CHANGING CITY SPACES:
NEW CHALLENGES TO CULTURAL POLICY IN EUROPE

A State of the Art Report

by

Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Kevin Robins

in collaboration with the researchers of the ‘Changing City Spaces’ consortium

18-Dec-03
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Changing City Spaces: New Challenges to cultural policy in Europe

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A short description of our work, its objectives, and envisaged results

Our project is concerned with contemporary social and cultural developments in Europe, set in motion by and responding to different phases and new dynamics of global migration into and across Europe. To explore these issues, our research takes as its central focus urban culture and policy in the European space, in order to address broader questions of socio-cultural diversity, interaction and citizenship. We propose that an innovative way of addressing contemporary change in Europe is through such a metropolitan perspective. Our research centres on seven capital cities – Belgrade, Berlin, Ljubljana, London, Paris, Rome and Vienna. It addresses questions of multiculturalism within the urban space; and also the proliferation of new transnational flows and nexuses between cities. The empirical focus for the work concerns developments in the cultural domain: changing forms of cultural practice, developments in the cultural industries, and the status of cultural policies.

The data for our study come from in-depth qualitative research. Our work is being conducted within the selected cities, but also through work that tracks inter-urban nexuses across the system of European cities. It has both ‘bottom up’ and ‘top down’ aspects. Thus, we are concerned with how people construct and mobilise their own cultural identities. This involves consumption and reception studies with migrant groups (through individual interviews and focus groups), as well as participant observation at cultural events. Through this we aim to establish what kinds of new identities are being constructed by new migrant groups; the nature of contemporary cultural encounter and interaction; the significance of new transnational connections; new dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, social integration/social fragmentation. The ‘top down’ aspect of the work explores the status of policy responses and practices, with respect to both the agenda of cultural inclusion and social integration within the case study cities and to the possibilities that may be inherent in inter-urban networking across Europe. This involves in-depth ‘expert’ interviews (with media and cultural policymakers, executives, practitioners). Here we are attentive to the correspondence - or lack of it - between cultural practices, industries and markets, and policies. The findings of the research will have relevance for European policies that support social inclusion and integration for all people now living in Europe.

Our overall objective is to identify challenges to European culture in the context of contemporary change, focusing on multicultural European metropolitan spaces; and to identify, advice, and help realise cultural policies and practices that will further social inclusivity for the diverse populations in Europe.

In more detail this involves the following objectives:

- To consider the European city - with capital cities as the prime focus - as a significant space of multicultural identity in the new and changed context of global and transnational developments across the continent, and to explore the social and cultural possibilities being opened up in metropolitan areas as compared to the tendentially mono-cultural focus of (multi-) national states;

- To map the internal complexities of selected European capital cities, drawing attention to the new kinds of social and cultural interaction and encounter that now exist within these urban arenas, and providing an overview of the new dynamics, issues and agendas that increasingly characterise urban societies and cultures in Europe;

- To track the development of the new kinds of interaction and networking that are developing between cities, taking the city as an innovative focus for capturing social and cultural flows and nexuses across the European space; and to also consider the growing significance of ties with
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selected non-European cities, which have generally occurred as a consequence of either post-imperial legacies or new migrant connections;

- To explore policy responses and practices that relate both to the agenda of urban multiculturalism within the selected cities, and to the possibilities that may be inherent in inter-urban networking across the European space, drawing on local, national and European-level approaches and initiatives;

- To explore processes of social inclusion and exclusion through an analysis of particular cultural forms, taking account of the new geographical complexities in this agenda, where questions of inclusion may now relate to urban, national, European, or wider transnational spheres;

- To understand how people construct a sense of belonging through their participation in the collective life of cities, taking account of the ways in which belonging to the city may differ from the sense of belonging to a national society and culture;

- To address the gender dimension in the developments we are studying, with particular respect to cultural citizenship and issues of social inclusion and exclusion;

- To identify examples of good multicultural practice in European cities, with particular reference to strategies for overcoming social exclusion, xenophobia and racism;

- To address new challenges to European culture and identity in the context of contemporary global change - challenges that pertain to such issues as enlargement; the relation between East and West Europe; imperial legacies; new patterns of transnational migration; and the global North-South divide.

With this work we expect to achieve the following results:

- The development of an innovative approach to European cultural dynamics, bringing together usually discrete agendas, and providing insights into changing (multi) cultural dynamics across European urban spaces.

- Collaboration with cultural policymakers, and input into the policy process with respect to issues of inclusion and social integration

- New approaches to good practice in cultural policy

- Cultural events to promote the findings of the research, bringing together practitioners, policy makers and researchers from diverse European and migrant contexts.

Urban culture and policy in contemporary Europe

This project is centrally concerned with questions of urban culture and policy in the European space, using a metropolitan city focus to address broader questions of socio-cultural diversity, interaction and citizenship. We are examining a range of cultural institutions, practices, events, strategies and policies in these diverse urban environments, with particular reference to the need to articulate valid and workable principles of multicultural practice and policy, and to oppose xenophobia and racism. Our research is considering contemporary developments and issues in seven capital cities - Rome, London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Ljubljana and Belgrade - selected to
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bring out the complex dynamics and directions of change in European society and culture in the 21st century. Within these urban contexts, the particular cultural forms that we are studying in detail are media (radio, television), music and cinema.

Most discussions of European cultures and multicultures have been centrally concerned with the question of ‘community’: the agenda has come to be framed in terms of a set of different ‘imagined communities’ to which Europeans may feel that they belong - the national community, the pan-European community, or European regional communities. The difficulty with this formulation, we suggest, is that ‘community’ - in the case of all these alternative possibilities of community - tends to be imagined as a singular, unitary and homogeneous entity - an entity through which it is actually difficult to think about issues of socio-cultural diversity and complexity.

Our decision in this project has been to open up an alternative perspective, through a specifically urban approach to understanding European social and cultural change. The point about cities, particularly in the contemporary context of global change, is that they are the places where issues of cultural diversity, complexity and multiculturalism are most insistently posed. It is in cities and metropoles that encounters between cultures are at their most intense: cities are places of socio-cultural interaction, confrontation, negotiation and transformation. We need to understand much better the nature of such encounters and interactions between the multitude of cultures now present in the European space. Our urban perspective permits us to explore these cultural processes in concrete terms, ‘on the ground’, rather than in the more abstract terms that tend to characterise discourses of community. This project opens up an alternative approach, then, to that new object of study, European society - and one that we believe will complement what is being done elsewhere through other theoretical and methodological approaches.

Our research emphasises the importance of the space of flows, as a too often neglected complement to the space of places. From this perspective, cities of Europe are taking on the character of sites whose very texture is being woven by the interplay of a multitude of heterogeneous and unequal flows that are running through them. What has in the past been recognised as a privilege of metropoles, seems to be in the process of becoming a permanent and defining feature of the contemporary city. We believe that the intensification and proliferation of transnational as well as inter-continental flows are an irreversible contemporary trend that needs to be recognised, described and analysed. The proposed research is a step in this direction. It seems that many of the tensions and discontents of contemporary urban policies may well be due to a misrecognition of this trend, and to mental habits which still conceive of the city as of a territorial unit, rather then as a knot within a patchwork of superimposed nexuses and flows.

To address these broader issues of European diversity and multiculturalism, we consequently approach our case study cities from three interconnected perspectives.

- First we consider each city from within, taking into account the internal complexities within particular urban spaces, and also approaches to the management and governance of these complexities.

- Second, in terms of the increasing links and networks that have come into existence, at a variety of levels, between cities across the European continent - and in some cases between European and some non-European cities - creating new urban nexuses.
• Third, through this dual perspective, which combines comparative and network analysis, we consider cultures in terms of, first, situated and localised cultural configurations, and, second, in terms of patterns of cultural flow and mobility across the European continent, and beyond.

In our approach, we want to capture the new and complex geographical frames and dynamics in which questions of cultural diversity and multiculturalism are now embedded. (In the section below we will set out in detail the ways in which we hope to achieve this.)

We are taking both ‘top down’ and ‘bottom up’ approaches to cultural and multicultural policy and their dynamic interrelation with one another. On the one hand, we are studying policies, strategies and initiatives that are being undertaken by cultural agencies of various kinds in order to promote social integration and cultural inclusion. On the other, we are also considering how ordinary people from different cultural backgrounds act and feel about their lives in European urban environments. Hence we are investigating the extent to which cultural policies engage in productive ways with peoples' everyday lives. Do they confirm or challenge people's sense of being excluded from governance and citizenship practices? Do they contribute to people's sense of belonging and inclusion in the city’s (and Europe’s) citizenry?

In the same ‘bottom up’ direction, we have begun to investigate the kinds of socially relevant cultural activities people in cities undertake; how their efforts translate into processes of social inclusion/exclusion; how they relate to other similar activities in their city; and what kinds of ‘inter-city’ flows take place in the European Community, in the larger European space (including the Balkans), and beyond. Our methodology thus puts considerable emphasis on understanding how people construct and mobilise their own cultural identities.

There is a strong qualitative emphasis in our research. We are conducting in-depth case studies of particular organisations, activities, events and networks. We are analysing the interface between high-level - public, private or non-governmental - cultural institutions and policies, on the one hand, and people's actual experiences of urban culture and citizenship, on the other. The focus of the project is thus multi-level and multi-method: it includes the analysis of electronic media (radio, television and the internet) as cultural mediators; of concerts and film festivals, as the events in which culture materialises; and of music and cinema, as the forms that culture takes.

Researching changing city spaces

The purpose of our research is to explore contemporary social and cultural developments in Europe, with particular reference to questions of migration, xenophobia and multiculturalism. The starting point for the research proposal is the recognition that, at this time of transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first century, something significantly new is happening in the European continent. What we maintain is that this something has to do with the proliferation of new transnational movements, flows and connections into and across the European space. They are developments associated with the economic and social dynamics of globalisation, and they raise issues of an unprecedented kind. There are clearly possibilities that these proliferating transnational migrations and flows will bring with them new dangers of social tension, antagonism and conflict. But there are also new possibilities for confronting these threats, and at the same time working to modernise the European social model. The aim of this research is to identify new threats, and to contribute to European policies that support social inclusion and integration for all people now living in Europe. This research proposes that an innovative and productive way of addressing the issues that are arising out of these new social and cultural dynamics will emerge through a metropolitan perspective.

There have been two phases of migration into the European continent. The first took off in the 1950s, and was generally characterised by migrations of colonial and post-colonial populations to
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the imperial ‘mother countries’ - for example, migrations from West Africa, the Maghreb, Madagascar into France, and from the Caribbean and South Asia into Britain. Migration was to particular and limited destinations, determined for the most part by shared (albeit differentially) historical, cultural and linguistic links. In recent decades, this pattern of post-colonial migration has been extended by migration of a different kind. For a whole complex of economic, political and cultural reasons, Europe has become an increasingly attractive destination for economic migrants and for refugees from diverse parts of the world (e.g. Nigerians, Somalis, Tamils, Turks, Kurds, Afghans, Bosnians, Kosovans). There have been significant labour migrations, from Turkey and former Yugoslavia particularly, now with second and even third generations established across Europe. The ‘fall of the Iron Curtain’ in 1989/90 has also been a significant factor in the new migrations. These new migrations still partly use the established networks and patterns of the previous post-colonial connections, so that people from former colonies (the Maghreb or the Malagasy, for example) continue to enter Europe through their former imperial routes, but they are now themselves subsumed into a much larger and increasingly more complex migratory phenomenon (Moroccans in Rome, for example, constitute the largest group of migrants from an African country, outnumbering those that have arrived from former Italian colonies). What we have seen, then, is a profound change in the dynamics of mobility, associated with what we might term the new migrations of globalisation.

It is these new migrations, and the social and cultural issues that emerge out of them, that constitute the core concern of our work. What must be addressed is the question of what it is precisely that is new and distinctive about these migrations of globalisation and the resulting transnational networks. We must also observe different patterns of transnational movement, networking and the potentially different social, economic and cultural opportunities in cities, where previous colonial and post-colonial migration has established local networks and clusters which new migrants can build on, as against new host cities where there is no such basis. First, we should note that, unlike the earlier generation of settlers, many of these new migrants have not travelled to an imperial centre, but to whichever European country would accept them. Many of them have no historical, and therefore privileged, relation to any particular European country - it is not ‘destiny’, but something far more arbitrary, which has brought them to wherever they happen to be in the European continent. Second - and often as a consequence of this more random logic of migration - they have also generally tended to be dispersed to more than one country, although there are still major population clusters in specific cities and regions. What is also significant, then, about the new waves of global migrants that have been coming to Europe through the 1990s is their distribution across the European space, and beyond, and their motivation – economic, educational, or otherwise - for moving (see Jordan & Vogel 1997, Kosic & Triandafyllidou 2003, Triandafyllidou & Kosic in press). We may say that it is on the basis of this new kind of dispersed migration pattern that new and complex migrant flows, connections and networks have come into existence, which are now also coming to characterise the older generation of migrants. What is new and distinctive for Europe is the way in which European cities have come to find themselves implicated in these more complex geographies of European and global interconnectedness.

Our research proposal seeks to explore some of the key dynamics associated with these new migrations and flows through a specific focus on cultural industries and cultural practices. Rather than pursuing the more usual agendas for studying phenomena of social exclusion (e.g. using indicators of economic deprivation, or experiences of political exclusion and alienation), we have chosen to focus on those dimensions of people’s lives that engage, potentially at least, with the more open and diverse cultural experiences associated with artistic and cultural expression and creativity. The premise of our research agenda is that something significantly new is occurring across the European cultural space, in line with the broader patterns of global social and economic
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change. We believe that this focus - which will primarily be on media, cinema, music and performance - can provide particularly rich insights into new cultural and multicultural geographies, especially those associated with changing migrant and ethnic cultures in Europe now. The cultural industries offer a particularly developed and rich case of the (trans-European and trans-global) operation of cultural flows and linkages. We also believe our concern with changing cultural practices of people in Europe provides us with a particularly good empirical focus for exploring questions of inclusion vs. exclusion, social integration vs. social fragmentation. We are concerned with changing forms of cultural practice, with developments in the cultural industries, and with the status of cultural policies. Of particular significance will be the correspondence, or lack of correspondence, between practices, industries and markets, and policies at a time of increasing cultural transnationalisation.

We believe that the kinds of social and cultural changes that we are seeking to identify and understand require new kinds of research strategy and methods of investigation. In our research design, we have moved significantly beyond conventional approaches to questions of European culture and identity. There are three different and interrelated perspectives in our approach:

- **New cultural flows across the European space** - A central concern of this research agenda is with the new kinds of cultural flows and connections that are emerging out of the dynamics of migrations of globalisation. Our research is in line with new thinking in the social sciences arguing for a ‘mobile sociology’ (Urry, 2000). What we identify are key nexuses that increasingly interlink what were formerly more discrete European cities in a range of different ways, both real and virtual. What are created through these social and cultural nexuses are new patterns for cultural production, distribution, organisation, performance and consumption. Our research investigates, *inter alia*, (a) the movements of cultural producers and cultural products; (b) the mobility of consumers; (c) the transnationalisation of cultural production; (d) organisations and agencies that manage and co-ordinate cultural flows; (e) new transnational cultural spaces, such as transnational audiovisual spaces, and virtual and interactive communication through the Internet. A key issue here is the nature of relationships between actual and virtual cultural spaces.

- **New cultural experiences** - Here we are primarily concerned with how people from ethnic, migrant or minority groups experience and narrate their position in the new Europe. We are concerned to explore and understand experiences of social and cultural exclusion, but also, in a more positive spirit, those contexts in which migrants in Europe might have a sense of inclusion and integration. A preliminary hypothesis - apparent in the spatial frame we have adopted in our research design - is that metropolitan spaces may increase the potential for social inclusion. If that is actually the case, then, of course, we shall be concerned with which aspects of metropolitan cultural experience are working in favour of inclusion. A fundamental premise of the research design is that it is crucial to understand European culture ‘from below’ - hence our emphasis on in-depth qualitative work with those who engage with cultural activities and products. The perspective of the cultural participant and consumer is crucial as a test of the relevance and effectiveness of cultural policy, at both local and European levels.

- **Multiculturalism and the City** - Our research design also puts considerable emphasis on an urban or metropolitan perspective as a means to re-focus some of the key questions of European cultural and multicultural policy. The major European cities are spaces with highly diverse populations, and they provide a laboratory in which to explore the complex interactions between plural and diverse populations. Within the urban frame, modern cultural practices range across a spectrum in which ‘cultures’ are constructed across a range of possibilities - from being
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ethnically distinct and separate, to being elements within a bigger multicultural fusion. This spectrum of possibilities is repeated across almost all cultural forms - for example, in local and city media (e.g. radio stations and programmes), or in the performance policies of particular venues. Our interest lies in exploring how, and to what extent, people use the opportunities of being part of a complex and diverse cultural space by engaging with the broad cultural repertoire available in the urban scene, and in what contexts and circumstances they may elect to retreat into a more monolithic cultural environment. The point of our urban focus is to go beyond the question of merely ‘belonging’ to a particular cultural identity and space, and to consider the importance and value of cultural encounter, negotiation and interaction.

Our approach, which takes as its primary focus the new urban dynamics (intra-urban and inter-urban) within the European space, is intended to provide new insights through its alternative perspective.

Research design

We have formed an international consortium that will conduct research in seven major cities in Europe: London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Ljubljana and Belgrade. This concern with urban cultures corresponds to our understanding, explained above that the urban space can provide a productive frame for exploring the new threats and opportunities associated with contemporary social and cultural transformations, especially those associated with migrant and ethnic minority populations. There are a number of reasons for the choice of these particular cities:

- They all are capital cities, though on different scales and with different degrees of internal complexity.
- They reflect the real diversity of social and cultural life in contemporary Europe, and allow us to bring together themes and issues that are normally dealt with as distinct and separate matters.
- They raise a range of issues concerning migration and multiculturalism in the European space: post-imperial migration and its legacy; new patterns of global migration; and the significance of East-West migration (including that between the current EU and ascendant nations).
- They all function in significant ways as nodes in specific social and cultural nexus (see below).

Our research agenda invites us to reflect on the consequences of conceiving the European space as a metropolitan space. These seven cities provide excellent microcosms for this re-imagination of European society.

The most significant innovation in our research design - intended to capture the nature of changes taking place in the European space - is in our concern with cities as interconnected spaces. We are not only studying our seven cities as complex entities in their own right, but also in the wider context of transnational social and cultural flows, and as parts of new transnational urban networks. This aspect of our research is captured in our nexus design, which intends to track transnational flows and linkages between case study cities. We are investigating these through three different nexuses with particular case study cities as primary focuses for the research:

- Turkish nexus - London, Berlin, Vienna
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- Balkan nexus - Vienna, Ljubljana, Belgrade

These social and cultural nexuses have been selected because they are all well established, and we believe that the cultural connections and interactions associated with them are particularly significant in the contemporary European context. The primary case study cities are ones in which nexus activity is especially intense. We believe that this nexus design takes our research design beyond the more orthodox comparative and cross-national research; and that it has the potential to capture new social and cultural dynamics that are not apparent to more conventional approaches.

Below is a more detailed summary of the areas of research we are covering:

- Policy document research - the research group will survey existing policy documentation, with respect to media and cultural policies. We are exploring contemporary policy documents at municipal, regional, national and European levels in the existing archives of our cities. Historical documents provide a further context for understanding current policy. In the first of three envisaged publications, with the working title Transcultural Europe: Cultural Policy in a Changing Europe these city-based results will be brought into a comparative frame.

- In-depth ‘expert’ interviews - the nature of the research design requires a qualitative methodology. The experts to be interviewed will be determined on the basis of the particular kinds of governmental and non-governmental institutions in each of the cities to be researched. These will include:
  - cultural and media policy makers: e.g. from local, regional authorities; arts institutions; organisations responsible for multi-cultural policies and minority interests;
  - media executives and producers: e.g. from regional and national/transnational TV and radio channels; multicultural radio stations, music and film magazines (e.g. Radio Multikulti; Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle; fRoots etc.)
  - cultural agents and promoters: e.g. Festival organisers; directors of cultural institutions (e.g. Haus der Kulturen der Welt; Africa Centre), cultural entrepreneurs (e.g. music labels)
  - cultural practitioners (e.g. musicians, film producers, radio and television programme makers and presenters)

- Consumption and reception studies - in particular contexts this will involve semi-structured individual interviews with participants at cultural events and with consumers of media products and services; in others we will make use of focus group methodology. We will also include open and structured questionnaires to gauge demographic data for audiences. Different methodologies will be applied and adjusted to overcome the difficulties of data gathering. Quantitative media reception data and other related survey data will be consulted where appropriate.

- Participant observation (including field diaries) at specified cultural performances (e.g. concerts, festivals)

**First results from our cities**
The individual city sections in this final part of the State of the Art report were individually or team-authored by the field workers in the respective cities. They reflect the status quo of city-based fieldwork by individual teams after ca 6 months of work, rather than a more generalisable position on the cities and city nexuses. Such comparative analysis will take place in the next phases of our work, and will be marked by teamwork across the cities as well as the respective three nexuses. However, what emerges already at this early stage are diverse and very complex interrelations between policy makers, media and cultural events. This diversity is expected to increase further once the fieldwork with participants at different types of cultural events have been completed. At the point of writing this report, field interviews with members of audiences are in process, but have not yet been included in the summaries below.

London

Asu Aksoy (Goldsmiths team)

London and the project of urban cosmopolitanism

Introduction

Our project has adopted a specifically urban, and trans-urban, focus. In the context of thinking about cultural change in Europe at the present time, we have made the preliminary case that the city and city nexuses provide a better conceptual frame than the nation state. The questions we are concerned with - cultural diversity, inclusion/exclusion - have until now generally been framed in a particular and restricted way, within the national frame, that is to say, setting up an agenda centred around questions of national minorities and the prospects for their integration/assimilation into particular European nation states. What we have suggested in our proposal is that this has become an increasingly problematical way of posing the issues. The reasons as to why the national frame is problematical need to be grounded in a more sustained reflection on the limitations of the national perspective, and of ‘methodological nationalism’ in the social sciences, in a ‘globalising’ world (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 20…) Our proposal has ventured that, from an urban or metropolitan perspective, the issues that concern us can be posed more productively (see also Robins).

Our project is concerned with the possibilities for a new urban cosmopolitanism in and across Europe. In a policy context, the ‘cosmopolitan project’ (Beck.) should therefore be an important frame of reference for us, if we seriously want to connect into, and make a contribution to, contemporary cultural debates.

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There is a useful literature on new urban/metropolitan developments associated with globalisation. Here we can find support for our urban focus - for our decision to focus on changing city spaces. Thus, as the urban sociologist Saskia Sassen says, whilst ‘the city has long been a strategic site for the exploration of many major subjects confronting society and sociology…Now, at the end of this century, I want to argue that the city is once again emerging as a strategic site for understanding major new trends that are configuring the social order.’ (Sassen, 2000: 143). Among the developing trends that Sassen identifies are ‘globalisation and the rise of the new information technologies, the intensifying of transnational and translocal dynamics, and the strengthening presence and voice of socio-cultural diversity’ (Sassen, 2000:144). She is pointing to the significance - particularly in what are now called ‘world cities’ or ‘global cities’ - of new mobilities and flows (through both
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information/media networks and human migrations), and of the new kinds of relationship between places and cultures that ensue as a consequence of these mobilities and flows. These are precisely the phenomena that are at the heart of our own project - though from a more specifically cultural and transcultural perspective.

The challenge for social scientists is to find ways to conceptually grasp the nature of this new kind of urbanism. This must involve the recognition that many of our already existing conceptualisations of cities are no longer adequate to understand the change that has been taking place. Much of our commonsense discourse on urban spaces tends to regard them in terms of discreet and bounded entities - in terms of socio-cultural containers (a metaphor - invoking rootedness and community - that is very much grounded in the imaginative repertoire of methodological nationalism). Recent social theory has sought to find a language that can move our thinking beyond this kind of bounded container imagination of the city. This has involved the recognition that cities must increasingly be seen in terms of flows, networks and connections. Marcus Doel and Phil Hubbard (2002: 361) argue that, in moving, as we must, beyond the conventional notion of the city as ‘a bounded portion of the earth’, we have to learn ‘to conceive of world cities as networks of heterogeneous materials and practices that attend to the intersection, bifurcation and cultivation of innumerable flows.’ What is significant about world cities, they suggest, is ‘the way they bring relations into being; the way flows drift in and drift out, speed up and slow down, contract and expand within them, folding and unfolding space’ (2002: 357). They are pointing to something new - something more dynamic, something more fluid, and something that is also more contingent and provisional - in the kinds of flows that now thread cities together.

Let me here formulate some important aspects of what - as I see it - is happening in the new urban and trans-urban developments:

(1) That there is a new kind of mobility in play, connecting urban spaces together on a new basis. This is occurring on a different basis than older forms of networking. I would note Amin and Thrift’s (2002: 29) observation that ‘The metaphor of the network is not necessarily the best one since it conjures up a vision of a fixed set of nodes from which things circulate through fixed channels rather than a set of often tenuous fluid-like flows.’ We are in the realm of dynamics that are being constantly produced and re-produced, rather than being ‘given’ as part of a preordained structure or hierarchy. The relational grid in which the city is coming to exist is, then, of a new kind, both more complex and more fluid than before.

(2) That the city is coming to exist as a constellation of practices that increasingly combine both localised and distanciated elements. With respect to London, for example, Doel and Hubbard (2002: 365) note that its status as a world city derives from ‘a multiplicity of sites, institutions and connections, many of them “outside” London’s boundaries.’ They underline the need, therefore, for policy-makers and academics concerned with urban issues ‘to revise understandings of inside and outside, local and global, near and far’ (2002: 365).

(3) That, in order for the interconnectivity of cities to be possible, a standardised and regulated transnational institutional infrastructure must be brought into existence In Doel and Hubbard’s terms, trans-urban networking requires, as a condition of its possibility, ‘practices that allow the incommensurable to be rendered commensurable’ (2002: 361). To use a simple metaphor, for cities to be plugged into a common network, the plugs must all be compatible.

(4) That city governments and urban policy makers must actively seek to respond to these new urban dynamics. In the new context, cities find themselves having to mediate and translate the global flows that they are part of, to keep themselves well positioned in the transnational order.
City administrations find themselves involved in a game that is both fluid and precarious, involving a complex mixture of both competition and collaboration with other cities. In conditions that favour mobility, they must maintain their position in the transnational network. It takes a vast amount of effort to keep things ‘in their place’, to hold down assets in any particular city, and also to sustain trans-urban connections. ‘World-citiness’ needs to be performed and worked. And, in the new environment, it ‘needs to be worked and performed at a multiplicity of sites (Doel and Hubbard, 2002: 365). As a consequence, there is a new proliferation of ‘actors’ concerned with the work of making the trans-urban system work.

Changing City Spaces: London

In our overall project we have set out to describe, in the context of our seven cities, the multiplicity of sites, artistic and cultural networking practices, institutions and connections that these cities are embedded in. We are concerned with the city as a space of cultural interaction, and particularly with what might be new and productive about taking the city as a focus for thinking about cultural diversity. And we are concerned with the emergence of what we have called city nexuses, involving cultural flows and networking between different urban spaces. In both contexts - both within and between our cities - we are concerned with transcultural phenomena, with the negotiations and interactions between different cultural orders in the trans-European urban space.

In the light of this overall agenda, then, how to capture and describe what is now going on in London? Which must mean, more exactly, how to capture and describe what is coming in, passing through, and going out of London? The point is to get at what might be significant in terms of ‘good practice’, with respect to the questions of cultural diversity and good practice that concern us. In this brief report on London, I will concentrate on the porosity of the city, or what we might call its world-openness, that is its degree of openness to flows and its ability to mediate and translate these flows by opening up and sustaining public spaces, facilities and resources. This I see as central to the cultural dynamics of London now. In what ways, I want to ask, might London provide indications of cosmopolitan potential?

The second focus that we will need to develop concerns the public scripts that aim to regulate the performance of world-citiness of London. Here we have in mind the public policy discourses and implementations, such as those of the Greater London Authority, that shape the potential and the nature of public engagement, encounter and interaction in the city. This second focus will be the topic of the next report.

World-openness

I - London as an arena for transnational media flows

Almost all of London’s migrant populations (from Africa, the Caribbean, China, Bangladesh, Middle East, Turkey, India, Pakistan, Ireland, etc.) have access to television channels from countries of origin or to channels in their languages. There are minimal restrictions in terms of putting up satellite dishes on private premises. Some channels are available on a pay-per-view basis,  

1 London is regarded as the most ethnically diverse city in the world. Almost 2 million of London’s population is from migrant backgrounds (half of the migrant communities in the UK). This makes more than one in three Londoners from migrant backgrounds. There are at least 300 languages spoken in the capital and 37 migrants communities of over 10,000 people. In the last five years, around a quarter of a million refugees came to Britain and the majority of them live in London.
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on the **SKY World** satellite package and/or on local cable stations\(^2\). Many channels have no offices or contacts in the UK - people receive them simply by putting up satellite dishes (a lot of the Turkish stations coming from Turkey are like this). Other channels do, however, have UK contacts or offices, and some are licensed by British authorities as satellite programme providers, satellite channels or as cable television content providers. There are at least fifty licensed transnational television stations, almost all based in London, broadcasting to various diasporic, language and regional communities around the world. *Medya TV*, for instance, was one such television venture based in London, licensed to operate a trans-border satellite television station. *Medya TV* targeted the various Kurdish communities spread across Europe, and also those living in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and other Middle-Eastern countries, and Russia. For some transnational television stations, being located in London and using the scale and opportunities provided by London has been crucial. *Phoenix Chinese News and Entertainment* for instance is one of those stations based in London, operating a satellite channel from London, and targeting the Chinese population in the UK and in Europe. Similarly, until very recently, *Middle East Broadcasting Centre* (*MBC*) used to be based in London, running a transnational Arabic-language station. *Zee TV* and *Sony Entertainment TV*, again, are London-based transnational operations, targeting the multi-lingual continent of Asia, and South-Asian migrants to Europe. *Zee TV*, for instance, broadcasts in English, Hindi and Urdu.

In the domain of print, radio and Internet-based media, the picture is even more prolific. London is the base for locally produced newspapers in Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, Urdu, Greek, Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Russian, and so forth. There are five weekly newspapers, all free, in the Turkish language (some bilingual) in London. These are *Londra Toplum Postasi*, *Toplum*, *Olay*, *Avrupa* and *Avrasya*. There are also a number of nation-wide daily and weekly newspapers, targeting Black and Asian readers (such as *The Nation*). A recent development is the transnationalisation of some of the ventures. *Asian Bride* is a good example here, a monthly magazine targeting Asian women (or women who are interested in Asian dress styles) all over the world (English-speaking, though). *Q-News* is another example, where the focus is on news from the Muslim world, news concerning Muslim affairs and, more broadly, news and current affairs with implications for the Islamic world.

*London Turkish Radio* and *London Greek Radio* are two of the longest standing community radio stations in London. For the Asian community, there is *Asian Gold*, *BBC Asian Network*, *Club Asia*, *IBC Tamil Radio*, *Panjab Radio*, *Sunrise Radio*, all catering for these communities living within the London area.\(^3\) There is *Spectrum International Radio*, devoted to multiethnic programming 24 hours a day. Almost all these stations are commercial ventures (except, of course the BBC), depending on advertising revenues. But this doesn’t mean that the radio environment is closed off to non-commercial interest groups. On the contrary, in London, as in some other parts of Britain, there is a vibrant community-access radio scene. In east London, there is now a Kurdish-language radio programme, called *Rojbas*, broadcasting everyday between 1:30 pm to 3:00. Of course, the analogue and digital radio stations accessed via satellites are beyond our ability to count. This is even more the case with Internet-based media.

What this dynamic picture points to is, not only that London is sitting in the midst of a maelstrom of sound and information flows coming from all over the world, and being picked up by the residents of London as part of their daily routine. But, perhaps equally importantly, that London is the location for many of these transnational media ventures. London is truly a hub, attracting media activities because of its liberal regulatory environment, and because of its multicultural knowledge.

\(^2\) For 38 pounds a month, alongside numerous English-language news, entertainment. Children’s and sports channels, consumers can get B4U Music, PCNE Chinese, Muslim Television Ahmadiyya, Abu Dhabi TV, and Asia TV.

\(^3\) *Sunrise Radio* is a nation-wide radio station targeting the Asian communities across the UK.
base, stemming from its historic, colonial links with many of the countries that the migrant audiences come from. As there are no restrictive measures or policies regarding housing and business ventures among migrant communities, their agglomeration in certain parts of the city has actually constituted a minimum basis for the development of various media projects. More people sharing similar concerns living in close proximity helps in the pooling of capital and intellectual resources. However, what we find is that these media ventures and projects carry externality effects for London as a whole. If we look at the example of *Middle East Broadcasting Centre* (MBC), which has re-located its headquarters to Qatar from London, this has been experienced as a loss for London’s knowledge-economy and for London’s status as a capital of information and culture.

When we look at how some of these many different media ventures have been developing, what we can identify is the emergence of a number of trends. First, we find that what may have started as a small community-based media project evolves in time to go beyond the locality and become a wider project. This development, of course, depends on how spread the community in question is. In the case of Asian and Black communities, their print and radio ventures have managed to combine both local focus and a UK-wide one. In the case of the Turkish and Kurdish communities, because of their agglomeration in London, and even in particular parts of the city, going beyond the locality has been has been restricted to the vision projected in the editorial process. Hence, the longest standing weekly newspaper, *Londra Toplum Postasi* (London Community Post) is now competing against the two new weeklies, significantly calling themselves *Avrupa* (Europe) and *Avrasya* (Eurasia). Both *Avrupa* and *Avrasya* have set their editorial vision well beyond the daily confines and interests of the local Turkish-speaking community, extending and linking them to a much larger geography.

A second trend in the development of the media involves the professionalisation and diversification of media projects. *Londra Toplum Postasi* now declares at the top of its front page that the newspaper is ‘20 yasinda’ (20 years old). This suggests an evolving basis for professionalism and a commercial knowledge base. One of the implications of this professionalisation is that new projects and diversification into other areas become possible. Hence, we now have a monthly bi-lingual (Turkish and English) health and beauty magazine called *PashaLife*, targeting a very different market, and going beyond the so-called ethnic community focus. Professionalisation also has a positive impact for the development of other types of projects, such as the organisation of cultural events.

**II - London as a mixing ground for world cultural events**

London is unique in the world in terms of the variety and density of cultural events that take place. Music groups from all over the world, from all kinds of different genres, find eager audiences and followers in London. There is now an established scene of music events and of artists and promoters based in London, making the city a place where interesting new encounters and mixtures are brought about. There is a very vibrant world music scene, with many venues across London and many festivals, which take place every year. There are festivals that are organised by professional promotion companies targeting wide audiences, and also festivals that are organised by promoters or by various kinds of associations from within the migrant communities. What is interesting to note here is the emerging trend for events organised by community associations to become professional and commercial ventures, thus targeting wider audiences in order to recoup investments.

Increasing commercialisation can bring along with it greater sensitivity to diversity of tastes, and also ingenuity in being able to package something that caters for this ever increasing diversity of interests. The *Festival of Asia*, which is scheduled to take place between 23-25 August 2003, is a...
good example of this trend. First, the organisers are bringing ‘acts’ from all over Asia; including Chinese Kung Fu masters, Bollywood actresses, Hindi singers and Bengali superstars. Second, these events are organised in such a way as to attract different cultural and taste groups on a non-ethnic basis - thus, young people are targeted with Kung Fu and top Bollywood stars, and older generations with classical music. A further point here concerns how these events are now organised as public events aiming to introduce the artists in question into more mainstream markets. As the organisers put it, the Festival of Asia will provide ‘a unique marketing opportunity’ for those taking part in the event. What this means is that the event is planned as a platform, not just for ‘ethnic’ consumption purposes, but also as an avenue to exploit marketing opportunities to wider audiences through recording and performance deals. The Festival’s location is the Millennium Dome (a well-known, symbolic, but fated site, located on the River Thames, which had been built to celebrate the turn of the century. Now, after many hesitations as to its future use, the site has been slowly picking up an identity as a platform for holding massive, across the board events, pulling in huge crowds. The Mayor of London’s annual multicultural event, the Respect Festival was held here recently, with great success.

So, what we are seeing is that the nature of ‘ethnic’ cultural events is changing. In the past, these events tended to target mainly ‘ethnic’ audiences - with the aim of fulfilling some sort of ideological, political or ethnic-cultural function (therefore not commercial). Or they were fitted to the cultural capital of so-called world music (or world dance, world cinema-type) buffs, giving them a very specialist and cliquey niche feel. Now, however, there is an increasing interest in putting on such events with a much more acute sense of the wider commercial potential. This, of course, has implications in terms of the conceptualisation of the events, the way they are being put together. What is striking is that there is now a sense that the artists, singers and dancers from these ‘ethnic’ lands can actually sell to wider audiences. These events, then, become showcase platforms, where certain artists are promoted to musical and artistic PR people. This is very much the scene characterising Asian and Black culture in London now. Another striking development is how these events are increasingly scripted as platforms where musical and wider cultural encounters and mixtures can take place. Hubble Bubble, a monthly ‘Eastern meets Electronica’ event, is a good example to this trend. It is put together by a Turkish musician and every month there are new bands, new DJs performing, as well as street performance and circus acts. It is set up like a market place in Istanbul, with the possibility of going from one room to another to experience something different, but all under one roof.

A further development that we might highlight concerns the way in which cultural events are being marketed. What we are seeing is an increasing importance attached to individual artists. Artists are being promoted widely as individual talents, and not necessarily put into an ethnic or national cultural context. Another way of marketing artists - particularly if they are less well known - is to package them under thematic banners. This was the case, for example, with an event staged in fashionable central London disco, featuring Kenan Dogulu, a well-known Turkish pop singer who lives in Bodrum, concert. The event was sold as the Bodrum Night, with plentiful references to Bodrum’s rich nightlife (especially relevant for British disco fans, who like to holiday and party in Bodrum, and are consequently familiar with Bodrum dance and disco culture). This type of cutting-edge marketing technique is very much in vogue in the London’s music scene. Londoners are by now used to events where diverse elements are brought together under a theme concocted by a particular DJ or event organiser (such as the recent X-Block event at the Barbican, staging music from the ex-Soviet and ex-communist states, or the smaller Logic of the Birds event at the Union Chapel - inspired by the 12th century masterpiece, Conference of the Birds, bringing together contemporary Iranian artists in New York and London). I would argue that we can characterise these developments in terms of the spreading cultural influence or spill over of DJ culture. As it
becomes more familiar, we might venture that its distinctive logic of culture mixture and combination is becoming generalised in the London scene.

This brings me to a partial and provisional conclusion regarding what is going on in London. I would say that developments in the city’s musical culture coincide very much with the new urban and trans-urban developments I described in the theoretical part of this report above. The musical scene is receiving inputs from a whole array of other cities. The inputs are no longer a consequence simply of historical circumstances, such as Britain’s imperial legacy, but come from all parts of the world - not just from India, then, but also from Serbia or Japan. The condition of possibility for this to occur is the achievement of a trans-urban cultural space, in which a common aesthetic frame of reference has been achieved - a shared standard of cultural exchange. In Doel and Hubbard’s terms, previously incommensurable musical cultures are brought into a commensurable frame. This is not to do with musical homogenisation or convergence - musical cultures remain different and diverse. The point is that all musical cultures are made comprehensible, and therefore consumable, in different locations. And the point is that this is not just so in London - but in all our cities it is now easy and common to consume tango or salsa or gypsy music In all cities, music fans share a common frame of reference; draw from an equally broad (world-wide) repertoire; can make sense of musical diversity; can participate in the creation of new musical encounters.
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**Paris**

*Nadia Kiwan (Southampton Team)*

**Introduction**

One of the main aims of the Changing City Spaces research project is to enquire into the existing cultural policy frameworks of the seven capital cities in order to see:

1) whether and how they relate to an agenda of cultural diversity and social inclusion and

2) to what extent such an agenda corresponds to the cultural activities and production, which exists in and flows through the city space from and to other European cities.

This report focuses therefore on the *interconnectedness* of policy measures and cultural activities in Paris. The focus on cultural production in Paris is mainly on music and media. This raises several pertinent questions:

- How do national, regional and above all municipal cultural policy orientations affect media organisations at community, metropolitan, national or transnational level?
- How do cultural policy orientations relate to cultural events in Paris and what effect do they have on funding and organisation of events?
- What is the relationship between the Parisian media landscape and the organisation and promotion of cultural events which reflect the cultural and socio-economic diversity of the capital?
- What observations can be made about the vast number of cultural (music) events and festivals in Paris? What can be said about the sharp differences in the types of event which are organised in Paris *intra muros* and those which take place in the less well-off suburbs (*banlieues*). Which ‘types’ of event attract generous amounts of public funding and which ‘type’ do not and why? How can these events be evaluated in terms of the ‘concrete’ translation of a) particular municipal cultural policy approaches; b) in terms of a certain national context, such as the Republican tradition; and c) in terms of the international flows of artists and global cultural exchange as for example within a ‘world music’ circuit. These are just some of the questions, which have been thrown up over the last few months of empirical research. This City Report aims to answer some of them and highlight ways in which the rest of the empirical research phase should proceed in order to answer hitherto unanswered questions in a more satisfactory manner.

The first part of the report will focus on the current key issues which form the national, regional and municipal cultural policy ‘discourse’ and policy orientations in France and Paris. Part II will examine the media landscape in Paris, paying particular attention to radio and to what extent this landscape reflects Paris’ diversity. There will be a special focus on how cultural policy and the general ‘cultural’ context - here understood in terms of *political culture* - affects the ways in which radio stations and programmes directed at or run by immigrant and/or immigrant-origin populations formulate their objectives. Part III will describe the different types of cultural events in Paris, with a focus on musical events which are representative of the African ‘nexus’ and which therefore involve artists of North African and Malagasy origin.4

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4 The author acknowledges the problematical nature of referring to populations of North African and Malagasy origin as forming the ‘African nexus’. However, these two rather ‘atypical’ populations were deliberately chosen for specific case studies as they form two rather ‘opposed’ groups in terms of the public *imaginaire* – populations of North African
Part I: Cultural Policy

National Cultural Policy

In June 2002, legislative elections were held in France, leading to a swing to the Right and a new government headed by Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin and the UMP majority (Union pour la majorité présidentielle). The Minister of Culture and Communication appointed by the previous Socialist Jospin government, Catherine Trautman was replaced by Jean-Jacques Aillagon. Whilst many Ministry of Culture and Communication administrators claim that there is necessarily a certain degree of continuity in the projects which are promoted by the Ministry due to the medium and even long-term nature of various projects, it is nevertheless possible to identify a shift in policy discourse.

This shift to a more financially ‘restrictive’ approach to culture is most clearly reflected in the dispute between arts/cultural professionals (actors, dancers, technicians etc. – les intermittents du spectacle), the MEDEF (national corporation of company directors and presidents – Mouvement des entreprises de France) and the Ministry of Culture and Communication. This dispute has centred on government reforms to the payment system which is specific to performing arts professionals. Arts professionals and their trade union representatives argue that the proposed changes will make it increasingly difficult for them to continue to eek out a living. The dispute led to the cancellation of a number of summer festivals due to the strike action of the intermittents. Among those which were cancelled for the summer period of 2003 were the Avignon Festival, the Montpellier Dance Festival, the Francofolies in La Rochelle, the Paris Quartier d’Eté festival and the Marseilles arts festival.

In addition, the FASILD (Fonds d’action et de soutien pour l’intégration et la lutte contre les discriminations) which is a public institution under the tutelage of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the DPM (Direction des populations migrantes) has had its credits partially frozen during 2003. This has had important repercussions since the FASILD’s direction des affaires culturelles is one the main funding bodies of cultural projects dealing with the themes of inclusion, integration and new emergent cultural forms which focus on the meeting and exchange of socio-economically and culturally diverse audiences.

Apart from these significant shifts, the Minister for Culture and Communication set out sixteen priority measures organised around five main themes. These priorities were set out in the DNO (Directive nationale d’orientation) on the 31st January 2003. Theme I focuses essentially on decentralisation and how this can be achieved in an attempt to ‘correct’ the inequalities, which exist with regards to access to culture. The decentralisation drive concerns creating greater accessibility to multimedia and the performing arts (le spectacle vivant which includes dance and music) throughout the regions. Multimedia libraries are to be developed for example in more ‘disadvantaged’ areas surrounding the capital such as Mantes-la-Jolie or Les Mureaux.
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Theme II focuses on Heritage and therefore on conservation of archaeological sites, monuments, gardens and the different languages of France (the focus of the recently held *Assises des Langues de France* seems to have been on regional rather than migrant languages).

Theme III is defined in terms of encouraging creation. The promotion of musical diversity is one the priorities which is classified under this theme. However, the focus seems to be on professional vocal ensembles, ancient music and although the generic term *les musiques actuelles* (contemporary music) is mentioned as a priority, it is not clear what sorts of contemporary music are concerned. The remaining two priorities which are listed under the *Encouraging creation* theme concern contemporary plastic arts and encouraging architectural quality.

Theme IV sets out certain objectives with regards to the public and the focus is very much on the notion of widening access to culture. The DNO refers to the continued need to ‘bring’ culture to places where it would otherwise not exist and therefore hospitals, prisons, the workplace, rural and socially disadvantaged urban areas are identified as such places where ‘culture’ should be more actively ‘introduced’. In addition, the handicapped and youth are also identified as groups which need to have greater access to culture. Artistic and cultural education in disadvantaged urban and rural areas is also set out as a priority. The third aim which comes under this widening public access theme concerns the Internet culture portal which has been developed as a deliberately non-governmental website so as to attract a wider readership. (The website address is www.culture.fr). The notion of widening access to culture marks a certain degree of continuity between the previous Ministry under the socialist coalition government and the current centre-right one. Indeed, the Ministry’s 2001 Annual Report refers to the initiative to ‘bring’ culture into certain milieux such as hospitals and prisons and thus the *démocratisation culturelle* theme seems to transcend much of cultural policy debate in France.⁶

Theme V concerns the development of funding initiatives with a particular focus on the private funding initiatives, the phasing out of the state-aided youth employment programme, (introduced under the previous Jospin government) known as the *emplois-jeunes* job creation scheme which concerned the (socio-)cultural sector to a significant extent.

*Cultural Diversity*

Another key element of cultural policy discourse at the national level concerns the use of the term *cultural diversity*. Indeed, this term features in numerous policy documents. It was a key term under the last administration and continues to be so under the current government. However, it is essential to point out that the notion of cultural diversity is misleading since it does not, unlike in Britain, refer to the diversity of France due to its composite/cosmopolitan population. Rather it is a term which is essentially linked to the promotion of the French language and French culture abroad through the Francophonie phenomenon and in the face of growing anglo-saxon ‘hegemony’ in an increasingly global cultural economy (the audio-visual and music sectors are particularly concerned). The promotion of cultural diversity is one of the key objectives of the international department of the Ministry of Culture and Communication. Indeed, the DAI (*Département des affaires internationales*) is largely concerned with this issue and is expected to develop cooperation with other European countries. The *Rapport d’activité 2001* dedicates a whole chapter to the question of cultural diversity and in an annex chapter, this term is defined in the following manner: “La promotion de la diversité culturelle […] met en œuvre, conjointement avec d’autres ministères, les actions de l’État en faveur du rayonnement de la France et des échanges avec les cultures du monde.” […]. Cultural diversity is also defined as “La mise en valeur de la culture française à

⁶ See Ministère de la Culture et de la Commnication, *Rapport d’Activité 2001*, Chapter 4 ‘Favoriser l’accès à la Culture’.
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l’extérieur des frontières.” It should be pointed out that ‘La culture française’ and what this constitutes is not made explicit in these policy documents. The emphasis is placed on opening up to the diversity of cultures of the world; there is little mention of internal diversity. Unfamiliar world culture is thus presented to France through cultural events such as le Festival de l’Imaginaire, held at the Maison des Cultures du Monde, a cultural institution which is heavily funded by the Ministry of Culture.

Ambiguities and Limitations

Some further ambiguities or shortcomings of national cultural policy can be identified if we consider the priority given to widening access to culture. The social aspect of national cultural policy is very much focused on access of the masses to Culture and although the 2001 Annual Report contains a chapter on encouraging cultural and artistic creation – this aim does not seem to contain a social inclusion objective within it. Indeed, as interviewees who are administrators in the national, regional and municipal cultural institutions have pointed out, the Ministry of Culture and Communication only supports professionals. Hence the criteria for the awarding of funding is overwhelmingly defined by artistic quality and artistic innovation alone. Two remarks can be made about this funding approach. Firstly, it would seem that Culture is perceived by policy-makers as somehow existing in an aesthetic vacuum. As a result the possibility of some positive discrimination drive to encourage and widen access to the means of cultural creation which reaches beyond a simple access to cultural ‘consumption’ remains un-addressed. Indeed, the only creative initiative mentioned in the 2001 Annual Report which was explicitly aimed at socially disadvantaged populations was the ‘J’aime mon quartier, j’aime ma ville’ (‘I like my neighbourhood, I like my town’) initiative. Implicitly such populations will include populations of immigrant and particularly of North African and sub-Saharan African origin. This initiative created an itinerary of roads in the neighbourhood (in Montauban, south-west France) and a guide to the area intended to enable the young people involved to identify more positively with their neighbourhood and surroundings. However, here the absence of Culture in terms of how it is usually defined by the Ministry is rather pronounced. This example reflects a policy situation or a policy ‘culture’ which either seems to focus on Culture in the sense of ‘high’ culture or, alternatively, on some sort of socio-culture/preventative youth work where the cultural element is overtaken somewhat by the social. One of the challenges for policy development would be for policymakers to come to a more effective synthesis of high culture and popular culture. Indeed, there is, in effect, a dual system of funding – where the majority of cultural funding is allocated through the mainstream Culture budget and the remaining percentage is allocated through the ‘cultural dimension’ of the Politique de la Ville urban policy. The Politique de la Ville initiative was launched in 1988 to regenerate disadvantaged urban areas – it has a social, urban and cultural dimension. Whilst the cultural dimension was designed to allow certain artists/projects not covered by ‘mainstream’ Culture funding to receive funding and eventually cross over into the mainstream sector, fifteen years on, this ‘pathway’ (passerelle) has not been created, leaving certain projects and artists in the realm of ‘a-typical’ or ‘socio-cultural’ funding.

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3 There is some mention in the 2001 Rapport d’activité of supporting amateurs but this concerns the distribution of 0.53 M€ to all the regions and involves architecture only.

4 See Médiation et politique de la Ville – un lexique (Paris : L’Imprimerie de la Caisse des dépôts et consignations, 2003) and Jean Michel Montfort, Mireille Dupouy and Adiren Guilot, La Place de la dimension culturelle dans les
This lack of synthesis may partially explain the fact that the Ministry of Culture and Communication does not generally fund or deal with amateur cultural creation. Rather its focus is entirely on professional cultural creation. Amateurs must address their funding applications to the Ministry of Sports, Youth and Research, to the FASILD or local authorities. The argument which is advanced by the Ministry of Culture is that artistic excellence must remain a priority and thus it would seem that despite the existence of the Direction de la musique, de la danse, du théâtre et des spectacles (DMPTS), which deals with education and training in the cultural/artistic domain, the Ministry’s approach to widening participation remains limited to the question of access to existing works of art rather than democratising different forms of creation.\textsuperscript{11}

Perhaps the only major cultural event supported and organised by the Ministry of Culture and Communication which is socially and culturally inclusive is the annual \textit{Fête de la Musique} which is held on the 21\textsuperscript{st} June each year. This is also a European festival. The event is free, takes place in the street as well as in well-known venues, involves amateurs as well as professionals and therefore gives the event a particularly popular feel.

Regional Cultural Policy

The main institutions which deal with the implementation of national cultural policy on a regional level are the DRAC (Direction régionale des affaires culturelles). The DRAC are expected to follow the policy guidelines as set out in the Directive nationale d’orientation (DNO). Of particular interest for the Changing City Spaces project is of course the DRAC-Ile-de-France which groups together the following departments in the Paris region: Paris, Seine-et-Marne, Yvelines, Essonne, Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-Saint-Denis, Val de Marne, Val d’Oise. The main objectives of the DRAC Ile-de-France can be summed up as follows:

- Protection of heritage
- Localised, devolved action, decentralisation
- Widening access to culture, diversifying those populations who have access to culture – developing initiatives in areas which have signed a Politique de la Ville convention, i.e. socially-deprived areas in particular.
- Artistic and cultural education
- Supporting artistic creation and diffusion

Music is the second largest dossier after theatre and receives the highest amount of funding after the theatre. Funding of music increased in 2002 to 22M€. Other fields financed by the DRAC are archaeology, architecture, archives, plastic arts, cinema (audiovisual, multimedia), innovation and cultural action, ethnology, reading and books, historical monuments, museums.\textsuperscript{12}

Since the DRAC is expected to carry out the objectives set out by the State in the DNO and so the same ambiguities apply – that is, not taking into account amateurs, the non-explicit nature of

\textit{contrats de ville} (Étude évaulative, commandée par la Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville, en coopération avec le Ministère de la Culture, Délégation au développement et à l’action territoriale, 2001)

\textsuperscript{11} In the 2001 Annual Report, there is some mention of plans to establish regional partnerships through the DRACs (Directions régionale des affaires culturelles) in order to develop amateur practice in artistic education and multimedia (this is referred to as \textit{l’éducation populaire}). Likewise in a section entitled ‘Lutte contre l’exclusion’, the report authors point out that an agreement between the Ministry and various national solidarity associations such as \textit{ATD Quart Monde, Secours Populaire, Secours Catholique} and the Ministry of Culture to widen access to training was reached in 2001. However, no mention is made of this programme in the more recent documents.

\textsuperscript{12} See Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles d’Île-de-France, \textit{Bilan d’Activités en 2002}, pp. 4-5.
cultural policy regarding immigrant populations and the focus on widening participation and *access* rather than on *creation* and emergent cultural contribution.

*Municipal Cultural Policy*

The municipal elections held in March 2001 led to a change of municipality with a swing to the Left, giving a majority to the socialist-green coalition. The new Mayor, Bertrand Delanoë is a Socialist and the *Maire adjoint à la culture*, Christophe Girard is a Green. The 2001 elections marked a historic shift since it was the first time in one hundred years that the Right lost control of the municipality. Girard’s arrival can be seen as part of a shift to make Paris more dynamic and inclusive. He was quoted in *Le Journal du Dimanche* as claiming that “Paris has become too bourgeois. We must recreate a dynamic, stir up its heaviness.”¹³ It is possible to identify four policy objectives from the communication on cultural policy given by the Mayor of Paris in January 2003.¹⁴ These four objectives are as follows:

- Encouraging diversity in terms of creation
- Developing art within the city space
- Democratisation of access to culture
- Decentralisation of different forms of expression

Some examples of current projects carried out/to be carried out throughout the term of office can be thematically organised as follows:

I. **Encouraging Diversity in terms of Creation:**

- 104 rue d’Aubervilliers, Paris 19è – This 22,000 square metres space was the former site for the municipal funeral services. It is being transformed into a multidisciplinary art centre for cinema, dance, plastic arts, reading, poetry and music. It is due to open in 2006. One of the aims is to create links with citizens living in the area, whilst developing an international reputation as well. The focus is on the notion of ‘art vivant’. This project is one of the most ambitious projects of the 2001-2007 term of office. The area where the centre will be is in a relatively poor and in need of urban regeneration. It has therefore been placed under the administrative category of *quartier politique de la Ville* which means that extra funds are directed to this area as part of urban policy. It is also an area with a long history of migrant settlement. Whilst Girard has pointed out that the 104, rue d’Aubervilliers is not to become a cultural ‘ghetto’ in a difficult neighbourhood, it is not clear to what extent an extensive consultation of the local residents has taken place in order to reduce the likelihood of the development of a cultural ‘ghetto’.

- Encouraging Amateurs - a redefinition of “missions des associations qu’elle (Mairie de Paris) finance dans les différents domaines : métiers d’art, musiques, arts plastiques etc. » In 2003, amateur arts will be allocated 9 million €. Encouraging amateur practice will take place above all through a redefinition of funding priorities with regards to cultural associations.

- ”Mission cinéma” – This initiative, which was set up in 2002 is designed to encourage the diversity of cinema theatres on offer in Paris.

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- « Paris, capitale de création » - This initiative has focused on fashion design and creation – the aim being to encourage young fashion designers to establish themselves in Paris. The fact that Christophe Girard is also himself closely involved in the fashion world (he is an independent consultant to LVMH) may, of course be linked to this high profile initiative.

- The Théâtre Gaîté Lyrique – 3rd arrdt. This theatre, which was built in 1860s has been closed since 1989. Originally the Mayor had wanted to develop it into a Gay and Lesbian library. However, it is now to be a pole for new music and music linked to new technologies. This, along with the 104 rue d’Aubervilliers development is one of the most ambitious projects of the municipality.

II. Developing Art within the City Space:

- « La Nuit Blanche » - This initiative, which was launched in October 2002 meant that museums and other cultural spaces were open to the public for free all night long. Girard, who had the idea for the Nuit Blanche was quoted as saying: “On peut danser devant des Rembrandt…”15 (We can dance in front of Rembrandt paintings),…“… 48 heures non-stop où tous les lieux de culture seraient ouverts: mosquées, églises, musées, cinemas…”16 (“…48 hours when all the cultural spaces would be open: mosques, churches, museums, cinemas… ») The Nuit Blanche project therefore corresponds to the notion of democratising culture. 500,000 people visited different places in 2002 and the initiative was held again in 2003 with an attendance of a diverse range of people. Interestingly, the city of Rome organised its first Nuit Blanche equivalent in September 2003; it was modelled on the Parisian event.

- “Paris Quartier d’été” – Although this initiative was launched in the 1990s (1991), it remains a key festival of the current municipality, the aim being to provide cultural events during a period which traditionally does not offer much in terms of culture. Girard also sees this festival as a means of democratising culture, claiming that it “will bring people from Bobigny and Sarcelles to the Louvre or the Seine (“fera venir au Louvre ou sur la Seine des gens de Bobigny ou de Sarcelles”17). It should be pointed out that both Bobigny and Sarcelles are suburbs to the north of Paris where there is a high concentration of residents of immigrant origin. N.B. This year’s edition of the festival due take place from the 15th July until the 15th August was cancelled at the last minute due to the intermittents du spectacle pay dispute.

- L’Art dans la ville – this initiative is linked to the re-organisation of the municipal Direction des affaires culturelles de Paris – the department which implements the initiatives decided by the elected representatives. The main aim is to commission public works of art which are then subsequently placed around Paris. The objectives and selection criteria of this department are governed above all by artistic quality and there is no specific theme which aims to reflect the cultural diversity of Paris.

15 Ibid.
16 C. Girard interviewed in Le Parisien, 30/04/01. Our translation.
17 Ibid.
III. Democratisation of Access to Culture

- Girard argues that within Paris and especially to the north and east of Paris which are the poorer districts with more immigrant and immigrant-origin populations, many people are excluded from culture. The indicator for this exclusion and, by implication the definition of culture, used by Girard is the fact that many of these populations may never have had the opportunity to visit the Louvre Museum. He therefore argues that widening access is a priority. "Elargir, et surtout de bien se rendre compte que même à Paris, dans des arrondissements comme le 18\textsuperscript{e}, le 19\textsuperscript{e}, le 20\textsuperscript{e}, enfin l’Est plutôt et le Nord de Paris, vous avez des tas de gens qui ne sont jamais allés au Louvre. Donc, dans la ville même, vous avez des exclus de la culture."\textsuperscript{18} As part of this widening access solution, the municipality is proposing to introduce more conservatoires and encourage new art forms in the North and North-East of Paris— and there is a particular focus on arts de la rue/cirque (street arts, circus arts), music and youth, and associations.

- “Chèque Culture” - This initiative, which is once again, focused on widening access to culture means that the permanent collection of museums are free for those people who do not have the means to pay entry. In the Jan. 2003 Conseil de Paris debate when the Mayor of Paris presented the municipal cultural policy, Delanoë claimed that museum attendance in Paris had increased by 30% due to this initiative. The Conseil régional d’Ile-de-France is involved in this initiative that will enable 530,000 high school pupils to attend high-quality, well-known, theatres and shows. 3 chèques are available on demand and means that each show/play costs 5€.

- “La Carte Paris Culture” – for better access to information re. cultural and artistic events in Paris. This is part of an information campaign which literally ‘maps’ the different cultural institutions/spaces in Paris.

- “Cooperation Paris-Banlieue” – This project which focuses on greater cooperation between Paris and its poorer urban periphery (especially to the north and east of Paris) aims at social inclusiveness and translates a desire to accompany the emergence of new talents and energies from this periphery. ("A l’avenir il faudra trouver une articulation avec les villes de la périphérie. Il y a une nouvelle énergie à trouver").\textsuperscript{19} It is also about breaking down cultural, socio-economic barriers. However, it is not clear yet to what extent this project has been put into practice. For example, the Integration and Non-EU foreign nationals Delegation at the Municipality is not actively involved in this initiative.

IV. Decentralisation of the different forms of expression.

- Youth – 12 million FF was allocated in April 2001 to encourage creation. However, it would seem that this measure is conceived more specifically in terms of fashion design.\textsuperscript{20}

**Budget and Funding**

Although the Budget for culture in 2003 marked an increase of 3.7% in relation to the 2002 budget, the 2003 budget standing at 170.7 Million €, and despite plans to double this figure by 2007\textsuperscript{21}, some

\textsuperscript{18} Transcript of interview with Daniel Schlick, Europe 1, 19/04/01. Our translation.
\textsuperscript{19} Interview with C. Girard, Le Parisien, 17/04/01. Propos recueillis par Eric Le Mitouard.
argue that most of the extra funds are being channelled into new building such as at the 104, rue d’Aubervilliers site. Indeed, some interviewees have thus argued that as a result, demands by professionals for funding of their projects has suffered. Mirroring the national policy approach, the municipality is in favour of public-private sponsorship of artistic projects (le mécénat) and Girard argues that people in France will have to get used to the reduction of public funding of culture.  

Possible Limitations of Municipal Cultural Policy

Much of the agenda of the current municipality is, on the face of it, concerned with widening access to culture. However, there is no specific cultural policy addressing an agenda of multiculturalism or cultural diversity. The Delegation which is responsible for Integration and non-EU foreign residents in Paris does not fully integrate a cultural approach to its work and in the recently published Diagnostic Integration, published by the Urbanism department of the Municipality, there is little mention of a cultural approach to the question of greater social inclusion in the city. Rather, it focuses much more on social, legal and above all linguistic matters concerning recently arrived migrants (i.e. teaching French as a foreign language to newly arrived migrants).

Furthermore, the Direction des affaires culturelles de la Ville de Paris, and in particular the Bureau de la Musique and the Art dans la Ville department have no direct links whatsoever with the Integration Delegation within the municipality. The cultural services focus above all on the aesthetic quality of an artistic product or event and do not systematically integrate a social element into their criteria for the selection of projects which are to be funded. This contrasts however with the socially-motivated policies which seek to widen access to culture.

The lack of any articulation between city-level cultural policy and the notion of cultural diversity (in the ‘anglo-saxon’ multicultural sense) is also clearly reflected in the absence of any cooperation between the municipality and the Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles (ADRI) throughout its twenty-five year existence and this had not changed since the City swung to the Left. The ADRI is a public institution which was set up by the Ministry of Social Affairs originally to lead an awareness campaign about immigration, which, in the 1970s was rapidly becoming a politicised issue. It was originally involved in a television programme on public TV called Mosaïques, which was meant to be a ‘multicultural’ magazine aimed at migrants. However, in 1989, the programme was abandoned and the ADRI’s funds were reduced and it has since essentially been a documentation centre specialised in immigration and integration. Its mission is currently changing as it will now be transformed into a Centre de ressources et de mémoire de l’immigration (Resource and memorial centre for immigration).

In a similar manner to the policy framework at the national level, the emphasis also remains on widening access rather than widening and privileging emergent forms of cultural creation. This separation of concepts is further confirmed by the fact that professional practice and amateur practice are clearly separated, with the Direction des affaires culturelles only taking into account professional artists’/cultural associations demands for funding.

The practically inexistent relationship between cultural policy and the question of social inclusion and diversity is paradoxically demonstrated by the funding practices of artistic projects which are elaborated by the inhabitants of neighbourhoods which are covered by the politique de la ville (extra funds for disadvantaged areas). It is argued by some that in order to qualify for funding

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24 See www.adri.fr for more details.
these projects are *obliged* to contain a social dimension and the cultural or artistic quality of the project can be overlooked. Thus this rather clumsy alliance of the social and the cultural would seem to lead to a widening of the gulf between ‘high’ culture and popular cultural production.

Finally, the Republican framework which governs how policy is made and divided into separate departments, services, *délegations* means that there is no specific articulation with regards to a multicultural agenda – the term multiculturalism being entirely absent from official policy discourse in France. Delanoë and Girard refer to ‘les cultures à Paris’ and thus acknowledge that there are different cultures in Paris but their references to this issue, (often expressed in terms of a desire to “casser la périphérique” – to literally break the boundary between Paris and its disadvantaged suburban periphery) and the policy objectives which they outline tend to conceptualise the issue of multi-cultures in strictly socio-economic terms and thus purely in terms of *access* as opposed to participation/non-European *cultural contribution* to the capital’s cultural identity. Culture thus seems to be conceptualised as something one either has/hasn’t access to and there is no clear articulation of the idea of a common cultural heritage which in Paris is very much entwined with its historical and current status as a world capital of immigration.

**Part II: The Media (Radio) Landscape in Paris**

Our interest in media in Paris lies in the evaluation of the nature of the relationship between media (immigrant-relevant radio, TV stations) and cultural/communication policy as well as to the more bottom-up perspective of cultural events. Three types of media make up the radio and television landscape of particular relevance to the Changing City Spaces Project:

1. generalist radio/television stations with specific programmes relating to immigrants, migration and populations of immigrant-origin (programme content may deal with a variety of themes – social, cultural, political etc.);
2. commercial ‘community’ radio stations
3. voluntary or ‘associational’/public-access community radio and television stations.

Rather than give an exhaustive description of all the media organisations concerned, I shall focus on one or two types of radio station for each of the three above categories to illustrate how they seem to relate to cultural policy and the policy culture in general on the one hand and to cultural events on the other. It should be noted that whilst the following case studies focus on the local mediascape, many of these radio and television stations are in fact transnational in nature since they may be available outside of France through TPS satellite for example or through the Internet. Our interest in transnational media received in France from elsewhere constitutes an aspect of the on-going research with audiences (work package 7 – due to be completed in January 2004).

**Case Study 1: Generalist Radio**

RFI – *Radio France Internationale* is a public radio station with a special focus on international affairs and in particular francophone African political, social and cultural affairs. Of particular interest to our project is the *Planète Métisse* programme which is broadcast twice every Monday. This programme reflects the general policy approach to immigration in France in that the editorial angle is clearly focused on the notion of *integration* of foreign populations in France. It specifically follows the work of various associations, companies or individuals which are promoting this theme in France and Europe. Although the title of the programme, literally ‘Mixed Planet’ seems to reflect

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25 See criticism of the over-focus on ‘socio-culture’, made by Nicole BORVO, President of Republican and Citizen Communist Group, Senator, Ile-de-France Region in 58-2003, DAC 91 – Communication de M. le Maire de Paris relative à la culture, [www.paris.fr](http://www.paris.fr) (discours et communiqués), p. 5.
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an agenda dealing with cultural diversity and the global mixing of cultures, it is interesting to note that the programme is not classified as being a programme dealing with Culture. That is, as in the policy discourse discussed above, Culture seems to be conceptualised by RFI editors as being essentially about aesthetic ‘high’ art rather than as being related to an agenda of cultural encounter etc. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the types of programmes broadcast by RFI, which come under the classification of Culture deal with the following themes – development of the French language, literature, cinema, psychoanalysis – with no overt references to immigration.

Otherwise, RFI broadcasts a programme dedicated to world music (Musiques du Monde). It is broadcast three times a week. Further research is, at this stage, necessary but it would seem that this programme adopts a necessarily international perspective and it is not clear how the world music commercial scene has a large impact on the evolution of attitudes towards social inclusion on a more micro level, apart from the obvious benefits of possible changes in the representations of certain nationalities and cultures through the diffusion of world music.

Case Study 2: Commercial ‘Community’/Thematic Radio

**Beur FM** is a commercial radio station based in Paris. It is perhaps the most widely listened-to station by North Africans living in France. It broadcasts a mixture of music, news, interviews, cultural magazines, call-ins, petites annonces and legal advice clinics. Whilst there is a focus on news features in the Mediterranean and a clearly stated desire to provide cultural ‘signposts’ for people of immigrant-origin, the music play-list includes North African music such as raï as well as more ‘anglo-saxon’ musical genres such as rap, groove and funk. Beur FM defines itself as ‘Franco-North African’ space which primarily addresses North African populations who are rooted in France, whether they are Arab, Berber, Jewish or pied-noir (originally European settlers in Algeria). The specificity of Beur FM is that it also seeks to address what is described as the ‘mosaic’ of all minorities in France. The directeur d’antenne refuses the ‘community’ radio label, preferring to describe Beur FM as a ‘radio thématique’ (thematic radio station). Thus the editorial narrative of Beur FM is very much part of a universal, Republican context. So, in one sense, the approach of Beur FM would seem to reflect the general political culture of France due to its emphasis on the importance of diffusing a universal message. However, the director of the station, himself French of Moroccan origin, rejects the notion that the radio station may be a tool for the integration of immigrant-origin populations in France. He rejects the term integration and argues that it is irrelevant to those populations who have been in France for generations and whose main difficulty lies not in their cultural integration but is linked rather to racial discrimination in terms of access to employment and housing etc. It would seem then that the reluctance of Beur FM to be labelled as a minority community radio station means that the station can be regarded as a reflection of the cultural diversity which characterises France and in particular Paris. In this sense, Beur FM would appear to bear witness to a certain ‘maturity’ in the immigration-integration debate where the majority ‘host’ community - minority ‘ethnic’ community (centre-periphery) dialectic no longer applies. It would indeed seem that Beur FM attracts listeners who are not necessarily linked to the Maghreb in terms of ‘origin’ or ‘background’ as is indicated by the website where listeners write in and leave their names. Of course this observation cannot be verified and is more indicative as opposed to accurate.

What role does Beur FM play in relation to cultural events and artists? Beur FM organises about three concerts a year and most recently organised a huge concert in aid of the victims of the Algerian earthquake. The concert was held at the Zénith, a large and mainstream concert venue which has a capacity of about 5000 (the equivalent in London would be the Wembley Arena). The

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26 Interview with Director of Beur FM, 25/06/2003.
concert had a line-up of 43 Algerian, French and Moroccan artists including very well known names such as Khaled, Cheb Tati, Cheb Mami and French rap group 113. The station also recently organised a Ramadan concert at the well-known Parisian venue Le Cabaret Sauvage with another line-up of North African-origin artists. Beur FM is often solicited by festival organisers to be ‘official festival partners’ and for example, this year Beur FM has been an official partner of the Année d’Algérie (Djazaïr 2003) cultural season organised by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Association Française pour l’action artistique (AFAA), French Ministry of Culture and Communication’s International Affairs department and the Algerian government. However, the station has adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the Année d’Algérie and has invited several guests on air who were extremely critical of the initiative. On another level, Beur FM adopts an unofficial policy of artist ‘promotion’ and thus the editor in chief points out that Beur FM gives visibility to new talent. The station’s website also includes a number of artist portraits and concert dates. Although the play-list at Beur FM also includes rap, groove and funk produced by non-immigrant origin artists, the artist portraits and concert dates are solely dedicated to North African-origin artists and mostly Algerian-origin artists. Beur FM also has its own record label and therefore produces certain artists. However, despite this link to artists and cultural events, Beur FM does not play an explicitly promotional role.

Case Studies 3 and 4: Associative Radio

Radio Fréquence Paris Plurielle is an associative (public-access) radio station, set up in 1992, which broadcasts programmes in French, Chinese, Spanish, Malagasy, Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Creole, Comoran and Parsee. These programmes are run entirely by volunteers as opposed to professional journalists. FPP is funded by the Fonds de soutien à l’expression radiophonique which is a branch of the Ministry of Culture and Communication. The wide variety of programmes and people involved reflect the cultural diversity of Paris and the banlieue. FPP is not only a community radio station in the sense of an ‘ethnic minority’-orientated station. It also describes itself in more general terms of activist and citizen radio and therefore does not focus solely on music. In addition, FPP broadcasts programmes which focus on rap or soul music (i.e. ‘urban’ music) as well cultural production linked more specifically to certain countries or regions of the world.

In terms of how FPP relates to cultural events, it is possible to identify a strong link between the station and ‘bottom-up’ cultural events. For example, on the station’s website, there is a regularly updated agenda of cultural events and a focus on ‘militant’ or ‘politically committed’ cultural expression. For example, there is a special feature on a play produced by a Palestinian theatre company. The particularity of this theatre company is that for the first time in France, children from a refugee camp in Bethlehem toured in France in a number of festivals in June and July (Brittany, Fête Goutte d’Or, Avignon – cancelled, Rennes (quartiers d’été festival) and Carhaix. The current FPP agenda also includes details about a slam competition (Slam Sauvage) which took place on 20th July in the street in Paris’ eighteenth arrondissement (an area which is home to large immigrant-origin populations). In addition to the website information, a cultural agenda is broadcast weekly. The weekly Malagasy cultural programme, Echos du Capricorne clearly plays a key role in relation to cultural events in and around in Paris as well as in terms of giving greater visibility to Malagasy artists. This bi-lingual programme which is broadcast live every Wednesday and then re-broadcast every Thursday, contains a variety of news and current affairs from Madagascar, interviews with cultural and political personalities either from Madagascar or who have a link with the country. In addition, each week, a cultural agenda detailing forthcoming concerts, DJ nights, plays, and exhibitions is broadcast and made available on the programme’s website. Artists and concert organisers/promoters often contact the programme hosts so as to be able to publicise their forthcoming event. With the development of the Internet, the Echos du Capricorne cultural agenda may be losing some of the younger generation of listeners who will be
more likely to seek out information relating to Malagasy cultural events on websites such as www.croissance.com or www.sobika.com as opposed to listening to the radio. However, *Echos du Capricorne* still remains a useful visibility tool for those who have a connection to Madagascar and who live in and around Paris as well as for artists and personalities living in Madagascar who are visiting Paris. In terms of artists and cultural events, the *Echos du Capricorne* programme and its cultural agenda gives greater visibility to the cultural flows in and out Paris.

**EPRA – Échanges et productions radiophoniques** is known as a ‘public interest group’ (*groupement d’intérêt public*) which was set up in 1992, essentially at the instigation of the then FAS (*Fonds d’action sociale* now the FASILD) in agreement with the Ministry of Social Affairs. EPRA’s main objective is to act as a programme bank which stocks radio programmes dealing with the integration of immigrants and those of immigrant-origin in France. EPRA pays a modest fee to the radio stations (which are all of an associational i.e. non commercial and non-public status) for the programmes they provide. 106 radio stations are members of the network and each station pays an annual membership fee of 20€. The FASILD (formerly the FAS - *Fonds d’action et de soutien pour l’intégration et la lutte contre les discriminations*) is the main funder of EPRA – which has about 10 employees but the FAS has recently had its budget frozen and so the financial outlook for 2004 is not yet clear. Other financial partners include the Ministère de Jeunesse et Sports, la Direction de la Population et des Migrations (**DPM**), la Délégation interministérielle à la Ville (**DIV**), Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication (**DDAT**) In 1999, the Ministère des Affaires étrangères (direction des Affaires de l’audiovisuel extérieur), la Délégation générale à la langue française (**DGLF**), le Sérétariat d’Etat à l’Outre-mer and the RATP (Parisian public transport authority) financed EPRA. EPRA works with radios stations in Africa – the director of EPRA – M’biye Tishteya is of Congolese origin (Rep. Dém. de Congo). There are currently plans to develop contacts with other European radio stations – in Italy in particular. EPRA represents an interesting example of a government policy-driven initiative to integrate and reduce social exclusion through proximity media/radio stations which have a voluntary associative status. The focus on the notion of integration as the watchword as opposed to cultural diversity reflects the Republican policy framework discussed in Part I of this report. It is not clear that EPRA is clearly linked to cultural events and artists; the interpretation of integration seems to be conceived in a more socio-economic/juridical sense.

**Part III: Cultural Events**

Given the large numbers of cultural events focused on music produced by North African (North-African origin) and Malagasy (Malagasy-origin) artists in Paris, it has been important to establish a clear set of criteria for selection of events to observe and evaluate.  

*Event Type 1*

The first category of musical event concerns those which are promoted or overwhelmingly organised by established and mainstream French cultural institutions. Large-scale events which involve the ‘Maghreb’ or Madagascar are normally organised in conjunction with the international branch of the Ministry of Culture, that is the *Département des affaires internationales* and/or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An example of this type of event is the cultural seasons which are held in honour of one particular country every year. 2003 is the *Année d’Algérie (Djazair 2003)* and so there have been many high-profile events centring on Algerian culture – music, art exhibitions, art exhibitions, art exhibitions, art exhibitions,

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27 Since this report was written we have also started to observe and analyse cultural events and flows in Paris which are related to Senegal.
theatre etc. The annual springtime Festival de l’Imaginaire held at the Maison des Cultures du Monde and the activities of the Théâtre des danses et musiques du monde provide us with two further examples of a rather top-down or high-profile event, in that the Maison des Cultures du Monde is mainly funded by the Ministry of Culture and Communication. This type of event tends to have a strong international dimension – i.e. the organisers do not aim to reach the immigrant-origin population in Paris whether this is in terms of artists or audiences. Other types of institutionally or ‘top-down’ events include the Festival d’Ile-de-France organised by the Region or the Paris Quartier d’été which is an annual cultural festival held during the summer and organised by the City municipality. This year’s Paris Quartier d’été programme (although cancelled due to the culture professionals’ strike) includes a strong world music element, with fairly traditional singers from Pakistan (Faiz Ali Faiz), Réunion (André Minveille and Didier Petit), Algeria (Hasna El Becharia), Mali (Issa Bagayogo) and Uzbekistan (Mikhail Rudy). Perhaps the only example of an institutionally flag-shipped event which manages to cut across cultural and socio-economic divides in terms of the audience who attends, is the annual Fête de la Musique, held on the 21 June or the recently launched Nuit Blanche (see Municipal Cultural Policy section above). The Fête de la Musique is a popular street-oriented event which is free and amateurs as well as professional musicians perform and so it is largely reflective of the diversity of cultural creation in France and Paris. All types of musical genre are represented. Another exception is the Rencontres de la Villette annual festival. The Parc de la Villette, where the festival is held, is a cultural institution funded by the Ministry of Culture and Communication. This event genuinely attracts a culturally and socially diverse audience to the events, which are focused (although not exclusively) on urban and emergent cultures.28

Other types of ‘Type 1’ event:

- Festival de Saint-Denis (3 June – 1 July) – l’Algérie au Coeur – organised by Saint-Denis municipality. L’Algérie au cœur as part of wider Saint-Denis music festival that includes mostly classical music and other genres (Nitin Sawhney, Bollywood night). The Festival was financed by Ville de Saint-Denis, Conseil régional de la Seine-Saint-Denis, la Plaine-Commune, le Conseil régional d’Ile-de-France, DRAC Ile-de-France (Ministry of Culture and Communication), Radio France, l’AFAA (Association française d’action artistique) and Monum.

- Solidarity Concert for victims of Algeria earthquake, organised by residents’ collective (Aubervilliers) and the Aubervilliers municipality, 4 June 2003.

Event Type 2
These are those types of event which are often oriented to a ‘world music’ audience but which are nevertheless non-institutional in character. The organisers generally tend to be of European origin. These types of events are made visible through the mainstream media. Examples would include the annual Africolor festival. The organisers of this festival also organise other concerts throughout the year, such as a concert of the Malagasy vocal group Sengé, which was held at well-known world music venue the Satellit’ Café. This concert seemed to be geared more towards a non-Malagasy audience and there were very few Malagasy present. In this sense, this event could be analysed in terms of ‘taste culture’ and a world music gathering, rather than in terms of a reflection of the

28 The Festival itself is funded by the Ministry of Culture and Communication, the Ministère Délégué à la Ville et à la Renovation Urbaine, the Ministry of Justice, the Fonds d’Action et de soutien à l’intégration et à la lutte contre les discriminations, La Caisse de Dépôts et de Consignations.
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Malagasy presence and contribution to France’s cultural diversity. Event 2 concerns the world music scene where certain artists such as Souad Massi or Iness Mezel, for example, tend to attract middle-class audiences of non-migrant background in venues such as the Café de la Danse.

Event Type 3:
The third type of event that we have been selecting and observing have been those concerts and/or festivals which have been in large part organised and/or promoted by media organisations which have some link to the African nexus. As far as the ‘Maghreb’ nexus is concerned, an example of this type of event was the Tous ensemble pour l’Algérie concert organised by Beur FM in June 2003 (see above section of media) or the Plus Belle Nuit du Ramadan organised at the Cabaret Sauvage, 31/10/2003. Although the Tous Ensemble pour l’Algérie event was organised by a nexus structure, it was held in a very mainstream and large concert venue as opposed to in a more ‘community’ venue. The concert was organised in aid of the recent Algerian earthquake victims (the earthquake occurred in May) and the high-profile nature of this event would seem to suggest that events taking place in Algeria entered the ‘mainstream’ in France ‘through the font door’. A further example of this type of event would be the concerts and tours organised by specialised commercial ventures such as Harissa Music, based in Paris. Harissa Music organises concerts, festivals and tours across France and Europe, working with artists from the Maghreb and the Middle East who may or may not be resident in Europe.

As regards Malagasy events in and around Paris, ‘community’ or nexus oriented media clearly plays an essential role, not so much in terms of the organisation and funding of events (there is no commercial Malagasy equivalent to Beur FM), but rather in terms of diffusion of information. For example, and as mentioned above, the Echos du Capricorne radio programme plays a key role in the dissemination of information about forthcoming concerts and other cultural events. In the same way, Malagasy websites such as www.croissance.com or www.sobika.com have become essential means of publicising a forthcoming event. Unlike the Beur FM–type concerts, there is little or no visibility for these events outside of these seemingly closely-knit networks and sources of information provided by the radio and increasingly by the Internet. In addition, more often than not, Malagasy concerts tend to take place outside of Paris, in various venues in the suburbs such as the Espace Chevreuil in Nanterre for example or in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Villejuif and other suburbs, although there are exceptions such as the New Morning venue or the Espace Saint-Martin which also house Malagasy music events. There are more North African events that take place within Paris intra muros.

Event Type 4:
The fourth type of event that we have been selecting and observing are those which are more small-scale in terms of organisational means and visibility. These may be one-off events organised by cultural neighbourhood associations and which may only be visible through email mailing lists, or the distribution of a limited number of flyers. Examples concerning the North-African-oriented events would include small concerts given by essentially Algerian or Kabyle artists, organised by cultural associations such as Planète-DZ, Taferka or La Médina. Whether these associations invite chaâbi singers or rappers, their activities are really only made visible through their website and mailing list (in the case of Planète DZ) or by word of mouth/local advertising (La Médina and Taferka). This is also the case for another cultural association called Eurosud which specialises in organising the exchange of artists between the Maghreb and France as well as collaborating with local neighbourhood associations which group together young people of African and North African origin in and around the 19th arrondissement of Paris. Eurosud recently organised an African
cultural festival essentially focused on theatre - *La Suite Africaine* (held in May-June 2003). Whilst this venture benefited from a certain degree of visibility due to its location at the *Théâtre internationale de la langue française* at the Parc de la Villette site, other activities it is involved in are less visible. *Eurosud* sends out a regular newsletter to a mailing list but has no website and therefore suffers from a lack of visibility. The association currently receives no public funding, although has recently been awarded the *Prix Paris Europe 2003*, by the City of Paris.

As regards the Malagasy-oriented events, there is a widespread phenomenon of individuals organising public concerts and cultural events. In order to do this, they are often obliged to set up a cultural association governed by a 1901 law on non-profit making organisations. This procedure is fairly simple. The association needs to have a minimum number of people – a president, a treasurer etc. and its creation needs to be formally declared to the local *préfecture*. However, the types of events organised by this type of association do not generally suffer from invisibility since there are such clear links and channels of information through the Malagasy media network. Individuals undertake a significant degree of financial risk since they do not receive any funding for the hiring of a venue or for the payment of artists’ flights from Antananarivo to Paris etc. However, due to the effective diffusion of information and the networks between the Malagasies in the capital, the events normally make considerable profits: some interviewees have argued that the organisation of concerts with well-known Malagasy/Malagasy-origin artists is a lucrative business. It would seem then that there is a separate ‘cultural economy’ which is developing through the very close and active links between Madagascar and France and amongst the Malagasies in France. There is also some crossover of artists moving between the different types of events which we are currently following up.

**Emergent Cultural Forms?**

Beyond those types of events and artists that fall into the three above categories, there are also different emergent forms of cultural expression. For example, the singer ‘Zora’, is of relevance to the project since although she is of Algerian origin, she was born and brought up in Roubaix (northern France) and has now broken into the funk, groove *café-concert* scene in Paris. What distinguishes Zora from other singers of her generation and background is that she is not an R n B or rap artist, nor is she a world music phenomenon. She sings in French but does not ignore oriental influences entirely in her recently released first album, *Bout de Terre*. Another example of this type of interesting development concerns the Malagasy nexus and in particular the hip-hop dance company ‘Up the Rap’, from Madagascar (Antananarivo). This dance company, which has been in official residence at the Parc de la Villette in 2003, mixes traditional Malagasy dance with hip-hop choreography. ‘Up the Rap’ are based in Madagascar but have been the headlining performers at the recent ‘urban cultures’ oriented *Rencontres de la Villette* held during October and November 2003. This has allowed Malagasy artists to reach both a Malagasy and a wider audience in a non-world music context.

**Observations**

There seems to be little overlap between audiences who attend cultural events organised by the established cultural institutions (see *Event Type 1* examples) and which are above all focused on bringing a renowned international artist to the French public’s attention, and audiences who attend events organised and/or promoted by more ‘community’ or nexus oriented channels (media or cultural associations for example). The first type of event seems to be essentially aimed at a non-immigrant audience. Only immigrant-origin elites seem to cross-over from one type of event to the other, but this will need to be followed up by more research. As a result, events that could otherwise be extremely visible to various socio-economic and cultural ‘groups’ do not provide any sort of exchange between diverse populations. In a similar manner, there appears to be little overlap in terms of artists, though there is some. For example, it seems to be difficult for musicians to be able
to perform simultaneously as world music, community and mainstream French artists. Souad Massi, for instance is a huge success on the world music scene but seems to be less successful amongst fellow Algerians or those of Algerian origin. In addition, it is noticeable that cultural events organised and held in the less well-off suburbs of Paris (la proche banlieue) attract essentially an immigrant-origin audience whereas events organised and held in central Paris tend to attract a more European audience. The net result is that there is relatively little encounter of socio-culturally diverse audiences.

Of course, audiences tend to construct the event they are attending in different ways and due to a number of factors. However, it is possible to identify certain recurring themes. For example, amongst North African-origin audiences, there is sometimes a nationalist or regionalist motivation for attending an event – especially amongst the Algerian Berber community. Humanitarian motivations are also relevant for Algerian events. These concerts attract very large numbers and are frequent. Amongst younger generations of North African and sub-Saharan African origin, cultural events tend to feature rap groups – MBS (Le Micro Brise le Silence), Hamma, Daara J (Senegal) and other urban musical genres. The hip-hop ‘movement’ is a mode of expression which often highlights young people of immigrant origin’s experiences of stigmatisation and discrimination in France or Paris. In this sense, it is relatively easy to see an articulation of the cultural and the social or political registers which integrate both the French urban and North African contexts. However, as regards those individuals of Malagasy-origin in and around Paris, at this stage of the research, the musical events seem more unambiguously turned towards Madagascar. In other words, in terms of audience motivations, the connection and pleasure with Malagasy cultural expression seems to play a large part for both the older and younger generations (i.e. those in their twenties). It is not yet clear to what extent there is an equivalent of the North-African and African second and third-generation hip-hop movement amongst the Malagasy-origin populations in Paris. This in turn, leads us to ask the following question: is there any ‘conflictualisation’ (in the positive self-affirming sense) of social relations through cultural expression amongst the Parisian-born Malagasies as there is amongst the wider hip-hop movement which includes artists of North African origin? It is too early to come to any conclusions, but there are several leads which deserve following-up in so far as they reflect on the issues of social inclusion/exclusion (different socio-economic statuses; different perceptions of Malagasies by the French). Even more interesting perhaps is the DJ scene in Paris, which seems to allow for cultural mixing and an original stance vis-à-vis cultural stereotypes. An example would be the ‘Oriental Groove’ club nights being held every week-end from November until January at the Cabaret Sauvage venue. These club nights are organised by the New Bled Vibrations collective (DJ Awal, DJ Ali and MC Hicham) and aim to provide a clearly urban take on ‘oriental’ music whether this be from the ‘Maghreb’ or the Middle East. Further field research is necessary but at this stage it is possible to note that such events which ‘play’ and transform certain elements of ascribed cultural identities are of relevance to the Changing City Spaces project as they relate to an agenda of ‘cultural complexity’ and changing cultural representations of so-called ‘minorities’ in the city space.29

At this stage of the fieldwork, the notion of the nexus, that is, cultural exchanges and flows across the European space and beyond the confines of the nation-state have not been easily identifiable. However, this by no means signals a complete absence of exchange and European-wide cultural networks. For example, the media and in particular Beur FM and its sister TV station Beur TV tap into a continual exchange of ideas and cultures from the Maghreb to France in both directions; the world music newspaper Mondomix is aware of what its London equivalent publication rRoots is doing; public-access radio stations such as Radio Soleil have plans to set up sister stations in southern Italy and in Berlin; commercial tours of established ‘world music’ artists and other

29 See Kevin Robins, ‘Becoming Anybody: Thinking Against the Nation and Through the City’, 2003
smaller-scale cultural events also activate formal and informal nexus links across Europe through transnational networks of people of (who may be of immigrant origin) across the European space.

In a less organised manner, there is also some sense of a Malagasy network across the European space as was observable by the enthusiastic mobilisation of the Roman Malagasies once the Malagasy embassy became aware of singer ‘Dama’s forthcoming visit in July 2003. However, it is not possible to refer to any sense of formalised artistic connection between Rome and Paris since this was one of the first times that a well-known Malagasy artist has performed in Italy. However, it will be interesting to see whether the concert that was given by Dama in Rome will be the precursor to the development of further cultural flows amongst Malagasies in Europe.

Perhaps the European hip-hop dance movement is the type of cultural expression which lends itself more readily to the notion of cultural exchange and emergent cultural forms beyond national boundaries without being governed by a commercial or cultural industry dynamic. The association Moov’n Aktion which is based just outside of Paris in Saint-Ouen (Seine-Saint-Denis) has since 1997 organised a hip hop dance festival which is Franco-German. It alternates on an annual basis between Paris and Berlin. The festival organisers have also developed links with Amsterdam and they refer to the personal and informal links which can be very easily activated across Europe. It is also interesting to consider the hip-hop dance movement since it groups together individuals from a variety of cultural backgrounds, which contributes to the hybrid nature of urban cultures which are not necessarily bound by one particular national or immigrant context but which at the same time can have an impact on an agenda of social inclusion, without necessarily sacrificing artistic quality – hip-hop dance being a highly technical genre with relatively rigid rules.
Changing City Spaces

**Berlin**

*Kira Kosnick (Southampton Team)*

**Introduction**

As in the proceeding city reports, the following summary of research findings in Berlin will concentrate on the areas of cultural policy and the immigrant and multicultural media landscape. It will also discuss cultural events that have a close connection with or importance for the largest group of immigrants in the city, namely those stemming from Turkey. As stated in the general introduction to this State of the Art Report, our research is especially concerned with identifying new challenges to European culture in the context of contemporary change, particularly as they relate to new mobilities and cultural flows introduced by migration and other globalisation aspects. Our aim is also to identify practices and policies that can further the social inclusion of diverse populations and work against xenophobia and racism. Particular attention is therefore given to those sites and practices of cultural life that currently reshape relations between ethnic minorities and non-immigrant majority, as well as to the transnational dimensions of Turkish cultural life in Berlin that cross the city as a territorial unit and open up new perspectives on urban development.

**Cultural Policy**

Cultural policy in Germany is a matter of federal states (*Bundesstaaten*) and so-called communes (*Kommunen*), not of the national government. This decentralised approach to cultural policy allows for a great variety of approaches, which are nevertheless co-ordinated in nation-wide conferences that bring together representatives of federal state or communal policy-making bodies. The city of Berlin is its own federal state, one of Germany’s city-states (*Stadtstaaten*), and thus determines its own policy priorities. The situation has been complicated by Berlin becoming once again the nation’s capital city, hence the federal government now takes a direct interest in the city’s cultural life and its representation to the ‘outside’ world. As a capital city, and one which aspires to be or become a ‘world city’, Berlin’s cultural productions have to be able to compete with the ‘best’ of what is produced elsewhere, both in Germany and internationally. Special funds have thus been made available to promote cultural institutions and projects that promise to fulfill this aim by offering what is seen as cutting-edge and qualitatively superior. In addition, Berlin’s districts (*Bezirke*) exercise considerable influence on cultural life in their respective area of the city, with separate budgets and administrative structures that prioritise issues of access and social inclusion rather than artistic ‘value’.

The polarisation of cultural production between ‘high art’ on the one hand and ‘socio-culture’ (*Sozio-Kultur*) on the other goes back to the 1970s in the Federal Republic, when in the context of a general revolt against traditions, culture was redefined as a good to be enjoyed and practiced by all parts of the population. Rather than promoting what was seen as an elitist and conservative cultural establishment restricted to the middle- and upper-classes, cultural policy was to promote widened access to both cultural consumption and production. Particularly on a communal level, different forms of culture were as a result 'discovered' for cultural policy-making, such as folk music, photography and cultural activities formerly labelled as 'hobbies'. The focus thereby shifted from performative, public-oriented forms of cultural production toward the recognition of cultural production as a form of self-realisation and social participation, not geared toward a public audience but toward the transformation of its active participants. The concept of *Sozio-Kultur* emphasised the importance of creative activities for personal growth and social cohesion, and sought to radically democratise cultural landscapes, particularly at the grass-roots level of the communes.

However, the new institutions and initiatives that were to implement these goals did not replace the established landscape of theatres, opera houses and concert halls that were associated
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with ‘high art’ and ‘tradition’. In times of relative affluence, federal states and communes could afford to add to what was already there. What is more, the state in Germany promotes cultural diversity pluralism. It does not shape cultural production according to a particular political agenda, as happened during the Nazi era. Culture is thus linked to traditions and creative expressions that emanate from civil society independent from the state [under these circumstances, Sozio-Kultur and ‘Hochkultur’ could co-exist quite comfortably]. However, the recent economic crises forced the reduction of culture budgets and increased competition for scarce funding – a situation which has become particularly dramatic over the past ten years, and nowhere as dramatic as in bankrupt Berlin.

The polarisation between aesthetic and social criteria for measuring the value of cultural production gains another dimension if one considers the situation of immigrants. In order to understand it, it is necessary to reflect upon the meanings of culture in the context of cultural policy in Germany. Cultural policy (Kulturpolitik) in the German context refers to culture in the sense of artistic creation and expression, rather than culture in a more anthropological sense of ways of life that are shared by particular groups of people. It is this second concept of culture, however, that comes to the fore when the issues of immigration and socio-cultural integration are being raised. The multicultural society, a notion which is by now used as a descriptive term across Germany’s mainstream political spectrum, refers to a composite of ethno-cultural groups as carriers of cultural traditions. As a consequence, immigrant cultural production in the first domain of artistic creation potentially invokes both meanings of culture – and has to deal with a collusion of semantic contents and different policy contexts which has profound consequences for immigrant cultural participation and expression in Berlin.

Historically, the rise of socio-cultural politics in the 1970s Federal Republic coincided with the peak of labour migration and its public perception as a socio-cultural rather than just an economic phenomenon. Civil society organisations (such as AWO, the churches etc.), employers, politicians and the media debated the distinctive cultural needs of labour migrants, and how these needs could be met in order to increase productivity and minimise social conflict (Kosnick 2003). State and civil society support for cultural activities among migrant workers thus increasingly shared the basic principles of Sozio-Kultur (socio-culture), which measured the importance of culture in terms of participation, self-realisation and inclusion, not in terms of artistic quality. In accordance with the decentralised approach to cultural policy making that characterizes the Federal Republic as a whole, the Kommunen as the smallest entities of cultural administration were the main agents of socio-culture, not state or federal policy makers (Deutscher Städtetag 1992).

Up until the mid-1980s, it was preserving the connection with cultural traditions 'back home' which formed the undisputed centre of cultural policy concerns towards labour migrant populations (Kosnick 2000). Most of immigrant cultural activities took place in the very contexts and locations that also enabled 'Sozio-Kultur': in youth centres, Volkshochschulen, neighbourhood associations, and local cultural facilities linked to the smallest entities of cultural policy makers in Germany, the Kommunen or city districts.

With the public recognition in the 1980s that Germany has in fact become an immigration country, public discourse and policy have slowly shifted toward a politics of integration, with Germany now being imagined as a multicultural society. In this context, discourse and policy concerned with immigrant cultural production remains tied primarily to socio-political goals. The preservation of distinctive cultural traditions remains high on the agenda, now linked to ethnic identity politics in a multicultural framework (Kolland 2003). In a society seen to be composed of multiple ethnic groups that are carriers of separate (but equal) cultural traditions and qualities, cultural production can demand public support, both to 'preserve identity' and to publicly represent its traditions as a contribution to multicultural life and diversity in Germany. Berlin has in many ways been at the forefront of such developments, particularly through its Office of the Commissioner for Foreigner Affairs (Büro der Ausländerbeauftragten) and its initiatives. Yet, the
recognition of immigrant cultural influences as an asset for the city has not automatically opened the doors for immigrant cultural production into the territory of 'high culture', as occupied by state theatres, opera houses, concert halls and museums. Instead, it remains closely associated with socio-culture, a link that is not so much found in policy documents – due to constitutional prohibitions on top-down cultural policy making there exist few programmatic statements, rather practices – but in the institutional structures and practices that deal with non-Western cultural-artistic forms. Some of them deserve special mention:

In Berlin, the Werkstatt der Kulturen (Workshop of Cultures) is financed out of the budget of the former Commissioner for Foreigner Affairs, now Commissioner for Integration, not out of the city's Kulturhaushalt (culture budget). Dedicated explicitly to offering support and a platform for immigrant artists living in the city, the Werkstatt also organises the yearly Karneval der Kulturen, Carneval of Cultures, an event in which a great variety of immigrant groups present themselves and their 'cultural diversity' to an audience of around 1.5 Million on the streets of the city (Frei 2003).

The city's culture budget, totaling 448,700,500 Euros in the year 2003, entails only a small parcel geared toward the "Promotion of cultural activities of citizens of foreign descent" (Förderung der Kulturaktivitäten von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern ausländischer Herkunft), with a sum of 343,000 Euros. More than half of this sum supports the activities of Berlin's Turkish theatre Tiyatro, which does not have access to the theatre funds that make up the largest chunk of the culture budget, namely 208,083,000 Euros. What is left goes toward different projects that are 'artistic' or 'socio-cultural' in nature, and focus either on the preservation of cultural identity or on intercultural dialogue (SfWFK, 2003). While immigrants and their descendants are not in principle excluded from applying to other special programmes intended to promote projects in the areas of popular music, jazz, free theatre groups and others, representatives of the Senate Administration for Science, Research and Culture (Senatsverwaltung für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur) readily admit that the special budget parcel reserved for immigrant cultural activities is not only quite small, but threatens to function as a getto.

Kulturhaushalt - Culture Budget Berlin 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget Area</th>
<th>Amount 2003 (in 1000 €)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total City Budget</td>
<td>21.195,607,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture Budget total</td>
<td>448,700,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatres</td>
<td>208,083,0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
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<td>Museums</td>
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<td>Orchestras</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Film, Memorial Sites, etc.)</td>
<td>Around 10,000,0 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse Areas/Socio-Culture</td>
<td>2,836,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Foreign fellow-citizens'</td>
<td>343,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* data: 3.12.2002
The representation of non-European or non-Western art and cultural developments is, however, not limited to the domain of integration-oriented ethnic identity performance by immigrant artists. Inroads into the domain of 'high culture' and its institutions have been made, most importantly with the work of the House of World Cultures (Haus der Kulturen der Welt), placed right next to the Chancellor's residence at the geographical and political centre of Berlin. The HKW co-operates internationally to present cutting-edge artistic and social-scientific developments in the non-Western world to Berlin audiences. However, as much as cultural hybridity, migration and globalisation are addressed in the work of artists and thinkers presented by the HKW, they tend to be brought in from 'outside' the city. Immigrant artists in Berlin report difficulties in having their work recognised. In turn, representatives of the HKW insist that they are not a socio-cultural institution, and challenge that the work of immigrant artists in the city usually does not measure up to the HKW's quality standards. The HKW is thus a cultural institution located in Berlin, but not representative of Berlin as a city of immigration.

**Immigrant and Multicultural Media Landscape**

Berlin is characterised by a wide range of immigrant media production which complements media imports such as satellite television channels, internet sites produced elsewhere, import or European editions of newspapers and the like. The greatest variety exists for Turkish immigrants. As will become evident, it is often not possible to separate between exclusively local and 'foreign' or transnational media, since they are in many cases interlinked.

Turkish immigrant households were among the first to sign up for cable television in the city when it became available in 1985, since it offered a Turkish-language channel, TD-1, which is based in Berlin (Roters 1990). TD-1 is a commercial station which partially produces its own, entertainment-oriented programmes, and partially re-broadcasts television programmes from Turkey which it downloads via satellite. In the course of the 1990s, Turkish-speakers in Europe and Central Asia have gained access to a growing number of state-controlled and private television channels from Turkey via satellite and cable. Yet, the station has managed to survive despite the competition from programme imports, due to its advertising base of small-scale Turkish entrepreneurs in the city who cannot afford to buy advertising time with larger stations. In the commercial domain, TD-1 has had several local competitors over the years, none of whom has been able to obtain a 24-hour license and become financially profitable.

The exception is a 24-hour Turkish radio station based in Berlin, Metropol FM, which has been broadcasting since 1999 and offers a Turkish music and entertainment programme with little word content. Hourly news bulletins do, however, present local and German national news items, as well as traffic and weather information. The station is hugely popular among Turkish Berliners, yet it struggles to survive in a contracting advertising market, due to economic recession in Germany which has hit Berlin particularly hard. Like TD-1, Metropol FM also organises events such as DJ-nights for its younger audiences, and is used by other organisers to advertise Turkish cultural events in the city (see below).

Another commercial media venture in Berlin which is important for the announcement of cultural events in the city is the monthly free-of-charge magazine Merhaba, a glossy journal which consists of about 50% advertisements, the other 50% dedicated mostly to reporting on past and future Turkish events and developments in the city. 10,000 offprints are distributed each month all over Turkish stores in the city. Merhaba relies heavily on photographs of well-known as well as lesser-known audience members at such events, ranging from weddings and circumcision celebrations to concerts, podium discussions, and dance nights. It also reports on the success or failure of local Turkish football clubs, features a regular education column by representatives of the Turkish Parent Association, and registers all prominent visits from politicians, musicians and other
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kinds of stars from Turkey. Periodic attempts to establish competitors along the same lines (such as *Paparazzi*, currently *Bizim Alem*) have so far been unsuccessful.

In the domain of public-service broadcasting, Berlin features the much-acclaimed radio station *Radio MultiKulti*, which forms part of the regional public-service corporation RBB (*Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg*, formerly SFB). The station offers German as the lingua franca during radio prime-time, and afternoon as well as evening programming in eighteen different immigrant languages (with daily Turkish, Polish, Russian, Italian, Spanish and Greek; with alternating Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Slovene, Serbian and Romanian; and weekly Arabic, Kurdish, Albanian, Vietnamese and Persian programmes). While some of the foreign-language programmes are produced by other public-service broadcasters in Germany, most of *MultiKulti's* programmes have a decidedly local character, true to the station's mission to both reflect and broadcast for multicultural Berlin. The Turkish editorial staff makes deliberate attempts not just to report on 'Turkish' cultural events in the city, but also on those that are not ethnically marked, such as the Berlin Film Festival.

However, the division between culture as multi-ethnic diversity and culture as a domain of artistic production is also found in public-service broadcasting: next to *Radio MultiKulti*, the RBB features *Radio Kultur* as a station that deals with everything typically associated with 'high art', such as classical music, reports on theatre and opera productions, literature reviews and the like. Immigrant productions rarely feature on *Radio Kultur*, which adheres to the implicitly rather than explicitly Western canon of cultural excellence.

The Turkish equivalent of 'serious' cultural production can be found mostly on Turkey's *TRT-International*, a state-run television station aimed explicitly at Turkish speakers living outside of Turkey. TRT-Int, administratively based in Turkey's capital Ankara, has an office in Berlin, with a local staff that produces special programmes on German as well as Western European affairs. TRT-Int is fed into the German cable system in most parts of Germany with Turkish-speaking residents. Several other commercial channels from Turkey can be found there as well, though the tendency is for German cable services to offer special foreign-language 'packages' for a separate fee, attractive to households which cannot receive programmes via satellite.

*Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*, both have small offices in Berlin. They were initially set up in order to recruit German advertisements, but have begun to contribute more and more articles. *Hürriyet* even tried to establish separate Berlin pages in its local edition once a week, but gave up the experiment for financial reasons. *Hürriyet* in particular is important as a forum to announce concert tours of artists from Turkey, as well as celebrations that have a connection with Turkish state traditions, such as the yearly Türk Günü (Turkish Day) march, Çocuk Bayramı (Children's Festival) and the like.

In conclusion, it can be said that local Turkish-language media in Berlin and those originating from Turkey are in some aspects interrelated. There exist direct co-operation in form of programme exchanges, overlaps in terms of personnel employed, and shared information networks. What is more, local media can function to introduce transnational material into local circulation infrastructures, while transnational media also have a function to inform Turkish-speaking Berliners about city events, and at the same time present these to a Europe-wide readership.
Cultural Events

The following two tables present an attempt to develop a classificatory grid for 'Turkish' and 'multicultural' events in Berlin that can account for both their structural determinants and their respective orientations, and that offers a preliminary path toward detecting links or gaps between them. The first table classifies such events in terms of the 'high cultural' versus 'socio-cultural' distinction discussed in the cultural policy section above, and seeks to relate them to whether or not they have a multicultural or intercultural orientation. The second table distinguishes between events within and outside of public policy contexts, and relates them to the audiences these events are able to attract.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multicultural focus</th>
<th>Arts oriented ('high')</th>
<th>Socio-political or popular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Transit Festival; events taking place at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, some also at the Werkstatt der Kulturen; Heimatklänge Festival</td>
<td>Karneval der Kulturen; district festivals organised by district representatives; Çocuk Bayramı; Hip Hop concerts organised by the city against racism, Gayhane, Çilli Bom, Urban Karma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different concerts presenting Turkish Art Music, events organised by the Turkish Conservatory, concerts presenting famous artists from Turkey</td>
<td>Live music at weddings; concerts at political gatherings, Türk Günü, benefit concerts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commercial Actors</th>
<th>Non-profit (with and without public funds)</th>
<th>Public (municipal, state, federal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multi-ethnic audiences</td>
<td>International Children's Day, Gayhane, Urban Karma Club, Tiyatrom Theatre Festival and children's plays</td>
<td>Werkstatt der Kulturen, Karneval der Kulturen, Heimatklänge Festival, city-organised Hip Hop concerts, district festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost exclusively Turkish audiences</td>
<td>Benefit events, political concerts, Türk Günü, Tiyatrom adult Turkish plays</td>
<td>Socio-cultural activities at youth centres and in certain schools</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turkish artists and amateurs take part in a number of events explicitly designed as multicultural, such as the Karneval der Kulturen, the In Transit festival at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt, street festivals in different city districts throughout the year, the Heimatklänge festival, the yearly Turkish Theatre Festival, all of which receive public funding. As mentioned above, however,
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there is a large gap between events that have a world-music or world-culture orientation, designed to acquaint Berliners with 'the best' of musical and cultural performances from all over the world, and events that are designed to involve 'ethnic' artists and amateurs from the city itself.

The former events focus on artists from 'outside' and thus have an international rather than immigrant character. They also have tended to focus on particular world regions or even states, thereby running the danger of reifying culture as a marker of ethnic or national identity. For example: Brazil 500, Orient de Luxe, Cubanismo are all mottos of different Heimatklänge summer music festivals organised by the city. The involvement of artists actually living in Berlin is accidental in this context, "they have to be good enough" is the general position of the Senate Administration for Culture and of organizers.

The latter events have a kind of "social work" integrationist orientation, and 'quality' standards are not an important factor in selecting the participants for public performances. Other standards play a role, for example in the Karneval der Kulturen, where the criteria are the ability to best represent visually a particular culture or organisation. In the case of carnaval groups formed with close links to 'carnaval cultures' such as those in the Caribbean or South America, one can speak of artistic criteria, as carnaval is a public art form as much as socio-cultural engagement there. But for most participants, the Karneval der Kulturen is a parade in which they translate tradition into public display, not so much considering it an artform that demands a certain level of artistic skill and talent in itself. Neither is it considered as such by the organizers. What is key is the aim of inclusion and multi-ethnic representation that can both educate and entertain, and to create a sense of multicultural community in the city (Frei 2003). Correspondingly, city representatives and organizers emphasise the beneficial effects for participants – performative culture as social activity that has an integrative effect, with integration being the key term around which immigrant cultural policy is centred. As mentioned above, the predominant concept of integration sees it as a kind of 'equal representation' in the cultural domain, importantly not so much in the political domain, thus again employing a concept of culture(s) in the plural that understands culture primarily as an ethnic marker.

With regard to Turkish cultural events, however, Berlin features a complex range of activities that take place outside the institutional framework supported by the city and its administrative agents. There is a vibrant Turkish cultural scene in the city that exists apart from German institutions and German non-immigrant perception: famous artists from Turkey come regularly to Berlin as part of European tours, Turkish DJ nights are organised by Berlin's Turkish radio station Metropol FM, the embassy organises a benefit concert for earthquake victims, a large number of orchestras plays at weddings every weekend, concerts by different artists are often part of political and religious gatherings of different kinds. All of these events take place outside the reach of German institutions, and rarely attract non-immigrant audiences even if these are not explicitly excluded. Many of them rely on artists, institutions and artistic work imported from Turkey.

Concerts, and pop concerts in particular, bring famous artists from Turkey to Berlin, often as part of larger German or European tours where local organizers usually provide venue, background musicians, hotel and travel costs, and pay a fixed fee to the artist, hoping to make a profit on ticket sales. Organisers carry considerable financial risks, and try to minimise them by bringing only well-established artists or recent 'stars' from Turkey which promise to fill concert halls. Local artists figure as background musicians only. While only two years ago there were several concert agents busy in Berlin, with concerts taking place almost every weekend, economic recession has led to a noticeable drop in audience attendance. Concert organizers as well as audience members remark that both economic reasons and a certain market saturation have led to such concerts becoming scarce events.

Instead, Turkish DJ-nights have taken off as a new kind of event for young people, often organised by or in conjunction with media such as TD-1 or Metropol FM. TD-1 with its "Sultan of
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DJs" and *Metropol FM* with its "Turkish DJ Night" attract crowds of around 1000 people, almost all of whom are Turkish in origin. Advertising in Turkish-language media only, non-immigrant Germans are not targeted by organisers. This holds true also for other regular Turkish club nights organised by individual DJs, such as "Turk de Luxe" or "Sosyete Club", though the latter advertises events also by means of poster campaigns announcing club nights in Turkish as well as German. DJ nights are less costly to organise than concerts, though some incorporate brief live appearances of dancers and rarely singers. The music that is featured consists usually of a mix of Turkish pop music and American R&B. Security tends to be tight, and door policies aim for a balance between male and female audience members. Organisers unanimously stress their desire to provide a safe and 'thug-free' environment, distancing themselves from Turkish night clubs in the city which have been sites of violent incidents. Several of them have had to close over the past two years, again related to the fact that unemployment has risen steadily among Turkish immigrant youths and their families in the city. Special club nights thus offer an alternative for social groups who in terms of absolute size and/or economic power cannot support a continuous infrastructure. Closely associated with particular DJs, these have slowly gained the status of artists/stars in their own right, with some of them having produced music CDs and most aiming to do so.

With few possibilities to publicly perform in Berlin, and even less to sign recording deals with local music labels, Turkish immigrant musicians tend to see Turkey as the arena and economic context within which they have to struggle for public recognition. It is well-known among young people of immigrant origin that several pop stars who have gained fame in Turkey either grew up or at least spent part of their childhood in Germany, most famously Tarkan and Mustafa Sandal. On the other hand, word has also spread that Istanbul's music industry does not always honor its promises, particularly when it comes to royalties and promotion (Greve 2003). Some artists in Berlin attempt to produce their own music, or find arrangements with small local labels. Hip Hop artists in particular have tried to establish their own labels, such as Ypsilon Music or more recently Rough Mix Recordings. The former label has now almost given up the promotion of local artists and concentrates instead on the promotion of artists from Turkey in Germany.

The information gathered from artists, media professionals and organisers suggests that the strong transnational connections with Turkey and its media metropolis Istanbul are partly due to the lack of local opportunities and infrastructures in Berlin. In the arena of pop music, efforts have recently been made to distribute and sell CDs from Turkey through German distribution networks. At present, they are mainly sold in small Turkish immigrant stores which sell them for about half the price of CDs bought elsewhere in Berlin. The consequence is that these sales do not enter into German sales charts, an important factor for music television and radio presence. Recent CDs by stars like *Sezen Aksu* and *Mustafa Sandal* have been sold in German stores only, in an attempt to reach out to non-immigrant audiences. If these measures prove successful, this might increase exposure of local immigrant artists and allow them to similarly reach non-immigrant audiences with their music. The present situation looks grim, despite the period of hype around Turkish Hip Hop and Rap musicians almost ten years ago, which in fact pioneered these musical styles in Germany. Little has remained of non-immigrant public attention, with the exception of a few artists such as *Cool Savaş* or *Killa Hakan* who manage to translate the stereotypical expectations of Turkish getto existence into a successful 'gangsta' image. It comes as little of a surprise that artists with a Turkish immigrant background succeed most easily with a musical style that is closely associated with violence, getto life and social problems (Kaya 2003, Soysal 2000). Ethnic difference is in fact written into Hip Hop and Rap, as the US example shows, and thus legitimates artists who in other 'high cultural' arenas are hindered by it.
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Conclusion

In conclusion, several points can be underlined that characterize cultural life and cultural policies pertaining to immigrants and multiculturalism in Berlin:

- Cultural events organised with public funds and city participation which represent Turkish immigrant artists tend to have a strongly socio-cultural character, with 'integration' being a main goal. It is not the artistic quality of cultural performances but rather their beneficial social impact and participatory potential that is given priority. These events thus belong to a range of city- or district-sponsored activities that are connected to youth centres, Volkshochschulen, the Office of the Commissioner for Integration (formerly for Foreigners) and other social work institutions.

- State-funded cultural events in Berlin which emphasize the artistic qualities of non-Western cultural developments, such as at the House of World Cultures, rarely represent immigrant artists and focus on international developments instead. Seeking to distance themselves from 'integrationist' socio-culture, local immigrant artists are in danger of being excluded.

- Public funding structures do not fully support immigrant cultural institutions as an integral part of Berlin's cultural landscape. The special funds reserved at the city level for immigrant artists are not just small, but also potentially serving as a getto and preventing these artists from getting access to other, more generally defined funds (such as for free theatre or popular music).

- Berlin is home to a complex Turkish cultural scene which in many areas derives its main inputs from Turkey or through transnational co-operation rather than from strong artistic developments in the city. Exceptions are German-Turkish film, the oriental DJ scene, 'queer' (meaning gay/lesbian, transgender) culture, and Hip Hop.

- This cultural scene has suffered significantly over the past two years from the impact of economic recession and unemployment, which has hit immigrants in disproportionate numbers. The link between socio-economic conditions and cultural life needs to be given further analytical attention.

- It is not possible to distinguish between purely local and transnational Turkish cultural developments and flows, since they tend to be interwoven, as the discussion of both media and cultural events has shown. These findings support the critique of conventional urban and migration studies that regard cities merely as territorial entities.

- The strength of transnational cultural ties to Turkey might to some extent be related to the lack of infrastructural support and public financial assistance for immigrant artists in the city, forcing them and their audiences to benefit from opportunities and cultural offerings abroad. The interrelation between local and transnational factors needs further study.

- There is a noticeable scarcity of cultural events in the city that present Turkish cultural influences to both immigrant and non-immigrant audiences. Possibilities for intercultural encounter and 'hybrid' cultural developments incorporating Turkish influences exist particularly in the DJ scene, the 'queer' scene, and the Hip Hop scene. All of them appear as marginal from an ethnic community perspective, but not from a city perspective that maps the complexities of Berlin's cultural developments and social scenes.
Introduction

With a population of 1.6 millions Vienna is one of the smaller cities within our project. Viennese city authorities estimate that presently approximately one fourth of the population of the city has a recent migrational background. Due to Vienna's role as the capital of the multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the city expanded very rapidly at the turn of the 19th century. Within only fifty years the population quadrupled, so that in 1910 only half of the Viennese population was actually born in the city. Influx from the surrounding rural areas was far less important than migration from other parts of the monarchy (Perhinig 2001). Cultural flows connecting Vienna with the Balkan area were intense but contradictory. Vienna was perceived at the same time as the dominant and repressive centre and as a zone of encounter with the diverse populations of the empire. After World War I, when the monarchy fell apart into different nation states, Vienna's role changed and emigration exceeded immigration.

After World War II Vienna was for almost five decades located at the fringe of the Western block and the migration history until the 1960ies was characterized by refugee movements from Eastern and Southeastern European countries (displaced persons and so called 'Volksdeutsche' after 1945, from Hungary in 1956, from the Czech and Slovak Republic in 1968). In the beginning of the 1960ies contracts for the recruitment of 'guest workers' were signed with Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Right from the beginning the number of 'guest workers' from Yugoslavia exceeded those from the other countries. Whereas in the first years migration policies followed the principle of rapid rotation, i.e. workers were supposed to come for a temporarily stay without their families, in the 1970ies this principle was abandoned and workers began to settle for a longer period with their families.

With the end of the block logic and the bipolar geopolitical division towards the end of the 1980ies and the beginning of the 1990ies, migration patterns to Vienna changed again: migration from the neighbouring countries became more important as well as refugee movements from former Yugoslavia. Migrants from the countries of former Yugoslavia still form by far the largest group with in the city, but according to estimations recently published by the city authorities (based on citizenship statistics) migration to Vienna becomes increasingly 'globalized' and today not more than approximately 40% of the migrant population stem from former Yugoslavia or Turkey.

With the first round of EU enlargement the geopolitical situation Vienna will change again, the city will not be located any more in the close proximity to the EU outside border. It is estimated that these changes will not result in significant changes of migration patterns to Vienna, but that the city needs to redefine its position in terms of economic and cultural policies to respond to the new challenges.

Only in the beginning of the 1970ies Viennese city authorities began to offer some services for 'guest workers' in the framework of the Wiener Zuwandererfonds (Viennese immigrants fund) consultation concerning housing and labour issues was proposed. In this period the city also launched a poster campaign evoking the historical multilingual and multicultural character of the
city with the famous slogan "I haasß Kolaric, du haasßt Kolaric. Warum sogns' zu dir Tschusch?". In the late 1970ies initiatives claiming more substantial political commitments originated from mainly from associations and from the school sector in which the multilingual composition of class rooms could not be overseen. Only in 1992 the city founded the Intergrationsfonds as a service and counselling institution, and in 1996 the city government installed a special portfolio for integration.

1. Cultural Policies

This preliminary analysis of cultural policies in Vienna is situated in the context of the broadly observed and commented process of the de-centring of the nation state paradigm (e.g. Beck 1998; Bauman 1998; Castells 2003) which has not only structured geopolitical relations but also governed political, social and academic imagination for centuries (Beck 1998: 13). The nation state as organising principle is not only being challenged from a supra-state level but also from the level of smaller unites, associations as well as institutional bodies, on a sub-state level. At the same time the welfare state cannot cater anymore in the expected way for the basic promises, therefore also confidence in the state is weakening and its authority and legitimacy are being questioned (Castells 2003: 397). In the present process of transformation l'ordinaire de l'Etat (Foucault 1986), i.e. the actual competences and responsibilities attributed to the state, the public and the private, is constantly being redefined. Cultural and migration policies, both relevant to our project, are core domains for which states still claim a high degree of sovereignty. But as in other fields it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain these claims.

Supra-state level

On the level of the European Union cultural policy is functioning according to the principle of subsidiarity, i.e. competencies to design and implement policies are left to the member states, which may in turn delegate them to sub-national levels. On the other hand the EU has with its system of different programmes in the field of culture (e.g. Culture 2000) and with programmes in other fields which allow for cultural activities (e.g. regional cooperation) a powerful instrument of indirect intervention through funding. As state funding has become less accessible and available for local initiatives off the main-stream and for the associative sector in Vienna in past few years, EU funding plays an increasing role (see section 3 of this report).

On the supra-state level it is not only the political institutions like the EU which have a certain influence on cultural policies, but also international bodies – which largely escape democratic control – like the WTO. Services in the cultural sector (entertainment, audio and audiovisual services) have been a topic on the agenda in the GATS (General agreement on trade in services) negotiations since the opening of the so called Uruguay round in 1986. The question of the legitimacy of state imposed trade restrictions and of state subsidising systems in the field of cultural services are at the heart of the debate. France claimed an exception culturelle from the free trade treaty, other European countries held a counter position and finally when the treaty was concluded in 1994 the question was left open and most of the European countries, like Austria, entered no commitments regarding free trade and cultural products. This means that the question can be re-opened at any new round of negotiations. Unlike France or some of the Scandinavian countries Austria has no quota regulation concerning the reproduction of cultural works in the media. Whereas the French regulations protecting cultural products made in France have contributed to a relaunch of cultural industries (more specifically music industries), Austrian cultural enterprises

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1Translation: My name is Kolaric, your name is Kolaric. Why do they call you Tschusch? 'Tschusch' is a pejorative term for foreigner.
deplore the lack of similar regulations. It is interesting to note in this context that the French quota regulation contributed especially to the development of new music styles (e.g. rap music) and also to the launch of artists from non-European countries producing under French labels (Tshiteya 2003). Many cultural enterprises located in Austria (CD labels, film industry) as well as the 3rd sector, for which public funding is vital, insist on the necessity of a strong European position concerning the exclusion of services in the cultural domain from the GATS treaties.

**State level**

As only 2% of the Austrian cultural budget is provided by private bodies, administrative bodies (federal and local) responsible for arts and culture are the dominant players in the field. 1.4% of the public expenditure is devoted to culture and the arts as a whole in Austria, which is relatively high by international standards. More than 60% of the federal cultural expenditure goes to federal theatres and museums, therefore there is a relative imbalance between cultural institutions and others actors in the cultural field (Council for Cultural Cooperation 2001: 31).

In Austria the responsibilities concerning cultural policies are split between the federal, the regional and the local level. On the federal level there is no comprehensive cultural act, but cultural policies are regulated by diverse statutory provisions. Responsibilities are located with three different institutions: the arts department of the Federal Chancellery (BKA) headed by the secretary of state for arts and media, the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (BMBWK) and the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs (BmaA). The portfolio of the BKA arts department include the promotion of visual arts, music, film, literature and publishing matters, bi- and multilateral cultural foreign affairs, the promotion of regional cultural initiatives, EU-coordination as well as the drafting of laws and administrative agendas. The BKA is responsible for the cultural institutions like the national theatre, the opera house etc. In 1989 cultural cooperation with eastern and southeastern European countries was outsourced to KulturKontakt Austria, a (mainly) state funded association in which the BKA holds a strong position. In the sector of arts and culture KulturKontakt runs an artists in residence scheme which offers longer term stays (mainly in Vienna) to artists from the countries of eastern and southeastern Europe. The association also organises guest performances and exhibitions in Austria and supports translations of literary works into German. The BMBWK is responsible for cultural heritage protection, for the museums and the national library. It also runs the Austrian Cultural Service (ÖKS) which is responsible for arts education. The ÖKS provides contacts with artists and financial aid for educational institutions.

Since the change of government in 2000, federal authorities promote under the heading of 'decentralisation' a redistribution of funding for cultural activities, the budget share for Vienna has been decreased whereas for the other provinces it has been increased. In the context of national policies Vienna is more considered as the capital of the nation state than as a city space with its own dynamic. There is also a stronger emphasis on cultural heritage than in previous periods as well as on creative industries (CI) understood as economically successful creative activities. The ministry explicitly quotes British examples for the success of creative industries but in the Austrian plans the potential social dimension of CI does not receive as much attention as in the corresponding British models.

**Regional and city level**

The Austrian federal provinces are independent in their responsibilities for cultural policy. With the exception of Vienna all provinces have laws on the promotion of culture. The responsibilities for the provinces include: legal agendas (cultural sovereignty); promotion of cultural activities on the regional level; administration of regional theatres, cinemas, festivals; promotion of amateur art.
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In the past years different orientations concerning cultural policies and migration policies on the Austrian state level on the one hand and on the level of the city of Vienna on the other become more and more apparent. These differences are also accentuated by the political constellation that reigns in Austria since 2000. Whereas on the national level a conservative coalition (ÖVP/FPÖ) is in power, the Viennese city is governed by the opposition (SPÖ/Grüne). These differences can be illustrated by various examples: In December 2001 the city parliament decided to grant the right to vote on the municipal level also to residents who do not hold an Austrian passport, but who have been living in Vienna for at least five years. The federal authorities lodged an appeal with the Austrian supreme court against this decision which is still pending. In the field of cultural policies the contradiction between national policies and urban policies has become obvious in the domain of language policy. At the federal level a new 'foreigner law' entered into force in 2003, it foresees obligatory knowledge in the German language as a prerequisite for a long term residence permit. The attendance of state commissioned language courses followed by an examination is compulsory, failure can cause a series of sanctions which can ultimately culminate in expulsion. In this context the knowledge of the German language becomes a proof for the willingness to assimilate to Austrian culture and way of life. The city on the other hand started a language policy scheme (Sprachoffensive) in 1998 which consists of an offer of different courses tailor made for the needs of different groups (e.g. non-literate, parents of school children, 'ethnocommerce'). The city administration also publishes some service documents (e.g. forms for subsidies for cultural events) as well as regular journals (see section 2 of this report) in the languages of migrants. Some effort to valorise the languages present in the city is discernable. In this case German courses are an offer in the sense of improving communicative skills.

Generally the past two years mark a change of paradigms in Viennese policies: In October 2002 the city authorities presented the results of the study "Migration, Integration & Diversitätspolitik" (Stadt Wien MA 18: 2000) which is intended to open the debate on a diversity programme for the city. The study is mainly based on experiences gained in urban regions in the Netherlands, in Sweden, Great Britain and Canada. Similarly to diversity programmes in other cities the Viennese concept recognises the heterogenous composition of the population as a resource and as part of the 'self-understanding' and the 'normality' of the city:

Die Diversität der Bevölkerung war schon immer und erst recht heute wieder, aber auf neuem Niveau und in anderer Zusammensetzung, ein Charakteristikum Wiens. Zur vollen Selbstverständlichkeit und Normalität wird dieses Faktum im Alltag, wenn die aus unterschiedlichen Kulturen und Bedürfnissen erwachsenden Anforderungen routinemäßig in die Verwaltungs- und Servicedienstleistungen der Stadt integriert werden (...).

Migrants are not seen as a target group for social and political measures to be taken but as citizens and as costumers of the city's service offers. Diversity policy shall be implemented by: guaranteeing the access for all to the services offered by the city; ensuring that the city administration reflects the heterogeneity of the population (combatting the under-representation of migrants among city employees); making the diversity of the city visible; stimulating private enterprises which cooperate with the city to adopt a diversity agenda; ensure the participation in democratic decisions; consultation with NGOs not according to 'ethnic' representation but around thematic areas. Consequently in summer 2003 the city founded the "Magistratsabteilung für Intergrations- und Diversitätspolitik" (city department for integration and diversity policy). It is difficult to estimate for the moment what this change of orientation means in practice, we will follow the development closely.

Also in East-West cooperation the city is taking a more active role. Since 1996 it has opened a series of Verbindungsbüros (liaison offices) in Beograd, Bratislava, Bucuresti, Budapest, Krakow,
Ljubljana, Praha, Sarajevo, Sofia, Warszawa, Zagreb. Whereas in the beginning these offices mainly served as service and contact points for Viennese enterprises in the named cities, in the past years they have enlarged their portfolio to communication (establish links between the cities) and to culture. The next round of EU enlargement will considerably change the position of Vienna as the city will not be any more close to the EU outside border. The Viennese city authorities plan to build a city network with the neighbouring cities Bratislava (Slovakia), Győr and Sopron (Hungary). In the framework of different EU-Interreg projects trans-border cultural cooperation has also started among cultural organisations and NGOs.

The so called third sector (NGOs, associations, cultural centres and initiatives) is of central importance for our project. In the 1970ies the city started a policy of promoting 'alternative culture' through basic funding for cultural centres and initiatives, gradually the focus has shifted from basic funding to project oriented funding. A similar policy was followed concerning 'multicultural' activities throughout the 1980ies and 1990ies. Actors in the field criticise the city for its lack of transparency concerning funding criteria and also for the shift from basic funding to project oriented funding. A comparable shift towards project oriented funding in the NGO sector is also taking place on the federal level. On the whole due to budget cuts funding becomes more difficult on the city level as well as on the federal level. Some NGOs can compensate by relying more on EU-programmes.

2. Media

Public service media

As in many other European countries the policy of the national public service broadcaster in Austria (ORF) has been closely linked to changing paradigms in migration policies. Present state policies claim that Austria is not a country of immigration, consequently the new public service media law drafted in 2001 does not include any provisions for diversity. Throughout the past years the ORF has abandoned or outsourced programmes in other languages than German from the mainstream. The medium wave frequency of the ORF (Radio 1476) now functions more or less like a local radio (i.e. unpaid voluntary programme makers may use the infrastructure). There are some programmes in migrant languages and bi- and multilingual programmes produced by the African community on Radio 1476. The programmes produced by Radio 1476 only count a small number of listeners as medium wave frequency listening has become marginal since FM frequencies have been introduced, it addresses mainly a small community of radio enthusiasts.

Despite its seemingly federal structure, the public service radio and TV ORF is a highly centralised enterprise close to the federal government. The Viennese local public service radio and the local TV slot therefore also depend to a high degree on the central policy guidelines and directives as well as on the central budget of the ORF. One half-an-hour magazine type programme (Heimat, fremde Heimat) is broadcast weekly on the 2nd TV channel and a similar weekly magazine programme is available on the Viennese local radio frequency. Both target a general migrant public and are mainly broadcast in German.

Local media

In Austria the state monopoly on broadcasting was de facto only lifted in 1998, therefore local and regional media structures in the audio and audiovisual sector developed in Austria much later than in other European countries. The city of Vienna has only started to take a more active role in media policies in the recent past. Linked to the decision to grant non-Austrian citizens the right to vote on a municipal level, the city commissioned a study on media reception (Jenny 2003) among the
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migrant population of Vienna. The study showed that there is a significant interest in news programmes broadcast by the ORF and that almost three quarters of the migrant population read Austrian journals regularly. The study also showed that there was a considerable interest in the Bezirksjournal (a free of charge monthly magazine published with the support of the city). Since October 2003 the city supports a Serbian and a Turkish edition of the Bezirksjournal. Monthly magazines in Turkish and in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian published by the Wiener Integrationsfonds provide information on access to social services (e.g. education, health care, labour market) as well as on policy regulations concerning migration. The monthly magazines are sent out to diverse contact points and cultural centres.

Two non-commercial broadcasting initiatives, Radio Orange and Offener Kanal TV, finally will receive some support form the city authorities. The open channel TV-programme 'Offener Kanal' will start in 2004. The concept for the Offener Kanal TV is similar to the open channels in Berlin and other German cities, it will provide space for programmes in other languages than German.

One of the case studies in our project focusses on Radio Orange. This local radio station was funded in 1998 and has quickly become a platform for local initiatives. In its self-understanding Orange does not specifically target certain groups, but it provides access to a public media space and a forum for broadcasting initiatives. In the concept of Orange the audience is conceived as an active public interested in social action and in participating in the media production. There is a strong emphasis on interactive formats like phone-in programmes, studio discussions, request programmes etc. The strong presence of other languages than German on air was not planned from the start, but gradually 'developed', Orange is broadcasting in more than ten languages now. Striking is the strong presence of the African community with daily programmes. Whereas there are also several programmes in Turkish and Kurdish, only very few can be found in the languages spoken in former Yugoslavia. It is interesting to note the difference between Radio Multikulti in Berlin, which is a station in the public service framework and between Radio Orange located in the relatively unregulated non-commercial sector. Whereas on Multikulti the distribution of languages corresponds to the size the of the language communities present in Berlin, in Vienna functions according to other criteria: Initiatives which can sustain a regular programme may apply for broadcasting space, the programme schedule is neither constituted in the top-down way of the public service nor in the way of the open channels in Germany as programme makers are obliged to attend the regular coordination meetings. The programme schedule of Orange corresponds more to communication 'needs' and reflects more the associative 'scene' than it attempts to be representative. E.g. apparently there is strong need to counterbalance the misrepresentation and xenophobic discourses vis-a-vis the African community in Austrian mainstream media by multilingual programmes in the third sector.

A closer discourse analytical examination of selected programmes shows that they only very rarely address a national community, but rather regroup audiences through a shared language (e.g. the Persian programme includes information and music from Iran, Afghanistan, Tadjikistan, Pakistan; the Spanish programme has Latino elements in it as well as European). Whereas in a first period the different programmes on Orange mostly ran in parallel and there was only little contact between programme coordinators, there have been some initiatives to foster exchange and promote multilingual programmes. The Austrian association of independent radio stations (VFRÖ) launched in cooperation with the Swiss and German partner associations an initiative for programme exchange between radio stations in different cities. Both, the exchange between teams producing in different languages and the translocal networking, contribute to disenclave the individual local programmes from a niche position. In the bi- and multilingual programmes different audiences are brought together around particular topics. The fact that such programmes are multilingual is not only a question of presentation and audience design, but they are also a platform for negotiation and
transformations of genre types and discursive strategies can be observed. Vienna, the city space, frequently serves as a common ground in such programmes. Many of the programmes contain a number of ironical statements (e.g. avoiding to call the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language by any of the official denominations and instead referring to it as 'the language for which we do not need any translation). Irony on the one hand is a means to open a text for diverse interpretations and diverse audiences (Fiske 1987: 85 ff.) and allows to view one's own position not from an angle of concernment but with a certain distance. On the other hand irony, as Bakhtin (1995: 122) states, is characteristic for moments of transition and transformation.

The first conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of selected programmes on the local community radio station is that information flows and cultural flows that condensate in such programmes are much more complex, multidirectional and manifold than the often in this context evoked metaphor of 'the bridge to the country of origine' could capture. Besides more 'conventional' monolingual programmes there are also forms emerging which draw on different linguistic resources in a creative way. Such programmes can bring different audiences together around specific topics.

On the local level several commercial media activities have been launched in the past few years. There are some weeklies and monthlies in different languages (mainly Turkish) which draw on funding through advertisement revenues derived from small enterprises in the 'ethnocommerce' (shops, travel agencies, cafes and restaurants, internet cafes etc.). Within this sector there is a considerable fluctuation of titles as the potential local market is relatively small.

Three monthly magazines Bunte Zeitung, Echo and Die Stimme are produced in German. All three are published by associations which in their self-understanding represent minority voices or immigrant voices in the public domain. They address a larger general public, provide background information as well as information about forthcoming events.

**International, transnational media**

Our second case study in the media work package focusses on diaspora newspapers and journals from the space of former Yugoslavia. Serbian and Bosnian dailies have corresponding European or diaspora editions which are adapted and printed around Frankfurt where around the Hürriyet press house a whole centre press centre specialised on print media in migrant languages has developed. Lay-out, printing and distribution facilities are regrouped for the whole of Europe (and beyond) in this area. The Sarajevo newspaper Oslobodjenje was analysed in greater detail. Whereas in the beginning the information flow was unidirectional from Sarajevo to Frankfurt, there is now a shift, the Sarajevo edition is including an increasing number of news items sent from Frankfurt as the readership in Bosnia is also interested in news from the diaspora. Whereas political diaspora newspapers and magazines address the 'national' Bosnian, Serbian or Macedonian communities, commercial entertainment products (like the Sevt plus magazine published in Serbia) address the whole language group.

Similarly in TV, the satellite programmes produced by the state/public service stations are produced for a 'national' audience whereas the commercial programmes (e.g. Pink TV) are popular among all different groups from the Serbo-Croatian language area. Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian state/public service broadcasters have their respective satellite programmes for the diaspora. These satellite programmes are compilation of the national news and entertainment programmes but due to copy right regulations they do not include any films or series for which international copy rights fees have to be paid. The entertainment offer is therefore relatively limited.
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In Vienna Pink TV with its music videos and talk shows is more popular than any of the national diaspora programmes from the space of former Yugoslavia.

Comparing the situation for the Turkish and the Balkan nexus makes considerable differences apparent: Whereas there is a large number of satellite television programmes within the Turkish nexus, for the Balkan nexus only a limited range of programmes is available via satellite. Receiving international programmes via cable TV plays an important role in Vienna. Regulations concerning the city environment are enforced with relative vigour, and the restrictions concerning satellite dishes on the street side of houses are respected in the inner districts of the city. Whereas the Turkish state TV TRT is included in the Viennese cable package, no programmes from the space of former Yugoslavia are available in the analogue cable mode. The digital cable offer which is still relatively expensive and only counts very few viewers so far, comprises a special Turkish and a special Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian package. Watching television in cafes and restaurants is still very popular among Turkish and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian speaking in Vienna. Also video rentals specialized on the Balkan nexus are a still flourishing commerce as well as informal networks based on personal contacts in which video copies of different films and series circulate.

3. Cultural events

In Vienna there is a huge offer of different cultural events which include music groups from all over the world and from different styles and genres. Events range from the official Vienna festival (traditionally in May) organised by the city to smaller events organised by associations or initiatives as well as commercial concerts. Concerning events organised or commissioned by the city increasing attention is payed to represent a wider spectrum. The opening of the Vienna festival usually attracts several ten thousand spectators. This year it brought a mixture of different styles ranging from classical music to hip-hop onto the stage. Musicians from different countries played in succession and together. The opening ceremony was intended as a message, the celebration of the city's diversity was also stressed in the official speeches. Nevertheless, within the Vienna festival programme there were only a few events catering for the diverse populations of the city.

Cultural productions from the Balkan area have a certain presence within the 'elite' venues in Vienna. An example for this presence is the exhibition of visual arts 'Blut & Honig. Die Zukunft ist auf dem Balkan' (Blood & honey. The future is in the Balkan) which took its starting point in the Essl collection in Vienna and has now moved to other European cities.

The city also supports festivals organised by bigger associations in particular districts of Vienna. Examples for such festivals are Soho in Ottakring and Moving cultures Favoriten. Both attract large audiences and mixed publics and aim at establishing the outer districts as places of event culture. Such events are not aimed at specific 'ethnic' groups but rather attempt to cater for a large range of tastes and styles with a mixture of 'elite' culture, popular genres and the productions by the 'alternative' scene. Soho in Ottakring has been institutionalised as an annual event and is mainly organised by commercial enterprises and artists in the district. Moving cultures Favoriten is planned as a long term project with smaller events in the district throughout the year. The concept of Moving Cultures is interesting as it seeks to include as much as possible artists from all over the world who have settled in Vienna. Moving Cultures holds a special website which grants space to individual artists and publishes a monthly calendar in which cultural events are announced. Artists who have cooperated with Moving Cultures stress that the services provided by the association helped them not only to affirm their presence in Vienna but also to find connections into other cities.
The association Initiative Minderheiten is planning a central event under the title 'gastarbajteri'. It will consist of an exhibition focussing on migration to Austria since the first contracts on temporary labour were passed with different countries in the 1960ies and of cultural events (concerts, film festival, theatre performances and public round table discussions). The event is scheduled from January 21\textsuperscript{st} to March 12\textsuperscript{th} 2004.

Events organised by smaller associations and initiatives have their regular particular public (friends and families of the performers, members of the organising association) and their habitual venues (cultural centres, smaller theatres). The city of Vienna has a special budget scheme for such projects and grants modest support for particular events. Often cultural activities are coupled with social activities (courses on new media technologies, amateur theatre and music groups etc.). The associative scene is lively but facing a range of problems. As mentioned in section 1 of the report regular funding becomes increasingly difficult and the commercial sponsoring system is not well developed.

Some of the medium sized initiatives have started to draw on EU funding (in the Culture 2000 and in the Interreg framework). Several organisers stressed the problem that EU funding pushes them into projects which are relatively big and require a considerable amount of administrative work and structure. The structure which is built up during the project is often difficult to sustain after completion. Also transborder cultural projects which link Vienna to Bratislava and/or the neighbouring Hungarian towns encounter difficulties due to the present strict border regimes which delimitate the Schengen space. Visas for artists are extremely difficult to obtain and the transport of stage equipment requires complicated procedures. Nevertheless, a few events in which Roma musicians featured could be organised in this transborder framework.

Comparing the three nexuses on which our project focusses primarily, it is obvious that also in Vienna within the world music scene African artists feature prominently in different festivals and in venues ranging from the expensive locations to smaller events within the alternative scene. The Balkan nexus is less 'visible', apart from events featuring the few artists who have become part of the world music business, live music events take place in specialised locations (mainly restaurants and discos). Roma music has been receiving increasing attention during the past years and several smaller Roma festivals are part of the regular cultural calendar in the city. Although the Turkish speaking population in Vienna is much smaller than the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian speaking Turkish nexus events are more 'visible' than Balkan nexus events. In Vienna a pool of musicians has developed which brings artists form different backgrounds (in the geographical sense and with regards to styles and genres) together. Most of them live in Vienna at least for some time of the year. They play in different and changing formations together and develop a specific cultural expression which draws on diverse styles and musical traditions in a transformative way. Pioneering in this field was the Wiener Tschuschenkapelle, others like Dobrek Bistro or Haja followed. Although the repertoire of these different formations is very diverse, irony and on-stage improvisations are common denominators. Such events regularly attract large and diverse audiences.
“It is precisely because of the cultural diversity of the world that it is necessary for different nations and peoples to agree on those basic human values which will act as a unifying factor”
Aung San Suu Kyi - 1991 Nobel Peace Prize

Introduction

Over the last twenty years or so, the increasing exposure of societies, economies, cultures and peoples to each others’ cultures have led to extensive revisions of the social scientific discourse on the connections among locality, culture and community. The information ‘revolution’ in the last century and the processes of globalisation have generated ‘new spaces’ where cultures clash and mix both across and within nations. Communication technologies are a crucial causal agent involved in this radical de-localisation of culture (Appadurai, 1991).

Grillo, Riccio and Salih (2000) suggest that cultural diversity challenges the core assumptions of cultural policy, in particular notions of cultural identity and cultural sovereignty based on homogeneous nation states and inviolable national boundaries. Beck (2000) argues that the new relations and communities are founded on a shared cultural outlook and values. Modern societies allows us to pursue a path of individualisation and to construct our identities free from traditional structural constraints.

Discourses on cultural diversity and transnationalism are closely connected to the issue of immigration. In countries which previously thought of themselves as countries of emigration (among which Italy), new inflows of migrants and increasing number of settled immigrants have heightened ethnic and cultural diversity.

According to a recent statistical report issued by Caritas\(^{30}\) (2003) there were approximately 1.5 million foreign citizens (including EU member state nationals) residing in Italy at the beginning of 2003. This accounted for approximately 2.5% of the total resident population. The largest groups of immigrants in Italy came from: Morocco, Philippine, Albania, former Yugoslavia, Tunisia, and Senegal.

Mass migration and the concomitant proliferation of ethnic diversity have dramatically changed the landscapes of Italian cities, making immigration and ethnic diversity some of the most controversial issues in Italian politics. Rome is marked as a multicultural and ‘world-open’ city, and occupies a special position when it comes Italian cultural policy. Rome has the highest number of immigrants relative to the total population of the city (221,182 registered, a proportion of 5%, twice the national average). Almost all ethnic groups in Italy are present here. From this time onwards, the awareness of a culture specific to the city with regard to immigration developed alongside the process of how to approach multi-ethnicity in the cultural policy.

This study focuses on strategies implemented (need to be implemented) in order to promote ethnic and cultural minority groups participation in cultural life, to enhance multi-ethnic coexistence, and to create an environment of tolerance and social sustainability. Furthermore, it examines the contribution made by mass-media and cultural initiatives (musical events) to the development of cultural pluralism.

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\(^{30}\) Caritas di Roma. Dossier Statistico sull’Immigrazione 2003
We have explored contemporary policy documents on cultural policy at municipal, regional, national and European levels in the existing archives, enquiring into the rules, orientations and priority themes involved. We selected documents of institutions/services/departments involved in cultural policy, and in the issue of social inclusion/exclusion of immigrants. We started from a ‘Top-Bottom’ typology of institutions. The ‘top’ represents the institutional framework of the society of settlement, whereas the ‘bottom’ is represented by the immigrant minority communities and their organisations. The ‘top-down’ approach studies the ways in which the institutional framework is open to or stimulates minorities’ participation in the cultural life, whereas the ‘bottom-up’ approach focuses on the ways in which minority communities act and organise to assert their rights and participate in socio-cultural events.

Contemporaneously, a series of in-depth interviews with policy makers (from local, regional authorities, arts institutions, organisations responsible for multi-cultural policies and minority interests) in Rome, has been conducted.

Cultural policy in Italy – administrative and institutional structures

Cultural policy in Italy is articulated through the plurality of bodies involved. Italy’s general constitutional framework (Constitution of 1948, Articles 5 and 114) provides for a distribution of power and authority in public administration on four organizational levels: state (acting through ministries), regions (acting through their own departments for culture, Assessorati della cultura), provinces, and municipalities. On the central government level, the competences for actions related to the cultural field are distributed among several ministries. The important point about this segmentation of administrative levels is that it does not imply full subordination, i.e., the entities at lower levels are not conceived of as mere executive bodies charged with implementing actions and initiatives defined by higher authorities.

The decentralised model of the state organization in Italy is reflected in cultural legislation and the existence of parallel national and regional regulations.

The Ministry of Cultural Heritage (Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali) defines as the main tasks in the culture area (law 368/1998): “the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage, care for national libraries and museums”; "increasing the quality of offer in the Country having the largest artistic heritage: museums more welcoming and efficient, historical monuments more valued"; “favouring more investment in the culture to generate more employment in the derivative sectors (tourism, services...)” and in the entertainment area, “promoting cultural activities, with particular reference to the performing arts and cinema and the visual arts”; “supporting artistic innovation”; "more opportunities for artists, higher quality for audience". Less emphasis seems to have been placed on socially relevant issues like cultural diversity and participation in cultural life.

Two different government coalitions followed one another in the last few years (centre-left coalition and centre right coalition, in power since spring 2001). The main priorities of the centre-right government emphasised regard the principles of an enhanced role for culture in economic development, of public-private sponsorship. The new main priorities in cultural policy have been recently indicated in the Financial and Economic Planning Document concerning the guidelines for the Budgetary Law 2003-2006. The criteria of administrating and subsiding cultural institutions are under scrutiny, with a particular focus on higher productivity. In June 2002, the power to reform cultural legislation was delegated by the Parliament to the government by law 137/2002 (a general framework law for the reorganisation of the government’s structure). Article 10, concerning the cultural field, established that "within 18 months of the coming into effect of this law, the government is delegated to adopt one or more legislative decrees for the reorganisation of the following sectors: a) heritage; b) cinema; c) theatre, music, dance; d) sport; e) copyright". Such
delegation of powers to the government is also extended to the reform of all the agencies, companies, consulting bodies, supervised by the Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities: ETI, Cinecittà’ Holding, SIAE, etc.

**Main legal provision in cultural policy**

Law n. 59/97 (*Legge Basanini*) specified the function of the protection of cultural goods as a main objective of the State in the cultural field. A subsequent legislative decree 112/1998, 441/2000 and Law n. 137/2002 (so called “decentralisation laws”) significantly extended the range of responsibilities of the State by introducing the principle of “concurrent legislative competencies” of the state and Regions in the enhancement of the heritage (“valorizzazione”: i.e., fostering of participation and access, organisation of exhibitions and events, etc) and in the promotion of cultural activities, as well. However, these documents do not mention at all cultural diversity and the presence of immigrants in the cultural life.

The Ministry of Cultural Heritage provides subsidies for cultural programs and projects, including major opera houses and symphony orchestras, permanent public theatres, touring companies, commercial theatres, and smaller orchestras, dance companies, etc. In the last few years, the involvement of private partners and sponsors in the management of cultural initiatives has been on the increase.

A recent Decree (*Decreto n° 47, Gazz. Uff. n° 78/2002*) reformulated the main criteria for funding musical activities from the Unified Fund for the Performing Arts (*Fondo Unico per lo Spettacolo*), and the main tasks of this Fund:

a) to favour the artistic quality and the continuous renewal of the music offer in Italy, and to allow the audience to follow the cultural events and activities, with the particular attention to the new generations and the less favourite groups;
b) to promote the quality, innovation, research, and experimentation of the new technique and styles in the musical production;
c) to facilitate the production of the new cultural products, and the valorisation of the Italian and European contemporary repertoire;
d) to promote the conservation and the valorisation of the classic repertoire also by the recovering of music heritage;
e) to support the professional formation, and to protect the professionalism in the artistic, technical and organisational sectors;
f) to give incentives for the distribution and diffusion of the musical products.

Documents examined at the General Directorate of Performing Arts (*Direzione generale per lo spettacolo dal vivo*), and the General Directorate of Cinema (*Direzione Generale per il Cinema*) revealed the following as the main objectives:

- promotion of multilateral co-operation with other countries and cultural exchanges in all sectors of the culture: museums, archaeology, film, publishing, etc.
- promotion of decentralization in the administration of cultural policy, in financing cultural institutions and in taking upon itself the responsibility of cultural development at all levels - the state, municipal, social and individual.

There were no documents in these departments that set out basic strategies and programmes for the public intervention in the field of multiculturalism.

The main government body involved in international cultural affairs in Italy is the General Directorate for the Cultural Promotion and Co-operation (*Direzione Generale per la Promozione e Cooperazione Culturale*) attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri*), which has a primary goal the promotion of Italian culture abroad. It is responsible for the coordination of Italy’s cultural activities abroad and contacts with international organisations (UNESCO; Council of Europe, etc.). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also maintain a worldwide
network of Italian Cultural Institutes with the objective to promote Italian culture and science abroad, and it is engaged in the exchange of various cultural programmes with foreign countries.

The Ministry of Education (Ministero dell’Istruzione), defined explicitly as a priority, objectives of multiculturalism, of supporting the integration of immigrants’ children in Italian schools, and of supporting initiatives aimed at promoting intercultural education (Direttiva n. 210, 3th September 1999).

It was only from the late ’80’s that the Ministry of the Public Education, started to face the question of the integration of the immigrants’ children in the Italian schools. In 1989 it was issued an Amnesty n. 301 (Circolare Ministeriale n. 301) concerning the integration of the foreigners in the public school, and then in 1990, Circolare n. 205, introduced the first time the concept of intercultural education. The intercultural education confirms the meaning of the democracy, considering that the “cultural diversity” must be thought as a positive characteristic in the society. It is a way to prevent the formation of the stereotypes and prejudice toward immigrants, and ethnocentrism.

In 1993 (C.M 27/4/1993, n. 138 “intercultural education as a prevention from racism and anti-Semitism”) introduced the concepts of the relational clime and active dialogue, and express the value of intercultural education in all scholastic disciplines. In 1994 was issued Circolare Ministeriale n. 73 “Intercultural dialogue and democratic cohabitation. A commitment for the school”, which discussed the concept of the multicultural society.

Among the legislative documents a special role has Decree n. 286 from 1998 “About immigration and conditions of the foreigners”, which speaks explicitly about the intercultural education.

Within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (Ministero del Lavoro ed delle Politiche Sociali), we examined the activities of the General Directorate for Immigration (Direzione Generale per l’Immigrazione). One of the tasks of this Directorate is to coordinate policy of immigrant social integration and initiatives oriented at the prevention/reduction of racism; to promote and coordinate humanitarian interventions in Italy and abroad; to register associations and centres promoted by immigrants or by Italians for supporting immigrants, to carry out activities for supporting immigrants minors, etc. (art.33 del Decreto legislativo 24 luglio 1998, n. 286). Among more specific tasks mentioned are: instruction of adult immigrants; professional formation; cultural mediation; and protection of immigrants’ rights (with the particular attention at the issue of regulation).

The Ministry of Communications (previously Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications) supervises powers on the whole information and communication system (the press, TV, radio and telecommunications) (law 249/97). It deals also with the planning of radio frequencies, the distribution of licences between RAI, private networks and local broadcasters, the allotment of advertising, etc. (defined previously in law 223/90), and extended its scope to the communications system as a whole (including the press) in view of introducing antitrust measures aimed at preventing the abuse of dominant positions (publishers in control of more than 8% or 16% of circulating newspapers are not allowed to own more than, respectively, two or one TV licences, etc.).

As for the mass media – radio, TV and the press – the Ministry of Communications recently announced as one of his main priorities a new organic law aimed at innovating the organisational structure of the information system in Italy, and at modifying related antitrust measures, by allowing joint ownership of newspapers and TV networks.

TV quotas for national or European production are in line with those established by the European directive TV without Frontiers.
Immigration laws have important implications for cultural policies towards immigrants. This year, the Italian parliament adopted a new immigration law, which replaced the law issued in 1998. On the basis of the new immigration law, proposed by the right-wing Northern League and the National Alliance, both partners in the Governmental Coalition, immigrants are admitted into the country only on a temporary basis, and only for work purposes. There is no gainsaying that the economic contributions of immigrants are appreciated, but their long-term settlement in the country is unwelcome. It is very difficult to naturalize in Italy. Immigrants to Italy are expected to be ever-ready to return to their home country, not only out of their own choice but also as a consequence of an economic or political crisis or even a governmental decision.

Beginning in 1999, the Government introduced the concept of “annual flows”. There is a three years program; and a decree which defines yearly quotas of immigrants for each region. The list of foreigners requesting work in Italy, established in implementation of the accords are compiled and updated throughout the calendar year.

The new law encourages the rotation of immigrants, in order to prevent them from "putting down roots" in Italy. The principal characteristics given in this law, are:
- ties residence permits to job contracts - a prerequisite for residence permit is the possession of a valid job contract. The residence permit cannot last longer than the job contract. Job contracts should not be longer than nine months for seasonal workers, not longer than one year for temporary workers and not longer than two years for non-temporary workers. Should an immigrant’s job terminate first, he or she would have to leave the country immediately;
- a foreigner with a regular residence permit (for subordinate job or self-employed) that consents an undetermined number of renewals, who has lived in Italy for at least six years and who earns enough to provide for himself/herself (and family) may apply a green card (residence card);
- foreigners who hold a residence permit for non-occasional free-lance work, study or religious reasons that is not less than one year, or a residency card, can apply for family reunification for : a) his or her spouse b) dependent children; c) dependent parents. Parents are allowed to enter under the family reunion provision, only if they can prove that no other child can provide for them in their native country; handicapped siblings and third degree relatives are no longer entitled to legal entry.

The new immigration law did not reform the 1998 Single Act as far as the treatment of cultural diversity is concerned. It includes the articles specified in the law 1998 regarding the cultural rights on instruction (Chapter V, art. 36), and on social integration (Chapter V, art. 40). Article 36 states that the scholastic system welcomes linguistic and cultural differences as an “asset at the base of reciprocal respect, cultural exchange and tolerance” and requires action to protect the native language of immigrants and intercultural activity. This is upheld for both children and adults, who have the right to “culturally appropriate educational programmes”. Further, art. 40, holds governmental bodies, along with associations and organisations both private and public, to support “knowledge and valorisation of cultural, recreational, social, economic, and religious expressions of legally resident aliens in Italy, and all initiatives on the roots of migration and prevention of racial discrimination…”. Par. 3 further speaks of a “multicultural society”.

The communication of the Commission on June 3, 2003 (COM/2003/336) on “immigration, integration and employment” suggests the necessity to set-up a multi-sector approach which would take into account not only economic and social aspects of immigrants’ integration, but also questions related to cultural and religious diversity, citizenship, and political rights and participation.

The Ministry Council inserted, with a special decree, in the Italian legislative system on 3th July 2003, the ‘Race directive’, issued by the European Council in June 2000 (2000/43/EU), that guarantee the principle of equal treatment in the work-place, social protection and security,
education and access to public goods and service, independent of ethnic and cultural origins. This European Directive is with a special decree approved by the Ministerial Council on July 3, 2003.

In general, no important initiatives in support of cultural minorities have been taken in recent times. While the rights of autochthonous cultural minorities have been fairly well safeguarded in Italy since the post-war period, and guaranteed by the new democratic Constitution (article 6), the issue of developing innovative policies aimed at the cultural integration of the newly immigrated minorities has not yet been seriously tackled at the national level. However, interesting pilot projects in this field are being undertaken at the local level. In the city of Rome, different institutions have defined as part of their policy, objectives that concern the promotion of cultural inclusion of immigrants, and the fostering of interethnic dialogue.

**Cultural policy in Rome**

The Municipality of Rome plays an important role in the promotion of the cultural pluralism. It aims to foster civic and cultural engagement and integration of ethnic minorities, and promotes projects aimed at fighting exclusion and discrimination.

In general, cultural policy, as defined in the Statute of the Municipality of Rome, has the following objectives:
- to favour and to promote the recognition of immigrants in human, civil and cultural sense in school and society, through normative and social interventions;
- to intervene taking into consideration general socio-cultural framework with aim to influence more deeply the system of values and behaviours of people - in particular, of children and adolescents – in a multiethnic and multicultural reality of Rome;
- to promote an inter-institutional approach, and taking into consideration the complexity intercultural processes;
- to consider the scholastic institutes as privileged places for acquisition and reinforcing of intercultural attitudes and relationships;
- to support deprived urban areas, especially in the periphery (the areas which have been considered the peripheral ‘belt’);
- to facilitate a greater access to culture;
- to give special attention to the sectors of great social risk (immigrants and Roma people) with aim to promote services for improvement of their quality of life.

The Municipality of Rome has 19 Departments. Department IV - Cultural politics, sport and toponomy (Dipartimento IV - Politiche culturali e dello sport e toponomastica) has the following tasks: programming and promoting activities in the field of culture, sport and toponomy. Policy makers in this Department mentioned that it is difficult to satisfy all cultural demand in a big capital, like Rome, because of the limited economic resources. The Performances Office deals with theatre, music, dance and cinema activities and co-ordinates their programs. The initiatives for the “democratization” of cultural life found their most successful form in large-scale cultural events organised mainly in summer time, involving massive cultural festivals lasting several weeks and representing selected (national and international) programs (European Music Festival, Christmas and New Year's Eve Concerts, Carneval and Easter, Estate Romana, etc.). From our interviews, we gathered that the dimension of the multiculturalism is an important part of the Office's activities, but this is not a primary objective. This Office has provided funding for cultural associations, or has given patronage to various cultural events, including multicultural ones. Among these, we can mention the ‘Estate Romana’ (Roman Summer) festival, which takes place from 21st of June (the European Festival of Music’s Day) up to the end of September. This festival offers a large number
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of shows making the city the real capital of open air performance. 'Estate Romana' is directed to a
diverse public ranging from the popular to the most demanding and refined spectator. The program
offers very wide reviews of events, including popular, traditional and experimental festivals, as well
as, international prestigious shows taking place in the city gardens, squares, outskirts, villas and
modern amphitheatres. The program includes all genres, from great rock concerts to high level
symphonic concerts, ethnic music and sixties’ revivals, movies, and so on. Thousands of Italian and
foreign artists take part every year in the performances, and they are encouraged to interpret and
communicate in their own national/native languages. Part of ‘Estate Romana’ program are different
concerts of world music. We have to mention two of them: “Rome meets world” (‘Roma incontra il
mondo’), and “Fiesta”.

Policy of the Multi-ethnicity
In addition, concerning the policy of cultural pluralism in Rome, the Mayor of Rome, Walter
Veltroni, elected in 2001, enhances the effort to promote multiculturalism by the encouraging
greater integration and participation of immigrants in the cultural life of the city. Different cultural
initiatives with the aim to promote multiculturalism, such as seminars, exhibitions, theatre, cinema
and music, have been carried out during the last years.
In 2001, On. Veltroni delegated a Councillor for Multiethnic Affairs (Consigliera Delegata del
Sindaco alle Politiche della Multietnicità), On. Franca Eckert Coen, and set up the Office for the
Policy of the Multi-ethnicity. This office is quite new for the city of Rome, and for Italy in general.
Up to then, the Department of Social Affairs had been in charge of all matters regarding immigrant
integration, suggesting that an immigrant has been considered as a socially weak person. The
Mayor’s Delegate for Multiethnic Affairs has given the opportunity to immigrants to express their
culture in such a way that Italian citizens may understand and interact with them, and to find their
way to overcoming the boundaries between their original culture and that of the country of
settlement. The role of the Mayor’s Delegate for Multiethnic Affairs in Rome is equivalent to the
role of the Mayor’s Delegate for the Integration of Immigrants in Paris, Mrs. Khédija Bourcart.
The Councillor’s plan of action or Protocol of the agreement “Rome in the Future: an
Integration pact - indications and opportunities for sustainable multi-ethnicity” (Protocollo d’intesa
“Il Patto d’integrazione: indicazioni e occasioni per una multietnicità sostenibile”) constitutes an
interpretive key for understanding multi-ethnic policies towards a city which would be capable to
guarantee qualifying services and to reduce the risk of discrimination. It defines the following
objectives:
- realisation of the initiatives of dialogue with the various communities
- realisation of an observatory of the multi-ethnicity
- realisation of the communicative activities able to undertake relations with various
  communities, and to guarantee a visibility to immigrants’ communities.
It is argued that to integrate does not mean to host, nor to assist, sustain, facilitate; it is something
more, which necessarily includes the direct participation of immigrants in the cultural life.
The “pact for integration” underlines the important roles that foreigners can exercise in the
development of the city instead of simply being perceived as weak citizens. It has the objective to
show that the economic, civil and democratic development of the city can be influenced by
foreigners who have chosen to live in Rome as producers and consumers.

Municipal districts
It is also important to mention that Rome has 19 districts (Municipi), each having a technical, an
administrative, and social-educational-cultural-sport department. Each district defines on the basis
of Giunta, an annual programme of activities.
In terms of distribution by municipal district of foreigners resident in Rome, it should be mentioned
that nowhere does the concentration of foreigners in the city’s administrative areas even approach
the levels present in quarters with high immigrant densities in other European urban centres.
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However, Rome is also characterised by the tendency of foreigners to concentrate themselves in specific territorial areas. In fact, available data indicates that two territorial areas have the highest percentages of resident foreigners: the First District (in the center of the city, next to the Central train station) (around 14%), and the Twentieth District (a peripheral borough in the northern area of Rome) (around 10%). The distribution by municipal district of foreign communities is also characterised by the tendency of foreigners to mainly settle in specific territorial areas of the city leading to the creation of settlement environments which tend to preserve their ethnic character.

Cultural associations

NGOs and cultural associations are extremely important for the cultural life in Rome, and for the promotion of cultural pluralism and inclusion of immigrants. A large number of cultural associations are active in Italy. Twenty-one thousand organisations in Italy involved in all aspects of the cultural sector, were mentioned. More than 200 names of associations appear in a list of ethnic minority associations and other related groups in Rome compiled by the Province of Rome in 1996. This number, however, covers a quite diversified reality, in terms of the size of the associations, their stated aims and their actual effectiveness in reaching their objectives. Association can be divided into two main groups: (a) associations characterised by a heterogeneous group of users; and (b) associations which develop cultural initiatives directed at a specific group (some of them interact with members only – ethnic-cultural associations). Most of the difficulties which affect the carrying-out of activities are to do with structural problems (lack of funds, space, and suitable resources). Some associations are almost independent thanks to self-financing activities. There is no space here to list in detailed all cultural associations and their activities, which include film, television, radio, theatre, music, book publishing, design, newspapers, expositions. We can mention: Archivio dell’immigrazione, Global Village (Vilaggio globale), la Centrifuga, Bok Khalat, Ex Snia Viscosa, etc. All these associations have given the large space to the cultural initiatives of immigrant: exhibitions, theatres, concerts, courses of percussions, dancing, workshops, etc.

There are also nightclubs that have significant role in organising concerts of foreign musicians.

Multi-cultural media in Rome

The objective of this study is to analyse the role which mass media play in the cultural life of immigrants in Rome, and in tackling issues of multiculturalism and social inclusion.

We have investigated the existence of media targeting immigrants in Rome. We also have conducted a series of in-depth interviews with mass media executives and producers (radio and television programme makers and presenters).

There is no doubt that access to the mass media is the basic resource to guarantee certain forms of social inclusion, and the necessary framework for the creation of social relationships with the host country and the host group. On the one hand, media can be an answer to disorientation, need for information, the feeling of a loss of identity and of the attachment to the land of origin. On the other, they may represent a resource for the need/wish for integration, and learning of the host culture.

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31 A small association, existing since 1991. The president is Massimo Ghirelli, a journalist, who had collaborated for years with RAI (Italian State Television), and produced a programme on immigrants ‘Non solo nero’, the first of that type in Italy.
The Italian television is characterised by the duopoly of two dominant broadcasters: public RAI (RaiUno, RaiDue, RaiTre) and private Mediaset (Canale 5, Italia 1, Rete 4) controlling for 80 to 90 percent of both audience shares and advertising revenues. Both RAI and Mediaset are currently under control of Italy’s Prime Minister and Mediaset’s majority owner Silvio Berlusconi. The Italian state television RAI was established in 1954 and for the 20 years to follow served the ruling dominant political force – the Christian Democrats. In 1975, the control over RAI passed from the government to the parliament. However, RAI has never been transformed into an independent broadcaster. In 1976 the Corte Costituzionale issued a ruling which allowed the transmission of radio and television programs at local level. With that decision the era of competition had begun and the media system entered a period of change. Hundreds of local and television stations have been created since then throughout the country, but till the 1996 there were legal restrictions on cable television. A law on telecommunications, radio and television was proposed in Parliament in 1996, which opened the possibility for cable and satellite channels. The Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni (AGCOM; Italian regulatory authority in the communications sector), was established by Law n. 249/1997 to carry out the tasks assigned under the EU directives, both in the field of the telecommunications market and of audiovisual de-regulation. It is called in Europe, “the single regulator” or “the convergence regulator”. Different measures have been taken by AGCOM in order to built an effective regulatory framework focused on the principles of pluralism, quality content, respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, protection of minors, fostering of European audiovisual production and digital convergence. The allocation frequencies plan approved by AGCOM on October 1998 was the first, complete frequency plan in Italy. On March 2000, AGCOM adopted the regulation concerning satellite television broadcasting (n. 127/2000) which regulates the procedures of authorization of satellite broadcasters as well as pay TV broadcasters. It is specified that non-Italian broadcasters who are lawfully established within the EEA or in Parties of the TV Transfrontier Convention who want to transmit in Italy do not need to apply for an authorization. On November 2000, AGCOM presented its White Paper on Digital Terrestrial TV. Italy is the first country of the EU to have fixed a deadline (31st December, 2006) to switch from analogical to digital television.

Concerning the issue of principles of pluralism, AGCOM has approved on July 1999 a project for the monitoring of the content of television programs. In particular, the monitoring project focuses on four main areas: 1) users protection (especially minors’ protection); 2) programming obligations of licensees (ex. European quotas); 3) advertising (ex. transmission time); and 4) pluralism (political, cultural, social).

The Service Contract 2000-200232, signed by the Ministry of Communications, by the Government and the RAI defines the functions, contents and the mission of the Italian public broadcasting service. One of the assumptions underlying the contract is that it is “an explicit duty of the public broadcasting service to guarantee the display of the multi-coloured realities of the world of employment and emerging social and cultural realities in a weak condition on the level of information tools, paying particular attention to those relating to voluntary services, feminism, environmentalism, problems of elderly, immigration, etc.”. In art. 6 bis, it is provided that special attention shall be paid to programming for foreign citizens: “…the licensee shall undertake to dedicate special attention, possibly with special programs in foreign languages, to the social, religious, employment problems of foreign European Union and non-European Union citizens in Italy, also for the purpose of promoting integration processes and for guaranteeing adequate information about the rights and duties of immigration citizens”. It is the third Service Contract and compared to the previous ones, it made a significant step ahead on the issue of immigration and multiculturalism. In the first Service Contract there was no reference to the question, whereas in the

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32 http://www.medialaw.it/Rai/contratto.htm
second, there was only a mention of respect for and recognition of the rights of immigrant citizens in the general preamble.\(^{33}\)

Freedom of expression in Italy is guaranteed by Art.21 of the Constitution which states that “all persons have the right to freely express their thoughts by speech, in writing and by all other means of communication”. Law No. 40/1998 introduced an article providing “civil action against discrimination. The legislative basis of the organisation of the journalism profession is to be found in Law 69/1963. Under current legislation, not everyone is permitted to practise the journalism profession but only those who are Italian citizens or citizens of the EU Member States. However, it should be emphasised that foreigners are admissible for enrolment in a special register (art. 36 of Law 69/1963) on the condition that they are citizens of a country with which the Italian Government, on the basis of reciprocity, has stipulated a special agreement that allows them to practise the profession in Italy. The most recent Italian legislation regarding the residence of foreign non-European Union citizens (Law 40/1998) broadens the possibility of entering the freelance professions, as an exception to the rule on reciprocity.

COSPE (Co-operation for the development of third-world countries; Cooperazione per lo sviluppo dei paesi emergenti), a NGO in Florence, together with OIM, Archivio dell’immigrazione, Caritas Roma/Dossier Statistico Immigrazione, CENSIS, RaiNews 24, and others, have recently developed initiatives for monitoring and promoting equal opportunities for immigrant participation in mass-media in Italy. That organisation is a partner, together with CENSIS\(^ {34}\), in the European project EQUAL “On line/More Colour in the Media”. It has individuated mass media targeting immigrant citizens in Italy.

The aim of our project is to explore more in detail the situation in Rome. From this study it emerged that in Rome, there is hardly any minority media produced by particular ethnic minorities, due to the lack of concessions and regulations, together with the difficulties and the cost of starting a new media. For immigrants finding the funding to establish ad hoc television-broadcasting enterprises is very difficult, hence the orientation towards the existing media, with hope to get some spaces. Usually, migrant communities tend to be loosely organised, and the lack of proper infrastructure, money and trained personnel signifies major drawbacks for them to broadcast information on their cultures. If there is an initiative it was most probably promoted by a cultural association. It is often the case that the initiative starts out of the friendship or personal acquaintance of a staff member with an immigrant foreign citizen. However different radio and television channels have, or have had in the recent years at least some experience with multicultural initiatives. We have found different radio and television stations which target immigrants from the Maghreb and Senegal (Radio Città Aperta, Radio Città Futura, RAI News 24 and TV9).

CENSIS reported three types of mass media and programmes\(^ {35}\). The first type is that of the State broadcasters, which in the last years has given significant space to the questions of the multiculturalism. Good examples are programmes Un mondo a colori (A World in Colour), Rai Educational with courses in Italian for immigrants and distance-learning courses for inter-cultural education, and radio programme Permessi di Soggiorno (Stay permit). The second type refers to the “militant broadcaster” or also called “independent”. Promoted by the Italian association in the majority of cases, it refers to left wing and to catholic broadcasters. This type includes the whole range of initiatives in favour of immigrant communities. Here, the management of the programme is

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\(^{33}\) http://www.multicultural.net/index.asp

\(^{34}\) Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali (Centre for Social Studies and Policies)

\(^{35}\) http://www.multicultural.net/index.asp
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frequently given to individual immigrants, or to the members of the same linguistic community, as a self-run space. The third type concerns the commercial broadcasters. Here, radio and television products, or printed media are clearly designed in view of the market. In this context, immigrants become the target group, perceived as potential consumers. Generally, television products are designed in view of the market, and immigrants here are still seen as low consumer goods to ensure profit.

CENSIS also reported on mass media programmes, ranging from a minimum (the case of topical information touching on the issue of immigration, with hardly immigrant's participation) to a maximum (programmes in which immigration is the central issue and the immigrants participate in broadcasting). Programmes could be classified in “service reports”, in which information for public use, together with the promotion of rights and responsibilities, are the focus of attention. Typical examples are the multilingual news, in which the reports are translated into different languages or the service bulletins with the indications of the initiatives ad the services for immigrants (legislation, immigration policies, etc.). Another format is that of community productions, having as target only a single community. Mostly, multicultural initiatives are co-managed by Italians and immigrants, but the programmes are mainly addressed to the host community. Clear objectives are education to diversity and awareness of other cultures. The contents of programmes range from music to cookery, from literature to politics, etc. Many programmes use Italian as the only lingua franca, and others are bilingual (most often, Italian in addition to another foreign language). In the case of programmes in Italian, they are partly designed for Italians, but also for a public of immigrants, with the idea that the learning of Italian is considered a primary mean of the integration into the Italian society.

It is not always clear who the audiences are. Information on the consumption of media by minority groups is hard to find, as scientific research in this field is rare.

The globalisation of media is having its effects on multicultural society. Because of the technological revolution almost every ethnic minority group is able to receive radio, television and Internet news and entertainment from their countries in their living room. We found that immigrant communities are widely oriented toward Satellite TV, or toward Italian TV (women usually watch tele-novele). Western countries have expressed fears that digital broadcasting satellites (DBS) would impede the integration of immigrants.

Orbit TV had begun providing extensive programming via DBS to the Arab community both in Europe and the Middle East by 1994. Based in Rome, it has 24 television and 24 radio channels broadcasting in Arabic, English and French. While providing a variety of its own fare, Orbit also serves as a pass-through medium for established Western Networks such as CNN, BBC, Disney, Star, and ESPN as well as Egyptian and Jordanian channels. Tunisians are the only group of foreigners who indicated that they can tune into a radio station in Tunisia from Rome.

The use of printed media is more extensive. Its costs are more limited and it is accessible to associations, who often produce their own initiatives. Italian publishing houses help some of them, but mostly publishers manage to do without sponsorships (for example, Western Union and Angelo Costa). Some newspapers printed in Italy are only published weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Also the fact that the papers are mostly distributed free of charge suggests that immigrants are not viewed as good consumers of cultural products available for sale. There is only limited possibility for communities to find journals printed in their languages. Among journals printed in Rome for immigrants from Arabic countries we can mention ‘Nur’, ‘Al Barid Al Arabi’, ‘Al Maghrebiya’, and for African communities, ‘Africa Web’, ‘Echo News’, ‘African trumpet International’, and ‘Africa News/Nouvelles’. Their aim is to support the process of immigrant integration in the Italian
society, giving them useful information on law, regulations, culture, etc. A special space is reserved for the information concerning the cultural events, holidays, celebrations, concerts, meetings organised by immigrants from Africa. Journals are distributed in Embassies, Internet points, ethnic associations and restaurants, agencies Angelo Costa and Western Union, and other places frequented by immigrants.

Concerning the issue of transnational reach of printed media, only few newsstands sell journals printed in Arabic language (they came from Egypt, or even London), but their number is much lower compared to some other European cities (such as London and Paris).

There are also different journals promoted by multi-cultural associations, and available in Rome, like ‘Alien’, ‘Integrazioni Interculturali’, and ‘Caffè’, which give the possibility to immigrants from different countries to express their opinion and experiences in their languages of origin.

Concerning the relationships between mass media and cultural events, we found that a great part of mass media reports on cultural events that involve immigrants, in their regular sections, thus becoming directly involved in their promotion and marketing. Mass media also help to organise and sponsor specific cultural events.

Diasporic groups are also making extensive use of on-line services like the Internet. Some of these provide listings of forthcoming festivals and cultural events.

**Cultural events**

This study investigates the kinds of socially relevant cultural activities people in Rome undertake, and their relation with the process of inclusion/exclusion of immigrants. In this phase of research, several in-depth interviews with cultural agents and promoters: festival organisers, directors of cultural institutions, cultural entrepreneurs (e.g. music labels), and with musicians from Maghreb, Madagascar and Senegal, have been conducted.

Culture is continually in process, and what is striking is the complexity and creativity it actualises. This is widely recognised in cultural studies of contemporary urban music where we find a multiplicity of forms, drawing on motifs from different countries and continents. It emerged from the interviews that the popularity of ethnic music (“world music”) in Italy has increased in the last years. There are many festivals of world music or concerts in private nightclubs, inviting musicians famous at international level, as well as, those less famous. Sometimes, concerts of famous artists are also promoted by Embassies, but this is rarely the case for Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian, and Senegalese communities.

There are a large number of artists from Africa among immigrants who have settled in Rome. Usually they originate from families of musicians (who have a tradition of artistic activity), and have already undertaken to music as career in their country of origin. Most of the musicians we interviewed were neither stars in their country, nor are they very famous in Rome. Some musicians, being without any support, and not finding any possibility to pursue the career of musicians, accept to do other jobs in order to gain some money and to survive. Others find the possibility to teach at the courses of percussions in schools or cultural associations, or to play part-time in restaurants or nightclubs.

Some musicians had tried to work in other European cities (such as Paris and London) prior to coming to Italy. These musicians indicated that there is very high competition among ethnic musicians in these major cities, and it was also very difficult to obtain a residence permit there. Consequently with the first opportunity, they migrated to Italy. Those who arrived in the late ’80,
realised that ethnic music in Italy was still something to be discovered. Moreover, they saw that in Italy it was possible to lead an undocumented life in Italy, and that the Italian system was less severe than in many other European countries. Many of them lament the limited possibilities for regularising their position. Some of them have regularised their position thanks to the special amnesty (Sanatoria), by simply registering themselves with the help of friends, under a different employment category (e.g. part-time employment or housekeeping), paying the contributes on their own.

Different cultural organisers reported the fact that the Italian Embassy in Maghreb countries and Senegal have denied musicians the entry visas to Italy in recent years, because, in their opinion, all musicians who enter Italy do not want to repatriate and tend to remain unregistered. Different musicians perform their traditional music, whereas others created crossover or hybrid musical forms. There are groups formed by musicians from different countries (European, African and Asian), that create and perform a combination of trans-national sounds. An example is group called “Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio”, made up of 15 musicians originating from different countries including Morocco, Tunisia, India, Cuba, Hungary, USA, Argentina and Italy. Different journalists have defined the music of this group as very innovative and unique in the world.

It also emerged from the interviews that African musicians in Rome do not have a high mobility and interconnections with other European-based artists (in Paris or London). Many of them move about on their own (without managers) and complain of the lack of funding and of organisational support. Being without managers, it is not surprising that it is not easy for them to find information on events in other European cities let alone the possibility to participate in these events. In this regard, artists face exclusion. But, even those who retain a manager still complain of the lack of contact with other cultural organisers in other European cities. It seems that the cultural industries in Italy do not offer a particularly developed and active trans-national (trans-European) collaboration for cultural flows among immigrant artists. It also seems that their cultural agents and promoters are more oriented towards the Italian scene. Many cultural promoters compete for scarce funding from public sources, and probably lobbying skills play a role. In particularly, it seems that the already established professionals working at high-profile cultural institutions are more able to secure funds.

All information of funding which they can compete for is written in a bureaucratic language which is quite incomprehensible to immigrants. During the year different Institutions proclaim competitions, but it is quite difficult to find information on them. The Municipality of Rome has a web page with all information, but many immigrants do not have access to the Internet. The funding of cultural activities is linked to the collaboration with cultural associations. A large number of cultural associations (those in which the state has no involvement) are active in Italy. Only cultural associations, foundations and institutes can ask for funding. No one can present a project as a single individual.

Some of these musicians are quite famous in Rome (among Italians and immigrants of their origin), but are unknown in their country of origin. Only few of them had produced a music record in their country of origin before coming to Italy, or have managed to record a CD in Italy, and to sell it in their country of origin or abroad. This lack of success in their country of origin could be explained by the lack of contact with audiences there, and limited interest of people for the kind of music that these musicians produce in Italy. As previously mentioned, their music is frequently a hybrid form, and adapted to western audience. Usually they propose traditional pieces, but elaborating them in way they think could be accepted better by the Western audience.
Ljubljana
Nikola Janović and Rastko Močnik (Slovenian Team)

City Profile
Whatever periods of prosperity and cultural expansion did Ljubljana know in the past, they were always due to its position upon major routes of communication: for a long time, this was the route from Vienna to Trieste, the “Southern Railway” since the mid-nineteenth century; from the last quarter of the same century on, Ljubljana became important as the location where the initial axis Central Europe – Mediterranean crosses the “Orient Express” trans-continental route from Paris to Istanbul. The city still develops along this cross-like pattern, and the main roads in the present-day Slovenia have always been a copy of this initial system.

The city established itself, and prospered, as an articulation within the European space-of-flows. The policies of its elites, though, have, to the contrary, always been guided by a stubborn background idea of Ljubljana as a territorial centre: the seat of a diocese, the capital of a crown-land, the centre of a nation, the capital of a state.

This long-term tension may be at the bottom of a sinister compulsion to repetition over otherwise radically different historical situations, epitomised by a series of hostile acts against the most propulsive groups in the city: the expulsion of Jews in the 14th century; the expulsion of the protestant aristocracy and burghers in the 16th century; slow, but persistent drive-out of the German-speaking population after the WW One, completed after 1945; massive denial of citizenship to the immigrants from Yugoslavia after the independence in 1991, and, as a consequence, their imminent departure; unwillingness to accommodate refugees from the post-Yugoslav wars, and failure to tap the spectacular war-caused brain-drain from other parts of former Yugoslavia. The unlawful withdrawal of the right to permanent residence in the country to 18,305 non-citizens from the former Yugoslav republics, committed by the government in 1992, and proclaimed unconstitutional by two decisions of the Constitutional Court (1999 and 2003) constitutes the most systematic violation of human rights in the Republic of Slovenia. The issue, directly relevant to our research, is presently an object of sharp political confrontations and the focus of intensive developments touching the policy domain and other areas of cultural and general social life in the city.

The tension between the flow-nurtured realities and the territory-anchored policies may also be at the bottom of the paradox that the economically most propulsive and prosperous part of Ljubljana has long been no part of the city, for it was one of the satellite agglomerations which, parasitically upon the self-centred capital, knew how to profit from the “Balkan-nexus” and became the richest community in the former Yugoslavia (Domžale – before the recent proliferation of local communities, D. included the now richer communities of Trzin and Mengeš).

At no moment during the wars has the Balkan nexus been broken in Ljubljana. Quite to the contrary, with the opening of the post-socialist Balkan countries, it has been expanding and has been reaching even deeper into the region. It is also true that, during the critical times, the flows were entertained by marginal groups, by subcultures, and that they were financed by international sources, or even self-financed. The new marginal cultures and subcultures which are partly a continuation of the alternative of the eighties, and partly self-created, are not only intensifying again the ties with the Balkans, but are also opening new nexuses towards the Balkans and the near Central Europe.
Changing City Spaces

I. CULTURAL POLICIES

Cultural policy agents in Ljubljana

There are two types of cultural policy agents in Ljubljana: the political executive and the administration on the state and on the municipal level, on one side; cultural agents proper on the other. The picture can be summarised as presented below:

1. The state (or the “governmental”) bodies and agencies:
   a. Republic of Slovenia:
      i. Ministry of Culture finances: public cultural institutions (on a permanent basis; operative and project costs); programs of public interest operated by other institutions (NGOs or private); co-finances parts of program and project costs of other cultural agents (NGOs, non-profit, private). In the most general terms, the Ministry defines its policies as follows:

      /to/ establish an equilibrium between the conservation of Slovene cultural identity and its development.36

      Since 1992, the ministry has a Department for the cultural activity of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, the Roma community, other minority communities and immigrants.37 The department supports minority and immigrants' cultural projects and, to a minor degree, operative costs of their institutions.

      ii. Fund of the Republic of Slovenia for amateur cultural activities (founded and supervised by the Ministry of culture, funded mainly by the state budget, independent in concrete decision making): most of the activities of the "immigrant" cultural associations are non-professional, and therefore eligible to be supported by this fund.

      iii. Various other governmental offices and bodies (the office for the youth, for the invalides, etc.) occasionally support cultural projects within the frame of their interest.

   b. The City of Ljubljana supports cultural activities almost exclusively through its Department for Culture and Research. Immigrants' cultural associations of the city address the department via the Union of Cultural Associations of Ljubljana. The Union makes a preselection of proposed projects, and presents itself as a strong corporate applicant.

36 National program for culture 2004-2007 (draft), 2003, document of the Ministry of Culture, p. 2. - This is a reformulation of the guiding principle of a cultural policy document proposed to the parliament by the first government of the independent Slovenia; the document (which, although it has never been adopted, epitomises the general cultural and political position of the first “pluralist” government of the Republic of Slovenia) advocated “the principle of equilibrium between tradition and innovation”; it considered the establishment of such an equilibrium to be an urgent task, since “during the last decades, the relation between tradition and innovation has been excessively leaning in the favour of modernist and experimental artistic trends”. - This “principle of equilibrium” was explicitly criticised by the European expert group: “... from the European point of view, this attitude presents an obstacle to the development of a modern country within the community of European states ... /such a/ cultural policy ... may transform Slovenia into a regional cultural museum” (Kulturna politika v Sloveniji. I. Nacionalno poročilo. II. Poročilo evropske strokovne skupine /Cultural Policy in Slovenia. I. National Report. II. Report of the European Expert Group/, 1997, Ljubljana: FDV, p. 372). - It is remarkable to note this convergence of attitudes between a right-wing and explicitly anti-communist government, and a ministry of a presumably centre-left government led by a minister belonging to a "reformed communists” social-democrat party.

37 Interview with the deputy state secretary Suzana Ćurin-Radovič, head of the Department for the cultural activity of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, the Roma community, other minority communities and immigrants, 3. 11. 2003. See also: Slovene National Cultural Program. Draft, Ljubljana: Nova revija, 2000, p. 43.

38 In the present official terminology, “immigrants” are the persons from other parts of former Yugoslavia. The problem of this term and of the classification it expresses will be elaborated in detail in the sequel of this paper.
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-- The state and the municipal bodies have their own declared cultural policies. The state cultural policy is stated in various documents (laws, draft national program for culture) which will be analysed bellow; the city does not have policy documents besides the culturally tinted parts of political programs of the parties in the City Council and of the City mayor. The city definitely has an implicit cultural policy which can be deduced from the actions of its various political and administrative bodies.

2. Cultural agents:
   a. Public cultural institutions: in Ljubljana, these are mostly the great institutions of national culture (national theatre - drama and opera, philharmonics, national galleries, etc.). They have their own policy agendas, articulated in their year programs, statements by directors, artistic directors etc.
   b. Civic cultural agents: institutionalised to various degrees, from traditional cultural associations to the alternative, sub- and counter-cultural agents. These are the most dynamic and productive cultural actors in the city, and one of the two most relevant to our "Balkan nexus" concern.
   c. Commercial cultural agents: from the Hollywood-oriented cinema multiplex to small organisers of particular cultural events. Extremely important for our research - they provide the channels for the most massive in-flows from the Balkans. Their activities are not concerned with "cultural policies", but with money-making. Even in pursuing their lucrative interests, they develop an implicit cultural policy that is of utmost relevance to our research since it translates deeper social structural processes and relations. An analysis of the commercial cultural practices offers a "radiology" of social structure and its processes.

Ljubljana cultural map

Historical work of nationalism has been illustrated by the transformation it had imposed upon the ethnographic map: a Kokoschka-style pattern has been replaced by sober monochromatic surfaces in the style of a Modigliani. With the global processes of creolisation, it has been suggested, Kokoschka is now back. Ljubljana cultural map could be rendered by a dramatisation of this metaphor: it is as if a repenting painter were trying to paint a Mondrian over a Kokoschka painting, but Kokoschka would keep breaking through. One should not take this in the sense of Dorian Gray, though; even less in the more academic terms of the »return of the repressed«. It is more like the Brothers Marx in the Opera: while the official spectacle is parading its false Gipsies, dukes with peruques and sentimental troubadours on the main stage, illegal immigrants, police, authoritarian managers and fired workers fight out the real show all over the house.

The »Balkan nexus« connects itself to whichever pattern there is: still, the way it works and has effects will depend upon the nature of the design. If patches in the patchwork are insulated one from the other, then the »nexus« will only be able to reach a few of them, and will most likely fail to compose itself into a »Balkan« nexus. If the patches are overlapping and the same threads run across many of them, then the »nexus«, too, will run all over the texture, and the observer will have the inverse difficulty to distinguish between the nexus and the pattern.

The autonomous cultural agents' policies

The alternation of the two patterns has been going on in Ljubljana for some time now. Already in 1986, an advocate of the non-geometrical design expressed his despair by calling it »the long series

of burials of the alternative culture in Ljubljana. The graves have been multiplying over the past two decades, but so have resurrections. One would expect that the oscillation would be propelled by two opposing cultural and social policies. But one should be cautious. What is stated as policy by the agents themselves does not necessarily correspond to what an observer can see in their actions and their effects. For example, in the series of the macabre liquidations of the foci of alternative culture in Ljubljana, none has been an enactment of an overt cultural policy. Formation of temporary zones of alternative socialising and cultural production has all along been supported by the creators and fellow-travellers with strong political discourses. Still, these discourses can hardly be defined as »policy« elaborations: they either had a definite theoretical bias with a reflexive-mobilisational intent, or were of an explicitly interventionist nature, informed in a »didactic« vein and, to some degree, sacrificing to the jargon of the momentary dominating ideology. The real conquests, though, have always been idiosyncratic. Two of them will bring us to the present moment: they are clearly the two most important anchorages of the »Balkan nexus« in Ljubljana during the past dozen years. They also define the two opposed poles of a continuum upon which all other cases may be situated.

41 Pavle Gantar, “Ljubljana je…” /Ljubljana is…/, Mladina, no. 31, 1986, supplement Pogledi /Views/, texts of the symposium “Real spaces of alterity”, accompanying event to the festival New Rock II (at Križanke, Ljubljana). At that moment, the “buried” locations were: Stopoteka, Disco Student - Disco FV in the student village, Club K4 in the city centre, cultural centres and auditoriums on the periphery in Šentvid, Moste, Šiška, Vič, the pub Amerikanec in the old town.

42 Some illustrations. Disco Student was closed in 1983 for being unable to meet sanitary regulations. K4 was closed the first time (1986) for disturbing the night-peace, the second time (1992) because of political re-structuring of the landlord, the student organisation, and of its re-orientation towards lucrative use of the premises. ŠKUC Gallery and bar (in the old town) was restricted (in the nineties) exclusively to galleristic activities by the city authorities for its incapacity to meet sanitary and juridic regulations for holding a bar (which the authorities treated as a commercial enterprise) and as a consequence of strong pressures by the neighbouring population (night disturbance and littering). Etc. Other “points of socialisation” (bars, pubs, restaurants, cafes) either bluntly refused to serve alternative customers (Medex, Miklošičeva Street), or introduced consummation rules which the alternative clientele could not meet (Rio, Titova /now Slovenska/ Street). The classical Vienna-style cafe Union, a favourite socialising place for punkers, alter-people and workers from other republics, after having been a regular target of police razzias (officially looking for drug-dealers), underwent a reconstruction in 1984, and became a costly upper middle-class “cultural” cafe. – This clearly points to the epistemological problem of the analysis of policy-statements: in a part, they are “native constructions”; in another part, they are “strategic” in Habermas’s sense. On one side, they are a “spontaneous” determination of the agents’ position and intentions, they express how agents’ “spontaneously” perceive their social position, role, etc., and how they “spontaneously” feel what they want; on the other side, they are an attempt to present the agents’ particular interests, intentions etc. as “general” and as "generally" beneficient. The “strategic” or “manipulative” component is only partially intentional: because of the specific logic of ideological mechanisms, social agents are “spontaneously” mostly unable to “think” but in general terms. Consequently, the “native” consciousness is spontaneously generalistic and generalising – and the “native” is the first victim of this “mystification”. (For the “social” dimension of the alternative and esp. of the punk scene, see: Marjan Ogrinc, “Ni nam do tega, da bi postali zgodovina” /We do not care/ and generalising – and the “native” is the first victim of this “mystification”. (For the “social” dimension of the alternative and its artistic practices, see: Rastko Močnik, “Razum zmaguje” /The Reason is winning/, Punk pod Slovenci (1985); same: “Postmodernizem in alternativa” (1985), now in: Igor Španjol, Igor Zabel, eds. (2003), Slovenska umetnost 1975-1985 /Slovene art 1975-1985/, Ljubljana: Moderna galerija; Slavoj Žižek, “Ideologija, cinizem, punk” (1984), now in: Slovenska umetnost 1975-1985.)
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The Case no. 1: KUD France Prešeren

Located in a pre-second-world war local cultural centre of modest quality and ascetic capacities, the »Cultural-Artistic Association France Prešeren« affirmed itself as the most stable alternative location during the eighties. With a stage, they could host theatre and musical performances, video sessions, alternative fashion shows etc., and organise more intellectual events (symposia, panels, lectures etc.). The addition of a bar promoted the location into the »alternative« socialising venue in the city. When, in the late eighties, they opened an open-air stage for theatre and musical events, the neighbouring population started to oppose the development of the location. Nevertheless, the association developed friendly relations with the authorities of the commune\(^44\) who did not have a clear idea what to do with a location without commercial or housing potential. With a combination of local community subsidies, low-budget approach and cultural activism, the Association managed to construct a new small cultural complex which integrates the original pre-war building. With the local community support and governmental subsidies, international support and sponsoring they developed a cultural centre with a multi-functional performance hall, a gallery, a desk-top and computer lab, a bar and an outdoor space. They have introduced programmes for children, and hold a summer festival during the late August which, for many years, used to be practically the only cultural offer in the city.\(^45\) They came to a compromise with the neighbouring dwellers, which was mediated by the city authorities who, in a unique fit of urban mismanagement, located a safe-house for mothers with children in their immediate vicinity. This is a severe limitation imposed upon their activities, together with the need to make concessions towards more commercially profitable programmes, in order to survive. They are the only alternative entity who actually owns their infrastructure.

The Association has an alternative cultural policy with precise political agenda. This means that they connect to the Balkan nexus in two dimensions: (1) in the »cultural« and »artistic« dimension, where the alternative cultural spaces have traditionally been spreading across (former) Yugoslavia, and intense co-operation has always been, and still is, vital for the alternative productivity; (2) in political dimension which has been sharpened during the post-Yugoslav wars: the Association was the institutional basis for many refugee-related activities, and, in particular, hosted refugee-run projects. The location developed into a socialising focus for the ex-Yugoslav diasporas, and was the main\(^46\) locus of communication among them in Ljubljana. It still is a place of alternative socialisation, culture and politics.

This most successful development has been made possible by a unique historical coincidence of the last relics of socialist benevolence on the part of the local authorities, and of the first flights of entrepreneurial inspiration on the part of cultural producers acting as »managers«. The condition for this coincidence to be happily seized upon was the otherwise contingent detail that the Association had already been properly institutionalised at the historical moment when this became really important, i.e., at the point of transition from the socialist self-managed model into the liberal democratic model.\(^47\)

\(^{44}\) At that time, Ljubljana was composed of 5 communes; since 1992, the city is one “city commune”.

\(^{45}\) Besides the erratic Ljubljana Festival. Their monopoly has later been broken by the “Metelkova”, and in 2002 by the “Autonomous Zone Molotov” (a squat in a former railway station).

\(^{46}\) The other important meeting point of various diaspora communities was ŠKUC Gallery in the old town; it lost its importance when it was forced to close down its bar for being unable to meet sanitary regulations and legal obligations.

\(^{47}\) While the liberal democratic model imposes a strong institutionalisation of the “civil society” agents into subjects of private law, the socialist self-management model offered softer and energetically less demanding forms of organisation which appear “incomplete” from the liberal point: as a consequence, in the self-management model, cultural agents could concentrate to their proper work, and were only marginally involved in activities like writing applications, budgeting, lobbying financial sources, or accounting. Most of the accounting, for instance, was either left to the “founder” or was carried out directly by the provider of the subsidy. This, of course, offered efficient levers of control to the “founder” and to the provider of subsidies. The “founders” were either “associations” of citizens (e.g., the
The case no. 2: Metelkova

From roughly 1990 on, the pressure has been increasing upon cultural agents to establish themselves as subjects of private law, and to develop a fully-fledged institutional activity.\textsuperscript{48} Through the process of institutionalisation, an old structural divide which had been active since the early eighties\textsuperscript{49}, has been re-articulated under the over-determination of the new liberal system. At the early stages of the development of the alternative, this structural divide only seemed a variation of the accent, a secondary distinction within the alternative cultural practices, effect of a predominance of political emphasis in certain practices as opposed to the cultural emphasis in the others. With time, the two »styles« of the alternative developed along the lines of more clear-cut oppositions like »politicisation vs. aesthetisation«, »mass culture vs. elite culture«, and produced ever-increasing differences in social appeal and contexts (»culturally expropriated urban youth vs. general cultivated audience«, »self-organisation vs. traditional cultural consumption«). In retrospect, one can notice that »ethnic«, »national« concerns were strictly irrelevant within the first »style« or »type« of the alternative, while the second »style« or »type« somewhat naturally,
although not really consciously, situated itself within the horizon of the »national« culture. But this was not obvious at the time.\textsuperscript{50}

The liberal context inaugurated a different type of constitutive opposition, and involved cultural agents into new types of social tensions. Some of the alternative cultural agents did not »institutionalise« themselves: they either stayed out of the system and mostly disappeared, or parasitically appended themselves to those that did institutionalise themselves. Those who institutionalised themselves, mostly, though not exclusively, belonged to the former »artistic«, »culturalists« type of the alternative. Unexpectedly, they found themselves excluded from the domain of their implicit ideological flirt, stranded on the liberated shores of the »civil society«: from there, they could only contemplate with envy the other bank, where institutions of the canonize national culture\textsuperscript{51} enjoyed full governmental financial coverage, while they themselves were invited to apply for project-funding\textsuperscript{52}, to look for sponsors\textsuperscript{53} and to connect internationally. In addition, the former proud allies of cultural revolutions and democratic struggles, realised they were now competitors in a Hobbesian struggle for survival.

The opposition which determined the new »independent« culture was no more »politicisation vs. aesthetisation« which had structured the alternative cultural field of the eighties, but, as it has explicitly been articulated since 1991\textsuperscript{54}, »independent cultural production vs. institutionalised culture«. This brought about a dramatic transformation in the »Balkan-nexus«-policy of the

\textsuperscript{50} The “ideological” difference (“a-national”, “apatrid” sub- and counter-cultures as opposed to the artistic invention mimicking avant-garde practices, but tacitly within the national horizon) was an effect of the difference in the structure of cultural \textit{practices}. The specific structure of the “left, mass, a-national” practices is vividly presented in the following passage: “… we do not mean that the alternative introduced new strategies of perception or patterns of sensibility (as was the case in the sixties): we rather mean that it opened \textit{a political dimension within the domain of the sensible and correlatively, introduced a style of politics that was sensual, non-discursive, appealing first to the senses and only through them to the mind} … Lifestyle became important: the way how one dressed acquired a meaning, body paint appeared. Culturally expropriated youth became culturally creative – using odds and ends provided by the heterogeneous streams of life that were submerging them: mass culture, consumers' fantasies, authoritarian iconography of the regime. It was not so much the provocative and progressive texts, mostly un-understandable because of the noise that stirred the ruling \textit{nomenklatura} into panic over the punk-rock concerts; it was the noise-producing technology, the mastery of an alien machinery that had not been put under control that was the matter of concern for the elites. The confusing element in performing arts was the absence of the Slovene ‘word’. The introduction of new artistic codes that evaded translation into verbal form, provoked fear of artistic practices that could not be put under control. – The alternative performed a fundamental shift by stressing non-discursive artistic procedures. This shows that social change is not bound to originate in the discursive domain, is not necessarily triggered by didactic speech and intellectual ideas. … an artifact which is radical in its artistic formulation is radical also in the political sense.” (Maja Breznik /1995/, op. cit.) – The ideology of the “artistic” stream of the eighties survived basically unaltered to the early stages of the independent production of the early nineties, and was stated as follows: “The independent production/ wants to situate itself within the sphere of a centuries-long tradition which has established itself as a legitimate and autonomous domain in the general public consciousness.” (Eda Čufer (1992), “Neodvisna produkcija gledališča /Independent production of the theatre/, \textit{Maska}, vol. II, no. 2.)

\textsuperscript{51} “Public institutions” in legal terms. Very few private institutions enjoy the same privileges: Slovenska matica (an association, established in 1864, has a special permanent contract with the ministry of culture), Association of Slovene Writers (has a \textit{de facto} privileged status, which has first been questioned by the ministry of culture in 2003).

\textsuperscript{52} Initially, project funding by the government and the local communities did not cover labour and material costs. At present, “non-programme” costs (labour costs and material expenditures) are recognised only up to 20% of the amount of the governmental or the community support to the programmes (i.e., stable sets of projects). Project funding in the strict sense is now separated from the programme funding.

\textsuperscript{53} Sponsoring gives no tax benefits to the sponsor; it is unlikely that sponsor would look for the alternative culture when they can much more visibly support sports clubs or popular cultural events; the little sponsorship of the alternative culture that exists (approx. up to 5% of the total project costs) is almost exclusively given in kind.

\textsuperscript{54} With the appearance of the »Network of independent (non-institutional) theatres« in October 1991 (\textit{vide infra}); terminological oscillation between »independent« and »non-institutional« shows that, at that initial moment, the »independents« were not yet »institutionalised« and did not perceive themselves as such (they could, e.g., define themselves as »social«, but not »juridical« institutions); it was only some time later that they were practically forced to establish themselves as subjects of private law in order to survive the change of the system; at that moment, paradigmatic »institutions« were the big public institutions of national culture fed by the state budget.
»independents«. While during the eighties, the »culturalist« or the »aestheticising« stream of the alternative involved in the Balkan-oriented co-operation mostly on the grounds of aesthetic affinity (and partly for more pragmatic reasons of accessibility and openness of the Yugoslav cultural space), in the nineties, the Balkan-orientation became part of the »independents'« self-definition. Since their structural opposition became the traditional canonical national culture\textsuperscript{55}, they could only establish and reproduce their structural position through intensive and programmatically explicit practices of international co-operation, within which the Balkan-oriented ones were, initially, the easiest since they could rely on the past connections – but gradually became important as a way to oppose Western domination. From the very beginning, the »independents« situated themselves within the international cultural space: there, Balkan was easy, and the West was desired. Rather soon, though, the »independents« became aware of the power-relations which worked against them: so they started to create a counter-space, first towards the Balkans, and soon towards the »East« at large.\textsuperscript{56}

On the domestic front, the »independents« were able to put together a common effort in a very short time.\textsuperscript{57} The first ones to organise were theatrical artists and producers\textsuperscript{58}. In 1991, they founded a »Network of independent (non-institutional) theatres« and started negotiations with the ministry of culture. In 1992, they became the »Independent theatre forum«, and produced a programmatic paper calling for legal regulation of »independent production«.\textsuperscript{59} Besides carrying on fruitless negotiations with the ministry of culture and other authorities, the Forum started to campaign for the conversion of the former Yugoslav army cultural centre in Ljubljana into an independent performing arts location. This was the beginning of the »struggle for space« in Ljubljana which is still going on. After the departure of the Yugoslav People's Army from Slovenia in October 1991, many locations, especially in the larger cities like Ljubljana, remained vacant. During the eighties, the relatively strong pacifist movement\textsuperscript{60} has been spreading the idea of conversion of military premises to peaceful use, so the moment seemed appropriate to carry the idea into practice. The proposition of

\textsuperscript{55} Which, at that time, was becoming increasingly nationalistic, while some influential groups and institutions took a clearly proto-fascist or fascismoid orientation (see: Rastko Močnik (1995), Koliko fašizma? /How much fascism?/, Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis).

\textsuperscript{56} Certain agents were quick to realise the importance of an “Eastern” link: “Neue slowenische Kunst” performed the "artistic action" Irwin-NSK Embassy in Moscow from May 10 till June 10, 1992 (see: Irwin in collaboration with Apt-Art International and Rizhina Gallery, NSK Embassy Moscow. How the East sees the East, Koper: Loža Gallery, s.d.). – For a recent and very ambitious affirmation of the “East-orientation”, see: Irwin (2002), ed., East Art Map, Ljubljana: New Moment.


\textsuperscript{58} Theatrical culture and practices have been in an explosive expansion since the early eighties; in the nineties, they have already gained respectable international recognition; by the nature of their work, they have been for a decade organised in ad hoc or in more permanent production-groups; they also had a journal which, even though primarily focused on the performing arts, was becoming the central cultural journal in Slovenia, with an explicit theoretical ambition (Maska).

\textsuperscript{59} They draw a distinction between “state institutions” and “independent theatre production”. They requested a systematic legal regulation of the independent production which would comprise: legislative support; a system of subsidies that would guarantee continuity of their work; tax legislation that would stimulate sponsoring or, as an alternative, the dropping of the legal provision which requested that independent producers secure 50% (!) of production costs by themselves; government assistance at solving infrastructure problems such as performance and rehearsal facilities, locations for education and research, technical equipment (see: Maja Breznik, op. cit.).

\textsuperscript{60} In late 1989, early 1990, the movement was circulating a petition for demilitarisation of Slovenia; the petition stirred a massive support and was signed, among many others, by the then chairman of the presidency of the republic; a pool carried out in January 1990 by the “official” journal Delo (which was not supporting the initiative), indicated that 51% of the population of Slovenia supported the idea.
the Independent theatre forum to convert the former army cultural centre was a way to actualise the alternative tradition in the new conditions. Other similar proposals followed. Former alternative cultural agents, partly for ideological reasons (within the »alternative scene«, they have been closely linked to the pacifist movement), and mostly for the reasons of bare survival, organised themselves into an association called the Network for Metelkova, to press for the conversion of the former army headquarters complex61 into a cultural centre for contemporary independent cultural production.

The Theatre forum did not obtain the army centre (it is now the building of the ministry of science), and negotiations on »Metelkova« seemed to have been drawn into a bureaucratic labyrinth. Then two events accelerated the developments.

First, in March 1993, the government severely cut its cultural budget, and the ministry of culture transferred the blow towards the independent culture. Upon the revelation of the government's intentions, Maska magazine organised a meeting that resulted in the foundation of the Association of independent artists and producers62. The Association took a very sharp stance, threatened with manifestations etc., and obtained a compromise which the ministry later honoured only up to 30% of the convened amount, while it ignored the promise to start the systemic regulation of the problem. The times seemed to be ripening, and then the second event occurred: behind the Metelkova barracks walls, bulldozers started to tear down the buildings63. This called for direct action.

In the evening of September 10th, 1993, a group of individuals mostly belonging to the historically discarded elements of the former alternative who failed to institutionalise, squatted the Metelkova complex. The city cut off electricity and water, the squatters found alternative ways to provide themselves with both, and held the longest cultural festival in the history of Ljubljana from September 1993 till June 1994.

Since the main political issue in Ljubljana became the access to public infrastructure (spaces, buildings, locations), a »Forum for the articulation of spaces of alterity« was set up in 1994.64 The Forum had some success: while the former law on the public interest in culture (1995)65 allowed independent (i.e., non-public) cultural institutions to »use« public infrastructural facilities but practically cut them off from the management of such infrastructure, the present law on the public interest in culture (2002) provides the possibility for non-public cultural institutions both to »use« and to »manage« public infrastructure.66

The present situation at Metelkova is the following. One building is under integral reconstruction (underground garage, »postmodern« co-existence of the old and the new elements etc.) and will be the seat of the government's Office for the natural and cultural heritage. Five buildings were restored: two host Slovene ethnographic museum, one is a student hostel, and two have been given

61 Called the »Metelkova« after the Metelko's Street where it is located.
62 Since 1998, the Association is called “Association of NGOs and autonomous creators in the area of culture and the arts”.
63 This was a non-authorised intervention. An investigation was opened and soon indicated that illegal attempts to appropriate valuable parts of the city space have most probably been initiated by parts of the city administration and of the management of the city public services. The investigation failed to yield results, though, and was finally given up.
64 See the thematic block “Spaces of creation, spaces of freedom”, edited by Bratko Bibič, in: Maska, vol. VIII, no. 5-6, autumn-winter 1999. – See also the documentation and analysis of the conflict between the “independents” and the “traditionalists” over the concept of the European Month of Culture, Ljubljana 1997, in: Časopis za kritiko znanosti vol. XXV, no. 184. – Also: Marina Gržinič, “Kulturna politika v postsocializmu. Primer Slovenija” /Cultural policy in post-socialism. The case of Slovenia/, in: Maska, vol. VIII, no. 5-6, autumn-winter 1999.
65 See Bratko Bibič, “Zakonodaja in infrastruktura” /Legislation and infrastructure/, idem.
66 Significantly, no “independent” cultural institution has so far tried to avail itself of this possibility. The draft national program for culture also envisages the obligation of the main holders of the cultural infrastructure - the great public cultural institutions - to expand their co-operation with ”the non-governmental organisations” for 20% of the present extent until the year 2007 (see: National program for culture 2004-2007 (draft), p. 15).
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over to the »use« of independent cultural institutions and NGOs for a non-market rent.67 The remaining four buildings are squats: they are being held in a reasonably good shape by improvised interventions of the squatters. The outcome of the ten-years position-war at Metelkova68 seems to confirm the European experts’ assessment that Slovene national cultural policy tends to favour tradition to the detriment of innovation.69

The squats are among the most innovative and propulsive cultural agents in the city of Ljubljana. This is true about Metelkova-based organisations in general, but the squats enjoy definite independence from financial sources and the authorities70. Being without a future, they do not have to care about good relations with the sources of financing, and do not have to flatter the authorities. Relations with artists and other performers rely upon common ideological horizon, and are to a large extent extra-economically motivated. This is a fortiori true for their Balkan-related activities, not only because the Balkans themselves often resemble a gigantic squat – but also because of the serious obstacles better regulated approaches are likely to encounter when dealing with the Balkans. Upon the squat-scene, the Balkan nexus works in both directions. As one of the participating Ljubljana artists puts it: »If we go abroad, we go to the Balkans. The scene there is not as commercialised as elsewhere in Europe, and people there still listen to each other.«71 This particular area of cultural life mostly relies on personal connections: not only on the production side (aesthetic affinities, reciprocal »in kind« exchange, specific management and organisational styles), but also on the side of audiences (the events are advertised through informal social channels, financial participation of the audience is often »according to one's capacities«, etc.). As a consequence, it is within this »margin of the margin« that the presence of groups with Balkan-connections in the city has the most powerful cultural impact.72

The squats are perfectly capable to tap regular financial sources. Subsidies etc. are channelled through associations whose preferred, or even exclusive, location of events are the squatted premises. A good example is »Menza pri koritu«73, a large performance hall with a stage and a bar, which serves (or is served by?) three organisations: the »Cultural and Artistic Association 'The Net'«, »The Association for the Defence of Atheist Feelings«, and the Youth Centre »Menza pri koritu«. This last juridic entity entitles the squat to receive support from the government's Office for the Youth.

State-regulated cultural policies

The general frame of the state-regulated cultural policies is set by the law on public interest in culture74 that defines public cultural policies as an intervention by the state and the local communities upon the market of cultural goods.75 Although the word »market« only occurs in the

67 The tenants have a renewable multi-year contract with the ministry of culture.
68 For a detailed account and analysis of the conflicts over Metelkova, see: Bratko Bibič (2003), Hrup z Metelkove. Tranzicije prostorov in kulture v Ljubljani /The Noise from Metelkova. Transitions of Spaces and Culture in Ljubljana/, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut - Peace Institute.
69 Michael Wimmer (1996), Cultural Policy in Slovenia, European Programme of National Policy Reviews, Council of Europe, CC-CULT (96) 22B.
70 They have to pay for their freedom by occasionally being victims of police harassment. Police incursions were particularly insistent during the summer 2000 and led to several incidents. See Mladina and Dnevnik of the epoch.
72 Paradoxically, the other area where the presence of the Balkans-connected population is strongly valorised, is the commercial pop and folk culture.
73 »Canteen at the manger«.
74 »Law on the enforcement of public interest in culture“ (Uradni list RS, no. 96-4807/2002, November 14, 2002; also in: Predpisi s področja kulture /Regulations in the area of culture/, Ljubljana: Uradni list, 2003).
75 In the next paragraphs, we comment the 25th article of the „Law on the enforcement of public interest in culture“: »The state and the local communities secure in the public interest conditions for the creation, mediation and conservation of the cultural goods which are not provided in sufficient quantity.
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law at this point, it clearly indicates the presumption that production for the market is the basic or the »neutral« mode of production in the area of culture. Since commodity-production is the »neutral«, »non-marked« production mode, the market-life of cultural goods and services is assumed as their »natural«, spontaneous mode of existence. Cultural production is clearly conceived as an integral part of the generalised commodity production, and the whole »life«-cycle of cultural goods is accordingly perceived as a component of the generalised commodity-economy. Still, it is assumed that the state may have to intervene in order to secure cultural goods and services of sufficient quality, or in sufficient quantity, or to provide for their sufficient accessibility.

Why does the liberal state think it should intervene?

Although the makers of Slovene state cultural policies agree with the critical tradition that the »natural« or the »systemic« forms of cultural life under capitalism are the commodified market-forms, they do not follow the critical tradition in the next step of this type of reasoning, and are not developing a critique of the capitalist marked economy in general nor a critique of its impact upon the sphere of culture in particular. What, then, may be the reason for which they consider that the state must nevertheless intervene into the market self-regulation?

According to the implicit philosophy of the law, the self-regulated cultural market may fail to provide goods and services of sufficient quality, or in sufficient quantity, or may not provide for their sufficient accessibility, on certain points of public interest. It is upon these points of »public interest« that the state and the local communities should intervene. The horizon of the public interest is generally defined as »the cultural development of Slovenia and the Slovene nation« (8th article), and is further specified as »securing the conditions for: cultural creativity; accessibility of cultural goods; cultural diversity; Slovene cultural identity; common Slovene cultural space« (the same article).

The stated necessity for the state to intervene in the public interest to secure the conditions for »cultural creation« and the »accessibility of cultural goods«, i.e., on the poles of production and consumption, of the »offer« and the »demand«, throws the shadow of a doubt over the happy assumption about the naturalness of the cultural market and its spontaneity. Indeed, one can hardly speak of »market« in a situation where, e.g., a publisher can expect to sell from 200 to 850 copies of a book during the first year after its publication.77

The market-talk is not just an expression of the ideological consensus of the policy makers, though. It is one of the tenets of the present European policies: the article 25 of the »Law on public interest in culture« faithfully translates into juridic terms one of the basic suggestions in the »European expert commission report«: »to acknowledge, and to respond to, the challenge of market forces in or quality on the market, or in the virtue of their accessibility to the largest circle of users. – The state or the local community secure public cultural goods in the form or in the mode of public service and with the support to particular cultural projects and public cultural programmes.« 76

76 Some native metaphysics. The formula “Slovenija in slovenski narod” refers to the “citizen” principle in its first component, and to the “ethnic” principle in its second component. This reflects the dual constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, fixed in the 3rd paragraph of the Constitution: “Slovenia is the state of all its citizens, founded upon the permanent and unalienable right of Slovene nation (slovenskega naroda) to self-determination.” – The Preamble to the Constitution refers to “the basic human rights and liberties, the fundamental and permanent right of Slovene nation to self-determination” and to “the historical fact that Slovenes have formed our national self-identity (samobitnost) and enforced our statehood in a centuries-long struggle for national liberation”. 77

77 In the year 2000, the median of realisation per title published in the same year was as follows. Fiction: non-subsidised (commercial) titles: 865 copies; subsidised titles: 302 copies. Social sciences and the humanities: non-subsidised titles: 745 copies; subsidised titles: 203 copies. See: Maja Breznik (2003), report on the research project Reading cultures under the new publishing conditions, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute.

78 Michael Wimmer (1996), Cultural Policy in Slovenia, European Programme of National Policy Reviews, Council of Europe, CC-CULT (96) 22B.
the cultural domain\textsuperscript{79}. The proposal is developed at some length in the preceding section 4.6 »How to strengthen the market forces in the area of cultural industry«. In this section, the key statements seem to be the following:

As Slovenia as a whole has opted for market economy, culture as its part must stand the test of the market forces, albeit with the support of the state. In a market economy, cultural industry is necessarily the backbone of all cultural activity. … On the other side, it is the task of the state to intervene whenever the market, for whatever reason, does not work appropriately. … The success of Slovene cultural policy will above all depend on its capacity to put up a frame for cultural industry, propelled mostly by the internal, and increasingly also by the international market.\textsuperscript{80}

More than the now common apology of the »market economy«, the element which should retain our attention in the quoted passage is its identification of the incidence of the »market economy« upon the cultural sphere, with the leading role of the »cultural industry« in this sphere.\textsuperscript{81} As the notion of »cultural industry« is of very limited descriptive, and of even more limited operational value because of the smallnes of any real or potential market in Slovenia (this is a \textit{a fortiori} true about any Slovene-language-dependent production), policy makers have the following options how to deal with the notional couple »cultural industry / cultural market«:

1. To keep their identification, and to introduce the notion of a separate domain of cultural production which is not industrial and whose economy is consequently not a market-economy.\textsuperscript{82}
2. To break down the equation of the market economy in culture with the development of cultural industry, and then:
   a. either to introduce the distinction between an industrial cultural market and a cultural market which is not industrial\textsuperscript{83},
   b. or to distinguish between a type of cultural industry which is market-drawn, and a type which is not\textsuperscript{84}.

\textsuperscript{79} See also the sections 4.7 “Influences of the market economy”, and 5.4 “From subsidising to financing: culture and the market economy”. There, the key expressions are: “new methods of management”, “new cultural partnership”, “self-initiative”, “business education”, “new marketing methods”, “cultural management”, “co-operation with the business sector”.


\textsuperscript{82} Such a move was, in a diluted compromise-form, actually proposed by the main author of the European expert commission report Michael Wimmer at the symposium “Cultural policy in Slovenia” (October 10 – 11, 1997): he proposed the transformation of the public state institutions into independent non-profit organisations which would not ignore the market mechanisms. See: Vesna Čopič, Gregor Tome (1998), eds., \textit{Kulturna politika v Sloveniji. Simpozij /Cultural Policy in Slovenia. Symposium/}, Ljubljana: FDV, pp. 118 ss.

\textsuperscript{83} A hint in this direction are suggestions to introduce “pre-capitalist” measures of “guild-control”, “professional” and “craft-corporative” standards (because of the “new spirit” of post-industrial capitalism, these seemingly “pre-capitalist” elements are much up-to-date): cf., in the conclusion of the editors’ introduction to the \textit{Cultural Policy in Slovenia. Symposium}, the suggestions to “integrate evaluations into the business cycle /of cultural organisations/ as a substitute for the market regulation”, “introduce ‘total quality management’, normativisation and standardisation /into cultural activities/”, “introduce strategic planning”, “secure managerial education” (idem, p. 41).

\textsuperscript{84} Although this position only seems logically, but not factually possible, it has been efficiently presented by Rajko Muršič at the same symposium. The author first criticises the classical Adorno-Horkheimer concept of “cultural industry” as obsolete and value loaded, and proposes the term “popular culture” for the culture which is defined by “the possibility of infinite reproduction of cultural goods”, and which is to be investigated in its “decisive aspects … those that have to do with the everyday lives of people, with their mode of appropriation and re-interpretation of … practices and products of popular culture”. The author further distinguishes between “highly profitable” genres of popular culture and those he alternatively calls “non-profit”, “non-profitable” and “non-commercial”. Both types of popular culture, according to the author, “decisively determine and in some way or other affect the predominant part of our integration into any culture”. (See: Rajko Muršič, “\textit{Množična oziroma popularna kultura v Sloveniji ali o kulturni industriji med nami} /Mass or popular culture in Slovenia or About cultural industry among us/, \textit{idem}, pp. 181 ss.)
Although all these options have been present in policy discussions the orientation which has prevailed in legislation and the actual policy doctrine, belongs to none of them. The prevailing orientation keeps the equation between the cultural market and cultural industry, and refuses to open the possibility of a non-industrial cultural market or a non-market-drawn cultural industry. Besides the trivial reason that this seemed, at a certain moment, to be the »European« position, and that nobody in the state wanted to counter it, we should look for deeper structural causes which would also explain the »Eurocentric« conformism, the inability to use or even to read other indications of »European« origin, and the persistence of this orientation even after it has become evident that this is not the only »European« option.

Generalisation of particular interests through identity politics

The two ultimate goals of the enforcement of public interest in culture, Slovene cultural identity and cultural diversity in Slovenia, can fairly be reduced to the uniform problematic of »(cultural) identity«: diversity only means a plurality of identities, and it is irrelevant whether these identities are based on ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or some »special need«. The irrelevance of the »identity-contents« is a condition of the legal guarantees and protective provisions concerning identity. For only under the condition that the notion of »identity« be, in principle, contents-free, can identity be warranted and protected in universalistic terms: and it cannot be guaranteed in any other way if it is to be regulated juridically, and promoted to the level of the proto-juridic condition of the law – on the level of human rights.

All this was aptly condensed in the first section of the first, and now abandoned, draft national cultural program under the title »The right to culture«:

The right to culture belongs to the complex of human rights and … entails also the right to one's own identity, one's own language and education. It has to be recognised in particular also to the minorities, immigrants and marginal groups to whom the state is obliged to make possible cultural activity and association, if necessary in their language.

In this vein, the draft national cultural program of the year 2000 defined groups of our particular interest as »the recent minorities whose main part is composed of members of the nations of former Yugoslavia who obtained Slovene citizenship but retained their ethnic belonging«. The draft of 2000 pointed out that these groups have no constitutional status, and defined, as the constitutional foundation for the safeguard of their cultural rights, the article 61 of the constitution (the article on the right »to express one's national belonging«).
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The now abandoned draft of 2000 introduced the expression »immigrants« which has later been consecrated by the »Law on the enforcement of public interest in culture« and adopted by the National program for culture 2004-2007 (draft), which is presently in procedure. Neither of the later two documents gives a definition of the »immigrant« groups. The only definition of »immigrants« presently available is thus the quoted wording of the abandoned draft of 2000 which has not passed through the due procedure and is consequently not a legal document. However, it should be noted that this definition restricts the status of »immigrant« to the citizens of Slovenia. It does not include »immigrant« non-citizens with permanent residence in the country, and a fortiori not the »immigrant« non-citizens working in the country. This restriction is a symptom of a special treatment applied by the Republic of Slovenia to the non-citizens »originating« in the republics of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

The two groups of »immigrants«: citizens and non-citizens

The »special treatment« applied to non-citizen residents from former Yugoslavia consisted in the act performed on February 26, 1992, by the administration of the Ministry of Interior by which this group was deprived of their status of »permanent residents« of Slovenia. The concerned persons were not notified of this act.

This incident confronts us with a poignant paradox. It could be stated in the following way: State-constructed »identitary« groups whose members are, in the case that they are not citizens, object of state violence, are, in their segment which is composed of citizens, recognised as cultural identitary groups and, as such, objects of state-protection and special care. As immigrants, the later are classified, together with other ethnic minorities, as one of the vulnerable groups, a larger social category whose extension is exemplified, in official documents, by the mention of »disabled, children«. The special state responsibility for vulnerable groups is formulated as the »enforcement of cultural rights as a dimension of human rights«, and materialises in »securing the conditions for authentic expression of cultural needs of various minority ethnic communities, vulnerable groups … and the basic conditions for conservation and development of their cultural identities«.

The two groups ( »immigrant« citizens and »foreigners« with no status) were constituted by the Law on Citizenship (1991) which provided that »persons from the republics of SFRY« can, under certain conditions, apply for Slovene citizenship. On the expiration of the application term, the group of

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90 Articles 65 and 66 of the “Law on the enforcement of public interest in culture”.
91 Accessible only on the Ministry of Culture web-site.
92 “Originating” does not mean “citizens of”: while the special treatment was certainly applied to persons who were citizens of other republics of former Yugoslavia, it was also applied to persons born of Slovene citizens in Yugoslavia outside Slovenia, and to persons born in Slovenia whose father was (or presumably was) a citizen of some other Yugoslav republic.
93 “The Law on the Public Interest in Culture…” speaks of “groups with special needs” (art. 65). Draft National Program for Culture 2004 – 2007 (Ministry of Culture, July 2003) speaks of “vulnerable groups” (pp. 3, 4, 49, 50, 51). On page 50, “minority ethnic communities” are presented as an exemplary case of “vulnerable groups”: “The mode of treatment of the minority problematics developed within the frame of a special program … has been well received by the minority ethnic communities and will be exemplary also for other vulnerable groups (invalids, children) needing special treatment.”
95 Idem, p. 50.
96 The most important condition for this “extraordinary naturalisation” (article 40 of “The Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia” of June 25, 1991) was permanent residence in Slovenia on December 23, 1990, the day of the referendum on independence. (The date was determined retroactively.) Interested persons were given a six-months term to apply. The term expired on February 25, 1992. On the next day, those who had not applied (or whose application had been, or, indeed, was to be, rejected) became “foreigners”.
97 According to official data (Tujski in državljanski statusi – Tiskovna konferenca urada za upravne notranje zadeve /Foreigner and citizen statuses – Press conference of the Office for administrative interior affairs/, June 19, 2002, Ljubljana: Ministry of Interior), some 174.000 persons applied; roughly 171.000 persons were granted citizenship,
»persons from the republics of SFRY« was split into two: into those who were granted citizenship\(^98\) (and who are now »culturally« categorised as »immigrants«); and those who became »foreigners«. As it transpired only much later, though, the residents among those new foreigners were also deprived of their resident status, without notification, and without legal justification. Since non-citizens »from the republics of SFRY« were the only resident foreigners subjected to this treatment, one could say that they formed a group with administrative existence: although the administrative action against them, performed on February 26, 1992, was illegal and unconstitutional\(^99\), its effects were real. A large number of persons\(^100\) who were »erased« from the register of permanent residents, were thus deprived of the basic condition for a legal status in the country: they could not

\(^98\) Some applications were rejected in violation of law and human rights. Rejections concerned either marginalised groups (Roma, former convicts – see: Jasminka Dedić, idem, p. 56) or former officers of the Yugoslav People’s Army. In 1994, the Ministry of Interior officially admitted that it was taking action against former officers of the Yugoslav People’s Army. The ministry also admitted it had composed a list of persons who should be excluded from citizenship even if they met the required conditions. After a year of pressures, coming also from the parliamentary commission for defense, the Ministry of Interior disclosed that the list comprised 778 names, but refused to hand it to the parliament “for operational reasons”. In 1997, the minister of interior Mirko Bandelj admitted that “the secret list of undesired persons” was “predominantly of political nature, had no foundations in regulations and was inadmissible from the standpoint of the state of law and the defence of human rights”. This did not abolish the consequences of actions taken on the grounds of the secret list. It appears that, by the virtue of the list, several persons were stripped of their already processed precedent (general Aksentijevič ruled that officers and soldiers of YPA who left Slovene territory on October 5, 1991, as convened by the Brioni agreement, did not participate to an agggression against Slovenia.) Persons who have committed acts of such a nature, should, according to the minister, be “excluded from the circle of the justified claimants”. Minister of agriculture and chairman of the Slovene People’s Party Franci But similarly requested the government was first temporalising five months, and was discretely organising “civil society” and “professional” resistance against the implementation of the Court's decision. The government finally decided to pass two laws on the matter. The first law would be “technical” and would estitute the illegally suppressed rights to the persons who have in the meanwhile obtained permanent residence and who, in addition, meet a number of other conditions; very restrictive, this law would cover some 3.800 persons. For the remaining majority, another law is to be passed later – again with many restrictive conditions, among which it was intended to include, according to the formulation of the minister of interior dr. Rado Bohine, the condition that the person “has not acted against the interests of Slovene state, has not interfered into its national interests or the interests of its security, has not, in some way, speculated with the political fate of independent Slovenia” (Delo, Ljubljana, September 4 and 5, 2003). Dnevnik (September 5, 2003) quotes the same minister as saying that permanent residence will not be granted “to those who actively took part in the aggression against Slovenia”. (The minister probably referred to the operation between June 27 and 30 during which Yugoslav People’s Army positioned themselves on all but one international border-crossings. It is not clear how the government of Slovenia, if challenged, could prove that the operation in question constituted an act of “aggression”. At least one already processed precedent (general Aksentijevič) ruled that officers and soldiers of YPA who left Slovene territory on October 5, 1991, as convened by the Brioni agreement, did not participate to an aggression against Slovenia.) Persons who have committed acts of such a nature, should, according to the minister, be “excluded from the circle of the justified claimants”. Minister of agriculture and chairman of the Slovene People’s Party Franci But similarly requested that “a distinction should be drawn between those to whom actual damage had been done, and those who acted against Slovene independence” (Delo, Ljubljana, September 4 and 5, 2003). – This condition was dropped from the law at the session of the government on November 12, 2003. – See also: ECRI (Council of Europe, »European Commission to Fight Racism and Intolerance«) Report on Slovenia, adopted in December, 2002, and delivered on July 8, 2003.

\(^99\) According to two rulings of the Constitutional Court: on February 4, 1999, and again on April 3, 2003. The second ruling imposed upon the authorities the obligation immediately to restitute the resident status to the concerned persons (Association of the “erased” has registered 18.305 persons) from February 26, 1992, on, and an obligation to pay a compensation for the damage. A fierce political battle ensued. The political establishment (parliamentary parties, coalition and opposition together) has once already tried to by-pass the Constitutional Court decision (in 1999). In 2003, the government was first temporalising five months, and was discretely organising “civil society” and “professional” resistance against the implementation of the Court's decision. The government finally decided to pass two laws on the matter. The first law would be “technical” and would estitute the illegally suppressed rights to the persons who have in the meanwhile obtained permanent residence and who, in addition, meet a number of other conditions; very restrictive, this law would cover some 3.800 persons. For the remaining majority, another law is to be passed later – again with many restrictive conditions, among which it was intended to include, according to the formulation of the minister of interior dr. Rado Bohine, the condition that the person “has not acted against the interests of Slovene state, has not interfered into its national interests or the interests of its security, has not, in some way, speculated with the political fate of independent Slovenia” (Delo, Ljubljana, September 4 and 5, 2003). Dnevnik (September 5, 2003) quotes the same minister as saying that permanent residence will not be granted “to those who actively took part in the aggression against Slovenia”. (The minister probably referred to the operation between June 27 and 30 during which Yugoslav People’s Army positioned themselves on all but one international border-crossings. It is not clear how the government of Slovenia, if challenged, could prove that the operation in question constituted an act of “aggression”. At least one already processed precedent (general Aksentijevič) ruled that officers and soldiers of YPA who left Slovene territory on October 5, 1991, as convened by the Brioni agreement, did not participate to an aggression against Slovenia.) Persons who have committed acts of such a nature, should, according to the minister, be “excluded from the circle of the justified claimants”. Minister of agriculture and chairman of the Slovene People’s Party Franci But similarly requested that “a distinction should be drawn between those to whom actual damage had been done, and those who acted against Slovene independence” (Delo, Ljubljana, September 4 and 5, 2003). – This condition was dropped from the law at the session of the government on November 12, 2003. – See also: ECRI (Council of Europe, »European Commission to Fight Racism and Intolerance«) Report on Slovenia, adopted in December, 2002, and delivered on July 8, 2003.

\(^100\) Estimations vary. The most recent official numbers quoted by dr. Rado Bohine, minister of interior, are the following: number of “files” – 46.000; number of “erased” – more than 28.000; from among the later, 10.000 left the country; from among the remaining 18.000, 7.000 have meanwhile obtained citizenship; 4.800 obtained permanent or temporary residence; some 4.200 persons remain without status (Delo, Ljubljana, September 4 and 5, 2003).
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obtain legal employment, they lost health insurance, could no more receive pensions, remained without a passport, etc.\textsuperscript{101}

“Immigrant” citizens – beneficiaries of the politics of recognition

In contrast to non-citizen “immigrants”, objects of administrative violence, “immigrant” citizens are considered to be a culturally “vulnerable” group: “authentic expression of their cultural identity”\textsuperscript{102} is considered as needing special attention and promotion. While this consideration may be new for the country at large, it only gives an official blessing to the existing practice in the city of Ljubljana\textsuperscript{103}: in Ljubljana, identity cultural politics has been sustained during the difficult period of “transition” – but not to much avail, it seems. So that the “politics of recognition” presently advocated by the government seems both belated and misplaced. Results of a sociological research, conducted in 2002, will help us to understand why.

Sociological co-ordinates of the “Balkan nexus”

Our action research in which we studied ten Ljubljana neighbourhoods, shows … /that the loss of communal resources through denationalization and privatization during the transition era has /had/ an ominous impact on the community life, and in consequence, also on the options available to individuals, their social participation and attitudes towards groups that are traditionally victims of prejudices and stereotypes.\textsuperscript{104}

The /city/ authorities in the Ljubljana area do not invest in the social structure of any community /researched/ (facilities, bus connections, infrastructure, support in activating the community etc.).


\textsuperscript{102} The expression “authentic” figures three times in the National program for culture 2004-2007 (draft) – all the three times with the reference to minority groups. »II. Aim: To enhance the part of integrated minority programs within the programs supported by the Ministry of Culture. – Measure: Priority support to superior programs and projects with minority contents and priority support to authentic contributions to cultural diversity.« (P. 49.) – »2. Aim: Securing the conditions for authentic expression of the cultural needs of various ethnic communities, vulnerable groups; encouragement of the development of minority cultures towards their authentic expression; and securing the basic conditions for preservation and development of their cultural identities.« (P. 50; italics ours.)

\textsuperscript{103} Information on the particularities of the “transitional” cultural developments in Ljubljana was provided by Jože Meden, secretary of the Union of Cultural Associations of Ljubljana, during the interview on March 11, 2003. It was confirmed during the interview with Jože Osterman, chairman of the Board of the Union, May 13, 2003. – While the “hat” organisation (Union of Cultural Organisations) was dismantled with the advent of the present political system and its staff (with important reductions) incorporated into the municipal administration, Ljubljana cultural associations anticipated the possible negative effects of these re-arrangements, and took measures to retain their local “hat” Union. Although Ljubljana is now better off in this respect than the rest of the country, the general conditions nevertheless deteriorated under the new system. An important element in deterioration is the loss of the infra-structure: many of the amateur cultural organisations were using facilities belonging to the “local communities”, a grass-roots form of organisation which, under the previous political system, mediated between the city authorities and the city communities (“quarters”); “local communities” articulated the needs and initiatives of city-residents and channelled them towards the municipal authorities. “Local communities” were abolished in 2001. Their “community centres” were mostly converted to commercial use (hired out by the city authorities), others were de-nationalised. “… the loss of community centres … has had long-term negative consequences on the development of the community and the participation of people, which in turn has, or will have, an impact on the development of the city /of Ljubljana/ as a whole. … The common claim /by the people interviewed/ was that the loss of community centres meant the end of the community as a place of joint action. Links among people have become fewer as have options for joint actions. People no longer establish interpersonal links, while loneliness and personal dissatisfaction are increasing. … The lack of information is an obstacle to participation. It can cause individual isolation and deepen social inequalities … causes loss of control over events that have a significant effect on everyday life.” (Srečo Dragoš and Vesna Leskošek (2003), Social Inequality and Social Capital, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, pp. 52-53.)

\textsuperscript{104} Srečo Dragoš and Vesna Leskošek (2003), Social Inequality and Social Capital, Ljubljana: Mirovni inštitut – Peace Institute, p. 8, italics ours.
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They support only profitable activities. … The ever-diminishing possibilities for participation at the community level have produced reverse trends in Ljubljana: exchange of information has been deteriorating and consensus is increasingly more difficult to reach. … the trends mentioned have a dramatic influence on the emotional state and the expression of collective needs. People living in the communities studied in this research /have/ arrived at the same conclusions themselves. They have noticed that the lack of activities, socialization, entertainment and action has left them more lonely and isolated, has created difficulties in reaching consensus, and has made them more distrustful and passive. Dissatisfaction has also increased, entailing a general feeling of distrust that manifests itself as a refusal of, or intolerance towards, people who are the victims of stereotypes and prejudice, in our case immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics.105

Social effects of the neo-liberal “transition” negatively affect population at large, but more intensively so those groups “who are the victims of stereotypes and prejudice”. Weakening of social links, atomisation, isolation certainly hurt more those who have been isolated and lacking social links before. The reasons of this initial isolation evoked by the authors, are cultural or ideological: “stereotypes and prejudice”. So some sort of cultural action, like affirmation of “identity”, may seem adequate: that is, adequate if one does not question the general “trends” which affect population at large, regardless to their “identities”; and if one believes that a negative identity, ascribed to the “immigrants” within a process of construction of a “non-immigrant, autochtonous” Slovene identity, could be transformed to the better by fostering an analogous development within the stereotyped community. Without entering further into the apories of “the politics of recognition”, we can already say that it could, at the best, pretend to contribute to a more equal distribution of social misery. While misery itself results from other sorts of processes:

Differences between individual communities are big, especially between the countryside and inner city areas. … The picture of the /city/ itself changes if people from its countryside have no social power and cannot influence urban politics. Their access to urban resources is virtually nil. For example, the fringes of Trnovo are inhabited by a large community of immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia who are isolated from the wider community. Their neighbourhood lacks a sewage system, street lights and other urban features. These people live at the fringes of the community, or rather, at its margins.106

The immediate reason for the desolation of this neighbourhood is not “cultural”, but, initially, “legal”: it has been built, as the argot has it, “on the black”, i.e., without the due legal procedures. However, the reasons why its residents had to resort to illegal forms of settling, and to look for the blind spots in the city-planning system, are social and economic: employed in the sectors weakly covered by the former socialist solidarity-system, or not eligible to profit from it (as season workers, or illegally employed, etc.), they formed a stratum of sub-proletariat who, even under socialist solidarity-system, suffered over-exploitation and exclusion. Now, the question why, in a developed immigrant country that Slovenia used to be in Yugoslavia, social strata of this kind were predominantly formed by “immigrants from other Yugoslav republics”, resembles Lichtenberg’s joke reported by Freud: “He wondered how it is that cats have two holes cut in their skin precisely at the place where their eyes are.”107 While reduction of social meaning of skin-particularities to structural relations is trivial to a sociological perspective, the belief in their organic interdependence is automatic to the common mind:

The entire neighbourhood of Nove Fužine has been proclaimed a ghetto and associated with poverty and crime simply because the majority of residents come from ex-Yugoslavia. … The association of Nove Fužine with crime and poverty

105 Idem, pp. 66-67, italics ours.
106 Idem, p. 64.
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is obviously not related to the official records on criminal offences or poverty, but to the prejudice that says people from the south commit crimes. It seems that a contemporary re-construction of the “classes laborieuses – classes dangereuses” construct is here at work in “ethnicated” terms, and materialised in the apparatuses of the neoliberal civil-society humanitarianism:

...a number of organisations not based in the community carry out their activities in Nove Fužine /thus/ maintaining its image of a problematic neighbourhood in a patronizing manner. /In Nove Fužine, public services are very active as are several other organizations, although none of these has been established by the locals – the main reason why they moved in was the ghetto image of the community.

Ideologically segregated and administratively created pseudo-ethnic communities thus seem to be an object of cultural care when basic infrastructural and general socio-economic intervention would be needed, and to be an object of humanitarian intervention when they do not need it.

The paradox of the “immigrant” social capital

This, of course, is just a common-sensical assessment. It nevertheless points to a certain systematic displacement, common to legal provisions, administrative arrangements and “civil society” engagements. What may be at stake in this displacement, and what we should consider the supressed pivot upon which the construction of the “ex-Yugoslav” pseudo-ethnicity turns, may be inferred from the following statements:

/In the view of local Karitas activists/, the /Trnovo/ community is unconnected and alienated. More connections can be found among immigrants from the former Yugoslavia.

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108 Srečo Dragoš and Vesna Leskošek, idem. The authors take care to demonstrate the falsity of this belief: “In fact the statistical data show that the crime rate in this neighbourhood is lower than in other urban neighbourhoods. … According to the police, Nove Fužine is comparable to the town of Nova Gorica /a rather rich and well-developed city on the Italian border/ in terms of population size, but the number of criminal offences in the latter is twice as great. As regards poverty, the story is similar.” (Ibidem.)


110 Since every ethnicity is a construct, the quotation marks may here be redundant. We keep them nevertheless, since the “ex-Yugoslav” belonging is not accepted as auto-ethnographic description by all, or by a majority of, the individuals classified as such by the ideology materialised in the Law on Citizenship (1991). On this ideology in the media, see: Tonoč Kuzmanić (1999), Hate-Speech in Slovenia. Slovenian Racism, Sexism and Chauvinism, Ljubljana: Mirovn inštitut – Peace Institute; about this ideology in the media, in the speech of the political class and in public opinion polls, see: Roman Kuhar, Tomaž Trplan, eds. (2002 and 2003), Intolerance Monitor – Reports no. 1 and 2, Ljubljana: Mirovn inštitut – Peace Institute. Specifically on the Balkanist ideology, see: Nikola Janović (2003), “Reprezentacija balkanske popularne folkløre v slovenskih medijih” /representation of the Balkan popular folklore in Slovene media/, Medijska preža – Mediawatch Journal, nos. 17-18, October 2003, Ljubljana: Mirovn inštitut – Peace Institute.

111 Srečo Dragoš and Vesna Leskošek, op. cit., p. 60.

112 Idem, p. 82.

113 Cf. the following remarks on the neighbourhood of Trnovo: “Poverty is not immediately visible and is actually confined to the fringes of the community consisting mainly of individual houses that were built without construction permits, so water supply and sewage system are not regulated there. This part is inhabited mainly by immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. … Public social security services are not present in the community.” (Idem, p. 80.) – On the neighbourhood of Kozarje: “The denationalization process left them without common facilities that accommodated various activities. The neighbourhood has been quite passive since. … There are no social programs save for the Red Cross… The community members expressed a wish for more links with the Centre for Social Work which is currently not active in the community. … The greatest number of difficulties is experienced by the families from ex-Yugoslav republics.” (Idem, p. 92.) – On Lipoglav: “Immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia are mainly isolated. Public services in the community are not active. …/According to the representative of municipality, t/he most isolated group is that composed of immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia… Public services are not active and there are no links with the Centre for Social Work or medical services.” (Idem, p. 93).
In the opinion of the Fužine Consulting Office activists, interpersonal links in Nove Fužine are mainly formed on the basis of nationality. They think that Slovenians are the least interconnected. Immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia are the only residents that many communities identify as isolated. Such is the case of Trnovo, Kozarje, Šmartno and Lipoglav. Owing to the lack of personal and community networks, they frequently live in poverty, but the level of solidarity and self-help among them is higher. They are more closely linked, and this has been observed by the representatives of all the communities mentioned above and has also been observed by outsiders for Nove Fužine. This type of linkage is also a survival strategy, because the majority population in the community exclude immigrants and push them to the margins.

Ex-Yugoslavs are, then, at the same time isolated and better interconnected – than the non-ex-Yugoslavs groups, that is. This paradoxical information was, symptomatically, gathered from individuals not belonging to the ex-Yugoslavs category – in Nove Fužine, where the neighbourhood and its representatives are themselves multicultural, it took an outsider to notice this. Presumed ex-Yugoslavs possess, in the eyes of the majority population, an excess of social connectivity. Not an absolute surplus, nor a quantitative redundancy, since it only supplements to the deficit of what is considered to be the normal, habitual social connections – but, precisely, an excess situated outside the presumed normality. It is this sort of connections which is targeted, in order to be intercepted and regulated, by the identitary politics of recognition now declared by the government, and already practiced by Ljubljana city authorities. Identitary protection thus puts under control the social capital which has hitherto been functioning outside the scope of the state, and which is one of the most important components in the survival-strategies of interested individuals. Protected and supported, they are drawn back into the horizon of state control – not as over-exploited strata of the working classes, nor as residents of underdeveloped urban areas, nor even as victims of legal and administrative abuse, but as possessors of cultural rights and members of identitary communities. Of the communities that cannot even constitute themselves without reference to a universalist ideology, and without being recognised by the conjunctural representative of this ideology, the state. This politics, it should be noted, prescribes the frame to identitary constitution. It breaks down the pseudo-category of ex-Yugoslavs, and enforces normalised ethnic categories. Persons who have been segregated as belonging to an extended pseudo-category, are recognised as members of restricted ethno-national groups. To be precise, these are groups of identitary individuals, caught in the vicious circle no identitary individual without the recognition of the identitary group, but no identitary group without recognition of individual rights a vicious circle that can only be broken by cultural and legal state-apparatuses. By recognising cultural rights of identitary individuals, the state culturalises their social capital, which, with some or even with most of them, is their survival-social capital. By culturalising their social capital, the state makes it dependent upon itself. By

114 Idem, p. 80.
115 Idem, p. 84.
116 Idem, p. 65.
117 Contrary to the administrative classification of the Law on Citizenship of 1991, the documents which established the notion of “immigrants” (“Law on public interest in culture”, 2002; National program for culture 2004-2007 (draft), 2003), classify the cultural identities of the ethnic “vulnerable” groups as “Croats, Serbs, Macedonians” etc. In contrast to administrative classifications, agents of the most important public actions undertaken by the “immigrants” fit neither into the syleptic category of “former Yugoslavs” nor into the “national” categories. The two actions that are presently performed by “immigrants” and which transcend the identitary cultural horizon, cut across the “national” classifications, and do not coincide with the group of “ex-Yugoslavs”: the legal litigation initiated by the Association of the Erased which resulted in the second decision of the Constitutional Court (April 3, 2003), and the consequent activities for the implementation of the decision; and the initiative of the Islamic Community of Slovenia to build a mosque in Ljubljana (which only seems to meet a positive response from the authorities under strong pressures by the human rights organisations and under the newly elected social-democrat city mayor). The most recent development on this front is the petition of a coalition of “immigrant” cultural associations requesting from the parliament to promote the “immigrant” communities into the constitutional status of minorities of full right. Most relevant to our point is the fact that the petitioners’ self-definition is political, not cultural: “associations of the constitutive nations of the former SFRY”. Indeed, the coalition embraces them all: Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Serbs.
submitting this »capital« to its cultural recognition mechanisms, the state strips it of its eventual political potential. Not only does the state now exercise its control in a »liberal« way, since it maintains a hold over the social link regardless to the particular ideology in which this link is embodied for (various groups of) its »natives«, it also extends its grasp over the networking capacities of identity individuals, the critical potential for every individual living under the regime of the contemporary »new spirit of capitalism«.  

Some interim conclusions

Our research so far tends to show that »identity« as »operational« policy notion induces groups defined in its terms into a cultural ghetto, and folklorises their cultural activities. Cultural policy which relies upon »identity« and analogous notions, imposes a »Mondrian« type of map upon the city: it sterilises the »Balkan nexus« into a folkloristic curiosity and a cultural relict. The real life for the »Balkan nexus« is on the side of »policies« defined in the terms of aesthetic or political options. Paradoxically, it is not the constructive identity approach, embracing small numbers of people into identity communities and mapping identity groups onto pacifying cultural maps, that works towards social dynamism, innovation and cohesion. It is the opposite principle, the principle of distinction, division and separation that binds people into enjoyable, innovative, desirable… modes of being, working, playing together.

To sum this survey up, we should underline that identity cultural policies do not really pursue »cultural« goals – but are a mechanism of reproduction of social relations of domination and subjection. To verify or to falsify this contention, we will need to develop a stronger conceptual apparatus within a more extensive discussion.

II. MEDIA

The Media Landscape in Ljubljana

In the city of Ljubljana, there exist types of media that conditionally fit into the so-called multicultural scheme, and have a practical relevance to the Changing City Spaces research project.

1) Public media (radio and television) with two specific programmes serving the two "autochtonous" "national" minorities (see below). Orientation and endeavour towards a multicultural public television seem to be insufficient.

2) Civic media are associated with cultural industry and various cultural practices, with a preference for sub-, counter- and alternative cultures. They show a particular propensity to present cultural, political and social processes in the Balkans, and have a network of partners and correspondents in the region. There are only few such media in Slovenia; in Ljubljana, Radio Študent, the cultural journal Baca is and (partly) the weekly Mladina could be classified as "civic".

3) Commercial media do not show any indicators of readiness for close cooperation with the Balkan media and cultural production, with the exception of Radio Solomon. Being a commercial station with a conspicuously "light" attitude, Radio Salomon does not actually

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119 This is presently a matter of debate within the research team as a whole and among its individual members.
promote multicultural values or engage issues of cultural diversity or complexity. Still, it provides the largest amount of all (“light”, popular) types of the Balkan music to the widest (multicultural) audience in Ljubljana. Radio Salomon is sponsoring a great number of Balkans-related (commercial) cultural events.\(^\text{120}\)

Cutting across these three categories, a specific type of media provide Balkans-related information and production, and try to operate explicitly within a multicultural dimension. Most of them have established a number of intermedia networks enable the flow of information, entertaining subjects and cultural varieties. These are primarily radio stations (the most penetrating Crossradio and Radio Študent), and a cultural journal Balcanis (edited by intellectuals from the former Yugoslavia, and based in Ljubljana); in a somewhat different scope, also the weekly Mladina (global political approach) and Radio Salomon (esp. its contact-music programme).

The most important aspect of these "specific" media seems the content of their production. It is intended for certain target populations who, in this or that specific way, “identify” with the offered contents. The flow of information which is generated for all those in any way related to the Balkans, is highly important not only for the preservation of cultural heritage and tradition, but even more for the day-to-day continuous influx of information and cultural influence from the Balkan region. This creates and preserves the so-called multicultural context in the city of Ljubljana. Within these "Balkan-open" media we may distinguish two approaches - the popular-pluralistic approach and the alternative approach.

Media production and types of media which concern the Balkan nexus in Slovenia:

Television

1. **Public media** (radio and television)

1) SLOVENE NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL TELEVISION CHANNELS broadcast weekly two TV programmes designed for the two constitutionally recognised "autochthonous national communities". The Italian community: Koper-Capodistria has a bilingual TV programme and provides the late evening news on the national TV SLO1; the Hungarian community: bilingual broadcast HIDAK (Bridges) on the second national channel (SLO2). The Roma community, although constitutionally recognised, has no proper TV programmes. - The Balkan communities as "new" minorities (or "immigrants") are not included in the national TV scheme/programme, although they represent the majority of the "non-Slovene" population (10%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>TV Slovenia</th>
<th>TV Koper</th>
<th>TV Pika</th>
<th>TV Paprika</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

\(^{120}\) In 1989, the first transmitting frequency to be allocated to a commercial TV station in the then Yugoslavia was given to Kanal A (Ljubljana). After 1993, another two commercial TV stations followed with a similar coverage of the national territory (over 60%): TV 3 and POP TV (the later is the only producer of TV programmes broadcast by three local TV stations). The number of viewers of POP TV, whose majority ownership is held by a US company (CMT), has been growing rapidly and, in recent years, has exceeded the audience levels of the public television programmes.
2. Non-Slovene channels

A case study conducted on the Belgrade-based TV PINK demonstrated that the presence of Balkan transnational radio and television in Ljubljana’s multicultural urban frame has important role in the cultural life of the Balkan minority population and the wider multicultural population (particularly the culturally intermixed population and the second and third generations of "immigrants" in Ljubljana).

A large majority of households in Slovenia have access to satellite TV. Within the standard menus offered by satellite TV providers, there figures at least one channel for each community from the former Yugoslavia:

- Hrvatska TV 1 (Croatian Public Television Channel)
- Hrvatska TV 2 (Croatian Public Television Channel)
- Hrvatska TV 3 (Croatian Public Television Channel)
- Braća Karić (Serbian Commercial Television Channel)
- TV PINK (Serbian Commercial Television Channel)
- RTV Srbija (Serbian Public Television Channel)
- TV Crna Gora (Montenegrin Public Television Channel)
- Makedonija SatTV or MKTV Satelit (Macedonian Public Television Channel)
- RTV Kosova Sat (Kosovo-Albanian Public Television Channel)
- TV Bosnia and Herzegovina (Public Channel of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

With this scheme, agreed between the state and satellite operators/distributors, the state assures minimal cultural/informational media linkage of each minority with their national society. For open access, it is necessary to pay or to buy satellite decoder card. In this way, minimal conditions of media pluralism and access to daily information (political, cultural, economical…) are assured. Important cultural and other needs of the minority population are secured on a minimal level and to the disadvantage of the non-majority population.

Radio

Slovene radio stations

Only two radio stations heard in the city of Ljubljana, can be linked specifically to the Balkan-related cultural and societal flows. 1) RADIO STUDENT (student radio broadcasts a multicultural programme) 2) RADIO SALOMON (Radio Salomon has an open attitude towards the Balkans, and once a week broadcasts a contact programme with popular and “turbo folk” music hits from ex-YU.)

Only two from among 75 Slovenian radio stations have cultural and informational programmes for the Balkan ethnic communities. Radio Student broadcasts alternative programmes designed for younger population and politically-culturally-ethnically-religiously correct population open for recognition of the others and the otherness. In this case, we could recognize a real multi-cultural concept.

Radio Salomon is a commercial radio station based on the market logic. They trade their programme scheme with regard to the demands. If they have been trading the so-called Balkan programme for the last 5 years, it could be said that a commercially interesting “Balkan
market/auditory” exists. In some way, this confirms the vitality of the Balkan community in Slovenia/Ljubljana.

The most significant findings refer to the concern with insufficiency of any independent, multicultural and minority media institutions (and of adequate media policy) in Ljubljana. This situation rises a range of alarming issues concerning the cultural rights (stated in the constitution) as part of human rights of the "non-autochthonous minority” groups.

Our survey of the existing visual media and audio media has recognised Radio Študent (Student Radio) as the first and the only medium who is at the same time developing and scheduling radio programme with a direct and equal participation of members of the minority groups (Roma people and other ex-YU collaborators and audiences). Radio Študent targets (and, it should be added, actually creates) a wider multicultural audience and indirectly meets the rights of the minority groups in Ljubljana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Radio Študent</th>
<th>Radio Salomon</th>
<th>Radio Slovenia</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
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**Case study 1: Radio Študent**

At present, Radio Študent is the only medium in Slovenia with a regular weekly programme in Serbo-Croatian language, dealing primarily with the issues of refugees, social integration (inclusion/exclusion), Balkan politics, multicultural issues, Balkan music etc.

**MULTICULTURAL WEEKLY PROGRAMMES ON RADIO STUDENT**

- *CrossLJradio/ Multicultural Radio Station Network* (Cross Ljubljana Radio/Multicultural Radio station network). - Cross Radio is a network of independent radio stations, non-governmental organisations and youth clubs from the South-East European region.
- *Okopi slave revisited - Transkulturni ekspres* (Glory/fame revisited - trans-cultural express).
  - Trans-cultural music programme principally reserved for Balkan music, world music etc.
- *Romano Drumo* (Roma programme for Roma and all who want to become Roma).

Radio Študent is searching its own (new) identity in the so called democratic environment re-establishing itself as an alternative cultural urban non-profit radio station – as a radio open to presentation of contemporary sensitive topics, such as Slovenian national question, social and cultural conflicts in Slovenia, political struggles, accession to EU etc.

Radio Student as a non-profit, alternative urban community (covering diverse cultural & social strata) has as its primary objective to promote and investigate the generally ignored issues faced by the student community and marginalized social and cultural groups. By doing so, it also educates its listeners and promotes tolerance, respect for the difference of opinion, freedom, truth, solidarity, multiculturalism. Promotion of these values is carried out first as education of listeners and then as
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a "reflexive" mirror to the Slovene society, where listeners can check to what extent they are ready to accept the widely proclaimed values in reality

Case study 2: Project Cross Radio

One of the several principles of function of the whole project (network) Cross radio is the promotion of media propaganda as multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-political and multi-social dialogue intended to urban youth from the Southeast European region. Besides this, Cross radio represents non-governmental sector in all countries participating in the network, treats the position of the urban youth population in the time of transition. Among the most exposed are issues like presentation of the social and ethnic distinctions in the Southeast region through the areas of culture and presentation of the possibilities of the new media and their role in the contemporary urban transitional society.

Case study 3: Radio Salomon

Radio Salomon is interesting as a commercial radio station because its marketing approach is oriented towards the young population with certain music taste (modern made folk music) The listeners of this broadcasts are people of different ethnic backgrounds and those who are on any way (imaginary, through relatives, cultural…) connected with the “Balkan milieu”. The marketing strategy of Radio Salomon was successful, and the station is now commercially very popular and listened to.

Print media

The great majority of, and the most influential, print media (newspapers, magazines…) designed for the Balkan communities in their national languages are not printed in Slovenia. (The few exceptions are treated in the next paragraph.) They are imported and distributed by Slovene local distributors – mostly by Delo (the leading Slovene newspaper company). Former Yugoslav daily newspapers can be bought at the local newspaper shops with one day of delay. On the account of the small market (small population), there is no interest of regular and timely delivery of printed media from ex-YU.

Several local community print media designed for Balkan and other minorities are printed in Slovenia: Association of Serbs - publication Beseda, Bosnian cultural association - publication Bošnjak, Union of Italians – publication Le Voce del Popolo, Hungarian Institute for Information – publications Nepujsag, Lendva hirado and Barazdak and Union of Roma – publications Romano Them and Romske Novice.

WEB

Case study 4: WEB Pages

Measured by the activity on the Internet, the Bošnjak/Islamic community in Slovenia seems to be the most active actor, engaged in the "web" promotion of their culture. Recently we can find two Internet pages designed for all who are interested in a particular culture of living – the Islam. These webs are: BOŠNJAK INTERNET PORTAL (Bosnian internet front gate) and ISLAMSKA SKUPNOST JESENICE (Islamic society Jesenice – small working class city in Slovenia). Both societies are producing webs with religious, cultural and information desk contents. They are publishing up-to-date information concerning religion, culture, economy and international and domestic policy. Attention is focused on the questions of Islam, the state of Islam in Slovenia and
abroad etc. Both pages comprehend links to European and non-European Islamic webs. They offer virtual reading of Koran, chat rooms and forum – debating rooms, up-to-date news from the worldwide Muslim newspapers, representation of world affairs with special attention on the Muslim world.

Besides the two Islamic webs we should mention FORUM – debating chat room. Forum is a virtual space for the exchange of textual forms and ideas on appointed political thematic/problematic in Slovene/Ljubljana society. For the moment, the most interesting theme is the discussion about the pros and cons to build mosques in Ljubljana and other Slovene cities. It is not possible to fail to observe “hot” discussions in almost all Balkan languages. In this respect, Forum is a case of open anonymous virtual society and constitutes a real multi-cultural society of dialogue.

On the other hand users/producers of the home web pages and contexts of their home Internet pages could be seen as a confirmation of the multi-cultural existence in Slovenia. On their home pages, users/producers are representing their selves and their areas of interest. According to the areas of interest, the languages they are using and the diverse web links they are offering, we could say that this is a genuine multicultural practice.

Internet as a space of virtual communication and virtual meetings allows a kind of trans-cultural mutual connection and communication. Non-disclosed identities, relative security and safety at least make possible real pronunciation of opinions/beliefs, since there is no danger of nocive effects for the user/producer. Forum – space for communication and discussion – and Home webs could be understood as authentic indicator of multicultural existence (and practise) and as an expression of strong interest in resolving social problems by the means of cultural dialogue. At the same time, this poses a conceptual problem. In both cases we are observing individuals as members of a larger minority society and not societies online. For this reason, the only web societies are the Islamic society Jesenice and the Bosnian Internet forum.

The Law on the media

According to the law on the media (the law of 2001 resumes and further regulates arrangements which have initially been introduced by the media law of 1994), the state guarantees support for the development of non-commercial public media. This means, among other things, that the state is preserving “the identity of the Slovene nation”, as well as it secures the media for the Italian and Hungarian minorities. Considerable attention is given to the protection of pluralism and transparency of the public media. “Non-autochthonous” minorities or “immigrants” (i.e., the whole of what we consider the “Balkan nexus”) who are not specifically recognised in the Constitution and who form about 10% of the population, have no place in the public media, although they are an integral part of Slovene society, and also pay taxes. Their presence in the public media could be secured on the basis of the article 61 of the Constitution (individual right to national belonging, to the cultivation and expression of one’s own culture, and to the use of one’s own language and writing) – as this is regulated in the area of culture (in the specific domain of the jurisdiction of the ministry of culture). But so far this has not been the case.

Since 2001, considerable attention has been given to the harmonisation of Slovene media legislation with the EU legislation (European law on the media). Esp. regulations concerning co-ownership of the media, advertising (advertising standards) and the area of the foreign programmes (foreign and own production).

Some interim conclusions on the media landscape in Ljubljana

The goals of the Ministry of Culture written down in the document “Standards and Criteria for Funding, Co-financing or Subsidising Cultural Programmes and Projects in 2001 From the Part of
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the National Budget Earmarked for Culture”, are funding of minority cultural activities, stimulating and integrating the two constitutionally recognised national communities (Italian and Hungarian), the Roma community, other minority ethnic communities and immigrants, into Slovenian cultural area. These goals of the Department for Minority Activities of the Ministry of Culture which are supported also by the government's Office for Nationalities, seem very hard to be achieved in a short period, although they are part of the basic human rights guaranteed by the Slovenian Constitution. Minority media arrangements are meant to ensure a minimum of the minority cultural needs, but this rule effects only (“both autochthonous” and “non-autochthonous”) minority printed media, and does not effect the so called “new” minorities (non-autochthones), namely groups from the former Yugoslavia as far as the audio and audio-visual media are concerned. It seems that particular problems arise because Italian and Hungarian minorities are privileged in the sense of extended rights\textsuperscript{121} with regard to Roma and the “new minorities”. Roma minority living in Slovenia, its rights and status shall be regulated by law, is laid in the Constitution in the article 65\textsuperscript{122}. It means that Roma community (for now) has some benefits: 1 hour, 5 times/year of television programme on TV As, weekly radio broadcast on Murski Val (Murska Sobota) and weekly broadcast programme on Program D (Novo Mesto). On the other side, there is an important lack of will to support the development of audio and audiovisual media for the new minorities.

We believe that this kind of situation constitutes a “state of emergency” which calls for changes in order to recognize and ratify all the new minorities without making a distinction between the autochthones and the non-autochthones, to support all minority communities and to enable the development of a media strategy (the structures of minority media system in Ljubljana/Slovenia).

\textit{Summa summarum}

The majority of the Balkan population lives in larger Slovenian cities. The largest ethnical minorities are in Ljubljana where there is also the largest media concentration. Media, in their everyday activity – informing, representing, entertaining etc., are implicitly or explicitly forming/shaping (pedagogical upbringing) target audiences. Among their various activities, media have an important role in re-shaping public opinion about common matters. In this sense, we can say that mass media cooperate in re-construction of (political) domestic minority identities, foreign identities and un-naturalized foreign individual identities from the Balkan territory, which are different from (sociological) social identities. Effect of mass media activity has a permanent influence on the construction of “the foreigners” and on the building of the Balkan minority identity.\textsuperscript{123}

Contemporary Slovene society should come to terms with the fact that Balkan minorities are part of Slovene reality. Only after the recognition of this fact and after drawing practical consequences from it, Slovene society/culture will be able to become a multi-cultural society. A strong role in the re-opening of Slovene society/culture to the Balkan/other cultures is played by the Balkan “parade horses” – music, theatre and film production. That means: cultural exchange and global market flows (and mass media advertising) take a great part in the process of cultural re-shaping of Slovene society.

On the other hand, absence of the Balkan communities' mass media production makes better communication and cultural representation impossible. Balkan minorities in Slovenia have a weak media presence and organisation. The question is: Do the Balkan minorities feel a need for some media organisation and institutionalisation – or are they practicing alternative forms of organizing their communities?

\textsuperscript{121} Bilingual education, bilingual administration, parlamentary representation etc laid in Constitution article, 64.
\textsuperscript{122} There is no specific law about the Rights of Roma so far.
The fact is, that the so-called “Balkans” stands in dually culturally determined position. Cultural determination could be distinguished with respect to the language primacy, but this does not determine cultural configuration – and even less the identity. In that sense, it would be more appropriate to conceive the process as the process of construction of multi-cultural or trans-cultural urban identities.

III. CULTURAL EVENTS

Participant observation of artistic events was primarily oriented towards research and analysis of urban diasporic and/or wider culturally mixed/syncretic groups living in Ljubljana. The second stage of the research was oriented towards the recognition of institutional subjects - actors in the field of culture, their types and their practices. The third stage consisted in trying to understand, on the basis of preliminary data from the first two steps, how diasporic and multicultural audiences “construct” their identities, social inclusivity and exclusivity, representational patterns, native classifications etc.

Comparing audiences and their practices at different cultural events, we can conclude from preliminary research that in Ljubljana there exist important differences in the composition of audiences which attend particular types of cultural events. The differences in the composition of audiences do not necessarily, do not even usually, coincide with the standard (officially recognised, statistically consecrated) ethnic divides. Rather, we observe specific "mixes" where "ethnic" identities do play a role, but seem to acquire relevance only in connection with other types of differences - social, professional, "cultural" (in the sense of "high vs. low", "mainstream vs. alternative" etc.), generic (like "pop vs. folk", "folk vs. ethno" etc.). Both a typology of events and a corresponding classification of audiences still remain to be produced.

In this context, the "intuitive sociology" practised by the (mostly purely commercially-oriented) producers of the events may be of great help. We are assuming the following connection: if the organisers are organising cultural events with certain ethnic or pseudo-ethnic ("Balkanist") content/connotation, it means there is a certain population consuming these cultural events. According to the marketing logic (the logic of demand and supply) or cultural economy, this connection seems sensible and logical. The reverse argument is certainly also valid: the offer creates demand, and "Balkanist" events may help to produce a "Balkanist"-oriented audience in the city. Several factors intervene to save us getting caught into a vicious circle: 1. producers of the "Balkanist" cultural events are interested to "play it safe", their financial capacities are mostly modest (actually, they often move between the legal and the "grey" economy), they do not have means to "produce" much demand; as a consequence, they spontaneously tend to rely upon the already existing tastes and demands; 2. with a certain constant dose of chauvinism and xenophobia in the country, a commercial agent is not prone to experiment much in creating new types of "ethnicisation"; 3. producers calculate in the terms of the "performer": what is the number of the audience likely to be attracted by an individual performer; on the other side, audiences spontaneously and "sociologically" coalesce around performers in different ways, i.e., forming different "mixes", collages of social parameters. - It is the confrontation of the producer's intuitive sociology centred upon the persona of the performer, and the analysis of concrete audiences of concrete events (where the performer figures rather as an indicator of convergence of heterogeneous social practices and processes) which will hopefully yield a sociological picture of the "nexus", i.e., a sociological grasp of the processes and structures which are producing the audiences and which are represented by the performer.

124 This is the proof that there is a certain “ethnically tinted” public in Ljubljana.
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However, everyday realities are circumscribed and determined by the forces of economy and processes of marginalisation/exclusion and social integration/inclusion. To trace complex relations of this larger type, we tried to “map” multicultural and diasporic cultures according to various material and ideological co-ordinates of the city. Through this process of geographical and/or virtual mapping of multicultural and diasporic cultures, we draw several conclusions concerning the current situation in Ljubljana.

Case study 1: Cultural actors and economic sectors

In the field of multicultural and diasporic urban cultures we have identified the following economic and cultural sectors:

1) Public cultural institutions and cultural institutions “in the public interest” (institutions established by the government or local authorities, such as state founded theatres, galleries, museums, national heritage institutions etc.).
2) Civic (for the lack of a better expression): voluntary non-profit organisations (cultural associations, cultural centres, societies, amateur arts societies, student radio stations, cultural forums, etc.).
3) Commercial (profit oriented): private market profit-oriented commercial cultural industry (music, fine arts markets, commercial broadcasters, film, concert producers, CD-producers etc.).

The type of economic sector determines the type of actors (cultural institutions) and their practices. The privileged “places” where multicultural and diasporic cultures are most likely to be found in Ljubljana are the civic (non-profit) and commercial (profit oriented) sectors.\textsuperscript{125} Public sector and its cultural institutions are definitely not a part of the multicultural scene. Institutionally, the public

\begin{table}[h]
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\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Type} & \textbf{Actor} & \textbf{Cultural Institutions and Practices} \\
\hline
Public & Public cultural institutions and cultural institutions “in the public interest” & Institutions established by the government or local authorities, such as state founded theatres, galleries, museums, national heritage institutions etc. \\
\hline
Civic & Voluntary non-profit organisations & Cultural associations, cultural centres, societies, amateur arts societies, student radio stations, cultural forums, etc. \\
\hline
Commercial & Private market profit-oriented commercial cultural industry & Music, fine arts markets, commercial broadcasters, film, concert producers, CD-producers etc. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{125} The situation is very similar in the media (see the media report).
sector is dominated by the great traditional institutions of national culture. Ideologically, it is under the hegemony of the specific post-1989 “nationalist” ideology, often containing strong elements of what has been analysed as “post-fascism”. Although the government, esp. on the higher levels, officially adheres to the policies of multiculturalism and cultural diversity, it is unable (unwilling?) to carry them out in practice. Almost all multicultural and diasporic productions are situated within two opposite sectors (non-profit and profit). As it may be expected, this means that there is quite a gap between them in the sense of finance and ideology.

**Case study 2: Cultural orientation**

The starting point of our research was to find the line of distinction between art-oriented and socio-politically oriented or committed art/culture. Actually this distinction is better known as polarisation between “the high and the low culture”. According to our survey of the preliminary results, multiculturalism, minorities cultures, syncretisms etc. are to be found in the domain of the socio-politically committed or “low” cultures. Contribution of the arts-oriented culture to multiculturalism has been, at least during the recent period (approximately from 1991 on), almost negligible. With the exception of some exchanges of the national and established theatres (in the year 2002) and some exhibitions supported by various national embassies (in the years 2002, 2003), there have been no multicultural activities within the established national culture.

Since the two oppositions - "high vs. low" and "arts-oriented vs. socio-politically committed" do not really coincide, we should complicate our scheme. The complication yields a surprising result - which, although probably over-schematic, nevertheless gives a clue to our observation that both "civic" and "commercial" cultural events - opposed as they are in many ways - practice and promote "trans- or multi-culturalism". Although opposed in many ways, "civic" (or "socially committed") and "commercial" cultural practices fall together under the most relevant aspect of our study. This can schematically be presented by classifying "civic" and "commercial" together under the "low" culture, and by conceiving the "commercial" "low" culture as a projection of the "arts-oriented" cultural practices upon the "lower" level. And, in fact, "commercial" mass-production, on one side, is a "low" version of the dominant "high" culture - while, as a type of the "low" production, it is opposed as "populist" to the "civic-committed-politicised" popular production.

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126 For example: problems of the Roma community; the 30-years old problem of the Muslim religious community with the City of Ljubljana regarding the permission to build a mosque; the unregulated status of the “immigrants” from other ex-Yugoslav republics; the scandal of the “erased”: 18.305 non-citizens from the republics of former Yugoslavia were unconstitutionally deprived of their right to permanent residence in Slovenia on February 26, 1992; despite two rulings of the Constitutional Court (1999 and 2003) and a strong human-rights mobilisation, the government has so far not regulated the affair.
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Under ideological domination of certain aesthetics, arts-oriented cultural production is considered to be "high", and is thus opposed to the "low" types of production. While the "high" culture is intimately linked to the nation-state, and acts as its agent in the "civil society" through various ideological state-apparatuses, both commercial and "civic" cultural productions are firmly situated within the "civil society": they are free productions of autonomous concrete individuals embedded in concrete and heterogeneous "real" social relations. Within the "low" culture(s) of the "civil society", a class-struggle is being fought between the dominant (mainstream) cultural production represented by the "commercial" sphere, and the subaltern production practices of the "civic", socially committed and politicised cultures.

As "commercial" and "civic" are extrinsic categories, we should reformulate the opposition within the "low" cultural sphere in intrinsic terms. To take the case of the folk music, the criteria should be purely musical. Since one of the features of the "low" cultures is their propensity to import musical patterns from other genres, types, formulations, the selection of the import-elements is an important criterion of the location of a particular musical practice. Certain practices will import elements from the dominant aesthetic canon, e.g. from the bel canto tradition: in this case, the result is pop-music in the manner of a Severina. Others will prefer to incorporate elements from the globally dominant musical industries, e.g., the disco or the techno: the result will be turbo-folk a la Jelena Karleuša. In both those cases, the operation would be the projection of a dominant aesthetics onto the sphere of subaltern cultural production. Alternatively, the "low" or subaltern production can import elements from the jazz tradition, as Šaban Bajramović does: since jazz can be styled as itself originating in cultural practices of resistance, such an import would situate the subaltern practice on the "socially responsible" or "civic" or "alternative" side of the "low" culture. We have only presented clear straight cases to illustrate our point. The field of possibilities is much larger, though, since importation can be qualified or re-shaped by operations of irony, persiphlage, "replay", mock-mimicking etc. etc. The point is the following: "low" cultural practices are the scene of cultural class-struggle between the dominant and other types of aesthetics, under the domination of the dominant types of aesthetics.

Socio-politically engaged arts/cultures, as distinguished from the art-oriented culture, have developed quite stable networks among various non-profit organisations (cultural centres), politically standing at the left (at the alternative, non-mainstream) position, which gave asylum to various genres of the alternative, non-mainstream, a-national, experimental etc. productions and practices. These cultural spaces are related to the ideology of multiculturalism, to mechanisms of positive discrimination, refugee problems, defending and fighting for human rights etc.

Our specification (look at the table below) shows the difference in the quantity of events provided by non-profit institutions which are involved in these virtual networks and engaged in multicultural flows. All the mentioned festivals and programme-oriented cultural places are representatives of multicultural forms mostly through music and less through other forms of artistic production (film, theatre etc.). For that reason, musical events have imposed themselves as the paradigmatic and relevant models for our research.
### Events in Ljubljana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Socio-political ('low')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Multicultural focus</strong></td>
<td>Classical concerts, theatre, presentation of various cultures from the Balkans (mostly from the former Yugoslavia) based on institutional exchange</td>
<td>Various festivals (Street Explosion (Metelkova)), Trnfest (Trnovo Festival), NGO festival Lupa (Metelkova), Druga Godba (Križanke), Reggae sessions and festivals (Metelkova, Kud FP, Tolmin), (open) Jazz sessions (Sax Pub), organised by diverse actors and sponsors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No such focus</strong></td>
<td>Some literary exhibitions organised by different embassies</td>
<td>DJ Music (clubs) and live music (private gatherings), concerts at the occasion of various manifestations and demonstrations (for peace, against NATO, against the war in Iraq etc.), live music at weddings and in the particular restaurants with specific cultural food etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Case study 3: Balkan music events 1

We have studied our cases with the intention to arrive at a sociologically viable description (and, eventually, a definition) of the "Balkan nexus" in Ljubljana. This means that we perceive the Balkans as a cultural phenomenon and, accordingly, use the Balkans as a metaphor for musical forms (genres) originating in the Balkans peninsula and the Orient.

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127 Most of the world music or pop/rock commercial (multicultural) events attract multi-cultural (multi-ethnic) audiences, Slovene and non-Slovene audience. The same picture could be observed in film. It is commonly accepted that former Yugoslav film industries have a more or less permanent audience among Slovenian population. The reason for this lies in the low quality and the inability of the Slovenian musical scene to meet needs/demands of the market. For this reasons and because of the small market which is indirectly but continually connected to the former Yugoslav musical and film scene, Slovene (multicultural) population entertains itself mostly with Croatian (Josipa Lisac, Severina, Parni Valjak etc.) and Serbian popular (pop/rock) music (Ribiča Ćorba, Bajaga, Balalašević). In this aspect, Ljubljana could be perceived as a genuinely multicultural city.

128 The hypnotic “unza unza” rhythm is one of the most common, and for that reason also one of the most important, elements of the Balkan cultures.
## Changing City Spaces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audience</th>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Non-profit (with or without public funds)</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multi-ethnic audiences</td>
<td>Concerts of the Balkan ethno-folk music (world music), for example Serbian and/or Macedonian ethno-folk brass bands, concerts and/or festivals organized by radio stations (exp. Radio Solomon), Druga Godba festival, Trnfest festival</td>
<td>Metelkova City clubs and places, KUD FP, Balkan and African refugee bands and urban DJ plays at various festivals, parties or socio-cultural events, exhibitions, International Roma day, International Refugee day, Roma events (KUF FP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost exclusively Balkan audiences</td>
<td>Turbo-folk and folk concerts with artists from various Balkan regions (mostly divided into Serbian, Bosnian, and Serbian from Bosnia), Turbo clubs with live music and/or live DJ performance (Klub M (Club M), En Pub (One PUB), Klub 12 (Club 12), Klub Katastrofa (Club Catastrophe), Tranmontana Klub (Club Tranmontane wind))</td>
<td>Amateuirish evenings at various Societies (Serbian, Macedonian, Croatian, Bosniak etc), plays, concerts or theatre plays organized by various communities based in Ljubljana, concerts organised by the Church (Orthodox church in Ljubljana organises several concerts and literary evenings per year), Roma evenings and plays (at their local pubs)</td>
<td>Socio-cultural activities at youth centres and in certain schools (for example organised language courses, courses in drawing etc. for refugee children and youth at KUD FP, Vodnikova Domačija)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research results indicate that it is necessary to make distinction between the commercial and the non-profit types of the producers/productions. Commercial actors provide globally and locally known Balkan stars. On one hand, they promote the global Balkan music or the so called “world music” (Goran Bregović, Boban Marković Orchestra, Mostar Sevdah Reunion, etc.); on the other hand, they promote performers who, although less known across the world and in Europe, are regionally famous (Balkan) stars (singers and players of popular music, turbo-folk oriented music, former Yugoslav pop and rock bands etc.). These “regional Balkan celebrities” operate across the region comprising Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Bulgaria,
Greece, the ex-Yu diaspora across the world, and, *to a certain extent*, Slovenia (roughly: the big cities in Slovenia). All bigger commercial events are held at the same places (Križanke, Hala Tivoli, Hala Domžale, Hala Kodeljevo etc.) without exception. The difference between commercial events for multi-ethnic audience or exclusively for the Balkans audiences is defined with the reference to the performer and the musical genre. For example, audience at the concerts of the world star Goran Bregović is a wider multicultural (multi ethnic) audience, while at the concert of Mile Kitić (star of the folk and the turbo-folk music; his last hit was “Police”) there was exclusively Balkan audience. Šaban Bajramović (Roma world music with “jazzy” elements) attracted the most ecumenical audience in the ethnic, cultural and social terms. – To be more precise, the differentiating element is a combination of the musical form (genre) and the semantics of songs (lyrics). A good example is Severina: just another pop-singer with a very discrete Dalmatian ethno-element – but the lyrics treat concrete everyday problems of concrete ordinary people in a particular mix of provocation and decency which makes her a perfect “family” singer. She has her audience all across the former Yugoslavia, including Slovenia. – In contrast with the Balkan world Music, which is mostly festival or concert oriented, the regional folk and turbo folk music tours the world in two different ways. One is the same as the mode of the world musician (festivals or solo concerts); the other is quite different and could be called “clubbing tours”. This means, for example, that the turbo-folk star Stoja is touring the clubs in the West Europe and entertaining diaspora audiences. At the club concerts of this kind in Ljubljana, there is exclusively Balkan audience; as a consequence, the events themselves figure as “exotic”, alien, specifically “Balkan”.

Situation at the events organised by non-profit concert organisations is altogether different. Significantly different are, firstly, the (alternative) locations where the events (literary events, theatre, rock, ethno, indy etc. events) are held. We can make a distinction between the “alternative locations” for the Balkan alternative events¹²⁹, and the locations where concerts and events for minority communities are held (minority cultural societies, minority amateur arts, minority cultural centres). In Ljubljana there are a few alternative places such as Metelkova, KUF FP, Bunker, which are home bases for “Balkan godba” (Balkan music) (Ferus Mustafov, DJ Nastko (Roma DJ from Ljubljana), Darkwood dub etc.). This situation proves that multiculturalism is placed and practiced in the same environment as the alternative cultural practices. This could be used as a proof against government recriminations against (and occasional criminalisation of) the alternative scene. To be more precise, it seems that the Balkan alternative scene is pushed towards the same position as the alternative scene in general – towards the phantom position of the dangerous, untidy, incomprehensible “other”.

*Case study 4: Balkan music events 2*

Popular Balkan music (pop/rock, ethno or folk/turbo folk) plays an important role in the construction of cultural identities of the Balkans minorities in Slovenia. According to cultural taste, it is possible to distinguish three different flows.  

A) The *folk flow* is popular with the older population and the older “new immigrant” population.  

B) *Turbo folk* is the present mainstream in folk production and it is popular among younger population and younger immigrant population.¹³⁰ This population is not oriented only towards the turbo folk, they also enjoy other Balkan music forms, such as pop/rock, or more widely accepted urban forms of music, such as hip-hop, techno, dance music etc.

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¹²⁹ When we mention the “alternative”, we do not have exclusively in mind the alternative- alter music, but more largely locations defined as “alternative” with the reference to a specific ideology and to specific practices (developed mostly during the eighties) which embrace and nurture a large scale of differences (also in the sense of diverse music).

¹³⁰ Many of the events organised by local producers of (commercial) turbo-folk and folk music are visited exclusively by Balkan population. In that sense, we are dealing with (post)modern diaspora Balkan culture.
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C) The third flow could be understood as the alternative. They reject folk and turbo folk music as trash music. But they widely accept Balkan and Roma ethno music.

On the basis of this “taste” or “genre” distinctions, it is possible to conclude to the following:

1) Popular Balkan music as a part of the cultural industry (regardless of the genre) feeds former Yugoslav diaspora population with musical products popularized in their home countries. This cultural industry is exporting to former Yugoslav communities throughout Europe and wider. Cultural industry, especially folk and turbo folk performers, practice touring rituals and bring those particular cultural forms across cultural (state) borders.

2) Clubbing and music: Clubs with the Balkan music play an important role in the construction and reproduction of the Balkan cultural identities and music becomes one of the most important carriers of Balkan “urban culture” and its new identities not only because of the performers’ tours organised by records companies, but also through wider mobility, development of media technology, sound conveyors and the Internet.

3) Balkan music could be seen as a part of the “non-official” culture and could be understood as a sort of “rebel” culture (besides reggae and similar “politically incorrect” music). The rebellion is not contained within the “idea” (or the concept or the notion) of the Balkan music, but its perception is often rebellious. (Cf. Kant’s appreciation of the world-historical importance of the French revolution in “What is Enlightenment?”: it is not the event as such that counts, but the “enthusiasm with which the humanity has welcome it”). This may be the reason why the Balkan music is also played at the alternative locations.

4) There is also a hidden/latent Balkan scene in the city that exists apart from the immigrant-perception and the city/state institutions. Actually, the latent Balkan scene has two different components: there is an “illegal Balkan scene”; and there are very strong integrated individuals from the Balkans who are not identifying themselves as “Balkan-immigrants” or have no needs to participate to the “Balkan-immigrant” socio-cultural institutions.

Amateur cultural events

Amateur evenings (as literary events, small theatre plays, recitals, small concerts of serious music etc.) at various minority socio-cultural societies (Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, Bosniak etc.) are different in their character. They are mostly intended for the community members and are in a certain way (not formally, but definitely “socially”) closed to outer visitors. In that sense, it could be said that this is a more sophisticated way of reproducing cultural habits and maintaining cultural links. One could say that minority socio-cultural societies financed by Slovenian Government or the City of Ljubljana, are reproducing their institutional culture.

Commentary on Audio visual events (cinema and television)

Cinema

131 Balkan events organised at alternative cultural places (Metelkova, KUD) are very popular among the alternative culture population because this civic (non-profit) organisations were among the first institutions which responded to a call for defending human rights of refugees, also they developed projects to help immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and immigrants from other countries to integrate into Slovenian society through different socio-cultural activities (KUD FP).

132 All cultural events organised by minority cultural societies, are partly supported by public/state founds but without strong city participation. Minority financing policy has one main goal: integration of minority through cultural activities. These policies have an over-all beneficial social impact with a strong political and strategic dimension.
Audio visual products (cinema and TV fictions) definitely do not play such an important role in the affirmation of cultural identities. They have some impact on the peoples’ leisure time. Of course it is necessary to mention that audience from specific nexuses observe particular cinema production of their home country, but a wide range of this film production never comes to the diaspora communities. At the same time, the young generation is more strongly attached to film as a part of their new identities and urban culture. This could be observed by monitoring new film production from former Yugoslavia (stories, thematic) and the response of the young audience. It seems that during the past decade, new heroes (Dragan Bjelogrlić, Peter Musevski, Filip Šuvagović, Pop Hristov etc) of the Balkan film have emerged. They are the new film icons who will lead the after-war generation. It should be noted that the new “cult”-performers operate across the region as a whole, i.e., “internationally”, as they appear in films produced in the various new states. This “artistic” trend is paralleled by the strong tendency of co-operation among national cinema productions. One of the results of this new trend is that the present “Slovene” cinema is much more “Yugoslav” in its character than it used to be during the existence of the Yugoslav federation when Slovene film production tended to maintain a relatively high degree of isolation (including a special “style” etc.).

As opposed to the music, film is not very present in everyday life. The nature of the film art itself is of short duration (people go to cinema, see a film and forget it; whereas music is present everywhere: at home, in cafes, clubs, shops etc.) This is the reason why film does not have such a strong influence upon constructing and confirming cultural identities of people.

Television

Television and radio as main ideological instruments have a central role in diaspora everyday life. For diaspora, community satellite broadcast programmes are the main (but not the only) source of various kinds of information. Besides information they broadcast various cultural influences (music, video clips, movies, etc.) which are active components of everyday life. According to these cultural influences diasporas react and identify themselves as particular “cultures”. These particular programmes are actually the only audio visual media which co-operate in constructing and preserving their “Balkan identities”. Analogous programmes do not exist in the national or commercial media. Broadcast programmes which are oriented towards diaspora communities are also the main sources of new musical styles, genres, new trends etc. which originate in the home country. This means, media which broadcast culture-oriented programmes enable the diaspora audiences to follow particular trends and to regain cultural sense. According to our survey, Balkan diaspora in Slovenia does not have any indy media (neither TV nor radio). For that reason, this population (10 % of all Slovene population) has developed different strategies to compensate for information and cultural lacks. They mostly receive information by satellite television programmes, by paper media or across the family and relatives’ networks. So far, the most watched media among diaspora audiences in Slovenia is TV Pink, which gained huge popularity also among younger Slovene populations. In this particular case, television (TV Pink) became a status symbol for all these Balkan and Balkan-like populations. Therefore we could talk about a “TV Pink phenomenon” which is advertising specific cultural practices, values and promotes new trends in music and fashion. TV Pink has become the Balkan MTV.
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**Belgrade**

*Milena Dragicevic Sesic (Belgrade team)*

**City profile**

Belgrade, capital city of Serbia, and Yugoslavia (during XX century) throughout its history was at cross roads of different cultures and developed in last two centuries its cosmopolitan character of regional (Balkan/Southeast European) cultural and political centre.

Although today it is only capital of Serbia and State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, still different parts of Belgrade keep their different urban character and life styles of neighborhood regions and countries. So we can feel the presence of Central European Culture (Zemun), Balkan city cultures (municipality of Vozdovac and part of the center), commercial city cultures of XIX century (Jewish/Armenian etc at Dorcol), Serbian small town culture (Banovo brdo), city of modernity and prosperity of the beginning of the century (Bulevar of King Alexander with parliaments, Post office, etc.), rural cultures (municipality of Palilula) and socialist urban space culture (New Belgrade). All of these form contemporary hybrid picture of Belgrade, having a lot of implications on values, habits, ways of life, cultural production and consumption.

But, Belgrade is a city of a “broken memories”, historical and cultural continuity never existed, so it had been developed throughout several leaps:

- 1830’ - expulsion of Turkish population and settlement of the Serbians.
- 1880’ - establishment of Kingdom of Serbia and first urbanistic plan, infrastructure. (first coming of Germans, Czech, Jewish merchants and industrialists)
- 1918 - creating of Yugoslavian capital (Yugoslavization / migration of Slovenians, Croats esp. intellectuals and artists from Dalmatia, etc.)
- 1945 - creating of new Yugoslavian socialist capital city (which brought large number of population from rural areas – ex partisans).

The present situation is also characterized with new forms of migration. The post-Yugoslav Belgrade received a large number of Serbian refugees from Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo (and certain, small number of Croat and Slovenian communists or Army officers, not willing to “betray” the idea they committed their life for), but, on the other hand, existed different flow: the migration outside of Belgrade of the Croats, Slovenians, Jewish, Hungarians etc. In the same time, large proportion of young Serbian population also left Belgrade, especially in 1991-1992, fearing military drafting. They are living now in Western Europe, Canada, Australia etc. (Finally, today it is city of 1.8 million inhabitants, mostly of Serbian origin (70 %) and 15 different ethnic groups: from Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians to Czech, Slovak and Aroumun/Cincar minority).

Belgrade space does not have clear cultural divisions, but different cultural models overlap in the same neighborhoods, like Ada Ciganlija raft-clubs, where co-exists techno-clubs, folkotheques, world music clubs, Gypsy night music club (Black panthers) as well as clubs for new rich (new criminal elites).
Many cultural models co-exist in contemporary Belgrade:

a) elite culture – cosmopolitan (of all, but predominantly baby boom generation)
b) elite culture – nationalistic (with specific “olgian” branch / extreme right) - Neo-conservative cultural model oriented toward tradition, religion
c) standard urban mass culture (petit bourgeois culture of bestsellers, pop music, etc.)
d) populist culture – neofolk - popular culture of working class suburbs
   - neofolk culture, local stars, family culture, media consumption
e) Populist, new rich cultural model - consumption oriented, signs of luxury, prestige; money as principal value – 5 P (pistol, pit-bull, paiero, pager, blonde…)
f) urban youth subcultures - Hedonistic, West oriented culture of urban youth /techno, rave, leisure
g) marginal cultures (delinquents, drugs addicts, prostitutes…)
h) traditional cultures of ethnic groups (Roma, Roma migrants from Kosovo…)

For each cultural model different spaces and institutions are offering cultural events:
public cultural sector encompass: national institutions (15), city cultural institutions (40) municipal cultural centers (16); civil sector has diversified networks of old type associations (of artists, professional unions etc.’ 25) and new forms of NGO’s (center for Cultural Decontamination, Cinema Rex, ANET, etc. – around 30; in private sector the number of entrepreneurial initiatives and small business is different but around 50 has important economic and cultural impact (galleries, bookshops, production centers, clubs, etc.).

Also, very important contribution for diversity and cosmopolitanism is given by programs of foreign cultural centers –6 (French, British, Russian, German, Italian, Canada… 7th in preparation Institute Cervantes), and many other embassies very active within existing cultural networks.

But, especially important role in cultural field in respect to cultural diversity are playing two “institutions” – restaurants (bars, coffee shops…) and media. The essential cultural practices of population are being held in restaurants, which specialized toward certain cultural models with their live musical offer (around 200 restaurants with live music, nearly half of them with Gypsy orchestras), plus all forms of discotheques with DJs and MCs. As we want to underline this bottom-up approach in forming of cultural practices and habits of population, as well as indirect influence to cultural policies, it has to be taken in account as important contribution in city offer of events.

Many of the restaurants have launched their radio station (in the present moment around 70 in Belgrade), such as Perper radio, Radio Stenka etc., and it shows that it is very difficult to make distinction just using classical categories in between cultural and leisure business sector. Specific forms of non-technological convergence appeared in Belgrade, connecting different entrepreneurial initiatives (tennis clubs and construction business; restaurants and radios; radios and publishing companies, then cultural centers; pharmaceutical companies and music-radio production; taxi companies and radio stations…) relating especially to the interest of main cultural model where both business owner and its audiences belongs. And – it is not just the fact that the owner posses different business – they always connects in programmatic sense those businesses, and users usually are linking all the products and activities.

Hectic urban structure, hybrid interests and practices of audiences, unusual segmentation of sectors and fields of business activities, unusual relations between authorities and different social groups, created atmosphere where original initiatives could be possible. The fact that each cultural model have also other “preferred” foreign culture (country) to relate and communicate, brings in relatively monoethnic cultural environment the cosmopolitan diversity (Mexican and Greek music linking to
Changing City Spaces

populist model; English for urban youth subcultures, French for cultural elites, German/Austrian/Swiss for entrepreneurs and new businesses; American for standard mass urban culture; Russian for conservative elites, etc.). So, the Belgrade today is mosaic of peoples speaking same language, but sharing different values, habits, life styles and aspirations. In the same time, cultural policy seems to ignore this diversity and keep in offering instruments and supports to both cosmopolite elites and standard urban cultural model. All the others are considered to have to be “self sustainable” and self supported through market mechanisms.

Introduction

Belgrade case is a quite different from six other cities within the project. Isolated physically from the world flows from 1991 to 2000 (embargo), but even longer if we take in account selfisolation and autism of Serbian society already existing from mid 80’, in Belgrade had developed patterns and frameworks of both cultural policies and cultural practices which are quite different. Still, certain flows in between Belgrade and other European and world cities have existed throughout this period due to many factors:
- presence of important Serbian Diaspora in Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and France (migrant workers from 60’)
- exodus in 1991 of the young male population fearing the military recruitment – (keeping very strong family links – Grey hair computer literacy course was designed to meet the needs of parents and grandparents – only e-mail and Internet)
- continuous exodus (especially after the failure of 3 month student protest in 1992)
- professional and friendly links established among institutions, cultural networks and individuals in previous periods
- Internet
- Impact of mobility funds of Soros foundation,
- Political wishes of few European states to support development of civil society initiatives, among them Austria, Germany, Sweden; etc.

That situation helped in forming and later on reinforcement of “parallel societies” – created already at the beginning of 90´s as a simple political (ideological) divide. The public sector, isolated from all world debates and trends, went more and more in xenophobic, arrogant and self-sufficient behavior. Private/economic sector disappeared (the real businesses went out of the country together with it last Prime Minister Ante Markovic, those who have not succeed on time, just have bankrupted). Weak civil sector, just established at the end of the 80’s around youth magazines, certain feminist, ecological and “Yugoslavian” movements, have tried to create a new space for itself, asking and getting support from young and ambitious media – local radio and TV stations, B92, Index Radio, and in short period Studio B.

Public sector using demagogic discourse lead Serbia toward populism (N.Popov, 1996), supporting creations of such media space where the dominant ton was given by Pink & Palma channels, whose names are significant for the kind of policy they have been implementing. Middle classes disappeared, get fragmented, trying to find their “zone of reason”, around BK television (“family values”) or Politika TV, MTS (Serbian version of MTV) etc.
Civil society had been extremely divided also – as developed from previous “dissident” groups, with extremely different ideologies, needs and visions, each group found its own niche and using different media tried to form a closed circle – “survival space” in the environment of aggressive war appeals.
But, different clusters of population can not be explained neither by three sectors divisions, neither by simple social categorization or use of social stratification models. Those clusters more or less could be differentiated by:

- “taste cultures” (cultural practices);
- values regarding spatial behavior and cultural relevance (cosmopolitan / “mundijalist” vs panSerbian; but also: Serbian (Serbian State territory) vs European; pro-American vs MiddleEuropean; Balkan vs Panslavonic/orthodox Christian; Belgrader vs provincial Belgrader; neighborhood defined: Cuburac, Dorcolac, Novobeogradjanin, etc.);
- sense (level of) of victimization and threat as being of: Serbian nation, or of being of certain cluster within society (the immigration toward Canada, New Zealand and South Africa started out of this feeling – feeling of belonging to “disappearing cluster” of Belgraders),
- presence and importance of collective history (in every day life), etc.

Classical sociological categories such as financial power, social status, level of education etc., could not give any clear explanation of those division with Serbian, but especially within Belgrade population, although certain regularities could be seen. But in each of those clusters we could find artists, or middle class employees, or workers, political elite, even ex-economic elite, etc.

Also, city of Belgrade has one important characteristic – there was never established, since modern history (renewal of the city in XIX century), spatial class stratification of citizens. Even the neighborhood Dedine – known and used always as a symbol for “power”, had even today as much nomenclature and mass culture stars, as middle class and poor common citizens. Within the same building – all levels of classical social stratification can be found, and the process of urban gentrification seems to be started just during this year.

So, within the same urban spaces, several layers of parallel social circles existed, trying not to cross or contact each other, choosing their “own” media, their “own” cultural institution, restaurant, cafe bar... From 1991 to 2000 – the situation was extremely clear – and according to the newspaper in your hand, the cultural cluster immediately could be defined, but not profession, ethnic belonging or part of the city the person is living in. The distinction in consumption was not of such importance (although significant) as the distinction in events and media consumption. Same new Belgrade apartments, same type of family, same monthly revenues – but no sense of community in the neighborhoods because communication spontaneously was avoided in between members of different clusters – those who felt like citizens of Belgrade on the first place, and those who felt primarily as victimized Serbs, i.e.

It has to be said that Belgrade did not welcome any group of refugees. It accepted the persons, from Slovenian officers, or Croatian writers of leftist ideology, as individuals, but groups of Serbs from Slavonia, Zagreb, later Bosnia, then Kosovo, had been ignored, spread throughout the city (if they succeeded to enter). Even, in mid 90s, they started to be accused for: losing the war, supporting Miloshevich regime, getting "our" jobs, etc. Accusations, of different nature, came from all sides of

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133 Although among Slavonic population there are quite a numerous catolic nations, in Serbia during 90s the reference to Slavonic very often included orthodox Slavonic only, plus Georgeians and Armenians...

134 from those who emigrated fearing that their, i.e. Rock subculture is going to dissapear to White eagles, most violent “panSerbian” cultural cluster characterized not by sense of victimization only, but also by need to protect, not only verbally, serbs throughout the world, of becoming victims once again, etc.

135 The “policy of moving” was suggested by Ministry of energetic to lower and middle classes, from the center with expensive electrical heating, toward suburbs with cheap centrally organized heating. That provoked enormous protests and public debate through media, because egalitarian character of serbian society is still actual value (Golubovic, 1995).
Changing City Spaces

society. Basically, except women movements, and Radio B 92, no other group or media made coherent program toward their integration. In 1992, Soros Foundation organized summer camps for both domestic & refugee children, helped several refugees to organize an association, journal and radio program. Than other NGOs joined the effort, but that provoked Public sector (security services) to counteract with another types of refugee associations (as victims of Croats, Muslims, Albanians...) mostly preoccupied with genocide stories (Museum of genocide had been created).

To conclude, Belgrade cultural and demographic situation, economical power and cultural capital give to the city the specific position within Serbia. So, although from different reasons of other cities in this project, urban focus is the only possible focus for understanding the contemporary cultural flows, processes and values in making. Although policies are still done on national and supranational (EU, Council of Europe level) – where cities are just following, not having enough (political?) strength and influences to come with really innovative and original cultural policies136, still, in the case of the city of Belgrade, the concentration of “critical” citizens, citizens which wants to create their cultural space within the city is of extreme importance, as well as the concentration of diversified media, events, cultural industries, NGOs.

The concepts and values are produced here, not in abstract “national culture”, so, for the understanding of its new flows, the city is far better conceptual frame then nation state, or nation (in Serbian case this two differs very much). From 1991, spontaneously within several cultural clusters (subcultures, but also clusters within standard civic cultural model), the demand against nation and nation-state framework was clearly stated, as perfectly seen in demonstrations in March of 1991 (SAO Belgrade!)137, or during student three month strike in 1992 (Belgrade Republic!), and later in 1997 and 1999 – Belgrade - The temporary autonomous zone!138 Not to speak about use of the word “urban” in this Latin form (previously known only in academic circles), for numerous projects of Radio B 92 (Urbazona139), groups of artists (Urban dilemma), in media discourse (urban face - urbani lik, urbana faca), creation of “urban legends” – as opposed to national myths and legends which had overwhelmed public space during 80‘s and 90‘. That was the reason of Belef – Belgrade summer festival in 1998 to give itself the title: Urban provocation (Dragicevic 2002). The “transnationality” of those processes can clearly be seen through films such as “Victims of geography” and “Zombietown” or Ghetto (B92 production).

So, it has to be underline that Belgrade as space, territory and city identity representation, could be excellent for analyzing the ambiguities and controversies of contemporary cultural policy issues, as well as of cultural flows which are differing from major European population mobility patterns. It is not about art mobility through state or EU supported schemes, it is not through free flow of goods of popular culture – it is neither employment search, it is through peripheral links of certain specific, more “professional” ties and networks, those cultural flows are operating. DJ’s on one side, film professionals on other, cultural activist, antiglobalist, women in art movements, art galleries, art for social change activists, members of different European and easteuropean networks... all of those artist and actors in culture who do not want to accept forms within cultural policy systems and models, bureaucratically defined, and who wants to find their ways in direct communication

136 The most innovative approach considered development of “creative cities” concept – starting with premises that cultural (creative) industries can be excellent tool of urban regeneration, social cohesion and new identity.
137 SAO Belgrade – was ironic comment on Serbian “Serbian autonomous territories” in Bosnia and Croatia. Citizens of Belgrade demanded their, at least virtual, autonomy from the “our” state governed by the nationalistic regime of Miloshevich.
138 Citation from the title of the famous web author Hakim Bey – Temporary authonomous zone,
139 Many artist had joined, and project was of that importance, that in biographies of some of them we can read that he was, i. e. “Physical worker on the sidewalk of Urbazona” (Alterimage, 1996).
There are maybe no other city in Europe where crossing of those layers (nation/urban), the co-existence in mutual intolerance, even in last three years when political will for changing, modernizing the society theoretically should be coherent on both nation-state (Serbia) and city level (same political party on the power), was systematically deepening.

The rivalry Belgrade – Serbia, is really more rivalry of two concepts: urban – national, first seen as productive, pragmatic, open, mobile and second seen as conservative keeper of values, rigid fighter for justice, closed - to reject “foreign” influences and stubborn in keeping its own specificities.

But – now the main issue for the future research will be how this city matrix is composed so that multiple identities can overlap and enrich mutually? Why the same persons can act as Balkane rs one evening (on concert of Boban Markovic), and as Central European next day in Skadarlija? Why this Balkan identity is linked to specific festivities, to group celebrations, for extreme joy, and why is so linked with Gypsy music? (The restaurants with name Serbian restaurant, and those who are really serving Balkan kitchen, will always have gypsy music. And that one are not part of urban “postmodern”, but of traditional “palanka” style “kafana”, while on the other side Central European identity is expressed linked to more conventional gatherings (Skadarlija, Stara koliba, etc.). But Serbian most popular music is left for suburban restaurants, and is completely out of urbazona in present Belgrade moment.

### Cultural policy

Taking into account more then 10 years of devastation, extreme centralization, etatization and manipulation with culture, necessary priorities of all levels of public policy making today are officially expressed as:

- Decentralization and deetatization of culture
- Establishing environment stimulating market orientation of cultural institutions and their efficient and effective work
- New legal framework for culture (harmonization with European standards)
- Multiculturalism as one of the key characteristic of Serbian society and culture
- Re-establishing regional co-operation and ties
- Active co-operation in accession processes to CoE, EU and WTO\(^\text{140}\).

It is very clearly said that Serbia is considered as multicultural society, but in fact, there is no instruments of stimulating not only intercultural (like interethnic) communication, but also no other mediation processes within so divided society. The terms such as inclusion, mediation, socio-cultural animation, programs for persons with specific needs – are not part of the programms of cultural institutions, even not audience development (which used to be important in socialist selfgoverning period of 60-70’).

\(^\text{140}\) It should be compared with priorities in the period 1996 – 2000: Etatization (from selfgovernment to centralization of decision-making process in the hand of the Minister); Politisation of culture: rising of internal embargo as reaction on international cultural embargo (preventing institutions and individual artists of entering European cultural networks, supporting the cultural exchange only with few countries, such as China, Cuba, or with “spiritually close countries”, such as Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, etc.); Using culture as a tool for raising nationalistic feelings; Promoting commercial folkloric culture as a tool of evasion or annihilation of critical thinking; Putting accent on certain cultural institutions and projects relative to Serbian history or national identity (Museum of Genocide, etc).
Changing City Spaces

*City council of Belgrade* is the major partner in developing cultural policy and participation in cultural life due to the fact that most diversified network of cultural institutions such as: theatres, libraries, museums as well as care about free-lance artists, are in its competence. The most important international festivals (BITEF, FEST, and BEMUS…) and cultural institutions of wider relevance had been created by initiative of the City Council. On the other side *municipalities* (14 local self-governments within Belgrade) do not have neither political/administrative, neither economical strength to develop cultural policy really targeting different communities, neighborhoods, etc. As stressed before, Belgrade spatial organization does not have clear clusters (except for few municipalities like Rakovica – but that also is changing due to housing programs, which had included residencies for ambassadors and middle level appartments, and stop of industrial production)

Cultural policy of the City of Belgrade in present constellation of the political relations has extreme power of representation. The political tensions even among ruling coalition, impose high level of competitiveness toward state as such, and facilitate the decision of financing and subsidizing (with relatively transparent procedures), the projects of big status, such as new building of Yugoslav Drama Theater, Lighting and auditorium reconstruction of 10 Belgrade theaters, Capital Publishing Projects, Museum new permanent exhibitions, existing international festivals and even, creation of new international manifestations (“October salon” for Visual arts), or participating in important international programs. State support, dispersed throughout Serbia, is not visible enough, and procedures are less transparent (Dragicevic Sesic, Milena 2002).

Community art project, movements within civil society, gets support, but for same type of activity at least 10 times less141.

It can be said that state cultural policy is turned toward creation of a system and model (legislation, procedures), while city cultural policy is turned toward representation and visible art & cultural achievements. Both sides find a good excuse in the fact that Federal Ministry for ethnic minorities and human rights still exists, so in their discourse or practices there is not even conservative classical attempt to take in consideration the cultural diversities of ethnic (not to speak about other) minorities, or diversity of needs of both artists and audiences. Still, having more sensitivity toward alternative, different, underground, the support for the arts of different clusters of civil society exist on small scale, but it still gives them the feeling that they are doing specific, radical, “no one need” job, whose potentials and impact only they can see.

### Cultural events – could Belgrade become a Balkan cultural center?

Recapitulating the aims of cultural cooperation, Raymond Weber, former director general of the directorate of culture and cultural heritage in the Council of Europe, identifies five: ”reconciliation, reciprocal recognition, creation of a common discourse, imagining common solutions, awareness awaking of multicultural challenges”. He is underlining that “while in western Europe these values had the time to develop and install during half a century, the western community is waiting from central and eastern Europe to acquire them in only some years”.2

It seems, indeed, that the above quoted aims of cultural cooperation (valid for post world war II Western Europe) are still not valid today for the Balkans. The process of *reconciliation* had been started from the top-down and is, therefore, not achieved. Albanians from Kosovovo and Serbs are

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141 For example, City theaters for each production are getting 1 200 000 dinars, while NGO groups – 200 000. In the same time, theaters are receiving salaries (in average around 60 employees), administrative costs and costs of the building (heating, electricity, etc.), while NGO do not receive any money for that purposes.

2 Weber raymond, key note speech, interministerial conference about the SEEurope and the mediteranian region, Vienna, 2000
supposed to get together because of international pressure more than because of grass rooted intercultural incentive exchange. The three nations of Bosnia compromised, but that society did not find reconciliation with post-war (1993) trauma. Neither was reciprocal recognition achieved truly between Macedonians and Greeks. The ‘common discourse’ is not created, like in Western Europe, through partnership, debate and public dialogue. Common discourse is imposed from above - vocabulary such as interculturalism, multicultural society, cultural diversity, truth and reconciliation, capacity building, sustainability, re-training of cultural administrators, policy issues etc. came “from the top” and were imposed as key words on cultural actors in the region. Those who wanted to enter “the game” had to learn and to adopt this vocabulary, without having the time to independently discover, integrate and assimilate it internally and organically. The truth and reconciliation program within Belgrade is lead only by B 92 and its cultural Center Rex.

After 1989, we can, however notice that there are two key contradictory demands in cultural policies that had both specific and not always positive influences on the cultural cooperation measures within the region.

The first one – identity questioning could seem as the one leading to greater mutual Regional cooperation, but in fact, this one constituted itself in a barrier and was more of a constraint, because identity in the region is built on traditionally accepted differences, not on strong characteristics. On the other hand, each nation wanted to rediscover the ‘old roots of common identity’ with Western Europe or other regions outside the Balkans representing strong historical reference. Those links between e.g. Romania and France, Croatia and Germany; Serbia & Russia, even Belorussia, Armenia, Bosnia and Austria, Montenegro and Italy were all out of the SE European territory. Links and historical roots which are important among Albania and Serbia, Greece and Macedonia, Croatia and Serbia, etc. for mainly political reasons, had been expelled not only from school programs and history books, but also from museum exhibition projects, festivals etc.

In opposition to this quest for a lost national identity, the second characteristic, the need of integration in the world, was also “destimulative” for Balkan cultural cooperation. To become present in Paris, London and New York, became a crucial demand and guaranteed the feeling of being acknowledged as part of the world, of global culture, of the values that count, i.e. values recognized abroad.

In this sense, we have to analize the complex network of cultural institutions, manifestations and NGOs in Belgrade, interlinked in-between in a very complex and hidden manner, but also their links on macroregional, Balkan level. How they are integrating their network partners from Balkans in their manifestations, how they are promoting this art of “other”?

Each cultural institution is responding to different needs and different layers of society. Their Balkan orientation was also the question of necessity, of survival, very often initiated by contacts of older generations, or by pro-active approach of some foreign foundation, it continued its own way and style.

Rex (several clusters of users: antiglobalist (anarchist), cosmopolitans of non radical orientations, etc./ very present Balkan context); Center for Cultural decontamination (Yugonostalgic baby-boom generation; locally politically engaged youth in arts (Skart); association of partisans; etc./ mostly exYu, but also wider Balkan context); House of youth (rap subculture; different techno subcultures; etc./ European, transnational scene); Student cultural center (apolitical artists turned toward experimentation and innovation/ European scene); Sava
center (yaps, midgeneration,\textsuperscript{142} world scene.) and many others, have developed such kind of events to be immediately recognizable in Belgrade cultural space. Among many Balkan festivals and manifestations, which are concentrated mostly on presentations and exhibitions, exchange of information, Belgrade does not have many of them.

International summer school of University of Arts communicates directly with art and work with the youth of the Balkans. These initiatives generate new networks and new projects, such as Counter-rhythm after Arts Summer school in 2002 – which regroups students from different schools from the region, participating in self-created follow-up projects (during BITEF festival for example).

The importance of festivals like Belef, is apparent in that for the first time, and long before the politicians, artists and arts organizations from the region could be presented and seen together (first appearance of Sarajevo artists in Belgrade had been during Belef festival - Ambrosia; the first links with Albanian artists through Balkankult conferences or during summer schools, etc.) – all these initiatives regrouped new and fresh initiatives from the region, contributing to present in this way each other’s work in areas usually not very popular for policy makers. Some manifestations focus on the region itself, helping in areas such as knowledge transfer and creating a new synergy. They are often focussed on politically engaged art and artists whose projects are relevant for the region only. Others are more “open” and address thematic issues, but focus on methods – experiments, laboratory works etc. (Remont – NGO in visual arts, CENPI/ Center for new Theatre and Dance, Center for Contemporary Art, DAH theater, etc.)

Multiplicity of the number of venues, differentiated cultural infrastructure still does not make Belgrade a regional center, in spite of the fact that many Balkan networks had been created and initiated from here. But, complex political situation and sensitivities demands that Belgrade cannot “officially” retake its place as one of the few capital cities of the Balkan. Sarajevo used definitely to be the one, but present lack of human capital and institutional cultural resources puts that in question (as well as permanent lack of hotels and relevant tourist infrastructure).

Sofia lost during communism its previous ties to other Balkan countries, as well as Bucharest. Athens prevents Skopje of participating in joint efforts, Tirana still out of sight – so Belgrade is nearly a natural center of cultural flows of the Balkan region – attracting not only the projects, but also artists and projects. Balkankult (www.balkankult.org) is the platform, umbrella organization for all those networks like BAN (Balkan art network), BAP (Balkan association of publishers, Balkan Drama school network, Balkan express (performing art network, etc. On the other side, with exception of Athens, Belgrade is the strongest center of Balkans regarding cultural industries. Its productive capacity (publishing, printing, sound and lighting design, cinematography, cinema network\textsuperscript{143}) has still chance to be used in a more focused manner, if cultural policy finds instruments of stimulating entreprenuerialship.

So, the research in what extent all those layers interact in between, how effective is formal and what is the importance of informal networking, is still to be done. Specific emphasis will be given on “mobile” population, refugees, those who left to Toronto or Wellington but are still present in Belgrade cultural life or those who are coming back, in spite of the lack of systemic policy of the return of human capital.

\textsuperscript{142} but also for handicapped population – the only accessible venue in the city..

\textsuperscript{143} The last movie Zona Zamfirova had been seen by more then one million viewers – which is pourcecentage rarely seen in Europe (every 6th citizen saw the movie in cinema)
Media policy & environment

By viewing the media system as part of the cultural and information system which represents one of the basic elements through which degrees of freedom and/or degrees of repression achieved in a society/state are sustained, we will try to identify how media influenced the development of civic society in Belgrade, or how they were and still are contributing toward spreading of Balkan/Serbian populism.

In an analysis of the complexity of media system, its autonomy i.e. the degrees and forms of control by the authorities over the media system as a whole (legal regulations), has to be taken in account.

According to the new law on the Ministries (June 2002) the Ministry of Culture became the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, and in spring 2003 it was renamed as Ministry of Culture and Media. Ministry had started to develop legal framework and policy instruments in this field.

The new Law on broadcasting had been adopted in July 2002. This law stipulates existence of three national and two regional TV channels which have the duty to produce and broadcast programs regarding cultural history and identity as well as art production. The network of public/local radio and TV stations has the obligation to be privatized over the period of next three years for the reason of compliance and harmonization with the European standards. To prevent the direct commercialization of the programs the law stipulates obligation of each TV and radio station to produce its own program in order to protect national culture and foster employment of local artists and media professionals

There are also specific public radio channels for art and culture (3rd programme, Stereorama, etc.) as well as private TV station – Art Channel.

Public Radio-Television was and still is a major producer of cultural programs, such as: drama and TV films, educational programs, documentaries etc. both independently and in co-operation with the film production companies, but the quality and response to present day moment is lacking. The need for the reform of Public Broadcaster (not only because of the media hate speech they have promoted, but also because of the surplus of employees), had created a lot of tensions within, but the real tension in media field started when Government had delegated members for the Broadcasting Council. It had provoked a lot of public debate & conflicts, and European Agency for Reconstruction, which has promised the money for financing the work of Broadcasting Council, had stepped back

The subscription proposed by law, as the main solution for independence and transformation of state radio and television into Public Broadcasting Company had not yet been realized.

The law on public information is still in the drafting procedure aiming to prevent hatred speech and promotion of nationalism, taking into account the role of the media during the Milosevic regime.

On the other side, the most of printed media have been privatized over past three or four years. The available statistical data on number of newspapers shows nearly same level today as in 1989 but

144 In achieving public interest in the broadcasting sector public broadcasting service is obliged to produce and broadcast programmes intended for all segments of society, without discrimination, particularly taking into consideration specific social groups such as minority and ethnic groups.

Of the total annual broadcasting time, a broadcaster is to broadcast at least 50% of programmes produced in Serbian language, out of which at least 50% will be produced by the broadcaster itself. Broadcasters producing and broadcasting programmes for national minorities are obliged to broadcast at least 50% of their self-produced programme in the total annual broadcasting time in the language of national minorities.

State of the Art Report Draft Dec 2003
the data on the number of their matriculation copies shows huge decrease: for more then 50% compared to 1989.

It needs to be mentioned that a certain number of radio, TV stations and news-papers are being broadcasted and published in all languages of ethnic communities in Serbia, which of course is not enough but represents a solid base for further development and improvement of their activities. Radio Rom in Obrenovac is one of the rare radio stations, which is broadcasting from the city area of Belgrade. Majority of minority media is situated in Vojvodina and Eastern Serbia, while in Belgrade, although multicultural, as population is spread throughout; there are problems in regrouping and selfidentification as ethnic minority.

Since March (the murder of the Premier Djindjic), the policy toward media had been extremely severe – media being accused of participating in preparation of the murder and support of organized crime. The government had financed the “independent” research to prove its thesis, and during three months of State of emergency the media had been extremely controlled (but they have practice selfcensorship as well). That made certain constraints on the research in media provision regarding interethnic communication, but also regarding Balkan selfidentification, because Balkan selfidentification is often seen as part of nationalistic movements (and in those moments that represented a high political risk of being accused for participation in a complot).

Many specific programs just disappeared, but new – “politically correct ones” had been developed, stimulated financially by Government (Ministry for Ethnic groups and human rights) as well by different foreign donors (“Doba razuma”/The time of reason – Vukobrat Foundation, European page in Danas, Billboards about Serbia as multiethnic society, billboards about Tolerance). Ministry for culture had created and sponsored the campaign: The culture is written with heart (Kultura se pise srcem\textsuperscript{145}), exploring children statements about different notions – such as heritage, culture, etc.

Still, specialized radio stations, such as Radio Rom in Obrenovac (suburb of Belgrade), or Radio Bon Ton in Borca (suburb on another side of the town, across the Danube in Vojvodina), had been continuing their broadcasting aiming primarily toward Rom audience (what was more explicit through music selection then through programming of the “verbal” parts of the program). Radio Bon ton – which does not mention Rom population at all in their programs, is broadcasting so called “southern wind music” – music by Serbs, Gypsies and Bosniacs, which are using extreme oriental sound in arrangements and singing (what is not part of traditional Balkan culture neither of gypsies neither of Serbs or Bosnians). The stars of those music can never be heard or seen on public channels, due to the fact that musical editors from 80’s, when this music started to be developed, up to now, never wanted to acknowledge its existence, considering it as a threat, evil, schund. But, number of records sold, and financial success of those stars during specific family gatherings (private celebrations: festivity of farewell to future soldier, weddings, etc.) persuaded new owners of commercial radio channels that this could be important part of their music programming and rating. During the research it was obvious that new refugee community (of all ethnic groups) dispersed in Belgrade suburbs, finds exactly in that music the sense of lost homeland (although it is imagined Balkan traditional music).

\textsuperscript{145} The play with words – write “with heart” means in Serbian language with “heart” of a pencil – but also “with a soul”, with many emotions. It was also nostalgic “come back” to one of the most successful serbian book for children from 70’: Pencil is writing with heart (Olovka pise srcem)
Media environment - program models

In the modern world, the media environment becomes unusually complex at first glance: that includes the competing of transnational televisions (satellite channels), radio and TV programs from one environment directed at another (Voice of America, BBC World Service), national (state), regional and local televisions. The reason lies in the fact that not only do the media affect and shape the public and are extremely important in implementing political will, but the media sector also provides vast possibilities for earnings. On the one hand, is its political power and on the other its profitability and those are powerful challenges for many to direct their ambitions in that direction. Still, in our environment the reach of satellite communication remains relatively small (city, mainly youth, educated population members), cables enters slowly. Yet, there is not enough strengths to develop any powerful and important media and the public sector is not constituted in a way that would satisfy the functions of the public. The explosion of private, especially audiovisual commercial media, has changed the media landscape of the country. Still, the developments of a democratic civil society requires the existence of varied institutions that will, from every aspect, cover politics, public and cultural life in the country and contribute to creating a critical, aware, public opinion.

It is therefore necessary to establish a context within which the media system is developing at this time.
It is indisputable that Serbia is a multi-ethnic society (just 64% of the Serbian population are Serbs). It is also multi-confessional.
The latest research of the social structure shows that this is a society with completely unstable social structure in which a differentiation has taken place between the new elite and the lower social layers, at the expense of the disappearing middle class. The education span is also symptomatic; on the one hand there is a large number of illiterate, semi-literate people, on the other hand there is a small circle of highly educated people.
The cultural context is also characterized by instability; sudden changes in the system of values, form and criteria introduced confusion not only in school programs but in institutions of culture that lost their traditional strongholds (the Museum of Modern Art for example).
In that situation, a media explosion occurred which began as a reflection and response to the pluralization of political life in 1990 and, in 1992, developed as support to the essence of strengthening unitary trends in the media system that we will try to show in the next analysis of the stratification of the media system.

1. The media as a public service ("state media"): between republican (state) and national (populist) function

a) RTS
b) Local media (communal)\(^{146}\) - NTV Studio B, etc.

Every organized media system deals with defining "communication policies within the system of the public service type and gives importance to a suitable principle of public interest" (McQuayle, 1994, 60)

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\(^{146}\)In the early 1970s there was an expansion of local radio diffusion organizations and a number of towns in Serbia started printing their own publications once or several times a week. The founders were usually either the local council or culture centers (i.e. the Socialist Alliance), but a small number of radio stations or publications managed to gain reputations as profiled, good circulation or rating, respectable media. These media did not even dare to enter into a process of liberalization being so close to the centers of local power. From their very outset they were turned to the market and were basically oriented towards neofolk music, commercials and contact shows.
2. Private-commercial media

- **Evasive** - running from reality in the service of repression (TV Palma, TV Pink,\(^{147}\) probably the Karic brothers Radio and TV, and many women's magazines). Unused freedom and autonomy space (self-censorship regulation of interests). Television without news programs just films, serials and neofolk videos.

The blooming of the commercial media - from local radio and television stations to newspapers, record production - must, but only at first glance, be evaluated positively from the standpoint of civil society. It would be logical to expect that their founders are groups of citizens, political parties, associations, institutions of culture, in short all those factors who contribute to the development of civil society. On the other hand, bearing in mind the high unemployment of highly educated people, we could assume that they are people whose knowledge and creativity were built into the new media system. However, something that could hardly be predicted happened; the **new financial elites**\(^{148}\) founded their own media, publishing houses, etc. in an effort to buy social reputations and status and to demonstrate social and political power that their wealth provides.

Unlike purely commercial, evasive media that are privately owned by a small number of partners or companies, the **independent media are constituted as shareholders' companies** in which the desks have a certain, not insignificant, number of votes. Because they weren't accustomed to the restructuring, the media, through privatization, did not get significant amounts of money that would help them achieve positive market activities, but endangered the independence of their operations.

3. Alternative media - press, funzines... The starts of the civic media sector.

- B 92, Pacific, alternative agencies: AIM, example of independent media projects: **VIN Video weekly, Network video weekly “Mreza”, Age of Reason** (broadcast on B 92 and Studio B radio), **Bura**...

**Third Radio, free radio, community radio, independent radio** are just a few of the names used across Europe to try to mark the form of radio station and radio program which does not fit into existing divisions of radio stations into the public-state sector with national and local radio stations, and the commercial sector\(^{149}\).

Radio B 92 chose to call itself urban radio in an effort to show its diversity in comparison to commercial radio and local radio stations whose programs with their traditional form, thematic orientation and methods of management and organization were still turned more to the rural or "new

\(^{147}\) That these media basically have the role of braking the development of civil society is show by the Pink News; a comedy show which makes fun of local news and parodies the customary practice in e world of having an interpreter for the deaf (Sunday, 04.12.1994 19:00 hours). The topics are incest, firearms, false names and titles, transfers of athletes...

\(^{148}\) The new elites come from the populist cultural model, the former classes of small businessmen and parts of economic and political leaderships. IN research done in 1987, the distinction of values between educated classes and populist layers was reflected in some basic, and from today's perspective, key dimensions. Members of the educated elite valued tolerance as a value highly, and ambition, standards and success at work extremely low. (Dragicevic-Sesic, *Neofolk Culture*, 1994). On the contrary members of the populist cultural model valued these three values as essential and rated tolerance very low. In the mid-80s, this caused some confusion an there was no sight of future repercussions of that determination. Today, it is clear that the educated elite gave way to the new, uneducated elite easily because it did not want to fight for standards, jobs or reputations. That certainly is not a wholesome explanation but it provides an insight into reasons for the redistribution of social power.

\(^{149}\) In the "Community Radio Charter" adopted by the Council of Europe and European federation of independent radio media, 10 principles are pointed out of this radio model. Here are some:

- that every group of citizens has the right if they want it to broadcast their own programs
- that community radio is a non-profit radio, equally independent from the authorities and commercial groups.
bourgeois" and least of all to the city population\textsuperscript{150}, and all models of "independent" or "third" radio stations based on social, activist movements and most often socially oriented with no particular cultural/artistic particularities. That is directly reflected through the music programs as the best sign of recognizing the direction of a radio station towards a certain cultural model and in all other expressions of radio programming: speech, use of sounds, noise and even the use of silence (which local radio stations avoid in panic running into stories with no end...) That is also reflected in shows whose type and genre can not easily be determined with the usual values and standards. Diversity in B 92 programs links various groups to it in various times of the day and even if we don't have the precise figures, some polls\textsuperscript{151} show that the listeners were exclusively Belgrade residents who lived in the city for a long time, of different generations, high education or students, nonconformists.

B 92 started out as a youth program (on May 15, 1989, with a license to operate until December 31, 1991). It began via an administrative decision on uniting youth programs on Studio B (\textit{Ritam Srca show}) and Belgrade 202 (\textit{Indeks 202}). The political decision to form it included tendencies of political and program control overall and a council was founded whose members would include numerous representatives of socio-political forums and the Student Alliance organization and the city Socialist Youth Alliance Committee. (Very soon afterwards come the first conflict between the representatives of the two organizations that were resolved by withdrawing Indeks staff giving them a frequency for a new student radio later.)

"After over two and a half years of work, Radio B 92 will finally be allowed to broadcast across Serbia. The new ownership relations forced us to change our editorial policies. We hope that these changes will bring a pleasant freshness to our listeners." (Statement by the editorial board read on January 29, 1992, at 11:00 when the program starts.) That announced program transformation of Radio B 92 caused a panic among listeners and fans of the station and in the critical public, used to critically, scornfully or almost ignoring the content, speak about the media were upset and the prevailing opinion that spread was that the attitude towards the media is and can be different from the generally expected in the measure that the media is different to the average.

This protest by disturbing the population was an exceptionally successful form of simulation of a new program - the program how it could be as the authorities wanted and which would secure the station the long awaited frequency license greater range and financial stability. This action showed how much real anger and protests a real attempt at banning could cause and that was always in the air.

This experiment not only showed that B 92 has a faithful and engaged audience and one that wanted to be very close to the creators of the program. On the other hand it showed what could be expected from a public reaction to the shutting down or other forms of repression of the media - audience reactions, revolt, resignation but very little loud public echo in other media from opposition parties, etc.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{150} Interestingly, all the new urban radio stations began as truly "urban" and were at first popular among city high school pupils and student (Belgrade 202, Studio B and later B 92 and Pingvin in Belgrade, as well as new private radio stations in Cacak, Kragujevac...) Gradually Belgrade 202 and Studio B turned their programming towards the demands of the "suburban youth" and today have more listeners in Serbia and the area around Belgrade than in Belgrade itself and they have definitely lost the high school and university audiences.

\textsuperscript{151} The results of research by Suzana Zlatanovic in 1991, term paper for the Drama Academy, group for theater, radio and culture organization Belgrade.

\textsuperscript{152} A month later, listeners of the only remaining free show on Radio Belgrade I (\textit{Vreme Radoznalosti}) were surprised by the program and staff changes and the event seemed identical to the "precreated experience" in B 92; journalists and staff were suspended and new editors made the show into a propaganda broadcast identical to others. Despite protests from the public, audience,
Encouraged by the success of their "scaring of the public" journalists and staff at B 92 began thinking up new media activities, most often interpreted as happenings: *Stipe Mesic Kidnapped*, while he was still president of the state presidency; *The First Belgrade Barricade, Rockers Caravan Of Peace* - On March 8, 1992, the Rimitutituki, *All the President's Babies*, and many other actions: *the rally of solidarity* with the citizens of Sarajevo, the big *peace concert* organized on Republic Square on April 22, 1992. "Don't count on us" and the radio bridge (Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana) via Amsterdam were organized with the aim of spreading peace initiatives and rallying the citizens of Belgrade around them. In that sense, the Operation Peace action (July 1992), although specific and individualized in which the radio was just a mediator who linked the citizens of Serbia and Brussels who wanted to talk about peace, friendship, was part of the overall concept. *The Rally of The Fat*, a protest against the embargo that mainly affects the citizen, innocents, children, was organized with the self-irony characteristic of the radio and in regard to other rallies (that were up to then mainly led and inspired by nationalist parties and organizations).

Today, Radio B 92 is often talked about as the precursor of our independent, objective journalism that allows the other side, journalism based on the spot reports and the production of events, generation sensibilities of those born in the 60s and 70s. The compatibility with European ideas - ideas of open society, a society in which human rights are the basic value and the flow of ideas is not limited with ideology, contributed to the fact that fame abroad was exceptionally disproportionate to the range of the station. Fan clubs formed in Belgrade first and then throughout Europe, in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels... People who never heard the program except on tape, respect and support it, basing their judgments primarily on interview transcripts, analytical comments, audience reactions, evaluating the importance of the existence of such a station in Belgrade today.

The setting up of an association of independent media practically is the latest development step of the station which because it can't expand its audience through official channels, has to seek alternative forms of action. Linking the independent media in Serbia creates conditions to rebroadcast the best shows in the rest of the republic and create a network that can seriously compete with the information monopoly of the RTS. This network includes local radio stations in Smederevo, Pozarevac, Bajina Basta and Cetinje. At the same time, B 92 participates in creating a network of independent east European radio stations. This network has a deep meaning because establishes new communication links by: exchange of programs; an exchange of personnel; creation of conditions for better, more professional work in every one of them; joint appearances and solidarity (lobbying) in regard to the authorities and international political and information factors. That would also allow this radio with its programs and ideas, through he network with other east European stations, to join the world information system that is dominated by big commercial or state media (both systems trapped intellectuals the new editors stayed in place and the previous ones were suspended and sent on compulsory leave where they still are today.

153 It's not accidental that inverted speech was used, inverted urban speech as a code of recognition of sensibilities -generational, urban, rocker, underground all disappearing.

154 This is especially important because Radio B 92 which has no legal status to broadcast even in Belgrade (the temporary licence it got expired in 1990 and hopes of getting a wider frequency are nil in this socio-political system). (Every year, the radio applies to the ministry of information with a completely elaborated program scheme and pays all the high taxes but has never been given a frequency which makes it illegal and leaves the authorities a sure excuse to close it down if they need to.
because they are pressured by market obligations or ideology obligations of state policies) and try to contribute to the profession, freedom of information and equality in communication trends.

"Citizens have a developed awareness about the threat of the political unification of the world on their individual liberties. Add to that other forms of unification: administrative, economic and even media, and the citizens reacted with movements which were nationalist or regional in character, or created counter-societies which based their existence on mutual trust: the development of associative life (a number of societies) for over 20 years in France, participation in local, communal life, expansion of countercultures, are some of the manifestations of that reaction. The existence of local free radios as well. Each of these groups seeks, in a subconscious way, to create its own system of information which can be trusted - so great is the mistrust of the central media system (Ferro, pp. 99-100)

The New World order presented through our official media did not have the effect on the public that Ferro describes. On the contrary it strengthened passivity and fatalism. The image of the world and the image-reflection of other institutions of civil society and their autonomy in the media do not reach the public with the right image. On the other hand, the public does not exist and if it did it could not undertake to create its own media. The sporadic creation of some local free radio station does not change anything important in this assessment.

The non-free, official media broadcast primarily those messages that suit the understanding that public institutions are the state’s, and the images of freedom of others if they exist, are not aired publicly in ways that would reveal that possibly there do exist in some segment of society/state the beginnings of civil society. The independent media strengthen or stress those forms of activity by potential factors of civil society that objectively do not have any great significance in public, cultural or political life and the public were disappointed on several occasions by the failure of actions that were presented as extremely important by the independent media.

"Information is obviously much more than fact, and communication processes are often an expression or confirmation of the values and identity of their participants (...) To most of the population of the planet, affinity for the place they live in, other people and their convictions, represent a powerful force which can still shape the processes of communicational reception and give it significance (McQuayle, 1994, 74).

**Media networks** had also been of crucial effectiveness, not only for bringing democracy and promoting human rights (ANEM), but also by stimulating a greater sense of involvement by the younger generation, like ‘Cross radio’, which is mainly focussed on stimulating cultural cooperation and promoting urban cultures.

Many of these media networks had an impact on the interest shown in Europe for the region (as a region of conflicts and isolation), and developed specific “communication projects”. Many reviews had been created like Balkanmedia (Sofia), Balkan umbrella (Remont, Belgrade), BalKanis (Ljubljana Slovenia), Sarajevske, Biljeznice/Sveske/ cahiers etc., which maybe does not reinforce the regional feeling as firm identity, but are contributing toward creation of better flows of information and art content within the region.
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