds. Their projects are frequently given very low rating, not due to a bad idea, but due to ignorance as to fulfil other criteria apart from having a good idea (financial stability of the project, feasibility of the marketing plan, feasibility of the distribution strategy, etc.).

The films that get produced in spite of everything are confronted with another type of issues. They become very successful through festival life, however, their commercial distribution abroad is non-existent as a rule – apart from the films the producers and sales agents of which make an effort regards their placement on their own, but they also rarely succeed. An additional problem is the fact that most producers do not know how to reach sales agents.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES

A guarantee of long-term financial stability of films is establishing a network of funding sources – stabilising national and European competitions, presence and availability of fund, etc. Moreover, the arrangement of the general ambient for financial business operations harmonised with European and global laws and practice is a necessary step towards financial stability. However, most members of the working group emphasised that the existence and continuous functioning of the state fund is necessary, and that this is the foundation of financial stability.

COMMUNICATION AND CONNECTIONS

In the context of international cooperation, communication represents no issue. Film professionals are very well connected, and through various co-production models they cooperate very closely, and international cooperation is nowadays to the largest extent implied and seen as necessary. Giving up on international cooperation is a luxury which can be afforded by few producers or film professionals today.

A bigger issue is the non-existence of communication between operatives and institutions. There are disconnectedness both of institutions and individual actors of the scene, communication is frequently endangered by the setting of personal and particular interests before the institutional ones, there is a minimal flow of useful and necessary information, few official channels and established systems of communication.

In the end, a special issue is communication with the audience. The lack of systematic market research (audience, infrastructure, the media scene) influences the programmatic part itself on a very important level.

THE TECHNICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESOURCES

The lack of cinemas, maladjustment to the new channels of distribution, obsolescence and lack of knowledge about the benefits of online distribution.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

There is no law regulating audiovisual professions (while there is a law on cinematography), there is no application of the law about the public service supporting the audiovisual production and assuming a way of receiving income from television stations, cable and mobile providers, lottery... Furthermore, an adequate rulebook of FCS is also lacking.



Cultural Heritage Interdisciplinarity, Intersectoral Cooperation and Participation

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The diversity of representatives of institutions and organisation, but also the diversity of debates and discussions initiated attests to the extent to which the domain of cultural heritage, and hence also international cooperation within it, is varied and to what extent it implies diversified approaches to and methodologies of work.

The realisation of projects of international cooperation in the field of cultural heritage assumes different aspects of activity in the field of culture (understood in the widest sense, not only as an elitist relationship towards heritage), science and education (as conditionally primary determinants), but also tourism, ecology, economics, planning and urbanism (as conditionally secondary determinants).

Interdisciplinarity, inter-sectoral cooperation and participation (in the sense of including collaborators or users in all stages of project activities) seem to be a unifying topic no matter what segment of heritage: research, treasuring, preservation, physical forms of protection, or presentation, displaying and communicating, all the way to interpretation, use with the aim of achieving social cohesion and prosperity, creativity and creative industries and/or commercial purposes.

The general conclusion is that both positive and negative aspects of international cooperation are almost identical to the ones appearing in everyday functioning of institutions and organisations in Serbia as well as when establishing internal inter-institutional and/or inter-sectoral cooperation.

STRENGTHS

What are the strengths of heritage itself? – Which projects have been successful, which segments of cultural heritage are important for international cooperation today – what would be strategic priorities – e.g. should we deal with wars (from the Middle Ages to world wars, to more recent wars) or e.g. deal with some segments of the past – socialism... Therefore, strengths in the Archives should be recognised – what is it that we have that can be strategically positioned in the international community; which institutions are heading this cooperation.

If we understand cultural heritage as a continuous production of values and meanings, the precondition of which are certainly professionals, then heritage in itself has no power. This power is only revealed in creative activity, most commonly interpretation. Hence, nothing is necessarily a strength *per se*, but anything can become a strength. If the question implies nationally, regionally or locally “guaranteed to be valuable” heritage, or elements of heritage, we reach the problem of iconic (symbolic) or ideological values which we automatically recognise as a part of the “national construct”. Therefore, it is not the existence of heritage as such a value or a strength, it is the narratives being produced, new meanings being created or connections established on several levels (towards the community, social questions, and the like). Thus, strategic priorities cannot be topics (though they also sometimes set new frameworks on the international level (ICOM, UNESCO), like in 2016 – Museums and communities, 2017 – Museums and unspeakable histories, 2018 (proposed by the Council of Europe) – the entire year is dedicated to cultural heritage, etc.). What will become a strategic priority does not depend on the memorial (to be understood in the widest sense of the word), but instead it depends on the possibility and capacity to produce new value and communication channels. Well, the key role here is played by people, be them in institutions or organisations.

1. Enthusiasm of individuals

Experts responsible for international cooperation as well (since in the majority of cases this is not the only responsibility) mostly possess sound or good communication abilities and skills accompanied with expressing great enthusiasm. The general conclusion of the working group is that when negotiating or realising international projects a better image about the state of and working in institutions and organisation is conveyed than it actually is – the impression given: good individuals exist, but not the system that follows them. The project “Hear Me. Bringing youth and museums together” where a partner is the Gallery of Matica Srpska, or, e.g. “Risk Change”, which is a result of cooperation of 10 institutions and organisations throughout Europe dealing with a common topic: contemporary migrations and continuous social and cultural changes in 21st century, where a partner, among others, is the Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina.

2. Age structure and active engagement

In organisations (associations) dealing with problems/questions of cultural heritage, young and proactive experts are mostly the active ones which results in initiating, planning and realisation of dynamic and interesting projects. Still, these projects are not exclusively related to the field of cultural heritage – they rather have a proclivity towards culture in general, social questions observed through creativity or cultural production. Such projects are for example: “*Linija ofanzive – smejati se strahu u lice*” [Line of offence – laughing in the face of fear] one of whose participants is the Centre for Cultural Decontamination, “*Mape – mapiranje i arhiviranje javnih prostora*” [Maps – mapping and archiving public spaces] one of whose participants is the Communication point, or “Shared Cities / Creative Momentum”, where one of the participants is the Belgrade Society of Architects.

On the other hand, certainly worthy of mention are activities of Europa Nostra Serbia, and also platforms for establishment and initiation of international cooperation and increasing visibility on the international scene (through EU Heritage Awards / Europa Nostra Awards), or the increased emphasis of NC ICOM Serbia on international activity – publishing the magazine of NC ICOM in English in 2017).

It is not sufficient to observe cultural heritage in the context of international cooperation, only through realised projects: in Serbia, each international project assumes proactive action – if an expert is working in an institution (which is increasingly frequently the case), their engagement implies professional postulates which are not at all or very unclearly interwoven into missions or strategies of institutions. Only the new Catalogue of work positions in culture envisages the position of international cooperation coordinator – and even then it implies performing some other work inside the institution with salaries remaining set even though the scope of work dramatically increases.

3. Ratification of agreements and co-financing of international projects

- The Republic of Serbia is a signee of international conventions enabling easier referring of projects to international regulations such the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society–“Faro”(2005), Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), or the Convention on Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)...
- The Republic of Serbia is one of the rare countries co-financing the realisation of projects for which funds have already been secured through international funds, specifically in international projects.

WEAKNESSES

1. Knowledge and skills and institutional transfers of knowledge

- Cultural institutions focussed on cultural heritage mostly display insufficient knowledge and misconduct in skills required for the writing of international projects. Frequently, good ideas are not initiated due to language barriers and difficulties in establishing primary cooperation.
- Lack of continuous transfer of knowledge, skills and experiences from the more experienced to the younger colleagues as a consequence of the shift of the age structure towards older collectives on average, i.e. not employing younger staff in accordance with the real needs of institutions.
- Incapability of legal and general services to answer the requirements of international projects (especially in the model of the head of a project).

2. Plans and strategies and managing institutions

- Lack of or underdeveloped plans and strategies for the establishment and development of international cooperation;
- Inertia of management towards benefits of international cooperation and alternative sources of funding which results in weak management of human resources. The cause can be sought in the fact that projects of international cooperation are perceived as a type of an investment in the development of the institution itself and the human resources.

3. Human resources and imprecise criteria

Lack of open competitions for managerial positions, and also competitions for employment in cultural institutions in general, lack of clear and precise parameters of admission (discretion rights of management as a rule, not an exception), and also lack of clear indicators of the successfulness of work (of the institution) condition an environment of amateurism, unplanned business conduct and insecure ambient for the development of international cooperation projects.

4. (Under)representation of representatives of Serbia in international bodies, organisations and in European and global competitions within cultural heritage

- Low representation in international bodies (boards, organisations, expert associations) which results in weaker visibility, possibility of establishing direct contacts and lobbying. Serbia has representatives only in few organisations which gather heritage actors at the international level: Europa Nostra (the secretary general, Sneška Kvedlig Mihajlović and the Vice President of the executive board, Irina Subotić), CIMUSET/ICOM – Sonja Zimonjić, MPR/ICOM – Tamara Ognjević, ICOM SEE – Biljana Đorđević. If we also analyse the affiliated associations of ICOM (ICOM Affiliated: AEOM, AIMA, CIMAM, EXARC, FIHRM, IAMH,

IATM, ICSC, MINOM) where representatives of Serbia can participate, the number is increased for only one member: the President of IAMH, Slađana Bojković, curator for international cooperation of the Historical Museum of Serbia.

- Representatives of Serbia do not exist in the system of EGMUS, The European Group on Museum Statistics, which has been operating on the European continent since 2002 and which includes 30 countries from and outside of the EU. The aim of the group is aggregating and publishing comparable statistic data.¹
- Within *Europeana*, the sector of cultural heritage is present only in library projects (the National Library, the University Library and the Belgrade City Library) and projects of the Yugoslavian Film Archive. The only participating museum is the Museum of Applied Art. Curator of the museum, Dejan Sandić, emphasised two challenges this institution was faces with, apart from the digitalisation of 500.000 museum objects: reaching the standards set by the *Creative Commons licences* and the *Europeana Data Model*.²
- EMF, the European Museum Forum³ under the patronage of the Council of Europe which has been awarding the EMYA, European museum of the Year Award since 1977, does not have a representative of Serbia in the board of the organisation, nor in the juries of the manifestation. Progress in nominations was made in 2012, since when nominated on this prestigious competition included the Museum in Prijepolje (2012), the Open-air Museum of “Staro selo” [Old Village] in Sirogojno (2014), the Letter Museum (Monumental complex in Tršić), Loznica and the National Museum in Zrenjanin (2015), the Gallery of Matica Srpska and the National Museum in Valjevo (2016) and “Jeremija”–Museum of Bread in Pećinci (2017).
- EMA, the European museum Academy⁴ awarding the Luigi Micheletti Award, and together with the Forum of Slavic Cultures⁵ also the award “Živa” for museums from the Slavic cultural area, are relatively recently established awards⁶. Museums from Serbia have had somewhat more success, first the Gallery of Matica Srpska, and then also the Museum of History of Yugoslavia (both within the “Živa” Award), whereas the Gallery of Matica Srpska won the award for the best museum. Throughout the years the nominees have included the National Museum in Zrenjanin and the Natural Museum in Belgrade (2016), and also the Open-air Museum of “Staro selo” in Sirogojno (2017).

1 http://www.egmus.eu/en/statistics/choose_by_country/z/0/

2 In more details on the blog of Tamara Butigan Vučaj (National Library of Serbia), “Serbia launches new heritage aggregator for Europeana” at: <http://pro.europeana.eu/blogpost/serbia-launches-new-heritage-aggregator-for-europeana#sthash.bTp0mHZj.dpuf>,

3 <http://www.europeanmuseumforum.info>

4 <http://www.europeanmuseumacademy.eu>

5 <http://fsk.si>

6 The award Luigi Micheletti was at first awarded as one of the awards of the European Museums Forum, and since 2016 it has been independent and awarded for the 21st time in a row, and it was awarded to the Danish National Open-air Museum of “Den Gamle By”.

- Within the award EU Heritage / Europa Nostra Awards⁷ which has been awarded since 2002 for a project realised in the preceding year in one of the four categories: conservation, research, distinguished individual or organisation and education, training and awareness raising, the only awarded project from Serbia was the Conservation Study of the Village of Gostuša near Pirot in 2016. The project won the main award in the field of conservation⁸. A special recognition of the jury in the category of training and awareness raising was awarded in 2012 to the project of “The houses of Zlatibor from the nineteenth century to the present“, of the Open-air Museum “Old Village” in Sirogojno. At the global conference representing the best (awarded) museum and cultural heritage projects, no museum from Serbia was ever present.
- The project “Gostuša” as the bearer of the previously listed award will probably be the first to compete in The Best in Heritage conference in Dubrovnik in September 2017.
- There were no representatives of Serbia to the We are Museum network⁹, which has been organising conferences since 2013 with the aim of creating a network of museum professionals in the field of interactive interpretations, innovative approaches and digitalisation.¹⁰
- The cultural association of Michael Culture Association¹¹, endeavouring to contribute to culture in the field of professional work on digitalising cultural heritage, improving the availability and visibility of European digital and cultural resources, promotion of the use of digital cultural resources by businesses and citizens, developed a network of over 150 members from 22 countries, including the Ministry of Communication, Science and Technology of Belgium, Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, National Board for Cultural Heritage of Sweden, the British Museum, Centre for Information within the Field of Culture of the Ministry of Culture of Russia, and numerous representatives of big, medium and small actors, both government and independent ones. There are no representatives of Serbia among members.
- The listed organisations and competitions at the same time represent a proposal of relevant frameworks where the presence of representatives of Serbia should be increased.

5. Programme narratives

A vast number of ideas being developed remain on the level of the locally relevant narratives: even though they can be nationally important, in the context of international cooperation they do not offer a platform for cooperation and are not recognised as ideas around which several partners are unified.

7 <http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu>

8 http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winner_country/serbia/

9 <http://www.wearemuseum.com>

10 Bucharest: 2016 Bucharest, <http://wam16.wearemuseum.com>,
Berlin: 2015 Berlin, <http://wam15.wearemuseum.com>,

Warsaw: 2014 Warsaw, <http://wam2014.wearemuseum.com>,

Vilnius: 2013 Vilnius, <http://wam2013.wearemuseum.com>.

11 <http://www.michael-culture.eu/michael-network>

OPPORTUNITIES

1. International experts' and scientific gatherings as the basis for initiating projects in the field of heritage

If we take a look at the presence of Serbia in the organisation of international experts' and scientific events in the field of cultural heritage, it is easy to establish a correlation between the ability to organise this kind of a platform (where projects of international cooperation are negotiated in more detail or just initiated) and the real participation in international activities in the domain of heritage. In the past 10 years Serbia has organised just one international experts' gathering (in 2012 - ICR, International Committee for Regional Museums), Theme: Home and Hearth: Regional museums and Gastronomic Heritage), as opposed to, for example, Croatia, Finland and Norway (6), Poland (5), Slovenia and Greece (4)... During 2017, the situation has improved, which attests to the increased interest and organisational desire and capacities (A Non-Aligned Museum, Cultural Heritage Counts for (SE) Europe, 16+1...) for the positioning of Serbia on the map of European cultural heritage and conference programmes.

2. Informal forms of international cooperation and alternative funds

It is not necessary that every establishment of international cooperation should be formalised by budgetary and general-legal frameworks, forms and agreements, but it is important to gradually move in that direction, primarily for the sake of stability of funding, maintaining permanent partnerships and developing trust. In this sense wider possibilities are offered by funds of different foundations, embassies, and even small donors. Some of the recommendations can be easily found through simple input of keywords.¹² Trainings in fund-raising and crowd-funding are welcome initiatives. One of the good examples is the project "Creative Mentorship" where the private sector offers help in knowledge transfer.¹³

¹² <http://www.inkluzija.gov.rs/vodic/9-Vodic-kroz-finansijska-sredstva.html>

¹³ In more detail at: www.kreativnomentorstvo.com

THREATS

1. Not thinking at the meta-political level: what kind of an image do we want to send about Serbia bearing in mind planning and realisation of projects of international cooperation? What kind of an image are we sending out about Serbia bearing in mind the current realisation of projects of international cooperation?

The answer to the first question demands a broader public debate with the participation of institutional (public and private) and civil actors from the field of cultural heritage, and the type of strategy that, for example, Poland has¹⁴. The answer to the second questions demands analysis based on research. If these images are not in accord on the political level of thinking about cultural heritage, this is a threat to further development of presence of initiatives from the field of Serbian heritage on the international scene. The existence of disaccord in any case reflects a still amateur relationship with the idea of international cooperation in general.

2. Even though a signee of numerous conventions, the Republic of Serbia has outdated legal frameworks and bylaws which can have a detrimental effect on operational functioning and condition a decelerated realisation of international projects (examples: The Place That I Love, The List of the Seven Endangered, and the like).

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **Creating high-quality analysis reasoned through research and dealing with the presence of Serbia on the international stage in the field of cultural heritage in the past ten years.**

Elements:

- Institutional and independent experts who participated on international expert and scientific gatherings with their works and presentations
- Experts who are members of representative international associations (a preliminary list was stated in this text)
- Professionals who are a part of management structures (members of boards) of international organisations in the field of heritage
- Participation of representatives of Serbia (institutional and project-based) in international competitions dealing with the domain of cultural heritage
- Participation of representatives of Serbia in international projects (regardless of the source of funding)

¹⁴ <http://nimosz.pl/en/international-cooperation/international-cooperation-strategy>

2. Strengthening capacities of institutions through raising the quality of human resources

- Strengthening the management capacity of institutions and human resources in the field of the realisation of international cooperation through the established employment policy and mandatory public competitions with established precise criteria (both for managers/directors and for other work positions).
- The continuance of strengthening of human resources capacities (knowledge and skills) in the domain of initiating and realising international projects through organised courses, seminars, gatherings, formal and informal forms of making contacts.
- Strategic planning of international projects and integrating international cooperation into missions, plans and strategies of institutions (in organisations these are integral parts of the Statutes, mostly), and also setting clear indicators of the work's success rate.

3. Developing inter-sectoral cooperation as a precondition of the development of the national multi-partnered cooperation on the international level

Insisting on opening and connecting cultural institutions with other actors in the civil and the private sectors (organising of seminars, fairs...) with the aim of quantitative and qualitative strengthening of ideas and the development of platforms on the national level for the development of international cooperation: perhaps also setting up a working group for monitoring of initiatives and realisation of projects in the domain of international cooperation. An excellent example of this is the Take Over project realised in partnership with the Kolarac National University and the Point of Cultural Contact with foreign partners¹⁵.

4. Support to mobility and encouraging participation of experts in relevant international bodies

- Considering the fact that international cooperation represents one of the priorities of cultural development in Serbia, increase the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Media allocated for participating in expert and scientific events, and also the items covered by the budget, and publish information about participants and presentations, as well as possible results.
- Allocating more funds for organisations of expert and scientific events on the territory of Serbia (transparent and timely competitions, logistic and infrastructural support).

15 More details in: Dunja Babović and Milan Đorđević, „#takeoverovanjekolarca #missionimpossible?“, in: *Audience Development in Serbia*, (Editors: N. Mihaljinac, D. Tadić), Belgrade: Creative Europe Desk Serbia, 2016, pp.69-72.



Literature and the martini principle

Beba Stanković

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Moderator: Beba Stanković, “Ilija M. Petrović” Library, Požarevac

Miomir Petrovic, writer and Gojko Bozovic, poet and director of the publishing house Arhipelag, gave their opinion on the strategy development.

Strategic planning as one of the necessary developments of every field demands careful analysis and review of the existing state, indicating strengths and weaknesses, but also specific propositions on improvement and potential overcoming of problems, i.e. strengthening of the “fourth pillar of sustainability of local development”, the name given to culture by John Hawkes.

The proposition and recommendations are a result of a round table and forum of the Creative Europe Desk Serbia, whose participants included, unfortunately not in the planned numbers, all those who were supposed to be interested in this area of creativity, which at the start indicates one of the important problems – insufficient interest of individuals in participating and the potential change; nevertheless, presence of representatives of different segments of literary creativity was secured – participants included writers, publishers, librarians, representatives of civil society organizations, and also students of the University of Arts.

Based on the SWOT analysis which was given as the starting point for the round table “Analysis of potentials of international cooperation development in the field of literature”, and which served as a good basis for debate, but also in later talks with writers and publishers, all due to familiarity with the existing problematic, the following conclusions, which can serve as a proposition of measures for the improvement of this field, were reached.

1. Participants easily agreed that the **strength** of being active in the field of literature is primarily the **human factor**, which in the current state compensates for the notorious lack of financial means through its innovation and creativity, as well as in overcoming other problems most commonly happening in a major part of the field of cultural and artistic activity.

The existing projects – specific examples that can attest to this claim are, e.g. the “Krokodil” International Literary Festival which is for the most part funded through donations of different funds, while the smaller share of the means is gained through local and republic competitions. Moreover, another example of an extremely successful literary manifestation is the Kikinda Short, a festival of short story initiated as a literary manifestation of the Library in Kikinda which was held for the 11th time this year in Kikinda and Belgrade whereas guest appearances of domestic writers were organised during the spring of the current year as an announcement of the festival in libraries throughout Serbia. The guests of the festival include both participants from the region and also the ones from almost all continents while names are always carefully selected so it is always at least one guest from a country of particular interest with regards to the events which are in focus of the international public in the year in question.

I would like to emphasise as an especially good example of international representation the **participation of librarians** of Serbia in the World Library and Information Congress IFLA. There is no need for further explanation of the importance and participation of libraries in the promotion of literature. Apart from the projects our libraries represent by, there are also scientific articles and the poster of the presentation of projects.

Regular participants at conferences are the National Library of Serbia, Belgrade City Library, the “Ilija M. Petrović” National Library in Požarevac, and periodically other libraries as well. The librarian peers are members of different bodies within IFLA, and one of the awarded innovative projects of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and also IFLA, was the project of the library from Jagodina. The first institutional international membership and activities after 2000 was exactly membership in IFLA and its sections. Apart from this, the big three years long INELI project of co-operation of 10 countries of the region is currently taking place (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Kosovo*), the participants of which are libraries from Belgrade, Jagodina, Požarevac i Požega. Although already noticed, this activity requires bigger institutional and professional support as one of the most successful international activities in the field of culture, *i.e.* literature.

2. The most energy and discussions were understandably related to the **weaknesses** in this field due to their number, long presence and their demand for the biggest possible measure of activities, starting with individual engagement all the way to the acteurs positioned in the highest hierarchical spots.

The problems that I want to address, the ones struggled with by the majority of institutions and individuals, but also civil society organisations, are closely correlated with and build on one another. I would list as the first of them the **procedural circumstances** face with by almost everyone to a smaller or a larger extent, and which could be, apart for few exceptions, successfully solved through changing specific legal frameworks. Namely, what the majority of institutions have the most problems with are the regulations not allowing the funds to be used in the desired manner because there is no legal basis for it. For instance, paying for an airplane ticket of a foreign guest we wish to see in our institution is impossible, followed by the problem of double

payment of taxes – tax residency certificate – in publishing, which is frequently discouraging for foreign partners and due to which already successfully negotiated business is easily lost. The problem with competitions is also the fact that there are other types of restrictions, so various high-quality ideas have to be reworked and classified under frameworks that suffocate the original authenticity and innovation. Difficulties can also be seen in conditions of international competitions which often require participation of e.g. two organisations from the cultural sector and one dealing with social issues while coming from three different countries. Apart from being difficult to find partners in this way due to the nature of business, it is also most commonly problematic how to put the common denominator for all participants under the same roof and apply for funds in this way. Procedural difficulties often lead to delays in funds by the financier (often even by the Ministry of Culture and Media itself) which makes it additionally difficult for participants in the project. Procedural circumstances also disable prevent libraries from acquiring foreign literature, even when it comes to material that should be directly purchased from publishers from the region. In the current conditions, due to the use of foreign exchange currency in business and customs, this is impossible to do, so the existing finances, all the same insufficient, are spent on distributors, who, apart from public procurement tenders for buying books (*sic!*), which is commonly known as being problematic due to all possible reasons, put significant stress into and make the procurement of the necessary library material difficult.

The lack of funds is a chronic phenomenon and common ground of all cultural activities, even though it is not listed as the first most problematic element of the development of international cooperation because when funds exist, the abovementioned and other procedural circumstances not listed here prevent the use of these funds in the best possible way.

Therefore, the lack of funds can possibly best be seen in the number and manner of financed, i.e. non-financed manifestation, i.e. the need to recognise atypical, non-standardised projects that deserve the most attention and help from the institutions, from the lowest up to the highest level. The lack of funds also prevents physical presence at book fairs and other events important for strengthening and development of international co-operation, because live contact with foreign partners and cultural professionals is invaluable and it is the best way for establishing specific business relations, promoting domestic literature and writers, and also for negotiating about potential projects. A far different image is achieved through physical presence on important international events, the same way an image about a country is created, which on that kind of an occasion can be represented in some way, here primarily by its cultural envoys. It is necessary to support this kind of participation of writers, publishers, organisers of literary manifestations and librarians from the institutional level in the largest possible extent.

Furthermore, certainly important weaknesses are the ones of functioning when it comes to the international promotion of literature, and these are, classified under a common denominator, **insufficient training in applying for foreign grants, lack of technical equipment (even the lack of adequate working space), but also insufficient interest** (frequently as a result of the already mentioned procedural circumstances).

3. What was said leads towards **opportunities** and later towards recommendations on how to overcome it. As far as opportunities are concerned, effort should be made primarily to increase the use of the already existing competitions, grants and application trainings, and also opportunities offered by cooperating with the closest neighbours – linguistic compatibility should be given attention because frequently translation is not necessary, nor is special adaptation for that matter bearing in mind that their functioning conditions are very similar. Already existing book fairs, not only the regional ones, of course, with an important authors character (Istria, Zagreb, Herceg Novi, Sofia, Thessaloniki, Bologna, Leipzig, Moscow, Prague, Turin...) offer a possibility of expanding cooperation for negotiating different types of events and guest appearances. Certainly special attention should be given to institutional connecting, multimedia projects, which would enable representation of literature by acting in unison in our cultural centres abroad (such the already established competition of the Ministry of Culture and Media for funding of projects for the French Cultural Centre).

4. Recommendations

I want to state as specific activities, distinguished in the talks and activities in the past period are:

- continuous cooperation with international cultural networks: EACEA, EUNIC, TRADUKI

- continuous yearly trainings and professional training for fundraising in the area of literature and related creative industries (publishing, literary manifestations, literary awards, translation grants, literary residencies, library science, production grants...) which also requires a joint portal of the competition and the training at the level of the Ministry of culture and Media where all necessary data could be followed at any moment – a more developed online awareness.

- promotion of the European Union Prize for Literature in Serbia on all levels and on the wider territory of Serbia, support, promotion and clearer profiling of Serbian prizes for European literature, but also continuous support to festivals and literary manifestation with an international character.

- support to the creation and development of a network of writers' houses where guests would be foreign writers according to clearly defined criteria and throughout the year, affirmed writers of clearly profiled provenance, but with a reciprocity of participation of Serbian writers in residencies of the same type in countries of origin of the guests.

- support to the mobility of writers and promoters of literature in Serbia: a bigger extent of participation in European (global) literary events – festivals, literary residences, book fairs, conferences...

The profiled and necessary strategic position we are inclined to, should therefore, based on everything that was said, give special attention to the so-called usability, *i.e.* more “usability” role of Serbian literature, which would ease its international presentation, contacts, presence and relevant cooperation – usability in the sense

of availability and easy manipulation in the best, non-profit sense of the word. To follow the famous “Martini Principle”, typical of creative industries – being always present, everywhere and in all possible ways, and to gradually develop international cooperation of ALL relevant participants in the development of international presentation of literature; we must use all existing resources, and also to a much larger extent the resources specific for the modern age.

It is vital to find a common field where the needs of the authors, domestic publishing houses representing the authors and foreign publishing houses meet. As these three-fold interests are hard to reconcile without institutional support on a larger scale, the triad can be simplified: reconcile the interests/ambitions of domestic authors and foreign publishing houses (with no involvement of domestic publishers, but within the legal frameworks of protection of copyrights domestic publishing houses have).

The second level of presentation of domestic literature implies promotional propositions along the relation author – foreign associations for the promotion of literature – Traduki, library networks, ministries, associations on the state level, and also the non-governmental sector. Moreover, if we set the eliminating weaknesses listed at the beginning of the analysis as a reflection in the mirror, this automatically leads to specific ways of overcoming the existing problems.

Everything that was said is necessary in order to profile the approach to strategy that would more firmly develop regional networking as a starting priority, because experiences of countries in transition are very similar. Of course, this is just the initial step for the development of topics which should be relevant on the international level for the “undeveloped” part of Europe, as we are often characterised, and which we would use to present ourselves in the wider international community. Apart from the “classic” forms of representation, the poetics that should be developed at this level is the interdisciplinarity of forms which would inevitably entail far greater participation of younger authors, apart from the already merited, affirmed ones.



Performing Arts: Why are Technologies and Equipment so Important for European and International Cooperation?

Jasna Dimitrijević

Participants of the working group

Irena Ristić, Independent Cultural Scene Serbia, Belgrade

Igor Koruga, Stanica - Service for contemporary dance Belgrade

Smiljana Stokić, Association of Ballet Artists of Serbia, Belgrade

Vojo Lučić, Joakim Vujić Theatre, Kragujevac

Raša Dinulović, the Faculty of technical sciences, University of Novi Sad

Miroslav Radonjić, Sterijino pozorje Novi Sad

Marta S. Aroksalaši, The Children's Theatre Subotica

Moderator: Jasna Dimitrijević, "Ilija M. Kolarac" Endowment, Belgrade

Contemporary scene expressions imply having modern technical-technological equipment and using new technologies – digital scenography, 3D, video, sound and light effects and so on, but what is even more important from the point of view of international cooperation – modern equipment and new technologies enable a much simpler, faster and cheaper mobility of plays.

Even though numerous questions were considered, and also problems concerned with funding performing arts in Serbia, education in this field, human resources etc, working group that dealt with strategic analysis of the field of performing arts from the aspect of international cooperation, reached exactly the conclusion about the necessity of modernising technical equipment. For the sake of emphasising this need, working group put together a separate table dedicated specifically to technical and technological resources and capacities of domestic theatres and organisations dealing with performing arts. Hence, it was noticed that investing in equipment and new technologies, but also in education of professionals who will develop and use these technologies, is necessary not only in order to modernise the current stage production, but also to enable easier mobility of performers and development of international cooperation.

PROGRAMMES	
STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
uniqueness of concepts of festival programmes and projects the international dimension of a large number of programmes (Sterijino pozorje, Film Festival Subotica, Teatar u plamenu, Festival of Choregraphic Miniatures, Stanica - Kondenz, Generator, Nomad Dance Academy, Station one residence, Puzzle, Critical practice , auditions, Fostering creativity, the play “Ko to tamo peva” (“Who’s singing over there?”, due to its authenticity and ten years of existence), international guest appearances within the Festival Joakim Fest) the number of guest plays from abroad the number of programmes continuity and sustainability audience – increasing size of the audience and increasing visibility established contacts and communication with other festival organisers (and the most frequent partners and joint work on projects in the theatrical field is realised with Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Romania) authenticity, new practices, new initiatives and ideas accompanying programmes	financial uncertainty is influencing the way of planning the scope and content of programme undefined priorities in cultural policy which are expressed through giving priority in funding rivalry on the local level – creating unnecessary competitiveness between organisations dealing with performing arts the influence of local politics and uncertainty through planned EU projects

OPPORTUNITIES - RECOMMENDATIONS	THREATS
necessary adoption and continuous application of project funding strategy in culture defining priorities in cultural policy creating preconditions for programmatic and financial planning of the long-term strategy of cultural development joint projects – coproduction of public and civil society organisations founding the Academy for Artistic Play introducing the notion and education, institutional and informal in the field of scene design mandatory membership and cooperation with international associations and networks, but also financial support for this (AICT, ITI and others)	insufficient familiarity with partnerships and participating in EU projects lack of interest and insufficient support to local communities regarding the participation in the EU projects competitive classification into public cultural institutions and other independent organisations and associations in culture.
The working group concluded that mutual support between organisations of the public and the civil sector is required, but also support of the government to their cooperation. The need for partnership is primarily related to the opening of possibilities of using the space and technology of public institutions to other cultural organisations – civil society organisations, without financial conditions to the author or the organiser of projects. For the time being, public institutions expect financial reimbursement for additional programmes, because these are “guest programmes”, outside of the regular programme of work covered by the budget.	

TECHNICAL RESOURCES	
STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
existence of space and equipment, although only for less demanding projects and forms well-placed technical and infrastructure system as a basis for production good coping with the given circumstances	discontinuous maintenance of the well-placed technical and spatial systems obsolescence of technical equipment in comparison to demands of contemporary productions insufficient readiness to share space and technical equipment to other cultural organisations outside of institutions which do not have their own space bad maintenance of the existing infrastructural and technical systems lack of continuity in maintenance and modernisation of technical equipment there is a need for equipment we cannot rent in the country – underdevelopment of the market in this field
OPPORTUNITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS	THREATS
strategy in culture should direct actors towards cooperation in the use of equipment and space research about the needs of the public and the civil sector in this area systematic long-term planning of equipping and development of these resources competitions for infrastructural and technical equipping of institutions in accordance with the requirements of modern productions long-term financial planning of development in this field based on research about needs parallel education on the application of new technologies in theatres	irrational use of existing resources lack of space for storing scenography and technical equipment non-existence of possibilities to buy new equipment and infrastructural works non-existence of mutual communication, cooperation and support in project realisation between public institutions and other cultural organisations.





Music: ethno and/or contemporary?

Aleksandra Paladin

Participants of the working group

Banda Panda, DJ

Vladan Maksimović, Before After

Ivana Medić, Musicology Institute of Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SASA)

Asja Radonić, Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra

Dobrivoje Milijanović, the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, University of Arts Belgrade

Jelena Janković Beguš, BEMUS – Belgrade music festival

Dragan Ambrozić, Belgrade Youth Centre

Moderator: Aleksandra Paladin, Radio Television of Serbia

In the times of expansion and great segmentation of the global music market, the basic strategic dilemma of international positioning of a country or its territories in the field of music is related specifically to the defining of own musical brand or brands. Some territories and states are known for grunge, electronic music, jazz, heavy metal, rap and hip-hop, and Serbia is recognisable for its ethno and folklore music. In relation to this, within the strategic analysis the question was asked of whether ethno music should be developed in the process of internationalisation of the domestic music scene or whether more attention should be paid to contemporary music genres. The basic conclusion that was reached was that the main strength of the field of music in the context of international cooperation is – authentic, traditional music (ethno and folklore), but that it should be internationally presented through the use of contemporary music language and genres, e.g. compositions of Isidora Žebeljan, ethno-jazz, ethno and electronic music.

Moreover, it was concluded that it is necessary to provide encouragement to the development of contemporary creativity and staff education (new technologies, cultural management and entrepreneurship in the field of the music industry).

STRENGTHS

- high-quality production
 - tour of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra throughout the famous halls of the East Coast of the USA
 - project Quantum music of the Musicology Institute of Serbian Academy of Science and Arts (SASA)
 - TEMUS project
- Creative ideas
 - the New Years project (Nove godine) – celebrating 5 New Years of different traditions and calendars through one concert cycle (Jewish, Christian Orthodox, Catholic, Chinese and Islamic). The project was supported by the European Union.
 - the project of Pika-Točka-Tačka – establishing business cooperation between three best regional philharmonic orchestras which had not communicated for 2 decades: Belgrade, Zagreb and Slovenian orchestras (the project received support of the US State Department and American embassies in the three participatory countries);
- human resources owing to whom it is possible to move things.
 - Nemanja Radulović, violinist
 - Duško Gojković, jazz trumpet player
 - Isidora Žebeljan, composer

WEAKNESSES

- non-existence of institutions which would promote domestic artists abroad (e.g. a Music Info Centre)
- systematically inadequate solutions of the artists' engagement
- lack of real professional valuation of artists
- lack of educated and specialised administration staff who could meet the modern requirements of business practice
- professionals not trained for project management
- non-existence of system support to knowledge exchange
- inadequate conditions for the operation of big systems such as e.g. the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra
- inadequate models of state funding

OPPORTUNITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- establishing international contacts, exchange and participating in conferences of managers and big agencies from the field of different genres of music
- being present on selected festival in order to obtain first-hand insight into the quality of artists
- inter-institutional cooperation with European institutions – where the key role could be played by the Creative Europe Programme

- establishing long-term national strategy of cultural development
- education of personnel specialised for each field
- being more critical in new recruitment, and also periodically evaluating employees with the aim of sustaining and improving the quality of work
- more practice, less theory – too much work is being carried out on documents and formal establishment of potential new rules, while the system is very slow and too little is actually applied in practice
- more investment in the public sector (state institutions)
- more investment into the private sector – private companies
- more investment into the civil sector – endowments and foundations which are often the carriers of cultural life
- drafting a precise Law on Culture defining international cooperation
- the state must profile a clear and continuous cultural policy in the field of music art
- state must form clear guidelines in cultural diplomacy: responsible branding of artists is necessary: artists as profitable exportable national brand, like everywhere in the world
- defining different forms of partnerships in the domain of international cooperation

CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE FIELD – MUSIC

- forming strategic priorities in the field of international cooperation:
 - inter-institutional cooperation
 - cooperation on the level individual-institution
 - and cooperation individual-individual
- positioning of Serbian culture as an integral part of European culture with the necessary emphasis of specificity as our advantage.
- critical attitude towards our own cultural reach and presentation of products of our culture of the highest quality
- establishing Serbia as an equal peer actor of the international cultural scene and a potential, stable partner for bilateral and multilateral projects
- education
 - performativity – education on recognising the models of presentation of art on the world stage
 - management – education in the direction of more effective utilisation of managers in culture
 - production – education in the direction of getting familiar with the state-of-the-art technologies in music production
 - projects – education on getting familiar with the manners of writing international projects



Visual arts: XX century history as a key strength

Sladana Petrović Varagić

Participants of the working group

Maida Gruden, the Gallery of Dom kulture Studentski grad, Belgrade

Ivan Arsenijevic, the Gallery of Student cultural center Kragujevac

Una Popović, Museum of Contemporary Arts Belgrade

Milica Pekić, Independent Cultural Scene Serbia, Belgrade

Sanja Kojić Mladenov, the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad

Nina Ivanović, Art collective U10, Belgrade

Milica Petronijević, the “Nadežda Petrović” Art Gallery Čačak

Milan Bosnić, ProArtOrg, Belgrade

Danijela Purešević, Radio Television of Serbia, Belgrade

Sunčica Lambić Fenjčev, Contemporary Gallery of Zrenjanin

Moderator: Sladana Petrović Varagić, City Gallery of Požega

Members of the working group reached a conclusion that the main strength of Serbia's international cultural cooperation is its history, especially the period of the twentieth century (Socialism and Post-Socialism with their peculiarities such as self-government) since these experiences are the unique characteristics of Yugoslavia and are valuable for the understanding of the contemporary society, democracy and global political relations.

This is why the working group voiced the stance that international cooperation of Serbia should be based on the idea of culture as an open dialogue platform for countries with interesting history. After this, the working group defined three **priorities of international cooperation:** mobility, co-production and audience development, through which the defined concept would be realised.

STRENGTHS

1. **Being familiar with the context of the region and SPECIFIC TOPICS which have not been sufficiently explored and distributed in the international framework:** being familiar with the specific context of the 20th century, history of Yugoslavia; reading sources written in the mother tongue; having good sources, archives, collections; being familiar with sources for studying of the regional

landscape, the art of the Avant-Garde, Modernism, conceptual art which acted simultaneously both in the region and internationally; experience of cooperating in the region; specific topics which are not researched sufficiently, promotion of heterogeneity, dealing with current and universal questions, but also with what is local and specific (the production of contemporary artists in specific contexts).

2. **Potential of self-organisations of the landscape, “personal contacts” as an important potential, high-quality artistic production.**
3. **High degree of adaptability of the highly educated staff in all sectors** (the public, private and civil one) to various circumstances in realisations of some projects: artists and curators possess diverse knowledge and abilities, from very narrowly focused expertise acquired through education and profession they are dealing with to those pertinent to the knowledge of foreign languages, management skills, project thinking, etc.

WEAKNESSES

1. **Lack of a team for planning of international exchange, no cooperation exists on the local level between the public, private and civil sector** – there is no service platform for international cooperation in the field of visual arts and there is no space for presenting and the already established co-operations.
2. **Lack of suitable human resources.** When it comes to developing big international projects we do not have enough adequately trained fundraising managers and project managers. There is a lack of experts trained in understanding and developing the cooperation of the public, civil and private sector and the issue is made worse by the permanent outflow of young experts abroad, and also the lack of foreign experts, researchers, and archive and digitalisation experts.
3. **Lack of adequate regulations, documents which would clearly determine the cultural policy of the state:** non-existence of cultural strategy, the necessity of determining what are the aims and priorities, the necessity of rulebooks which would solve the problem of employment and systematisation in the public sector, which experts we need for the realisation of a programme; lack of space (closed Museum of Contemporary Arts); problems in the realisation of and concept of existing international projects – e.g. the October Salon (influence of politics on the continuity of work).

OPPORTUNITIES

1. **Existence of different sources of funding** (Creative Europe, IPA funds, support programme of the Ministry of Culture and Media to projects already supported by other European donors; mobility grants for artists and professionals of the Ministry of Culture and Media, international funds, European funds, local funds, corporations).
2. **International events** on the global scale where we have the possibility of displaying our production, and which are already visited by a large number

of world experts and audience. Through good planning and a clear aim what, why and how do we want to present ourselves we can open the path to further co-operations and presentations (e.g. the Venice Biennial, the Prague Quadrennial, the Istanbul Biennial, etc.). International exhibitions that we could organise are also an opportunity to promote our arts. International networks Cooperativa (through ICSS – Independent Cultural Scene of Serbia), ICOM; CIMAM; AICA, Oracle Culture Network.

3. **Diplomatic missions** and cultural centres of Serbia in the world; professional diaspora; ambassadors, foreign cultural centres and embassies in Serbia – their work on the promotion of contemporary arts.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Creating a database of relevant actors in the field of visual arts international cooperation: cultural institutions, educational institutions, organisations, associations, informal associations, manifestations, projects, fairs, conferences, individual initiatives – of the public, private and civil sector, but also the media sector. Based on this kind of database, potential collaborators in the development of international cooperation should be mapped, connections between them should be noticed, similarity by topic and concept, but also by geographic field of activity. The database should be publishing in the form of a publication and a joint platform for the presentation of international projects should be organised: conferences; a professional magazine and joint representation on the international level in the form of an exhibition.
2. Defining the strategy of cultural development, strategic documents on the presentation of Serbia in the international framework of contemporary arts. In this sense it is necessary to regulate the legal framework for the establishment of the systematic procedures for international cooperation – support to project through clear defining of the awarding procedure of state funds, the necessity of establishing perennial funds by the Ministry of Culture and Media, it is necessary to regulate the legal framework which has an encouraging effect on investing in culture – tax exemption. Creating a model of a planned development of international cooperation through activity of a special body organised in accordance with the principle of the Confederative Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and later the Office for International Scientific, Cultural, Educational and Technical Cooperation, with the mission of encouraging direct cooperation of various domestic institutions with their counterpart institutions abroad. Creating a legal framework which would network and include the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office for the Diaspora and the Ministry of Culture and Media in order to include them to a larger extent in planning and implementation of international cooperation projects.
3. **Solving the problems of staff potentials, increasing the cooperation of all sectors.** Defining the rules of employment in the public sector, arranging a new catalogue of job positions, changing outdated systematisation through the

introduction of new positions for experts necessary for the implementation of international projects, introducing a larger legal influence of the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia on the work and functioning of cultural institutions at the local level. Working on networking of institutions and different sectors – introducing better possibilities of professional development of staff, the possibility to hire experts from abroad, networking of institutions (museums and galleries, but also other, e.g. scientific and educational institutions), enhancing cooperation amongst the public, private and civil sectors.

4. **Organisational and financial support to international cooperation** through organisation of big exhibitions with a good concept; organisation of international professional events, conferences; initiating the publishing of professional magazines of international relevance; initiating publishing in the English language – about the domestic scene of contemporary visual arts;

Putting emphasis on multidisciplinary research of our modern art, avant-garde art, arts dealing with post-socialism and practices of self-organisation, connecting our topics with new phenomena in art globally. Dealing with research which will enable better positioning of our arts and artists within the world order.





Creative Industries

Danica Bojić

Participants of the working group

Nevena Krivokapić, Share Conference, Belgrade

Aleksandra Savanović, Nova Iskra, Belgrade

Zoja Kukić, Startit Center, Belgrade

Nenad Radujević and Ksenija Marković Božović, Belgrade Fashion Week, Belgrade

Snežana Ćuruvija, Mikser, Belgrade

Marija Labović, National Tourism Organisation of Serbia, Belgrade

Moderator: Svetlana Mladenov, Visart, Novi Sad

Author of the text: Danica Bojić, Faculty of Applied Arts, University of Arts Belgrade

The round table dedicated to the analysis of potential for international cooperation development in the field of creative industries gathered representatives of creative industries from all three sectors, who determined the existence of a big potential for the development of creative industries in Serbia, while also the current conditions are unfavourable which impedes the development of international development, as well. The main recognised obstacles are regulations in the field of online sales and commerce, copyrights, status of employees and freelancers. An additional problem was recognised in the mechanisms of decision making and establishing a framework for the development of start-ups/companies/firms which do not include representatives of the expert public. Such laws, rulebooks and strategies place numerous challenges in front of actors (examples given were the work of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Serbia, the Labour Law and the status of freelancers, measures of imposing tax on fees received through EU grants, the Law on Electronic Commerce).

On the other hand, the development of creative industries is frequently nominally put in focus in development strategies at both the local and national level, but it is not accompanied with adequate measures and support instruments. In the absence of incentive measures, their implementation is impeded.

Since the work in the field of creative industries is even harder at the national level, cooperation on the international level becomes one of the solutions for strengthening organisations' capacities, development of new programmes and obtaining funds. Still, even though international cooperation is recognised as important for growth and development of organisations and companies, members of the working group agree

that it is first necessary to arrange the legal, political and economic framework for the development of creative industries at the national level. A set of recommendations was related to lobbying for the application of existing laws, strategies and instruments beneficial for the development of creative industries, and also for the adoption of new ones, which would make the operation of the existing ones easier and encourage establishment of new organisations, start-ups, companies...

ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

STRENGTHS

1. Human resources/ staff

The key strength recognised in the civil and private sector is staff, who are constantly improving their expertise in new fields– they are expanding the array of knowledge and skills (artists studying management, managers improving their expertise in the fields of economics and law) which strengthens their personal capacities, but also the capacities of the organisation. Another strength of this type of personnel is reflected in quick adjustment to the project-based manner of work, quick formation of new teams and successful work in challenging conditions (with insufficient means, within vaguely defined frameworks).

Apart from this, since creative industries are based on the creativity of an individual, employees educated in culture and arts are distinguished as the key strength. They are often initiators of projects and form creative teams who (most frequently with the support of a producer and a manager) grow into civil society organizations, start-ups, companies.

2. Educational programmes

Training for work in the field of creative industries for all professions is one of the priorities of the civil sector so numerous educational programmes are being realised intended for artists, programmers, lawyer, managers, economists, etc.

Educational programmes open the space for the establishment of international cooperation because domestic civil society organizations are focused on bringing experts from abroad. Many domestic hubs have permanent cooperation with foreign organisation and they organise lectures/conferences/trainings where guests are foreign experts. Apart from this, foreign experts are frequently members of mentor teams working on the development of domestic start-ups.

3. Developed international cooperation

Membership in clusters, international organisations, networks, platforms and international projects is an important developmental factor in the work of the civil and private sectors. Through international cooperation domestic organisations develop human resources, obtain funds, and work on their public presentation. Development of international cooperation is primarily based on personal contacts of individuals, but in some cases it is also developed through membership of organisations in international networks/platforms/organisations.

WEAKNESSES

1. Strategic planning

One of the main weaknesses in the civil and private sectors is the lack of analysis and planning. Decisions are made *ad hoc*, and planning of activities is impeded due to working in challenging conditions (lack of staff, finances, vision and mission are not clearly defined, everyone is doing all kinds of work).

2. Human resources/ staff

Organisations/start-ups/young companies in creative industries consist of teams with a lack of knowledge of law and economics. Laws, rulebooks and other acts are frequently hard to interpret which makes the administrative management of projects/firms/companies harder. There is a lack of lawyers and economists who would only do the job they are experts on.

3. The hermetic nature of organisations

Organisations/start-ups/companies working in the same field are not sufficiently well connected. It is necessary to develop new clusters/networks and invite/include new members into the existing ones.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Lobbying for the application of existing regulations which are beneficial for the development of creative industries and entrepreneurship (e.g. the Law on Public-Private Partnerships)
2. Creating and developing products and services intended only for the foreign market

Purchasing power of domestic population is not sufficient for products/services to be sold with the pricing that would secure financial sustainability of firms/entrepreneurs. Products created in creative industries by their quality meet the global standards and demands of end consumers, so distribution and placement of the product/service in the foreign markets is an opportunity for survival of firms/companies.

3. Introducing a system of tax incentives for entrepreneurship in creative industries
4. Lobbying for the introduction of a competition for projects in the field of creative industries in the annual competition of the Ministry of Culture and Media
5. Lobbying for the development of a new law which would regulate the field of creative industries
6. Including a larger number of representatives (of all branches) of creative industries in the (consultative) processes of creating laws, strategies, and action plans which (in)directly regulate creative industries in Serbia

7. Development of new educational programmes (and enhancing the existing ones)for creative industries work
8. Promotion and use of crowd-funding platforms as a possibility of collecting the necessary funds to establish a company in creative industries
9. Promotion of existing programmes for start-up development and initiation of one's own companies in the field of creative industries realised by the civil sector, but also public institutions





Humanities and the theory of art: why do we need interdisciplinary teams of artists and scientists?

Nina Mihaljinac

Participants of the working group

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Within the public debate about the perspectives of the development of international cooperation in the field of science and theory of culture, it was concluded that some of the basic problems of the scientific community in Serbia are the invisibility of social sciences and the insufficient size of the audience familiar with, and participating in the debates about scientific results of the research conducted. Due to this, the main recommendations are related to the development of a new mediation culture and more widespread presentation of and discussing about scientific achievements. Some of the recognised ways of achieving bigger influence on the public, increase visibility and availability of scientific results are: education of personnel which will deal with mediation and animation; opening competitions serving the purpose of connecting science and art, and forming interdisciplinary teams consisting of scientists and artists; recognising cultural system as the key partner in the scientific system. In relation to this, partnership between the Ministry of Science, Education and Technological Development and the Ministry of Culture and Media was mentioned.

When it comes to international cooperation, a series of specific propositions were made for its development in the field of science and arts (specific sources of funding were identified, specific recommendations of instruments of scientific and cultural policy were given). The conclusion was that the basic strength of the field of social sciences is the specific cultural and historical heritage, which is relevant for European and international research, whereas citizens should participate in the discussion about these topics (and not only the scientific community). Moreover, emphasis was put on the necessity of developing and employing young personnel.

Special criticism was related to the topic of developing basic scientific literacy – knowing the English language and opening competitions for translation of scientific works.

Priorities: audience development, interdisciplinarity (of sciences and arts), activism, critical practices.

STRENGTHS

Contents, topics and quality of projects

1. The main strengths of scientific research projects are **topics and specific contents**, the so-called “primary sources”, cultural heritage which is internationally important and relevant. For example, considering the global problems of economic and social inequalities the self-government system of Yugoslavia, observed from a critical distance as a specific trait of Yugoslavian socialism, can be a very important topic on the global scientific market. Former Yugoslavia is important if it is correlated with the experiment of creating the EU as a supranational unity; for example the open method of coordination as a European system of decision making can be analysed in correlation to the system of cooperative planning that was applied in our former state;

Domestic history opens numerous fields and possibilities for researchers to identify innovative, internationally relevant topics of scientific and research projects and realisation of socially sensitive artistic practices in the domain of culture, public actions and debates;

Connections

2. **Activity of the civil society and individuals** in connecting the international scientific community represents an important strength of the field of science for artists and researchers, and a number of researchers hold exceptionally important positions in the world (**the Diaspora**);
3. Memberships and active participation in specific international **networks**;
4. **International conferences** in Belgrade (Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Faculty of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Arts in Belgrade...);

Funding

5. **Participating in programmes:** Erasmus+ (Universities of Serbia can participate in the programme for the mobility of students, academic and non-academic staff), COST programmes, Creative Europe programme – projects which have an applied scientific dimension (Institutes of Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, University of Arts, Faculty of Management in Sremski Karlovci), programmes of bilateral cooperation;

Spaces

6. **Belgrade as the nexus**, a dynamic place of meeting where international researchers eagerly gather.

WEAKNESSES

Quality, content, topics and methodology of projects

1. Insufficiently developed **freedom and authenticity** of scientific research works;
2. Insufficient number of internationally relevant scientific and research projects;
3. Incompatibility of the calls of the Ministry of Science with international scientific research calls, primarily in terms of the **possibility of forming interdisciplinary teams**;
4. There are no **possibilities to include practitioners**, artists, forming interdisciplinary teams;
5. **Passive scientific institutions**, self-isolation, inertia and resistance to international connecting;

Legal-organisational

6. **Inadequate structure of the main scientific boards** for humanistic sciences;
7. Incompatibility of the legislation with international legal frameworks;
8. The question of employing administrative collaborators – ban on employment; inability to engage new researchers – even when using funds coming from outside of the budget, i.e. coming from international funds;
9. Centralised scientific system;

Staff

10. Lack of personnel who would deal with **project management**;
11. Lack of programmes for **young personnel empowerment** – young scientists and assistants;

12. In some cases, managers of scientific institutions are **impeding the implementation of international project** – management is not providing support;
13. Insufficient level of professionalism;

Connections, communication

14. Insufficiently developed **communication between scientific institutions** on the national level, undeveloped inter-institutional networking; insufficient communication even within the same university;
15. Underdeveloped **channels of information distribution** (from main boards towards the scientific public);
16. **The public is not familiar with the results of scientific research** – not even the scientific public in the narrower sense, so the same topics can be dealt with by teams from the University of Belgrade and the University of Niš while never “intersecting”, especially if the ones are for example philosophers, and the others anthropologists (and both are dealing with the same topic – e.g. identity politics and the culture of memory, and the like);
17. Insufficient presence of science in culture programmes in the media.

OPPORTUNITIES

Funding

1. **COST** is not widely recognised in the scientific community and it should be used more;
2. **Horizon 2020** (interdisciplinary teams);
3. European cultural **networks** as funders of research projects (e.g., IETM – audience research);
4. UNESCO competitions for new research projects;
5. **The OSCE and other international organisations** funding media research;
6. **Regional research projects** have a greater chance with international donors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Connections

1. **International networking must be one of the basic aims of the development of humanistic sciences**, whereas connecting with the region should be a special priority of international cooperation;

2. **A better use of membership in networks and international scientific associations** is necessary (associations of sociologists, byzantologists, heritologists...) and the so-called thematic (problem-based) associations – ICARUS, ELIA, ENCATC;
3. Using the **potentials of European networks of cities and regions** – from Agenda 21, Eurocities, to Transeuropeennes, Les Rencontres and others (all financing research-applied projects);
4. **Utilising the potentials of UNESCO** (UNESCO office in Venice is in charge of science and scientific research, especially in the domain of the humanistic sciences, and the Paris one in the domain of museology, heritology, intercultural dialogue, application of the 2003 and 2005 Convention, cultural policies...);
5. **Establishing a platform for connecting researchers, the institutional scene and organisations of the civil society** (the question of the availability of results of scientific work, public publishing of works, public discussions); the platform could be organised as a physical space as well, as a hub, laboratory, which would serve the purpose of interdisciplinary connecting of scientists, promotion of research results and audience development;

Staff

1. Offering even bigger encouragement to **younger researchers** for going abroad for practical work; Erasmus and other exchange programmes;
2. **Trainings for administrators** of international projects;
3. Development of **personnel who will deal with mediation and animation (audience development, promotion of science)** with the aim of developing a new mediation culture;
4. Paying **membership fee** for participation in scientific associations and networks;
5. The yearly competition for **participating in congresses** (currently researchers have the right to do so once every two years) or allocating finances for participating in conferences on a yearly level, whereas finances would be awarded to institutions and they would distribute it in accordance with their needs and possibilities;

Quality, contents and topics of projects

1. Recommendation to the Ministry of Culture and Media to open **competitions for research projects necessary to the cultural sector**;
2. The recommendation is to introduce instruments that will encourage the **connecting of science, arts and the media**; in doing so a connection between arts and humanities would be achieved; it is necessary to open competitions for projects in the field of arts and science which imply participation of artists, forming of interdisciplinary team; In this sense it is necessary to define criteria

and provide arguments why humanities and art can go together – create the criteria for artistic research work– practice based research (according to which artists could rank similarly to scientists);

3. Encouraging **activism and critical practices** in science; encouraging the theory of art and cultural studies; development of digital humanities;
4. Recommendation to the Ministry of Science to open competitions **for translation of scientific works**.

Legal and administrative

1. Necessary **structural reforms of the main scientific boards**, and regulating the transparency of their work (currently there are no meeting records available, nor is it clear what criteria certain boards use when giving points to publications);
2. It is necessary to lobby with the Ministry of Finance in order to achieve the **possibility to engage external collaborators** paid from foreign funds; the possibility of recruiting, namely, and not engaging (external collaborators can already be engaged through service contracts or authorship contracts, but employing, not even for a fixed time, is not possible).



Preporuke

Kvalitet, sadržaj i teme projekata

Preporuka Ministarstvu kulture da otvori konkurse za istraživačke projekte koji su neophodni sektoru kulture;
Preventiviranje nauke, umetnosti i medija, uvođenje veze art and humanities – neophodno je da se raspisuju konkursi za projekte u oblasti umetnosti i nauke, da umetnici mogu da konkuriraju, da se omogući interdisciplinarni timovi; U tom smislu je neophodno uspostaviti kriterijume i dati argumentaciju zašto humanistika i umetnost mogu da idu zajedno – ispraviti kriterijume za umetnički istraživački rad – practice based research (po kojima bi umetnost mogla biti rangirana slično kao nauka);
Podsticanje aktivnosti i kritičkih praksi u nauci;

razvoj digitalne humanistike

Pravno-administrativni

Neophodne strukturalne reforme naučnih matičnih odbora, te regulisanje transparentnosti njihovog rada (trenutno ne postoje dostupni zapisnici sa sednica, niti je jasno po kojim kriterijumima pojedini odbori buduju publikacije)

Neophodno lobiranje kod Ministarstva finansija da bi se osvarila mogućnost angažovanja spoljnih saradnika koji su plaćeni iz inostranih fondova, mogućnost zapošljavanja, naime, a ne angažovanja (spoljni saradnici već mogu da se angažuju po ugovoru o delu ili autorskom ugovoru, ali zapošljavanje ni na određeno nije moguće)



**METHODOLOGICAL
ANNEX RELATED
TO THE SURVEY
OF EUROPEAN AND
INTERNATIONAL
C U L T U R A L
COOPERATION
IN SERBIA**

Distribution of Ministry of Culture and Media of RS funds for international and European cooperation

Milan Đorđević and Nina Mihaljinac

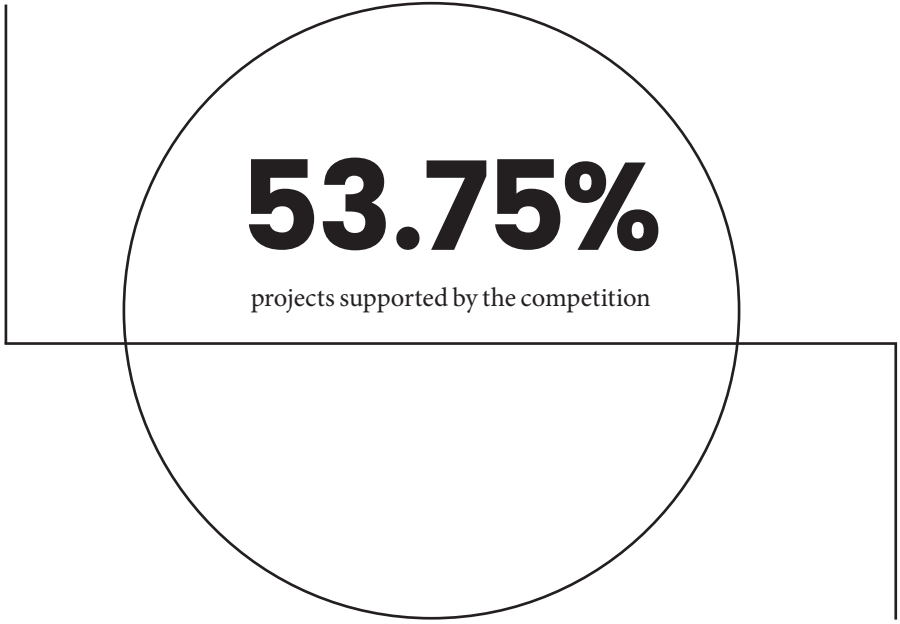
SECTOR FOR CONTEMPORARY ARTISTIC PRODUCTION AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

Support to cinematography and audio-visual production

Funds awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Media through the competition for financing or co-financing projects in the field of contemporary production

Year	Number of co-financed projects and the total sum allocated at the competition	The total number of projects of an international character and the total amount	
2010	20	12	(60%)
	15,155,000 RSD	8,175,000	(53.94%)
2011	24	15	(62.50%)
	15,905,000 RSD	8,725,000	(54.86%)
2012	36	18	(50%)
	16,300,000 RSD	9,150,000	(56.13%)
2013	40	23	(57.50%)
	10,350,000 RSD	6,350,000	(61.35%)
2014	55	37	(67.27%)
	48,630,000 RSD	35,200,000	(72.38%)
2015	78	31	(39.74%)
	69,976,400 RSD	52,210,000	(74.61%)

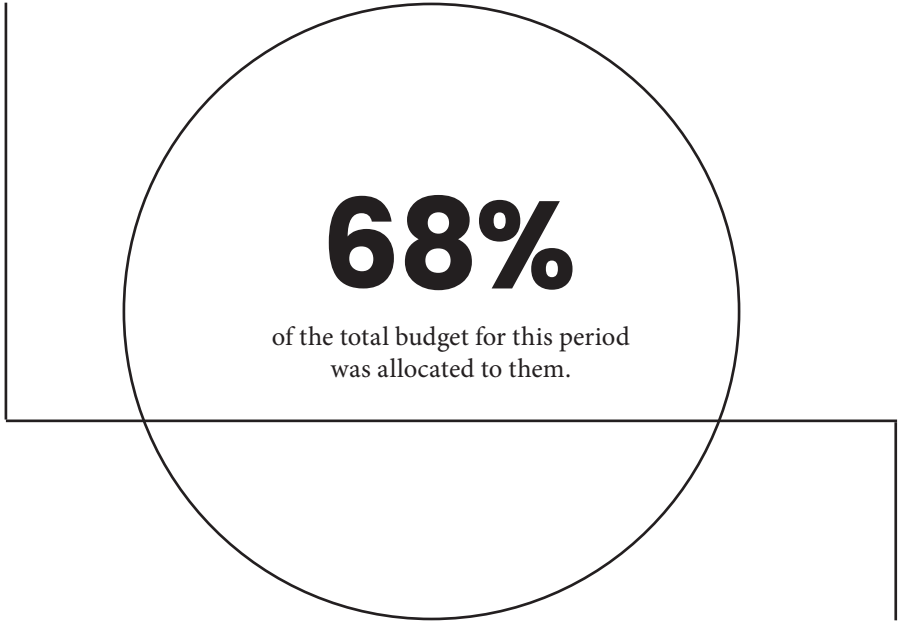
Projects of international cooperation are MORE THAN A HALF (53.75%) of projects supported by the competition for cinematography and a total of 68% of the total budget for this period was allocated to them. The number of supported projects is constantly increasing, and the amounts of money for this competition are increasing (with the exception of 2013). The increase in budget, but also the increase in the percentage of allocation for international projects is noticeable in 2014 and 2015.



A large circle is centered on the page. A horizontal line passes through the middle of the circle. To the left of the circle, a vertical line extends from the top of the circle down to the horizontal line. To the right of the circle, a vertical line extends from the horizontal line down to the bottom of the circle. The percentage '53.75%' is written in a large, bold, black font inside the upper half of the circle.

53.75%

projects supported by the competition



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68%

of the total budget for this period
was allocated to them.

NUMBER OF SUPPORTED PROJECTS IN THE PERIOD 2010 – 2015

The majority of projects take place in Belgrade (43.38%), followed by Novi Sad (10.30%), and 46.32% of projects take place in other cities and municipalities (Požarevac, Čačak, Subotica, Požega, Ruma, Užice, Kragujevac, Leskovac, Pančevo and Omoljica, Gornji Milanovac, Bajina Bašta, Vranje, Gračanica, Smederevo, Bačka Topola, Niš, Kučevo).



THE COMPETITION FOR CINEMATOGRAPHY



In the field of cinematography and audio-visual production, the largest number of international projects are festivals, and the largest amount of finances was awarded to: **FEST** (Belgrade), **Festival of European Film** in Palić, **Auteur Film Festival** (Belgrade), **Cinema City** (Novi Sad), **Kratkimetar** (Belgrade), **Sedam veličanstvenih** (Belgrade) **Küstendorf** (Mokra Gora). From 2010 to 2015 an increase can be noticed in the number of organisations from Belgrade to which finances are allocated, but also an increase in the number of cities and municipalities applying for and receiving funds for the realisation of projects of an international character in the field of cinematography. Apart from this, it can be noticed that there is a large number of traditional manifestations which are regularly supported through finances allocated by the Ministry.

THE FILM CENTRE OF SERBIA

Through the *Yearly Agreement on Financing Approved Cultural Programmes and Parts of Programmes of the Institution for 2016*, the Ministry of Culture and Media allocated the total of 600,000,000.00 RSD for all programmes of the institution Film Centre of Serbia. 322,841,214.00 RSD was allocated for projects of international cooperation and promotions, which include participating in 5 film markets on international festivals, 1 co-production market, 4 special programmes from the field of international cooperation (presenting Serbian film in Helsinki, Vinteborg, Bucharest and New York), 2 memberships in networks and support to the Serbian representative of the Annual Award of the American Film Academy OSCAR in the category “best feature film in a foreign language”.

SUPPORT TO VISUAL ARTS AND MULTIMEDIA

Funds awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Media through the competition for financing or co-financing projects in the field of contemporary production

Year	Number of co-financed projects and total amount allocated on the competition	Total number of projects of an international character and total amount	
2010	141 26,344,000 RSD	52 11,765,000	(36.88%) (44.66%)
2011	174 37,525,000 RSD	31 7,600,000	(17.82%) (20.25%)
2012	236 49,410,000 RSD	58 15,695,000	(24.58%) (31.76%)
2013	118 21,445,000 RSD	40 7,420,000	(33.90%) (34.60%)
2014	232 68,510,000 RSD	56 17,670,000	(24.14%) (25.79%)
2015	211 69,976,400 RSD	52 11,010,000	(24.64%) (15.73%)

26%

Projects of international cooperation

Projects of international cooperation are ONE QUARTER (26%) of projects supported by the competition for visual arts and multimedia and 26% of the total budget in this period was allocated to them. The number of supported project is on the rise, and so are the sums of money allocated for this competition (with the exception of 2013).

26%

of the total budget

THE COMPETITION FOR VISUAL ARTS AND MULTIMEDIA

26%

projects of international cooperation

74%

other projects

25%

art colonies and residential programmes

75%

other types of international
cooperation

When it comes to projects of international cooperation, 75% are projects of international cooperation and exchange, while 25% are art colonies and residential programmes. The most frequently supported colonies are **Jalovik** (Vladimirci), **Tera** (Kikinda), **Zlakusa** (Užice) and **Sićevo** (Niš).

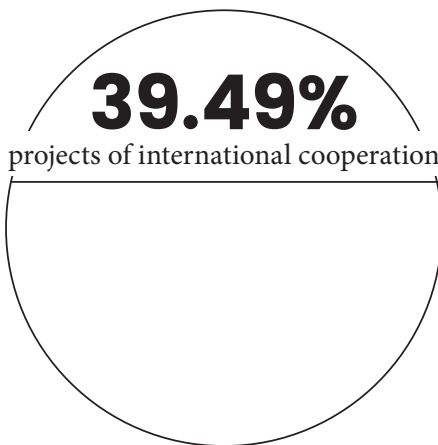
NUMBER OF SUPPORTED PROJECTS IN THE PERIOD 2010 – 2015



SUPPORT TO PERFORMING ARTS AND INTERPRETATION

Funds awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Media through the competition for financing or co-financing projects in the field of contemporary production

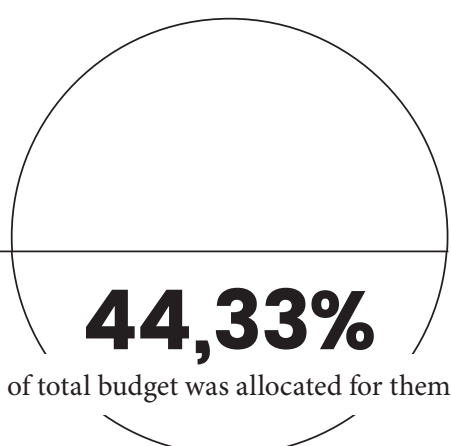
Year	Number of co-financed projects and the total amount allocated on the competition	Total number of projects of an international character and the total amount	
2010	61	18	(29.51%)
	32,740,000 RSD	8,665,000.00	(26.47%)
2011	50	22	(44.00%)
	38,210,000 RSD	23,150,000.00	(60.59%)
2012	100	39	(39.00%)
	68,730,000 RSD	19,150,000.00	(27.86%)
		+ 5 projects funded under the protocol	
2013	53	29	(54.72%)
	47,398,000 RSD	25,748,000.00	(54.32%)
2014	96	40	(41.67%)
	62,493,000 RSD	33,740,000.00	(53.99%)
2015	111	38	(33.93%)
	62,963,000 RSD	28,083,000.00	(44.60%)



39.49%

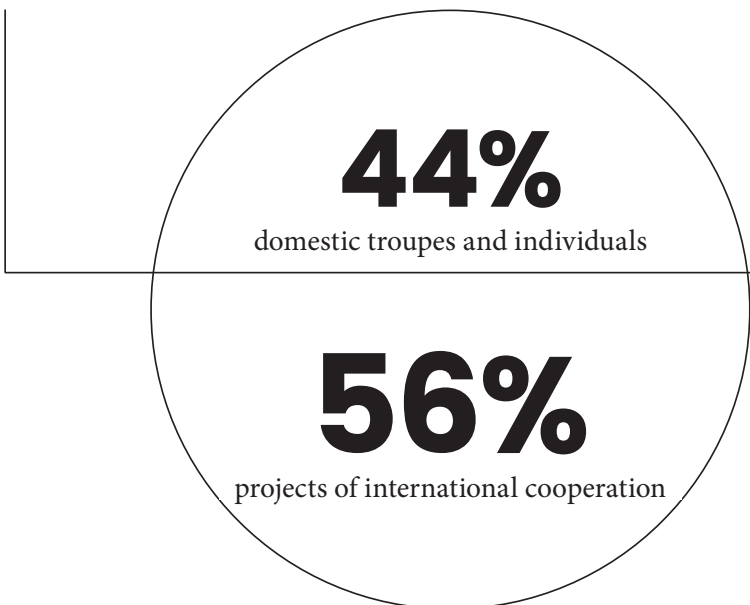
projects of international cooperation

Projects of international cooperation are MORE THAN A THIRD (39.49%) of projects supported by the competition for performing arts and interpretation and a total of 44,33% of the total budget for this period was allocated for them.



44,33%

of total budget was allocated for them



44%

domestic troupes and individuals

56%

projects of international cooperation

Projects of international cooperation are most frequently festivals (56%) whose programme participants are guests from the region with the exception of the BITEF festival. Apart from festivals, guest appearances are also financed, mainly of domestic troupes and individuals (44%). Hence, the biggest amount of finances awarded each year to individual projects was received by festivals: **BITEF** (Belgrade), **Jugoslovenski pozorišni festival** (Užice), **International Festival of Children's Theatre in Subotica**. The financed guest appearances are also most frequently related to the region, and an exception for which the largest amount of funds was allocated in this category is the theatrical play *Galeb* of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad.

NUMBER OF SUPPORTED PROJECTS IN THE PERIOD 2010 – 2015

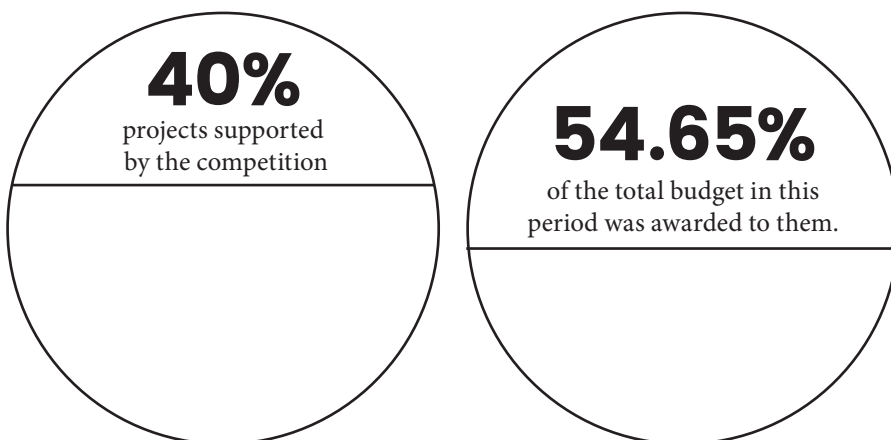


SUPPORT TO MUSIC

Funds awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Media through the competition for financing or co-financing projects in the field of contemporary production

Year	Number of co-financed projects and the total amount allocated on the competition	Number of co-financed projects of an international character	Total amount for projects of an international character in RSD
2010	65 23,660,000 RSD	31 12,620,000.00	(47.69%) (53.34%)
2011	102 37,273,000 RSD	35 16,475,000.00	(34.31%) (44.20%)
2012	52 31,591,000 RSD	15 11,771,000.00	(28.85%) (37.26%)
2013	45 35,605,000 RSD	22 23,850,000.00	(48.89%) (66.985)
2014	69 40,262,000 RSD	25 21,010,000.00	(36.23%) (51.31%)
2015	59 30,000,000.00 RSD	29 22,650,000.00	(49.15%) (75.50%)

Projects of international cooperation are MORE THAN A THIRD (40%) of projects supported by the competition in the field of music, and 54.65% of the total budget in this period was awarded to them.



The supported projects are concerts, festival, staged debates and workshops being realised in Serbia, but also guest appearances of domestic artists abroad. By music genre, the biggest part of funds goes to projects: *CycleVelikanimuzičke scene* at Kolarac (Belgrade), *Belgrade JAZZ Festival*, *Belgrade Music Festival – BEMUS* and *Mokranjčevićani* in Negotin.

NUMBER OF SUPPORTED PROJECTS IN THE PERIOD 2010 – 2015



SUPPORT TO LITERARY TRANSLATION

Competition for translation projects of representative works of Serbian literature abroad¹

Funds awarded by the Ministry of Culture and Media through the competition for financing or co-financing projects in the field of contemporary production

Year	Number of co-financed projects of an international character	The total amount for projects of an international character in Euros
2010	29	46.500 EUR
2011	36	65.900 EUR
2012	66	89.520 EUR
2013	39	37.100 EUR
2014	64	170.940 EUR
2015	103	164.472 EUR

The largest proportion of submitted and supported projects consists of translations of male authors: **David Albahari, Ivo Andrić, Svetislav Basara, Dragan Velikić, Vladan Marijević, Goran Petrović, Vladislav Bajac, Filip David, Danilo Kiš and Miloš Crnjanski.** Female authors whose work is being translated are: **Jelena Lengold, Vida Ognjenović, Biljana Srbljanović and Milena Marković.** By type of literary works, the most common are novels, and to a far lesser extent stories, poetry, drama and theory of literature.

¹ This is related to only competition of the Sector for Contemporary production intended exclusively for projects of international cooperation.

2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Target language of translation	Total
7	7	15	6	18	26	Macedonian	79
8	7	4	4	9	6	German	38
4	8	7	6	2	8	Bulgarian	35
1	3	4	1	10	10	English	29
		1	2		17	Russian	20
5	5	1	1	4	3	Italian	19
4	2	5	2	2	4	Polish	19
2		6	1	4	3	Spanish	16
3		6	1	1	5	Slovenian	16
1	2	3	3	3	3	Ukrainian	16
		3	6	4		Arabic	15
		4	1		3	Hungarian	13
1	1	4		1		Greek	8
		1	1	2	2	Czech	7
				4	1	French	6
					4	Georgian	5
1					2	Slovakian	4
1					1	Albanian	3
	1				1	Swedish	2
		1			1	Chinese	2
		1				Portuguese	2
			1			Dutch	1
					1	Hebrew	1
					1	Latvian	1
					1	Lithuanian	1
			1			Turkish	1

Works of domestic authors are mostly translated to Slavic languages (193), followed by Germanic (70), Romance (41), Greek and Albanian (9), Uralic (8), Baltic (2), and other languages (21) out of which there were the most translations to Arabic (13).

Apart from the competitions for literary translations, the Ministry of Culture and Media is also supporting participation of domestic publishers on the international book fairs, more specifically: 2013 - *Leipzig, Sofia, Thessaloniki*; 2014 – *Leipzig, Sarajevo, Thessaloniki Skopje, Moscow, Xi'an, Frankfurt, Zagreb, Sofia*; 2015 - *Leipzig, Beijing, Moscow, Frankfurt*.

Sector for International Cooperation, European Integrations and Projects

In accordance with the Agreement on the participation of the Republic of Serbia in the Creative Europe programme, the Ministry of Culture and Media is covering the contribution expenses which for the first two years amounted to 160,000 Euros per year. Since 2016 when the MEDIA sub-programme was open for the participation of Serbia, this amount was increased to 445,000 per year (contribution for the sub-programme MEDIA amounts to 285,000 Euros). The so far paid amounts per year will be refunded, in certain percentage (85%), from the accession funds. This money will be returned to the budget of the Republic of Serbia.

Competition for co-financing of projects in the fields of culture and art supported through international funds

The open call was first published in 2014. 53 applications were received out of which 28 were supported with the total amount of **14,527,253.15 RSD**.

Overview of allocated finances by international funds in 2014

International fund	Total allocated in RSD	Nº of projects	%
1. Council of Europe–Eurimages	3,106,528.00	2	21.38
2. Culture 2007–2013	2,630,240.00	5	18.11
3. Creative Europe2014–2020	2,013,034.00	6	13.86
4. Delegation of the EU (IPA)	1,785,571.00	3	12.29
5. Europe for Citizens	989,693.00	1	6.81
6. The seventh framework programme of the EU (FP 7)	650,000.00	1	4.47
7. European Cultural Foundation	615,560.00	1	4.24
8. Open Society Foundations	590,000.00	1	4.06
9. Balkans Arts and Culture Fund – BAC	486,745.00	2	3.35
10. Erasmus +	412,363.00	1	2.84
11. Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques- SACD	394,113.00	1	2.71
12. Central European Initiative	351,519.15	2	2.42
13. IPA programme of cross-border cooperation Romania-Serbia	351,887.00	1	2.42
14. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance-IHRA	150,000.00	1	1.03
Total allocated funds	14,527,253.15 RSD	28	100

2015

The second open call in 2015 received **48** applications, out of which **37** were supported, amounting to the total of **17,209,435.14 RSD**.

Overview of allocated finances by international funds in 2015

International fund	Total allocated in RSD	Nº of projects	%
1. Creative Europe 2014-2020	5,695,274.89	9	33.09
2. Balkans Arts and Culture Fund (BAC)	2,127,314.00	5	12.36
3. Programme Culture 2007-2013	1,937,600.00	4	11.25
4. UNESCO	1,586,240.00	2	9.21
5. Delegation of the EU (IPA)	1,431,575.00	4	8.31
6. The seventh framework programme for research and technological development (FP 7)	1,080,675.00	1	6.28
7. Erasmus +	817,891.25	3	4.75
8. IPA programme of cross-border cooperation Serbia-Hungary	549,000.00	1	3.19
9. Central European Initiative	518,000.00	1	3.00
10. Council of Europe – Eurimages	500,000.00	1	2.90
11. Europe for Citizens	362,264.00	1	2.10
12. Traduki	168,070.00	1	0.97
13. International Višegrad Fund	150,000.00	1	0.87
14. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance-IHRA	142,931.00	1	0.83
15. Council of Europe – European Youth Foundation	142,600.00	2	0.82
Total allocated funds	17,209,435.14 RSD	37	100.00

COMPETITION FOR CO-FINANCING OF MOBILITY OF ARTISTS AND PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE AND ARTS

The call for co-financing of mobility of artists and professionals in the fields of culture and arts was open for the first time in **2015**. The call was answered by **114** applications, out of which **50** was supported, amounting to the total of **2,787,923 RSD**.

List of states to which mobility projects were supported through the competition for mobility of artists and professionals in culture:

Italy	5	
Germany	5	
France	5	
Russia	4	
Croatia	4	
Israel	2	
China	2	
Macedonia	2	
Slovenia	2	
Montenegro	2	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2	
Austria	1	
Belgium	1	
Bulgaria	1	
The United Kingdom	1	
Lebanon	1	
Lithuania	1	
Poland	1	
Romania	1	
USA	1	
Singapore	1	
Turkey	1	
Ukraine	1	
Sweden	1	
Spain	1	

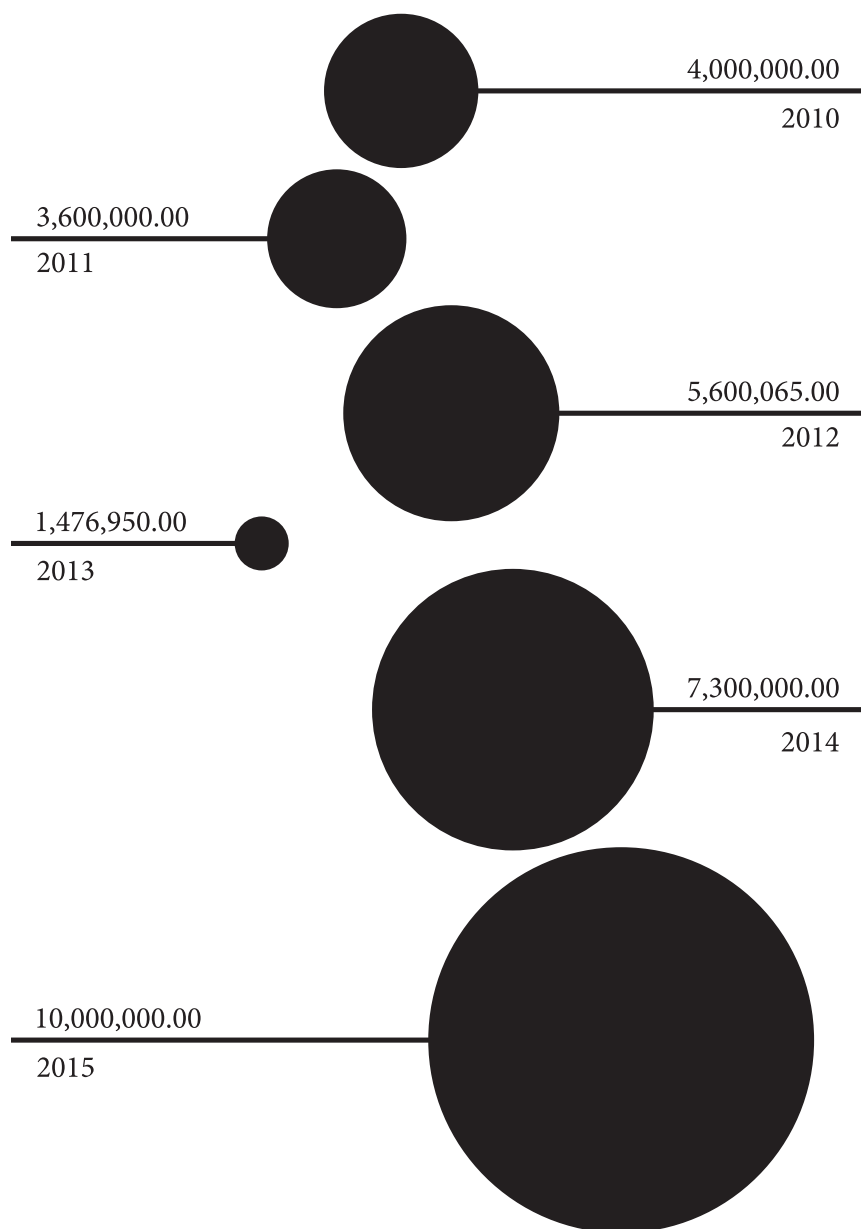
Number of visits to the the countries of the EU	
25	
	Percentage in relation to the total number of supported mobility programmes
	50 %
Number of visits to the countries of the region	
12	
	Percentage in relation to the total number of supported mobility programmes
	24 %
Number of visits to the other countries	
13	
	Percentage in relation to the total number of supported mobility programmes
	26 %

REPRESENTATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL BIENNALE OF CONTEMPORARY ART IN VENICE AND THE INTERNATIONAL BIENNALE OF ARCHITECTURE IN VENICE IN THE PERIOD 2010–2015

Year	Name of the exhibition	Artist(s)	Commissary - curator	Commission	Amount of allocated funds /RSD
International Biennale of Contemporary Art in Venice					
2011	Light and Darkness of Symbols	Dragoljub Raša Todosijević	Živko Grozdanić, Sanja Kojić Mladenov	Irina Subotić, Jerko Denegri, Zoran Erić, Darka Radosavljević, Mrdan Bajić, Zoran Todorović	12,000,000
2013	Nothing Between Us	Miloš Tomić and Vladimir Perić Talent	Maja Ćirić	Jovan Despotović, Mrdan Bajić, Mia David Zarić, Dejan Sretenović, Jasmina Čubrilo	10,000,000
2015	United Dead Nations	Ivan Grubanov	Lidija Merenik	Jovan Despotović, Dejan Sretenović, Mrdan Bajić, Mia David Zarić, Jasmina Čubrilo	20,000,000

Year	Name of the exhibition	Artist(s)	Commissary - curator	Commission	Amount of allocated funds /RSD
International Biennale of Architecture in Venice					
2010	<i>Seesaw Play-Grow; Non-Equilibrium Ground</i>	Artistic group Škart	Jovan Mitrović	Branislav Mitrović, Branko Pavić, Goran Vojvodić, Dejan Miljković, Lazar Kuzmanov, Jovan Mitrović	11,000,000
2012	ONE:TABLE	Aleksandar Ristović, Janko Tadić, Marko Marović, Marija Micković, Marija Strajnić, Milan Dragić, Miloš Živković, Nebojša Stevanović, Nikola Andonov, Olga Lazarević	Jovan Mitrović	Igor Marić, Branislav Mitrović, Vladimir Milenković, Milan Đurić, Zorica Savičić, Lazar Kuzmanov	10,000,000
2014	14-14	Marko Salapura, Zlatko Nikolić, Aleksandar Hrib, Igor Sladovljević, Jelena Radonić	Ivan Rašković	Ljiljana Miletić Abramović, Igor Marić, Radivoje Dinulović, Milan Đurić, Vladimir Milenković, Miroslava Petrović Balubdžić, Borislav Petrović.	15,000,000

CULTURAL CENTRE OF SERBIA IN PARIS, PERIOD OF 2010–2015 IN RSD



Allocations in the period from 2010 to 2015 for the funding of the yearly programme of the Cultural Centre of RS in Paris

In 2015 the Competition for the selection of projects for the Cultural Centre of Serbia in Paris was established.

Overview of participation cultural organisations from Serbia in the Creative Europe Programme

Milan Đorđević

Creative Europe Desk Serbia started operating in 2014 after the Republic of Serbia joined the sub-programme Culture of the Creative Europe programme. In the end of 2015 an agreement was signed about the full membership of Serbia in the sub-programme MEDIA, so all organisations from Serbia working in the audiovisual field can apply to the calls of the MEDIA sub-programme.

This chapter offers a presentation of successful achievements of Serbia during the first three years of the Creative Europe programme. Participation of Serbian organisations in the Creative Europe programme was researched in accordance with different parameters: sector they belong to and function in the project (project leader, partner), states and regions their project partners were coming, topics of the Creative Europe programme participating projects relied on and the field which they were being realised in, source languages of translation and the size of grant they were awarded in the projects.

During the first three years of participation in the sub-programme Culture of the Creative Europe programme, a total of 40 institutions and organisations participated in 48 projects. A domestic organisations were successful in European cooperation projects, literary translations projects, European platforms and a special call of the European Commission for support to creative hubs. Bearing in mind that Serbia is not a member of the European Union and that on the national level there are no instruments of cultural policy binding institutions and organisations to apply for support of international programmes, these results are an important success.

Participants in projects of European cooperation included sixteen organisations of the civil society and eleven public institutions: Museum of Applied Art (and the National Museum as a joint partner), Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade Design Week, Ring Ring Festival, Foundation of Ilija M. Kolarac, Mikser, Station – Service for Contemporary Dance, Institute of Balkanology SASA, Kulturanova, Faculty of Management, Foundation B92, No Borders Orchestra, Kuda.org, Institute of Musicology SASA, New Art Centre, Institute of Archaeology, Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments Sremska Mitrovica, Darkwood, Association of Belgrade Architects, EXIT Foundation, Belgrade Festival of Dance, Gallery of Matica Srpska, Academy of Arts Novi Sad and Centre for Urban Development, and among the most active organisations, realising two projects, are the Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina, Centre for Promotion of Science, University of Art in Belgrade and Magnetic Field B.

As far as the presence of cities is concerned, the majority of organisations came from Belgrade and Novi Sad. Therefore, one of the important aims of Creative Europe Desk Serbia is contributing to demetropolisation of Serbia, which is why a part of activities of the Desk directed towards strengthening capacities of domestic institutions and organisations in the field of international cooperation is taking place not only outside of Belgrade, but also outside of major city centres.

Out of the total of 28 projects of European cooperation, the majority of them was realised in the field of cultural heritage and performative arts, which can speak about good connectedness with international partners and a clear desire for European cooperation of domestic institutions and organisations in these fields. Through realised projects, cooperation was established with over 60% of countries participating in the programme. Partnerships were mostly established with big European countries (France, United Kingdom) while in the region Slovenia was recognised as the most desirable partner.

Great success was achieved by publishing houses in the competition for literary translations. With regard to the three year ranking of two year translation projects, with 18 successful projects they are occupying the second place, preceded by Bulgarian publishers with 19 projects, while the Italian ones are on the third place with 9 projects.

There are one Serbian organization involved in one of the three successful European platforms project¹, and also one creative hub as a partner organization in the project supported by European commission on specialized open call for European creative hubs.

Although a member of the MEDIA sub-programme for only one year, by the end of 2016 Serbia achieved distinguished results – a total of 23 successful projects and 660,530 Euros of awarded grants. Apart from the noticeable success of distributors, we are especially proud of the fact that as many as 5 projects from Serbia received support for development of individual film projects, and that the project was awarded within the competition for the production of TV programmes.

Among those who received support are: Open University Subotica, International Festival of Documentary Film Beldokcs, Eipix Entertainment Ltd Novi Sad, This and That Productions, Film House Baš Čelik, Sense Production Belgrade, Dribbling Pictures Belgrade, Film Ton Belgrade, MCF Megacom Film Belgrade, Five Stars Film Distribution Ltd for film and video production Belgrade, Blitz Film & Video distribution Pančevo, Company for film activity and trade Dexin film, Belgrade.

It is of utter importance that we are one of the rare countries of low production capacity that received support for the organisation of the documentary film market already in the first year of participation. Also, the amount of 150,000 Euros, which is the amount awarded in the competition for development of video games for just one project, is one of the biggest amounts awarded to a country that recently joined the MEDIA sub-programme.

¹ In 2016, the Student Cultural Centre of Novi Sad joined the European platform Aerowaves and in this way participated in activities during the last year of the project. In accordance with the budget of the project, 6,250 € was allocated for the activities of the Student Cultural Centre as a new partner.

The bottom line of the three years is that 72 projects where Serbian organisations participated were supported with 3,052,095.91 euros.

The most important thing left after these projects are tested potentials of domestic institutions and organisation, new people included in their work, new audience was attracted by new or old topics, and all this through new cooperations and European partnerships. The joint efforts of domestic cultural institutions and organisations and their partners, the Creative Europe Desk Serbia and the Ministry of Culture and Media, contributed to strengthening of international cultural cooperation, which is demonstrated by the data obtained through this research.



3,052,095.91€

European cooperation projects

2014

In the first year of the Creative Europe programme, within 12 projects of European cooperation, 13 institutions and organisations from Serbia cooperated with 93 organisations from the 24 countries participating in the Creative Europe programme. All institutions and organisations were from Belgrade (10 projects) and Novi Sad (2 projects) and among them there were seven organisations of civil society and five public cultural institutions. Total amount of obtained funds was 520.516,46 Euros.

Projects where Serbian institutions and organisations participated mostly dealt with cultural heritage (4 projects) and performing arts (4), while the rest of them dealt with design (2) and digital arts (2). The largest number of projects is inclined towards audience development (5 projects), one of the three priorities of the Creative Europe programme, followed by transnational mobility (3 projects) and capacity strengthening: through digitalisation (2 projects), designing new business models (2 projects) and education and training (1 project).

Through these projects cooperation was realised with over 60% of countries participating in the Creative Europe programme at that moment. The largest number of partnerships was established with organisations from the United Kingdom (10 partnerships), while in the region the largest number of partnerships was established with organisations from Slovenia (8 partnerships). Partner institutions mostly included universities (21 partner), followed by archives (11 partners) and cultural centres (9 partners).

Participation of organisations from Serbia in the competition for European cooperation 2014

Name of the project	Serbian organisation participating in the project	Small cooperation project	Large cooperation project	Number of partners in the project	Amount of the total EU grant	Amount of grant proportion allocated for the Serbian organisation
Ceramics and its Dimensions	Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade		x	16	1,934,308.50 €	27,000.00 €
Heroes We Love	Museum of Yugoslav History, Belgrade	x		7	198,000.00 €	15,000.00€
European Network of Digital Art and Science	Centre for the Promotion of Science, Belgrade		x	7	1,097,250.42 €	62,828.64€
Human Cities	Belgrade Design Week, Belgrade		x	11	1,880,000.00 €	96,200.00€
EUTERPE	Ring Ring Festival, Belgrade	x		3	111,695.16 €	11,589.00€
Take Over	Foundation of Ilija M. Kolarac, Belgrade	x		4	200,000.00 €	53,720.00€
Balkan Design Network	Mikser, Belgrade	x		2	199,518.65 €	61,507.24€
Departures and arrivals	Service for contemporary dance Station, Belgrade		x	12	1,962,970.00 €	37,213.00€
Community as Opportunity - Creative archives' and users' network	Institute of Balkanology SASA, Belgrade		x	16	1,990,078.00 €	53,158.00€
ViSet	Kulturanova, Novi Sad					15,503.41€
	Faculty of Management, Novi Sad	x		3	199,440.70 €	14,683.08€
Corners	B92, Foundation, Cultural Centre Rex, Belgrade		x	9	1,283,001.82 €	31,289.09€
Performing the Museum	Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina, Novi Sad	x		3	200,000.00 €	40,825.00€
TOTAL:	13 institutions/ organisations	6	6	93		520,516.46€

Number of partner organisations and countries they come from in projects of European cooperation where organisations from Serbia participated in 2014

Name of the project	DE	CZ	PL	HU	FR	UK	SI	BE	HR	
Ceramics and its Dimensions	x x x	x				x x x x	x			
Heroes We Love			x				x x x		x	
European Network of Digital Art and Science						x	x			
Human Cities			x		x	x	x	x x		
EUTERPE									x	
Take Over			x			x				
Balkan Design Network									x	
Departures and Arrivals	x x			x	x			x x		
Community as opportunity	x x x	x		x x					x	
ViSet						x				
Corners			x			x x	x		x x	
Performing the Museum							x		x	
Total number of organizations:	8	2	4	3	2	10	8	4	7	

	IT	NL	EL	PT	LV	AT	SE	ES	IR	EE	FI	AL	BG	SK	MK
	X				X X			X	X	X	X				
												X	X		
						X		X X	X					X	
	X					X		X		X	X				
	X		X												
	X		X												
															X
		X	X	X	X		X				X				
	X					X X X	X	X X		X	X				
	X							X							
	X						X	X							
								X							
	7	1	3	1	3	5	3	9	2	3	4	1	1	1	1

2015

In 2015 institutions and organisations from Serbia participated in 9 projects of European cooperation within which they cooperated with 63 organisations from 20 countries of Europe. Institutions and organisations are mostly from Belgrade (8 institutions and organisations), and one each from Novi Sad and Sremska Mitrovica, among which there was 5 public institutions and 5 organisations of the civil society and private sector. The total amount of allocated funds in this call for projects of European cooperation was 576,839.08 €.

Projects where Serbian institutions and organisations participated dealt with music (4 projects), followed by education (2 projects), cultural heritage and digital technologies, comics and digitalisation and audiovisual production. The majority of projects were inclined towards two priorities of the Creative Europe programme: audience development (4 projects) and strengthening the capacity of institutions and organisations (4 projects), while the other projects (2 projects) are dealing with transnational mobility.

For the first time among successful institutions and organisations from Serbia, one was the project leader: Institute of Musicology SASA together with the Centre for New Art and the Centre for the Promotion of Science is leading the project Quantum Music. Through these projects, cooperation was established with more than 50% of countries participating in the Creative Europe programme at that moment. The largest number of partnerships was realised with organisations from France (10 partnerships), while in the region cooperation was established only with Slovenia and Croatia. Partner institutions and organisations mostly included higher education institutions (14 partners) and artistic associations (14 partners), followed by publishing houses (11 partners) and festivals (5 partners).

Participation of organisations from Serbia in the competition for European cooperation 2015

Name of the project	Serbian organisation participating in the project	Small cooperation project	Large cooperation project	Number of partners in the project	Amount of the total EU grant	Amount of grant proportion allocated for the Serbian organisation
We Are Europe	Magnetic field B – Resonate Festival		x	7	1,912,500.00 €	195,540.00 €
European network for contemporary audiovisual creation	Magnetic field B – Resonate Festival	x		5	200,000.00€	21,378.60 €
Ne@xt Accelerator	University of Arts in Belgrade		x	18	1,027,114.41 €	3,494.82€
Rostrum+	University of Arts in Belgrade	x		9	200,000.00€	12,243.78€
Aghet – The Great Catastrophe	No Borders Orchestra	x		3	200,000.00 €	49,200.00€
Expanded Aesthetic Education	Kuda.org	x		3	200,000.00 €	46,159.00€
Quantum Music	Institute of Musicology SASA (leader)					51,032.00€
	Centre for the Promotion of Science	x		4	178,998.00€	23,073.00€
	New Art Centre					67,153.00€
Archest: Developing Archaeological Audiences Along the Roman Route Aquileia-Emونا-Sirmium-Viminacium	Institute of Archaeology Belgrade					71,560.00€
	Institute for Preservation of Cultural Monuments Sremska Mitrovica	x		3	198,108.00€	27,456.00€
Europe Comics	Publishing house Darkwood		x	11	2,000,000.00 €	8,548.88€
TOTAL:	10	6	3	63		576,839.08€

**Number of partner organisations and countries they come from
in projects of European cooperation where organisations from
Serbia participated in 2015**

Name of the project	DE	PL	FR	UK	SI	BE	HR	
We Are Europe	x		x					
European Network for Contemporary Audiovisual Creation	x		x x					
Next Accelerator	x x		x x x	x x x		x		
Rostrum+	x	x x	x	x		x		
Aghet – The Great Catastrophe	x x							
Expanded aesthetic education	x						x x	
Quantum Music					x			
Europe Comics			x x x	x		x x x		
Archest					x			
Total number of organizations:	8	2	10	5	2	5	2	

	IT	NL	EL	AT	SE	ES	TR	DK	EE	NO	FI	AL	LV
		x	x	x		x				x			
				x		x							
	x	x x x			x						x x	x	x
	x				x				x				
							x						
								x					
	x x					x	x						
	x												
	5	4	1	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	1

2016

In 2016, seven institutions/organisations from Serbia participated within seven projects of European cooperation. There was 41 partners organizations from 19 European countries. Institutions from Serbia came from Novi Sad (4 successful applicants) and Belgrade (3 successful applicants), among which 3 were public institutions and 4 civil society organisations. The total amount of obtained funds at the open call for European cooperation projects in 2016 was 359,056.51 €.

Projects where Serbian institutions and organisations participated to the largest extent dealt with cultural heritage (2 projects), while other projects dealt with visual arts, architecture, contemporary artistic dance, performative arts and management in culture (1 project each). Most of the projects are inclined towards audience development (4 projects), and the remaining three towards transnational mobility.

Through these projects cooperation was realised with 50% of countries participating in the Creative Europe programme at that moment. The largest number of partnerships was established with organisations from Slovenia (6 partnerships). Partner institutions and organisations mostly included artistic associations (26 partners), followed by universities and higher education institutions (4 partners) and museums (3 partners).

Participation of organisations from Serbia in the competition for European cooperation 2016

Name of the project	Serbian organisation participating 1 in the project	Small cooperation project	Large cooperation project	Number of partners	Amount of the total EU grant	Amount of grant proportion allocated for the Serbian organisation
Shared Cities	Association of Belgrade Architects		x	10	1,616,423.92€	40,430.82€
Creative Climate Leadership	EXIT Foundation	x		6	199,964.40€	12,900.00€
Risk Change	Museum of Contemporary Art of Vojvodina		x	9	1,570,520.90€	141,905.00€
Dance on, Pass on, Dream on	Belgrade Dance Festival		x	8	1,832.661.00€	33,135.00€
HearMe. Bringing Youth and Museums Together	Gallery of Matica Srpska	x		3	191,124.59€	41,885.33€
Instant Mix Theater Lab	Academy of Arts, University of Novi Sad	x		2	55,805.92€	7,956.25€
Digital Stories of Small Historic Towns	Centre for Urban Development	x		3	197,978.37€	80,844.11€
TOTAL:		4	3	41		359.056,51€

Number of organisations Serbian organisations cooperated with in 2016 and countries of origin of partner organisations:

Name of the project	DE	SK	CZ	PL	HU	FR	UK	
Shared Cities	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x			
Creative Climate Leadership	x					x	x	
Risk Change					x	x	x	
Dance on, Pass on, Dream on	x						x	
HearMe.								
Instant Mix Theater Lab						x	x	
Digital Stories of Small Historic Towns								
Total number of organizations:	4	2	2	2	3	3	4	

	ME	SI	BE	HR	IT	NL	EL	MT	LV	AT	SE	ES
	X	X	X									
		X		X		X	X	X	X			
		X	X			X X				X	X	
		X								X		X
		X X			X							
	1	6	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1

Countries of origin and number of partner organisations Serbian organisations are cooperating with within projects of European cooperation during the first three years of the Creative Europe programme

Country of origin of project partners	Number of partner organisations
Germany	20
United Kingdom	19
Slovenia	16
France	15
Italy	13
Spain	13
Belgium	11
Croatia	10
Austria	9
Poland	8
The Netherlands	8
Finland	6
Hungary	6
Greece	5
Sweden	5
Latvia	5
Estonia	4
Czech Republic	4
Slovakia	3
Ireland	2
Albania	2
Bulgaria	1
Macedonia (FYROM)	1
Norway	1
Denmark	1
Montenegro	1
Malta	1

Overview of cooperation in percents of the first three years of the Creative Europe programme with the five biggest countries of the EU, countries from the region of South Eastern Europe and other countries

Partnership	Share in realised partnerships	
France, Germany, United Kingdom, Italy and Spain	Cooperation with organisations,	80 40.61%
Region of South Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia (FYROM), Slovenia, Romania, Croatia, Montenegro)	Cooperation with organisations,	36 18.27%
Other countries	Cooperation with	81 organisation, 41.12%

Literary translation

2014

In the competition for literary translations in 2014, publishing houses from Serbia submitted 18 applications for two year projects of literary translation, out of which 7 received the support of the programme. In comparison with other countries in terms of two year projects of literary translation, Serbian publishers shared the second place with Spanish publishing houses (22 applications, 7 supported projects), and before them are publishers from Bulgaria (29 applications, 9 supported projects), while the third place was occupied by publishing houses from Italy (17 applications, 6 supported projects). There were no applications by Serbian publishers for projects of framework partnerships of literary translations.

Literary editions of domestic publishers consisted of 52 authors in 17 European languages. All editions consisted of novellas and short stories, except for the edition of the Publishing House Darkwood which encompassed eight comic books issues. Out of the total of 53 literary translations, 6 were awarded by the European Union Prize for Literature.

Domestic authors included in the editions of foreign publishing houses were: Bora Ćosić, Svetislav Basara, David Albahari, Laslo Blašković and the winner of the European Union Prize for Literature in 2011, Jelena Lengold.

The total amount of obtained funds at the competition for literary translations in 2014 amounted to 285,164.78 €.

Publishing houses that realised support in the competition for literary translations in 2014

#	Publishing house	Project name	Category 1: two year project	Category 2: project of framework partnership	Amount of awarded funds
1	Darkwood	Translation of eight works of the ninth art to the Serbian language	x		34,646.97 €
2	Geopoetika	Search for identity	x		37,234.62 €
3	Sezam Book	Many stories of history – translation of seven books to the Serbian language	x		47,111.27 €
4	Dereta	(In)Tolerance – Seven awarded European writers	x		43,953.60 €
5	Clio	Grail on water	x		23,910.00 €
6	Heliks	Identities: persistent search for human values in European literature	x		49,837.04 €
7	Odiseja	Awarded European children's writers	x		48,471.28 €
TOTAL:					285,164.78 €

List of books by project:

CLIO – Grail on water

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	De helaasheid der dingen	Novella	Dimitri Verhulst	The Netherlands	Dutch	Serbian	/
2	Figli dellostesso padre	Novella	Romana Petri	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
3	Rootless	Novella	Lefteris Koulierakis	Greece	Greek	Serbian	/
4	Un jour je m'enirai sans en avoir tout dit	Novella	Jean d'Ormesson	France	French	Serbian	/

DERETA – (In)Tolerance–Seven awarded European writers

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality and residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Ad Acta	Novella	Patrik Ouředník	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	/
2	Boy A	Novella	Jonathan Trigell	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
3	Il mare di Palizzi	Novella	Ada Murolo	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
4	Longe de Manaus	Novella	Francisco José Viegas	Portugal	Portuguese	Serbian	/
5	O rodičích a dětech	Novella	Emil Hakl	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	/
6	Sombras de unicornio (Shadows of the unicorn)	Novella	Raquel Martínez-Gómez	Spain	Spanish	Serbian	2010
7	Töröktükör (Turkish Mirror)	Novella	Viktor Horváth	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	2012

GEOPETIKA – Search for identity

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	A Boneca de Kokoschka	Novella	Afonso Cruz	Portugal	Portuguese	Serbian	2012
2	Dager i stillhetens historie	Novella	Merethe Lindstrøm	Norway	Norwegian	Serbian	/
3	DÜNYA AĞRISI	Novella	Ayfer Tunç	Turkey	Turkish	Serbian	/
4	Là, avaitdit Bahi	Novella	Sylvain Prudhomme	France	French	Serbian	/
5	La razón del mal	Novella	Rafael Argullol	Spain	Spanish	Serbian	/
6	O retorno	Novella	Dulce Maria Cardoso	Portugal	Portuguese	Serbian	/
7	Temnasnov	Short stories	Mojca Kumerdej	Slovenia	Slovenian	Serbian	/
8	Историјата на луѓето кои умреа од страв	Novella	Ermis Lafazanovski	Macedonia	Macedonian	Serbian	/
9	Сестри Палавееви	Novella	Alek Popov	Bulgaria	Bulgarian	Serbian	/

DARKWOOD – Translation of eight works of the ninth art into the Serbian language

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Il Collezionista	Comic	Sergio Toppi	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
2	Le Chat du Rabbin	Comic	Joann Sfar	France	French	Serbian	/
3	L'Uomo della Legione	Comic	Dino Battaglia	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
4	Moi René Tardi, prisonnier de guerre au Stalag II B	Comic	Jacques Tardi	France	French	Serbian	/
5	Saga of the Swamp Thing	Comic	Alan Moore	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
6	Sandman: Worlds' End	Comic	Neil Gaiman	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
7	Spirou et Fantasio - Hors série	Comic	André Franquin	Belgium	French	Serbian	/
8	The Books of Magic	Comic	Neil Gaiman	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/

SEZAM BOOK – Many stories of history – translation of seven books into the Serbian language

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality and residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Change of climate	Novella	Hilary Mantel	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
2	Les Jardins statuaires	Novella	Jacques Abeille	France	French	Serbian	/
3	Povestirile Mameibatrane	Novella	Radu Tutulescu	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	/
4	Stalo se prvého septembra (aleboinokedy)	Novella	Pavol Rankov	Slovakia	Slovak	Serbian	2009
5	Tavaszi Tárlat	Novella	György Spiró	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	/
6	Tutta la vita	Novella	Romana Petri	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/

HELIKS – Identities: Persistent search for human values in European literature

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality and residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Daniel Deronda	Novella	George Eliot	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
2	Dopo il divorzio	Novella	Grazia Deledda	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
3	Hood	Novella	Emma Donoghue	Iceland	English	Serbian	/
4	La chambre des officiers	Novella	Marc Dugain	France	French	Serbian	/
5	L'amour seul	Novella	Laurence Plazenet	France	French	Serbian	2012
6	North and South	Novella	Elizabeth Gaskell	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
7	Opowieść gigalityjskie	Short stories	Andrzej Stasiuk	Polska	Polish	Serbian	/
8	PopCo	Novella	Scarlett Thomas	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
9	Viața în pevineri	Novella	Ioana Pârvulescu	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	2013

ODISEJA – Awarded European children's writers

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality and residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	A Greyhound of a Girl	Novellas	Roddy Doyle	Iceland	English	Serbian	/
2	Dobozváros	Novellas	István Lakatos	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	/
3	Doktor Proktors Prompepulver	Novellas	Jo Nesbø	Norway	Norwegian	Serbian	/
4	Framed! (Traces series)	Novellas	Malcolm Rose	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
5	I, Coriander	Novellas	Sally Gardner	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
6	Kamo, L'agence Babel	Novellas	Daniel Pennac	France	French	Serbian	/
7	La bambina ia francese	Novellas	Bianca Pitzorno	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
8	Licho žrouti	Novellas	Pavel Šrut	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	/
9	Midwinterblood	Novellas	Marcus Sedgwick	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
10	The Worry Website	Novellas	Jacqueline Wilson	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/

Literary works of Serbian authors and languages they were translated into in the competition for literary translations 2014

#	Book name	Genre	Author	EU Prize	Language of translation	Country of origin of applicants
1	Konzul u Beogradu	Novellas	Bora Ćosić	/	German	Austria
2	Na gralovom tragu	Novellas	Svetislav Basara	/	Bulgarian	Bulgaria
3	Izgubljen u samoposluzi	Short stories	Svetislav Basara	/	Bulgarian	Bulgaria
4	Neobične priče	Novellas	David Albahari	/	Hungarian	Hungary
5	Vašarski mađioničar	Novellas	Jelena Lengold	2011	Slovenian	Slovenia
6	Madonin nakit	Novellas	Laslo Blašković	/	English	United Kingdom

2015

Five projects of publishing houses from Serbia were supported within the competition for literary translations. In comparison with other countries in terms of successfulness of applications with two year projects of literary translations, Serbian publishers, with 20 applications and 5 supported projects share the third place with publishing houses from Croatia (14 applications, 5 supported projects), and they are preceded by publishers from Bulgaria (24 applications, 6 supported projects), Macedonia (11 applications, 6 supported projects), Hungary (17 applications, 8 supported projects) and Slovenia (11 applications, 8 supported projects). There were no applications of Serbian publishers for projects of framework partnership.

Literary editions of domestic publishers consist of books of 35 authors in 18 European languages. From the total of 35 literary works, 16 were awarded by the European Union Prize for Literature.

Domestic authors included in editions of foreign publishing houses, supported by the competition for literary translations of this year were: Miloš Latinović, Slobodan Tišma, Radoslav Petković, Aleksandar Gatalica, Mića Vujičić and the winner of the European Union Prize for Literature in 2014, Uglješa Šajtinac.

The total amount of obtained funds at the competition for literary translations in 2015 amounted to 249.026,77 €.

Languages of literary works from which domestic publishing houses translated within the competition for literary translations in 2015

#	Publishing house	Project name	Category 1: two year project	Category 2: project of framework partnership	Amount of awarded funds
1	Dereta	Alienation and identity in contemporary European literature	x		59.471,95 €
2	Laguna	Prometej	x		55.128,29 €
3	Clio	Grail in school	x		27.889,76 €
4	Zavet	Contemporary European Literature: A Kaleidoscopic View	x		46.899,00 €
5	Heliks	Trans-Europe: a Literary Journey across the Continent	x		59.637,77 €
TOTAL:					249.026,77 €

Publishing houses that realised support in the competition for literary translations in 2015

DERETA – Alienation and identity in contemporary European literature							
#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	All the birds, singing	Novellas	Evie Wyld	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	2014
2	Boldog Észak	Novellas	Árpád Kun	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	/
3	Cruciada copiilor	Novellas	Florina Ilis	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	/
4	El exiliado de aquí y allá	Novellas	Juan Goytisolo	Spain	Spanish	Serbian	/
5	Livro do Desassossego (Jerónimo Pizarro editon)	Other	Fernando Pessoa	Portugal	Portuguese	Portuguese	
6	Milostný dopis klínovým písmem	Novellas	Tomáš Zmeškal	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	2011
7	Morfina	Novellas	Szczepan Twardoch	Poland	Polish	Serbian	/
8	Възвисяние	Novellas	Milen Ruskov	Bulgaria	Bulgarian	Serbian	2014
LAGUNA – Prometej							
#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	A máquina de fazer espanhóis	Novellas	Valter Hugo Mãe	Portugal	Portuguese	Serbian	/
2	Cartea Șoapțelor	Novellas	Varujan Vosganian	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	/
3	Es geht uns gut	Novellas	Arno Geiger	Austria	German	Serbian	/
4	Il desiderio di essere come tutti	Novellas	Francesco Piccolo	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
5	Μάρτυρων ο Θεός	Novellas	MakisTsitast	Грчка	Greek	Serbian	2014

CLIO – Grail in school

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Dějiny světa	Novellas	Jan Němec	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	2014
2	De laatste ontsnapping	Novellas	Jan van Mersbergen	The Netherlands	Dutch	Serbian	/
3	En attendant demain	Novellas	Nathacha Appanah	France	French	Serbian	/
4	Ferito a morte	Novellas	Raffaele La Capria	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/
5	Il pianista muto	Novellas	Paola Capriolo	Italy	Italian	Serbian	/

ZAVET – Contemporary European Literature: A Kaleidoscopic View

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Das Eigentliche	Novellas	Iris Hanika	Germany	German	Serbian	2010
2	Die linke hand des papstes	Novellas	Friedrich Christian Delius	Germany	German	Serbian	/
3	Ghana must go	Novellas	TaiyeSelasi	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
4	Handlingen	Novellas	Sara Mannheimer	Sweden	Swedish	Serbian	2012
5	Het diner	Novellas	Herman Koch	The Netherlands	Dutch	Serbian	/
6	Idiopathy	Novellas	Sam Byers	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/
7	Le Chapeau du Mitterand	Novellas	Antoine Laurain	France	French	Serbian	/
8	O znanosti	Novellas	AlešČar	Slovenia	Slovenian	Serbian	/

HELIKS – Trans-Europe: a Literary Journey across the Continent

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	De Nederlandse maagd	Novellas	Marente de Moor	The Nether- lands	Dutch	Serbian	2014
2	Døden kører audi	Novellas	Kristian Bang Foss	Denmark	Danish	Serbian	2013
3	Hah (Aha)	Short stories	Birgül Oğuz	Turkey	Turkish	Serbian	2014
4	Ημερολόγιο μιας απιστίας	Novellas	Emilios Solomou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	2013
5	Jarðnæði	Novellas	Oddný Eir	Iceland	Icelandic	Serbian	2013
6	Jón	Novellas	Ófeigur Sigurðsson	Iceland	Icelandic	Serbian	2011
7	Kirschholz und alte Gefühle	Novellas	Marica Bodrožić	Germany	German	Serbian	2013
8	Marilyn désossée	Novellas	Isabelle Wéry	Belgium	French	Serbian	2013
9	Maud og Aud - ein roman om trafikk	Novellas	Gunstein Bakke	Norway	Norwegian	Serbian	2012

Literary works of Serbian authors and languages they were translated into within the competition for literary translations in 2015

#	Book name	Genre	Author	EU Prize	Language of translation	Applicant's country of origin
1	Sto dana kiše	Novellas	Miloš Latinović	/	Bulgarian	Bulgaria
2	Bernardijeva soba	Novellas	Slobodan Tišma	/	Hungarian	Hungary
3	Savršeno sećanje na smrt	Novellas	Radoslav Petković	/	Hungarian	Hungary
4	Veliki rat	Novellas	Aleksandar Gatalica	/	Hungarian	Hungary
5	Sasvim skromni darovi	Novellas	Uglješa Šajtinac	2014	Hungarian	Hungary
6	Oštar start	Novellas	Mića Vujičić	/	Slovenian	Slovenia

2016

In the competition for literary translations in 2016, publishing houses from Serbia submitted 19 applications for two year projects of literary translation, out of which 6 received support of the programme. In comparison with other countries with regards to the successfulness of two year projects of literary translation, Serbian publisher, with 19 applications and 6 supported projects occupy the first place. Immediately following them are publishing houses from Bulgaria (26 applications, 4 supported projects) and Latvia (5 applications, 4 supported projects), Italy (31 application, 3 supported projects) and Croatia (15 applications, 3 supported projects). There were no applications of Serbian publishers for projects of framework partnership.

Literary editions of domestic publishers consist of 48 authors in 20 European languages. Out the total of 48 literary works, 21 were awarded by the European Union Prize for literature.

Domestic authors included in editions of foreign publishing houses, supported by the competition for literary translations of this year were: Goran Petrović, Aleksandar Gatalica, Svetislav Basara, Miloš Crnjanski, Grozdana Olujić and Dragan Velikić.

The total amount of obtained funds at the competition for literary translations in 2016 amounted to 286.992,05 €.

Publishing houses that realised support in the competition for literary translations in 2016

#	Publishing house	Project name	Category 1: two year project	Category 2: project of framework partnership	Amount of awarded funds
1	Sezam Book	Scenes from Our Hidden Lives	x		35,000.00 €
2	Propolis Books	Through imaginative play and playful stories to a creative childhood	x		30,215.00 €
3	Kontrast Publishing	Three Generations of Writers Who Helped Shape European Identity	x		59,982.80 €
4	Zavet	Contemporary European Literature: A Kaleidoscopic View2	x		48,668.50 €
5	Treći trg	Greek Literature from Cyprus in Serbian	x		54,904.43 €
6	Heliks	Confluence: the literary quest for common European experience	x		58,221.32 €
TOTAL:					286,992.05 €

List of books by project:

SEZAM BOOK – Scenes from Our Hidden Lives

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Apnea	Novellas	Lorenzo Amurri	Italy	Italian	Serbian	2015
2	L'Inaperçu	Novellas	Sylvie Germain	France	French	Serbian	/
3	Nincs, és ne is legyen	Short stories	Edina Szvoren	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	2015
4	Obrazy zo života M.	Novellas	Svetlana Žuchová	Slovakia	Slovak	Serbian	2015
5	Teodosie cel Mic	Novellas	Răzvan Rădulescu	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	2010
6	Unnskyld	Novellas	Ida Hegazi Høyer	Norway	Norwegian	Serbian	

KONTRAST PUBLISHING – Three Generations of Writers Who Helped Shape European Identity

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Beckomberga – Ode till min familj	Novellas	Sara Stridsberg	Sweden	Swedish	Serbian	2015
2	Café Hyena (Plán odprevádzania)	Novellas	Jana Beňová	Slovakia	Slovak	Serbian	2012
3	Fl-Isemtal-Missier (tal-iben)	Novellas	Immanuel Mifsud	Malta	Maltese	Serbian	/
4	Kitömött barbár	Novellas	Gergely Péterfy	Hungary	Hungarian	Serbian	2011
5	Lód	Novellas	Jacek Dukaj	Poland	Polish	Serbian	/
6	Nostalgia	Novellas	Mircea Cărtărescu	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	2009
7	Rites of Passage	Novellas	William Golding	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/

PROPOLIS BOOKS – Through imaginative play and playful stories to a creative childhood

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Aquamarin	Novellas	Andreas Eschbach	Germany	German	Serbian	/
2	Devojčica od leda i druge bajke	Novellas	Mila Pavićević	Croatia	Croatian	Serbian	2009
3	Hleda se zvezda	Novellas	Lenka Brodecka	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	/
4	Konradoch Kornelia	Children's Fiction	Katarina von Numers-Ekman	Finland	Finnish	Serbian	/
5	Loup Tombe de Livre	Children's Fiction	Thierry Robberecht	Belgium	French	Serbian	/
6	Nagu Nalle	Children's Fiction	Henrika Andersson	Finland	Finnish	Serbian	/
7	Sceny z zycia smokow	Children's Fiction	Beata Krupska	Poland	Polish	Serbian	/
8	The boy and globe	Children's Fiction	Tony Bradman	United Kingdom	English	Serbian	/

HELIKS – Confluence: the literary quest for common European experience

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Brorsan är mätt	Short stories	Mirja Unge	Sweden	Swedish	Serbian	/
2	Einmal muss ich über weiches Gras gelaufensein	Novellas	Carolina Schutti	Austria	German	Serbian	2015
3	Índice Médio de Felicidade	Novellas	David Machado	Portugal	Portuguese	Serbian	2015
4	Intemperie	Novellas	Jesús Carrasco	Spain	Spanish	Serbian	/
5	Le dernier gardien d'Ellis Island	Novellas	Gaëlle Josse	France	French	Serbian	2015
6	Magik	Novellas	Magdalena Parys	Poland	Polish	Serbian	2015
7	Peníze od Hitlera	Novellas	Radka Denemarková	Czech Republic	Czech	Serbian	2015
8	The Spinning Heart	Novellas	Donal Ryan	Ireland	English	Serbian	2015
9	Viitoru lincepe luni	Novellas	Ioana Pârvulescu	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	/

TREĆI TRG – Greek literature from Cyprus in Serbian

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of translation	EU Prize
1	Αμμόχωστος Βασιλεύουσα	Poetry	Kyriakos Charalambides	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
2	Αναμνήσεις με πολλά κουκούτσια	Novellas	Yiorgos Charitonides	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
3	Απειλούμενα είδη	Short stories	Louiza Papaloizou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
4	Εκ του σύννεγγυς	Poetry	Angela Kaima Clioti	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
5	Ένα Άλπουμ Ιστορίες	Novellas	Antonis Georgiou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	2016
6	Καζάνι	Short stories	Maria Ioannou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
7	Ναρκοσυλλέκτρια	Poetry	Euphrosyne Manta-Lazarou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
8	Ο καιρός της δοκιμασίας	Short stories	Yiorgos Phillip- pou Pierides	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
9	Πληγείσες περιοχές/ γυμνές ιστορίες	Poetry	Yiorgos Christ- odoulides	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/
10	Φόβ, Υπογλώσσιονυχτερινό	Poetry	Stella Voskaridou- Oikonomou	Cyprus	Greek	Serbian	/

ZAVET – Contemporary European Literature: A Kaleidoscopic View 2

#	Book name	Genre	Author	Nationality or residence	Source language	Language of transla- tion	EU Prize
1	Huden er det elastiske hylster der omgiver hele legemet	Novellas	Bjørn Rasmussen	Denmark	Danish	Serbian	2016
2	Na/pol	Novellas	Jasmin B. Frelih	Slovenia	Slovenian	Serbian	2016
3	Noc żywych Żydów	Novellas	Igor Ostachowicz	Poland	Polish	Serbian	/
4	Op de hoogte	Novellas	Christophe Van Gerrewey	Belgium	Dutch	Serbian	2016
5	Pond	Short stories	Claire -Louise Bennett	Ireland	English	Serbian	/
6	Samo pridi domov	Novellas	Andrej E. Skubic	Slovenia	Slovenian	Serbian	/
7	Vârstele Jocului. Strada Cetății	Novellas	Claudiu M. Florian	Romania	Romanian	Serbian	2016
8	Waiting for the Bullet	Short stories	Madeleine D'Arcy	Ireland	English	Serbian	/

Literary works of Serbian authors and languages they were translated into in the competition for literary translations in 2016

#	Book name	Genre	Author	EU Prize	Language of translation	Applicant's country of origin
1	Ispod tamnice koja se ljuspa	Novellas	Goran Petrović	/	Bulgarian	Bulgaria
2	Veliki rat	Novellas	Aleksandar Gatalica	/	Bulgarian	Bulgaria
3	Mongolski bedeker	Novellas	Svetislav Basara	/	English	Ireland
4	Roman o Londonu	Novellas	Miloš Crnjanski	/	Italian	Italy
5	Glasovi u vetru	Novellas	Grozdana Olujić	/	Italian	Italy
6	Islednik	Novellas	Dragan Velikić	/	Slovenian	Slovenia

Languages Serbian authors were translated into in the competition for literary translations in the first three years of the Creative Europe programme

Bulgarian (5 books)

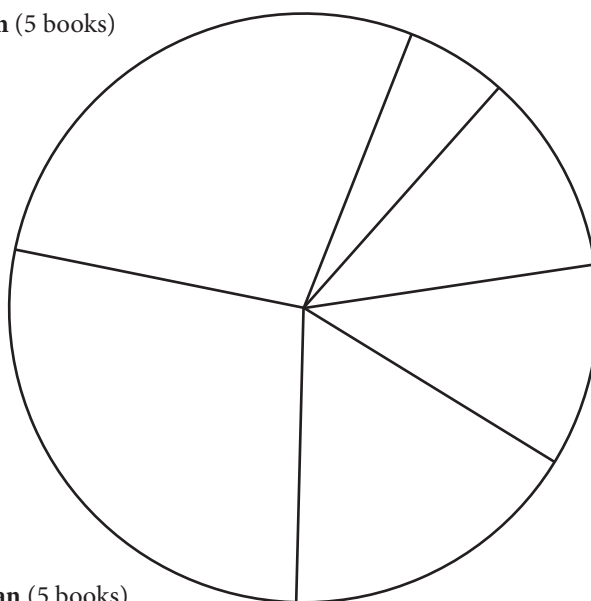
German (1 book)

Italian (2 books)

English (2 books)

Hungarian (5 books)

Slovenian (3 books)



Percentage of language distribution

English (22 books)	Greek (13 books)	
French (15 books)	Italian (11 books)	

Romanian (8 books)	Portuguese (6 books)		Hungarian (6 book)		Polish (6 book)		
	Dutch (5 books)	Spanish (4 book)		Slovenian (4 book)		Swedish (3 book)	
		Slovak (3 book)		Danish (2 book)		Finnish (2 book)	
		Icelandic (2 books)		Danish (2 book)		Bulgarian (2 book)	
						Croatian (1 book)	
Norwegian (4 book)		Maltese (1 book)		Macedonian (1 book)			
Czech (7 books)							
German (6 books)							

EUROPEAN PLATFORMS

2015

Project name	Organisation from Serbia participating in the project	Number of partners in the project	Total EU grant	Grant portion awarded to Serbian organisation
Future Architecture	Association of Belgrade Architects	10	500,000.00 €	32,000.00 €

Association of Belgrade Architects participate as a partner organisation in the Future Architecture platform, one of the three successful projects in the competition for European platforms in 2015. Competition for European platforms is not open each year, and this was the second call and the first time that an organisation of Serbia was a part of the project receiving support.

Leader of the project is the Museum of Architecture and Design of Slovenia (Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje), and other partners were: organisation MICHAU+ from Denmark, House of Architecture (Haus der Architektur) from Austria, Tretaroka Association from Slovenia, Triennial of Architecture from Lisboa (Trienal de Arquitectura de Lisboa) from Portugal, Foundationa MAXXI – National Museum of the Arts (Fondazione MAXXI – Museo Nazionale delle Arti) from Italy, Museum of Architecture Wroclaw (Muzeum Architektury we Wroclawiu) from Poland, organisation Ruby Press from Germany, Association Oris – house of architecture from Croatia, and University Polis (Universiteti Polis SHPK) from Albania.

CROSS-SECTORAL STRAND

EU Network of Creative Hubs and Co-working spaces 2015

Project name	Organisation from Serbia participating in the project	Number of partners in the project	Total grant awarded	Grant portion awarded to Serbian organisation
European Creative Hubs Network	Nova Iskra (Kulturni Kod)	7	951,264.00 €	75,720.26 €

European Creative Hubs Network is a two years project. British Council is leading the work, in partnership with six European creative hubs - Bios in Greece, Addict in Portugal, Betahaus in Germany, Creative Edinburgh in United Kingdom, Factoria Cultural in Spain and Nova Iskra in Serbia. This consortium is the only supported within this open call.

European Commission has released in 2015 a Cross-sectoral strand of the Creative Europe programme. The call is designed with the aim to help creative hubs connect and collaborate across Europe.

MEDIA subprogramme

2016

In the first year of Serbia participating in MEDIA subprogramme, Serbian organizations was successful in various MEDIA open calls: Support to Film Festivals (1 project), Access to Market (1 project), Video Game Development (1 project), Single Project Development (5 projects), TV programming (1 project), Distribution - Automatic Support (10 projects), Distribution - Selective Support (4 projects). They came mostly from Belgrade (19 successful applicants), and then Pančevo (2 successful applicants), Novi Sad (1 successful applicant) and Subotica (1 successful applicant). The total amount of obtained funds at MEDIA open calla in 2016 was 660.530,00 €.

Participation of organizations from Serbia in the MEDIA competition in 2016

	Organization/ Company	Project	MEDIA Open call	Grant Awarded
1	Open University Subotica	Filmski festival Palić	Support to Film Festivals	41.000,00€
2	International documentary film festival Beldoks, Belgrade	Beldoks Market 2016	Access to Market	35.000,00€
3	Eipix Entertainment d.o.o. Novi Sad	Chronicles of the Overworld	Video Game Development	150.000,00€
4	This and That Productions d.o.o. Belgrade	The Witch Hunters	Single Project Development	30.000,00€
5	Film house Baš Čelik d.o.o. Belgrade	Father	Single Project Development	30.000,00€
6	Sense Production d.o.o. Belgrade	The Users	Single Project Development	30.000,00€
7	Dribbling Pictures d.o.o. Belgrade	The Labudovic Files	Single Project Development	25.000,00€
8	Film Ton Beograd d.o.o. Belgrade	Guardians of the Formula	Single Project Development	50.000,00€
9	Dribbling Pictures d.o.o. Belgrade	In Praise of Nothing	TV programming	50.000,00€
10	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Bacalaureat (aka Fotografii de familie)	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
11	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Faibei Sogni	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€

12	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	I, Daniel Blake	Distribution - Selective Support	8.700,00€
13	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	La fille inconnue	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
14	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	La Pazza Gioia	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
15	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Les Innocentes	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
16	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Ma Loute	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
17	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Toni Erdman	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
18	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Zjednoszone stany milosci	Distribution - Selective Support	5.300,00€
19	Five Stars Film Distribution d.o.o. film and video production, Belgrade	Fuoco ammare	Distribution - Selective Support	3.000,00€
20	Blitz Film & Video distribution d.o.o. Pančevo	Declaration of cinema admissions for the reference year 2015	Distribution -Automatic Support	13.771,00€
21	Blitz Film& Video distribution d.o.o. Pančevo	Declaration of cinema admissions for the reference year 2015	Distribution -Automatic Support	54.512,00€
22	MCF Megacom Film d.o.o. Belgrade	Declaration of cinema admissions for the reference year 2015	Distribution -Automatic Support	78.739,00€
23	Dexin film - The Company for film and trade d.o.o. Belgrade	Declaration of cinema admissions for the reference year 2015	Distribution -Automatic Support	18.408,00€
TOTAL				660.530,00€

EU prizes and initiatives

European Union Prize for literature 2014

In 2014, one of the most prominent writers from Serbia, Uglješa Šajtinac, won the European Union Prize for literature for his book *Quite Modest Gifts*.

The aim of the European Union Prize for literature is to put the spotlight on the creativity and diverse wealth of Europe's contemporary literature in the field of fiction, to promote the circulation of literature within Europe and to encourage greater interest in non-national literary works.

The book is an epistolary novel in which two brothers exchange emails about their seemingly ordinary, but essentially unusual and exciting existence in Serbia and the United States. Through a form of a family chronicle, the novel intertwines numerous narratives about the personal experiences of individual characters, while raising a number of challenging questions about the world we live in.

European Award for cultural heritage -Europa Nostra 2016

The Institute for preservation of cultural monuments Niš and Gostuša village won the main prize of the European Union on cultural heritage preservation - Europa Nostra Grand prix 2016, competing with five projects in the category of research. The Grand prix is the most prestigious European award in the domain of heritage in Europe and it is the first time that the cultural heritage preservation project in Serbia was successful.

More importantly, this project is part of the region in Serbia with a rather inchoate awareness of the development of cultural heritage, struggling with the lack of funding, especially in the field of culture.

European Capital of Culture in 2021

In 2016, city of Novi Sad was declared a European Capital of Culture for 2021, becoming the first city outside the European Union to take this title.

Two cities had been shortlisted after the preselection round in 2015 - Herceg Novi in Montenegro and Novi Sad in Serbia. The candidacy of Novi Sad for ECOC 2021 is based on a program concept, which consists of four areas integrated under the title "For new bridges".

The ECC was established in order to emphasise richness and diversity of European cultures, strengthen cultural connections between citizens of Europe, connect people from different European countries, meet other cultures, promote mutual understanding and strengthen the sense of Europeanism.

List of Contributors

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