RESPUBLIKA!

EXPERIMENTS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF PARTICIPATION
AND DEMOCRACY

EDITED BY NICO CARPENTIER

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RESPUBLIKA!
A CYPRIOT COMMUNITY MEDIA ARTS FESTIVAL WAS REALISED WITH THE KIND SUPPORT FROM:

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Contents

Foreword

On behalf of NeMe, we would like to express our gratitude to the curator and initiator of *Respublika!*, Dr Nico Carpentier. His passion for Cyprus and his extensive research and experience on Cypriot community media has been a tremendous and substantial contribution to strengthening the visibility, importance, and outreach of citizen participation via collaboration, creative innovation and promoting democratic principles through the engagement of small-scale community media organisations.

This far-reaching project commenced as, *Respublika!: A Cypriot Community Media Arts Festival* and by the time all the content was collated for this publication, the title evolved into *Respublika!: Experiments in the Performance of Participation and Democracy,* a more precise representation of the vast experimental nature of the project which resulted in the documentation of a myriad of diverse voices and creative outcomes on the subject of community media both in Cyprus and internationally. Community participatory practices, within the context of *Respublika!* focused on issues regarding the implementation of the right of citizens to participate or collaborate in order to creatively contribute and transform the framework of localism. As such, enhancing cultural value and shared experience was inherent in its practical implementation.

This multi-faceted project succeeded in accessing the community's alternative and often peripheral interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary cultural practices and to critically articulate these relationships in context to media, democracy and participation. In addition to the extensive representation of individuals from the public domain who responded to the *Respublika!* Open Call, we invited the Berlin based artists Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud for a series of events which included an exhibition entitled *Open Community - Open Networks*, Artists talk, workshop, and meetings with Cypriot hacker groups and academics. Wachter and Jud's history of involvement in effective social action through collaborative and community-based projects made a substantial and very significant contribution to *Respublika!* which immediately resonated with the Cypriot audience.

The initiatives of *Respublika!* furthered the social role of creative practice by promoting community empowerment through the engagement with the public. It did this by introducing new methods and methodologies for us to rethink and re-evaluate our approaches to collaboration by effectively blurring the boundaries between the public, the audience, and creative producers. We hope that the readers of this publication may visually experience and fathom the immense outreach of the project and hopefully continue its journey of promoting citizen participation in the process of social change.

Helene Black and Yiannis Colakides

An Introduction to *Respublika!*
Experiments in the Performance of Participation and Democracy
Nico Carpentier

The Rationale of Democratisation

Respublika! has contributed to the discussions and reflections about participation and democracy, and how they are performed in contemporary Western societies. *Respublika!'s* engagement has not been neutral, because it was driven by the idea of the necessity of deepening the democratic revolution, labelled by Chantal Mouffe (1988), or to democratise democracy, to use the words of Anthony Giddens (1994). It was also driven by the need to protect democracy from the incessant attempts to reduce its span and undermine its strength. In order to better understand this position, it is important to realise that democracy is always incomplete and unfinished, which implies that it can be improved, but also that it needs to be protected, as it is always under threat.

Respublika!'s imaginary of intensifying democracy is intimately connected to the decentralisation and equalisation of power relations. This explains why participation plays a crucial role in *Respublika!,* as this is the concept that allows capturing these mechanics of power-sharing. As a concept, participation is crucial in furthering our understanding and conceptualisation of social change, keeping in mind that participation (and democracy for that matter) are not only located in the realm of politics, but transgress the borders of institutional politics, and can become activated in the many different fields—including the arts—that together make up the social.

There are, of course, many different ways that participatory processes can be, and are, organised. In some cases, participation is only used in signifying practices about processes that are allegedly participatory, with hardly any redistribution of power taking place. A long time ago, in a 1969 article, Sherry Arnstein labelled these practices non-participatory or forms of token participation. In other cases, the redistribution of power remains limited, and privileged actors remain in control, even though there is a certain degree of power sharing with unprivileged actors. These minimalist forms of participation occur quite often, while maximalist forms of participation are much rarer, as the equalisation of the power relations between privileged and unprivileged actors is hard to reach and even harder to maintain. In this respect, maximalist participation is a utopia, important to strive for, and a significant motivator for social change, but impossible to establish on a permanent basis.

Even if maximalist participation is hard to reach, some social settings are more prone to facilitating these more intense forms of participation. In particular, civil society organisations, distinct from state and market, are often seen as prime locations of democratisation and maximalist participation. Civil society is the site of voluntary association of citizens, which almost automatically produces the need for collaboration

and coordination amongst equals. Of course, civil society does not always live up to these democratic expectations. Informal power imbalances, that disturb maximalist forms of participation, are rife in civil society. Also the objectives of some civil society organisations are not necessarily democratic, as the existence of civil society organisations geared towards the installation of authoritarian cultures and regimes demonstrate. Still, many civil society organisations *are* committed to democratic values, and practice and perform democracy on an everyday basis, also, in some cases, supporting these more maximalist participatory practices.

Respublika! has been particularly inspired by the democratic ideologies and practices of one type of civil society organisation, namely community media organisations. This is why *Respublika!*'s subtitle was *A Cypriot Community Media Arts Festival*. Community media aim to serve the communicative needs of particular communities, allowing them to exert their right to communicate. Different from mainstream media organisations, community media focus on alternative (sometimes counter-hegemonic) content, alternative formats and alternative (and more horizontal) organisational structures. They remain firmly embedded in civil society, connecting other (non-media) civil society organisations and acting as hybrid crossroads for them, also translating the more maximalist versions of participation into organisational practice.

Especially their alternativity provides a bridge to the more artistic practices, as community media are not only reservoirs of participatory knowledge, but also provide shelters for a wide range of creative practices, as diverse as, for instance, sound art, experimental television, performance and installation art, and caricature. Moreover, exactly this combination of expertise—participatory and creative—renders community media organisations also key actors in the field of participatory arts, even though they are rarely acknowledged for this capacity. *Respublika!* remedied this neglect and tapped into both reservoirs.

Respublika!'s Remit

Respublika!'s commitment to the intensification of democracy has resulted in a combination of two strategies: A reflexive strategy and a participatory strategy. *Respublika!*'s reflexive strategy has led to the inclusion of art projects that reflect on issues about democracy and its participatory component, analysing the (de)centralisation of power in contemporary societies. These art projects were not necessarily participatory in their own right, as non-participatory art projects from individual artists who analysed democratic and participatory practices were included. Behind this strategy is the idea that individual critical reflection about democracy and participation remains valuable and should not be sacrificed by an exclusive focus on participatory arts. Instead, participatory

arts and non-participatory arts addressing democracy should be combined and integrated, placed a dialogical setting, also towards each other.

The second (participatory) strategy did explicitly focus on the integration of participatory practice in art production, welcoming art projects that use participatory mechanisms to produce art works, collaborating with, and empowering members of one, or more, communities. In these art projects, we saw artists and non-artists join forces in the production of art works, sharing power within this production process, and thus rendering the arts field itself more democratic. This does not imply, however, that the artist, and his/her knowledge and expertise is removed from the equation. What it does mean is that also the knowledges and expertises of non-artists are respected and allowed into the artistic production process, leading to more balanced power relations and collaborative processes. Of course, in a number of cases, the selected art works combine both reflexive and participatory strategies, allowing to reflect about democracy and participation through the organisation of participation.

This position unavoidably implied that *Respublika!*'s remit has been translated into an openness in relation to the artists exhibiting their work, as it aimed to tap into the creative reservoirs of community media, civil society organisations, and social collectives (and their members); but also artists committed to the basic principles of participatory community communication. In doing so, *Respublika!* very much welcomed contributions by established artists, and also included art projects from individuals and groups that do not explicitly define themselves as artists, but still use an arts language in order to reflect and communicate about themes that are part of the *Respublika!*'s remit.

In order to facilitate this inclusion, care was taken to communicate the launch of *Respublika!* and the possibilities to take part in the project as broad as possible. Two open calls were distributed on a large scale, through a variety of channels. In collaboration with the Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC), and in particular Orestis Tringides and Hazal Yolga, who took on the role as conference secretariat, several preparatory workshops were organised, allowing interested artists to meet with the *Respublika!* project team, be briefed on the project's remit and to test the waters with initial ideas for art projects. The eventual selection was decided by a committee consisting of the curator, a representative of CCMC and a representative from NeMe. The diverse set of communicational strategies was combined with a dialogical curatorial style, where submitted art projects (and their narratives) were extensively discussed. These discussions resulted in a better integration of the selected arts projects into *Respublika!*'s remit and generated more overall coherence.

Another way that *Respublika!* generated more diversity was through the choice of multiple locations and multiple artistic genres. *Respublika!*'s openness and inclusiveness translated into its spatial politics, as *Respublika!* combined multiple platforms, with the NeMe Arts

Centre as the main project hub and the first platform. The second platform moved away from settings associated with the more traditional arts world, situating a number of the art projects outside the confinements of the arts gallery (without depreciating it), moving, for instance, into the squares of Nicosia and Limassol, into the Nicosia Buffer Zone, and into a hospice, … By combining arts exhibitions with a festival outside the more traditional exhibitions spaces, *Respublika!* opened up a diversity of spaces for artistic intervention, bringing the *Respublika!* projects closer to its audiences.

Finally, *Respublika!*'s openness implied that non-Cypriot artists were also welcome. *Respublika!* has been enriched by a dialogue that transgressed the Cypriot borders and moved beyond the shores of the island. Cyprus's internal frontiers were overcome, by organising festival activities in both north and south Nicosia, by featuring multi-communal art projects, grounded in collaborations between members of the different Cypriot communities, and by thematising some of the issues that divide these communities.

What Has Been Done

The two main *Respublika!* exhibitions illustrate the combination of the above-mentioned reflexive and participatory strategies. The first *Respublika!* exhibition, entitled *Open Community - Open Networks*, featured the work of Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud, and ran from 4 November until 2 December 2017. Wachter and Jud, who won the Golden Nica award at the Prix Ars Electronica 2016, exhibited work which reflected on how digital technologies can be used for the purpose of surveillance and control, but also how these technologies can be used to overcome state domination, and empower social groups with weakened power positions.

The second *Respublika!* exhibition, *Participation Matters*, ran from 8 December 2017 to 19 January 2018, containing 14 arts projects, authored by, amongst others, a photography collective, a community radio station, activist groups and NGOs, academics and students, terminally ill people, migrants and refugees. As a group exhibition, *Participation Matters*, combined art projects produced by individual artists, with participatory arts projects that originated from collaborations between artists and non-artists.

In addition to these two main exhibitions, three other formats were used, namely the Festival, the Seminar Series and the Online Platform. During the second week of December 2017, when also the *Participation Matters* exhibition opened its doors, 17 festival events were organised in Limassol and Nicosia, sometimes using the NeMe Arts Centre, but in the majority of cases moving out of the art gallery. One of these events, was presented at the Materia Care and Rehabilitation Unit, where the *Life:Moving* videos were screened.

Secondly, the seminar series allowed for more extensive reflections on the *Respublika!* remit. Three seminars were organised, with the first one taking place on 4 November 2017. Entitled *"..." an archeology of silence in the digital age*, this seminar featured the artists of the first main exhibition, Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud. The second seminar was organised on 24 November 2017, and entitled *Community media, Community Art Production and Democratic Knowledge*. The third seminar was called *Participation, Active Citizenship and Community Media* and took place on 13 January 2018.

Finally, the online platform, a curated space in its own right, provided access to many of the art projects (e.g., the videos) and to additional material (e.g., interviews with the artists), providing ample contextualisations for all art projects. This platform, whose structure was designed by Yiannis Colakides, is accessible and can be found on http://respublika.neme.org/.

The Fourth Platform: The Catalogue

This publication, which is the fourth *Respublika!* platform, provides further contextualisations to, and reflections about, the arts projects and the *Respublika!* remit. All 18 arts projects have found their place in the catalogue, through photographic documentation, the artist statements, and interviews with the majority of the artists conducted by curatorial assistant Olga Yegorova. In addition, *Respublika!*'s programmatic texts and the contributions of many of the speakers at the *Respublika!* seminars, have also been included in the catalogue. This combination renders the catalogue a key resource about democracy, participation and the arts.

The catalogue has four main parts, which are very much grounded in the themes of *Respublika!*, within its larger remit. The first part is entitled 'Participations' and has the core participatory art projects and key reflexive texts about participation, and the ability to share power in (and with) the arts. The second part brings out more of the democratic and the political, grouping arts projects and texts dealing with the political interventions that art can constitute. Thirdly, the part on interactions focusses on those projects that reach out to their publics, without structurally altering power relations, but are still crucial in connecting arts with its publics and opening up the arts. Finally, part four focusses on identity, community, technology and nature and how these, factors connect with participation and democracy.

A Word of Thanks

A surprising number of people were involved in *Respublika!*, and they all merit my gratitude. Of course, there are the many artists who worked with me and the *Respublika!*

team, whose work, energy, and patience produced the interdisciplinary project that *Respublika!* became.

But also the organisational team played a vital role in *Respublika!*'s success, with NeMe's Helene Black and Yiannis Colakides, CCMC's conference secretariat with Orestis Tringides and Hazal Yolga, and the curatorial assistant, Olga Yegorova. The many volunteers were equally instrumental in *Respublika!*'s success. These volunteers were (in alphabetical order): Maria Alexandrou, Savvas Alexandrou, Efstathios Efstathiou, Hayal Gezer, Davita Günbay and Froso Nikolaou.

There were many photographers at work at *Respublika!*, whose photographs have been included here, with their kind permission. Several of the artists also contributed, but in particular Sakari Laurila, Olga Yegorova, Orestis Tringides, Hazal Yolga, Vaia Doudaki and Davita Günbay made substantial contributions to the photographic documentation of *Respublika!*. Also a selection of my own photographs have been included in this publication. Furthermore, the beautiful catalogue's design was created by Natalie Demetriou from ndLine.

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I thank all of them, and all of those I may have accidentally forgotten.

Nico Carpentier

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Video still: Join2Media

Pascal Gielen, video still: Hazal Yolga and Orestis Tringides

Vuk Ćosić, video still: Hazal Yolga and Orestis Tringides

Nicos Trimikliniotis, video still: Hazal Yolga and Orestis Tringides

Palace of Democracy, photograph: Nico Carpentier

Nico Carpentier, photograph: Olga Yegorova

Christopher Wachter, photograph: Olga Yegorova

Mathias Jud, photograph: Sakari Laurila

Davita Günbay, photograph: Sakari Laurila

Open Community-Open Networks opening,
photograph: Olga Yegorova

Orestis Tringides, photograph: Sakari Laurila

Vaia Doudaki, photograph: Nico Carpentier

Bart Cammaerts, photograph: Nico Carpentier

Hazal Yolga, photograph: Nico Carpentier

Helen Hahmann, video still: Hazal Yolga and
Orestis Tringides

Yiannis Christidis, photograph: Nico Carpentier

It's Good to Know screening,
photograph: Olga Yegorova

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

PARTICIPATIONS

A Brief Introduction to Participations
Nico Carpentier

Inequalities and exclusions still characterise contemporary societies, even if the democratic revolution has played an important role in evening out the most substantial power inequalities and the abuses they brought about. The power imbalances that continue to exist have a strong societal impact, but they too are not necessarily given and unchangeable over time. Participation is a concept—and a set of embodied practices—that allows us to reflect and redress these inequalities, creating situations where power is shared and where people who belong to the more unprivileged parts of society become validated and empowered. There is a multitude of contexts where participation can be put to work, and it can be organised with many different intensities, some of which are more minimalist, whilst others are more maximalist. Community media organisations, as part of civil society, are but one type of context where these participatory practices find a home, but they are important knowledge reservoirs that can cherish these participatory principles and transpose them into other realms of the social.

Participation in the arts is one of the many contexts where these participatory principles can then be deployed. In this field, artists hold, together with curators, gallerists, art buyers and collectors, strong power positions, while visitors and spectators can often only interact with art works, visiting and looking at them, sometimes touching them, and sometimes even working with artists, while remaining within the boundaries set by these artists. Participatory arts aim to redress this power imbalance, by empowering non-artists to produce art works without erasing artists from the equation. In participatory artistic practice, artists and non-artists respectfully collaborate in the art production process, affecting the power (im)balances in the arts as a whole, but also providing non-artists the opportunity to participate *through* the arts, and to use the languages of creativity to have their voices heard through art works, and to communicate their ideas to other visitors and spectators.

Community Media as Rhizome[1]
Nico Carpentier

Introduction

Published more than a decade ago, the article *Community Media: Muting the Democratic Media Discourse?* (Carpentier, Lie and Servaes, 2003) attempted to chart the different approaches used to understand community and alternative media.[2] The outcome was a typology of four approaches (Figure 1), where the first two approaches are strongly media centred. Built on community media (Approach 1) and alternative media theory (Approach 2), these two models capture the more traditional ways of understanding community media. The first approach uses a more essentialist theoretical framework, stressing the importance of the community media organisation serving a community, while alternative media models focus on the relationship between alternative and mainstream media, putting more emphasis on the discursive relation of interdependency between two opposing sets of identities.

	Media Centred	Society Centred
Autonomous identity of CM (Essentialist)	*Approach I:* Serving the community	*Approach III:* Part of civil society
Identity of CM in relation to other identities (Relationalist)	*Approach II:* An alternative to mainstream	*Approach IV:* Rhizome

Figure 1: The four theoretical approaches towards community media
Source: Carpentier et al. (2003, 53)

These two traditional models for theorising the identity of community media organisations are complemented by two more society-centred approaches.[3] The third approach defines community media as part of civil society. The more relationist aspects of civil society theory, combined with Downing and colleagues' (2001) and Rodriguez's (2001) critiques of alternative media, are then radicalised and unified in the fourth approach, which builds on the Deleuzian (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) metaphor of community media as rhizome.

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1   This text combines material from Carpentier (2016) and (2017).

2   For reasons of convenience, the community media label is used in this text, as 'community/alternative/civil society/rhizomatic media' would only increase the word count and decrease the text's legibility.

3   The object of this analysis – community media organisations – of course complicates an unequivocal society-centred approach. Instead, this type of approach should be interpreted as the radical societal contextualisation of community media.

One of the main ideas behind this typology was that we should not fetishise the many labels attributed to community media, and isolate the different theoretical approaches that these labels represent, but instead combine and respectfully integrate the different approaches to reach a more thorough understanding of community media practices and theories. This synthetic strategy is not aimed at nullifying diversity, but rather wants to reach exactly the opposite objective: to fully recognise the diversity that characterises community media, by acknowledging the presence of these four approaches in community media practice (and theory) as they are translated in always specific equilibria between the four approaches.

Community Media as Rhizome

It is particularly the fourth approach—the rhizomatic—that explicitly articulates this diversity, contingency and fluidity as key characteristics of community media, which is one of the reasons why it merits our special attention in this short text. The rhizomatic approach to community media uses Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) metaphor to rearticulate the alternative media and civil society approaches, without giving up on the concept of alternativity. In its original conception, the rhizome is defined in close relation with the alternative, as the rhizome is non-linear, anarchic and nomadic: "Unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 19).

In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) enumerated a series of characteristics of the rhizome—the principles of connection and heterogeneity, multiplicity, asignifying rupture, cartography, and decalcomania. Connection and heterogeneity imply that any point of the network can be connected to any other point, despite the different characteristics of the components. The concept of multiplicity constructs the rhizome not on the basis of elements, each operating within fixed sets of rules, but as an entity whose rules are constantly in motion because new elements are always included. The principle of the asignifying rupture means that "[...] a rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 9). Finally, the principle of the map is juxtaposed with the idea of the copy. In contrast to the copy, the map is:

> "...open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation. It can be drawn on a wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a meditation. Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of the rhizome is that it always has multiple entryways." (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 12)

It is important to add that rhizomes are not necessarily good, and arbolic structures are not necessarily evil, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 20) also wrote:

> "…for there is no dualism, no ontological dualism between here and there, no axiological dualism between good and bad, no blend or American synthesis. There are knots of arborescence in rhizomes, and rhizomatic offshoots in roots. Moreover, there are despotic formations of immanence and channelisation specific to rhizomes, just as there are anarchic deformations in transcendent systems of trees, aerial roots, and subterranean systems."

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, both authors were heavily involved in the French alternative ('free') radio scene, which they saw as an opportunity to realise their "utopie 'deleuzoguattarienne'" (Dalle 2006). Authors such as Sakolsky (1998), Chidgey, Gunnarsson, and Zobl (2009), and Oi-Wan and Iam-Chong (2009) also used Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor to label media organisations as rhizomatic media. Through the un-celebratory use of this concept in community media studies, we can shift away more thoroughly from the focus on particular—dare I say isolated—community media organisations. This rhizomatic approach to community media allows us to see how community media are part of fluid civil society networks, and how they are connected with other (non-media) civil society organisations, social movements and fields (e.g., the arts). Chidgey, Gunnarsson Payne and Zobl's (2009, 487) rhizomatic analysis of the *Plotki Femzine* nicely illustrates the existence of these linkages:

> "…through collaborative acts of discussion, experimental art, autobiographical essays, and critical fiction, the Femzine project brings together women living and working in CEE countries to create an emerging space for feminist discussions and an articulation of feminist identities and connections" (emphasis in original).

It is this embeddedness in a fluid civil society, in combination with their oppositional relationship towards the state and the market (as alternatives to mainstream public and commercial media), which makes community media highly elusive and fluid. Both the many connections that community media have, and their structural adjustability, remain too often under-researched, showing the need for more non-media centric research into community media.
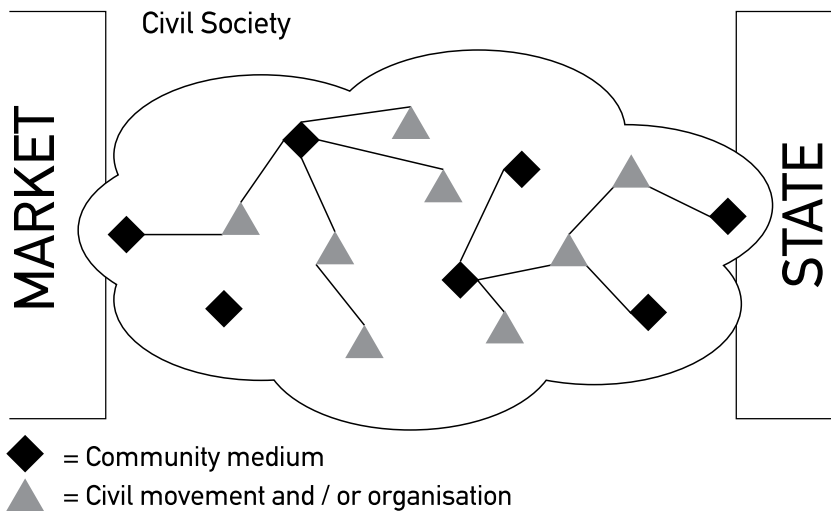
Figure 2: Civil society and community media as rhizome
Source: Carpentier, Lie, and Servaes (2003, 62)

The same needs apply in relation to the two other defining components of the rhizomatic approach: community media's role as crossroads of civil society and their linkages with state and market. Community media are not 'mere' actors in the rhizomatic networks, but play a catalytic role in functioning as a crossroads – they are places and spaces where people from different types of organisations, social movements and struggles can meet and collaborate. In an earlier research project (Santana and Carpentier 2010), focusing on two Belgian community radio stations, a remarkably high number of connections with (mainly) civil society were shown to exist, which provides a promising first look into the size of these rhizomes, and the intensity of these connections.

These networks do not stop at the edge of civil society, though; like rhizomes, community media can cut across borders and build linkages between pre-existing gaps: "a rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organisations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 7). Community media (and other civil organisations) establish these kinds of linkages with (segments of) the state and the market without necessarily losing their proper identity, and without becoming incorporated and/or assimilated. This implies that the realms of the state and market are *not* articulated as 'no-go areas,' and that community media organisations can indeed legitimately enter these realms, even if this is with care and restraint. For instance, as Rennie (2011, 119) remarked, donorship is frequently used in the global south,

where "[…] community media projects are often funded through donor agencies to build democratic media or to provide health, education, and peace information and to promote participation and community ownership." Gordon's discussion of financial models used by community media organisations also includes grants from "[…] a range of organisations, governmental, quasi-governmental and non-governmental […]" (Gordon 2015, 252) and advertising and sponsorship. In the latter case, Gordon (2015, 251) added that "[…] local regulations may restrict a community radio station's ability to undertake this type of activity," but also the identity politics of community media organisations and the need to protect the non-profit status may lead to the imposition of self-restraint. Nevertheless, many community media organisations move into the realms of state and market, mainly because of a need for resources, which also necessitates a more complex and sophisticated discursive positioning towards state and market. In this sense, community media are not merely counter-hegemonic, but also trans-hegemonic. They can still be seen as potentially destabilising—or deterritorialising as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) put it—the rigidities and certainties of public and market media organisations. In this argumentation, community media produce contingency, through their material existence, their signifying practices, and their discursive identifications, as they question dominant culture, also in interaction with state and market actors.

Material Constituents of Community Media Rhizomes

The rhizomatic approach, together with the three other approaches, form the community media discourse, which provides meaning to the community media practices from the past, present, and future, performed by a wide variety of people involved in this media field. Identifications with this community media discourse—a hybrid way of thinking community media—provide motivations and protections, pleasures and frustrations, affects and arguments, … But, at the same time, we should be careful not to ignore the material component of community media, in all four approaches.

When zooming in on the rhizomatic community media approach, the strong presence of the material does not come as a surprise, given the origins of this approach. The presence of the material can first of all be found in the role of collaborative (mostly) civil society networks, where members of different organisations and movements interact—moving beyond 'their' organisational machines. The rhizomatic model actually thematises the collaborations that are organised between different community media organisations and between community media organisations and other civil society organisations. These collaborations can take on many forms, and the material features in them in many different ways. For instance, in some cases, community media producers and civil society representatives can travel and meet to produce community media content that fits their joint interests (Halleck 2002, 175).

In other cases, as illustrated by the existence of the RadioSwap database (Carpentier 2007), the encounters are not so much face-to-face, but organised through online technologies. In the case of this database, different community media producers can upload their content, enabling other community media to download and re-broadcast their material. In yet other cases, as Chidgey, Gunnarsson, and Zobl (2009, 487) argued in their above-mentioned rhizomatic analysis of the Plotki Femzine, the community (or alternative) media organisation itself becomes the meeting space. Of course, the rhizomatic fluidity of community media organisations can, in some cases, also work against collaboration. Different community media organisations, other civil society organisations and social movements may have very different objectives, procedures, and interests, which might not be easy to reconcile. Moreover, bringing a diversity of actors within the community media organisation can potentially import conflict, which can then put a serious strain on the capacity of a community media organisation to act as a civil society crossroads, and which might even jeopardise its existence (Dunaway 2005).

Furthermore, the entries into the realm of market and state are highly material, given the often financial motivations for these initiatives. They often enable the financial survival of community media organisations, by bringing in the necessary material resources into these organisational machines. There are, nevertheless, downsides to these strategies, which also create contingency. Requests for funding, or for the continuation of this funding, might not be granted, which can jeopardise the existence of these community media organisations (see Gordon 2015, 252, for an example). Even if the strategies are successful in providing access to material recourses, moving into the realm of market and/or state can simultaneously have material consequences. The logic of deterritorialisation might not work as desired (and as the community media discourse articulates it), for instance, when subsidising agencies require evaluations to be made, reports to be written, and sometimes even staff to be hired to comply with contractual requirements, which may exhaust the organisational energy. When discussing grant applications by community media organisations, Gordon (2015, 253) wrote: "Grant applications are time consuming to write, there are likely to be robust restrictions on the uses of any funding gained and recipients will have to service their grants with meetings and reports, which may also be time consuming." Incorporations, always threatening and often triggered by these kinds of material conditions, might fundamentally alter the community media organisation, transforming it into something outside the boundaries of the community media discourse. Pavarala (2015, 15) pointed to the risk brought about by "[…] some organisations [that] are beginning to enter the arena solely to further the organisational objectives, and they take to less than participatory methods under pressure from donors to 'scale up' operations and to demonstrate 'impact' on behaviour change."

Finally, the material component of community media's elusive nature also effects their relationships with different societal actors. Community media organisations are often what Soteri-Proctor (2011) called "below the radar" organisations, also has a clear

material component. Their locations are not always easy to find and to access, and even the knowledge about their existence or functioning (e.g., by relevant community members) cannot always be taken for granted. In some cases, they might simply disappear and (sometimes) re-appear in a different form and shape, which (also) implies a re-alignment of its materials. This elusiveness also makes it hard for states to regulate and police community media organisations, as the diversity of the field is difficult to reconcile with the creation of material categorisations required for regulation attempts. In cases where community media organisations have to deal with more oppressive states (or other actors), or with states that do not have legal provisions for community media and that prosecute attempts to establish them, this elusiveness, at least partially, protects the community media organisations that have to function in these circumstances.

By Way of Conclusion: The Community Media Assemblage as a Discursive-Material Knot

Community media organisations are given meaning through the community media discourse that is grounded in the combination of the four theoretical approaches discussed in the introduction. Even though these models diverge in their emphasis on different aspects of community media, their articulations are also partially overlapping, because of community media's more general focus on the organisation of participatory processes. Participation features in all four approaches, as the community that is being served through the facilitation of its participation, as the provision of a maximalist participatory alternative to non-participatory (or minimalist participatory) mainstream media, as the democratic-participatory role of civil society, or as the participatory rhizome. These discursive frameworks provide meaning to the participatory practices of the organisational machines of community media and enable them to communicate their counter-hegemonic identities to the outside worlds and to themselves, but they also provide meaning to the different actors that are involved in these communicational practices.

Through the logic of the discursive-material knot (Carpentier 2017), the community media discourse is part of an assemblage, together with a variety of materials entangled with it. The spheres of market, state, civil society, and community (plural or singular) provide access—for the community media organisation—to many different materials. These bodies; places and architectures; proto-machines; services and commodities; and capitals flow from these spheres into the organisational machines of community media and sometimes back out again. Although the origins are not necessarily given and fixed (and the spheres are overlapping as well), some types of materials are more likely to come from particular spheres; for instance, services and communities are likely to flow into the community media organisation from the sphere of the market, and the bodies of the community media producers flow into the organisation from the spheres of community and civil society. But other materials, such as capital, can have very different

origins. These materials enter into the community media assemblage, where they engage in interactions with each other, structured by the assemblage (and its hierarchies) and structuring the assemblage with their own agencies and in interaction with the agencies of others. These interactions can be described with a series of labels—using, producing, working, communicating, collaborating, and enhancing skills.

At the same time, these materials become part of a participatory process, where the community media producers (and community media managers and staff members) co-decide about the arrangements of these materials and how they should be deployed to serve the (participatory) objectives of the community media organisation. Through these interactions, and driven by horizontally structured decision-making practices, the community media organisations produce their signifying practices, which also have their material component (namely, text-related practices). This media content leaves the organisational machine being distributed to different audiences using some of the community media organisation's proto-machines. The audiences are not disconnected from the communities, civil societies, states, and markets, but again related to these spheres in different ways. Also, their relationship to the media content produced by the community organisation, and to the community media organisation, varies, with, in some cases, audience members gaining access to the community media organisation and entering its assemblage.

In this community media organisation's assemblage, the discursive and the material are not segregated, even though they are, for analytical reasons, discussed separately here. These materials, once they enter the community media assemblage, are invested with meaning, where, for instance, the proto-machines are redefined from consumer technologies to community media production technologies and 'technologies of democracy,' where the bodies of community members become community media producers, empowered citizens through their identification with these particular subject positions. The capitals that enter become instruments for community media maintenance or survival, even if their presence might come at a cost. These materials also bring their own agencies into the assemblage, inviting for particular meanings to be attributed to them. The spaces allocated to community media production, with their particular forms and shapes, might allow for particular kinds of signifying and material text-related practices, and disallow for others. The proto-machines have built-in affordances, with their limitations, that orient community media producers towards particular meanings and ways of operating them.

Simultaneously, in particular the rhizomatic approach reminds us that the community media assemblage is not stable, but characterised by contingency. This community media assemblage is a counter-hegemonic intervention in a political and media configuration, characterised by a combination of non-participation and minimalist participation. One implication is that community media are almost permanently engaged

in a discursive-material struggle, in trying to counter hegemonic discourses about democracy, participation, leadership, ownership, expertise, and citizenship, but also in trying to secure control over the materials needed to guarantee its continued existence. But also within the community media field, and within particular community media organisations, different identifications exist (for instance, triggered by differences in the emphasis on the four community media nodal points), which creates contingency. This intra-organisational contingency is enhanced by the agencies of the materials that enter the community media assemblage, and the disruptions and dislocations they might cause. One example here is the materiality of the community, which might not have sufficient interest to enter the community media organisation to represent itself and participate in the organisational management, which might structurally unsettle the entire community media remit. Even if this contingency produces many challenges for community media organisations, it is at the same time one of their defining characteristics, and a reason why these organisations have a significant societal relevance.

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The Art of Community Media Organisations
Nico Carpentier

Community media[1] are more than media organisations. With diversity, contingency and fluidity as key characteristics, community media act as crossroads of civil society (Santana and Carpentier 2010), bringing together a wide variety of people: Educators, experts, activists, visual artists, sound artists and musicians, journalists, and many more. Their alternativity allows community media to transgress fixed borders, and to shift into areas that are not traditionally associated with (mainstream) media organisations, including the arts. To use Deleuze and Guattari's words (2004, 8), which are very appropriate for community media: "A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organisations of power and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences and social struggles."

Respublika! tapped into community media's artistic dimension, and community media's relationships with the arts, in order to invite people closely, or only peripherally, connected to these community media—*Respublika!* calls them 'community media affiliated artists'—to explore, expose, construct, deconstruct, visualise, represent, and critically reflect upon the relationships between media, democracy and participation.

Community media's artistic dimension has been recognised by a variety of institutions. For instance, research has shed light on their artistic abilities, as the CapeUK The Arts and Community Radio report illustrates:

> "Although the sector as a whole is at an early stage in its development we found many rich examples of innovative arts practice, particularly in the more established stations which have been broadcasting since 2001 as part of the access programme and in stations which had grown out of arts based organisations." (Cochrane et al. 2008, 6)

We can find other examples that validate the artistic practices of community media by producing overviews. One example is arts.community.media, the "platform, producer, partner for the arts" that is supported by the Arts Council England. This platform is an "online showcase of arts and community media collaborations from around the UK" (http://arts.commedia.org.uk/), and provides some quite interesting examples of community media art projects.

In many cases, though, the artistic activities of community media remain hidden, located under the radar, just as is often the case with community media organisations themselves. This does not mean that there are no examples of community media art

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1   Their diversity is also played out in the labels attached to community media. Community media is used here as a semantic short-cut for a wide range of media organisations that relate to labels such as community media, alternative media, participatory media, rhizomatic media, citizen(s) media, and civil society media.

projects to be found. These artistic practices are simply fairly well hidden and require more effort than a quick and sloppy search. One key example, that brought together more than 70 artists at the end of October 2016, was the International Radio Art Festival Radio Revolten, organised by the German community radio station Radio Corax. Another example is the Radia Network, which groups "radio stations, of the independent, non-commercial, community, cultural species." (http://radia.fm/about/) They describe their remit and activities as follows:

> "Radia has become a concrete manifestation of the desire to use radio as an art form. The approaches differ, as do the local contexts; from commissioned radio art works to struggles for frequencies to copyright concerns, all the radios share the goal of an audio space where something different can happen. That different is also a form in the making – radio sounds different in each city, on each frequency. Taking radio as an art form, claiming that space for creative production in the mediascape and cracking apart the notion of radio is what Radia does." (http://radia.fm/about/)

Of course, radio art and sound art are not the exclusive territory of community media, but there are natural links. One could argue that it is no coincidence that it was Bertolt Brecht (2001), who developed a radio theory in the second half of the 1920s, arguing for the use of radio as a tool of communication and not as a tool of distribution. In these very early works on radio, we can witness the alignment of the arts, radio and participation, with the latter being one of the foundational principles of community media. Later publications about radio (and) art, such as Neil Strauss's (1993) *Radiotext(e)*, Daina Augaitis and Dan Lander's (1994) *Radio Rethink*, Erik Granly Jenssen and Brandon LaBelle's (2007) *Radio Territories*, and the 2008 *Re-inventing Radio*, edited by Heidi Grundmann, Elisabeth Zimmermann, Reinhard Braun, Dieter Daniels, Andreas Hirsch, and Anne Thurmann-Jajes, all include chapters that refer to community media organisations (again using a wide variety of labels for them), and their ways of integrating sound art and radio art in projects, programmes, and entire radio stations.

One particular example, demonstrating this intimidate connection between community media and radio art is *Resonance*, a British community radio station in London. Founded in 2002, "Resonance seeks to discover, encourage and support a diverse range of artistic voices through radio – from first-timers to seasoned broadcasters." (https://www.resonancefm.com/about) Their programme schedule includes, for instance, programmes such as 'Listening Across Disciplines,' which is edited and produced by Salomé Voegelin. This programme "presents methods of listening as they are used by astrophysicists, urbanists, architects, audiologists, artists, anthropologists, writers, neurologists and more." (https://www.resonancefm.com/programmes). Another example is the Belgian *Radio Centraal*, which was founded in 1980. Again, using one programme as example: *De Gebraden Zwaan Zingt* ('The Fried Swan Sings') defines itself as "experimental noise pollution" (http://www.radiocentraal.be/Realescape/programmatie/83). Daniel Renders,

the programme's producer, has released several sound art albums as Cassis Cornuta, and is a performing artist, sometimes solo, sometimes as member of the trio Aluda Lextherni.

The photograph below comes out of my own archive, and shows a *Radio Centraal* mobile studio at the MUHKA in Antwerp, for the 1993 exhibition 'On taking a normal situation and retranslating it into overlapping and multiple readings of conditions past and present,' conceived and curated by Yves Aupetitallot, Iwona Blazwick and Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev. Arguably, the radio studio itself, and the social practice of broadcasting, becomes integrated in the museum exhibition as art work in itself, while simultaneously broadcasting about it. The picture also shows a younger version of myself with George Smits (1944-1997), a visual artist, musician and radio producer of 'Zbolk Night Radio,' at work on the mixing board. George Smits described 'Zbolk Night Radio' in the following terms:

> "How far can someone go in constructing acoustic instruments from junk, playing and then recording them, to compose songs on cheap digital equipment with samples of that music, able to mix these songs live on a weekly radio broadcast with the original sounds, and all this without somebody saying: 'You're out of tune, you're a freak, you can get out!'"[2]

Figure 1: George Smits and Nico Carpentier at MUHKA
Source: photographer unknown[3]

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2   George Smits, quoted in https://www.muhka.be/programme/detail/418-inbox-george-smits-mafprint-exper-imentele-zeefdrukken-affiches-underground-comics-de-verhalen-van-jan-super-8-films-the-colour-compa-ny-presents-schilderijen/artist/2773-george-smits

3   The author has done his utmost best to locate the photographer. S/he is requested to contact the author, so that due credit can be attributed in the future.

Of course, community media's artistic reach spans beyond sound art. If we stay within the realm of community radio, then radio drama, and other theatrical forms should be mentioned. In the case of community television, the close relationship with video art needs to be highlighted. Here, the US-based community TV broadcaster Paper Tiger Television is a case in point. They describe themselves as follows:

> "Paper Tiger Television, through the collaborative efforts of artists, activists and scholars, has pioneered experimental, innovative and truly alternative community media since 1981. An early innovator in video art and public access television of the early 80's, PTTV developed a unique, handmade, irreverent aesthetic that experimented with the television medium by combining art, academics, politics, performance and live television. [...] PTTV is recognised internationally for its contribution to video art, theory and documentary tradition" (http://papertiger.org/about-us/history/)

But we should move away from an exclusive focus on audio-visual community media. There is a vast richness of community media that used (and is still using) print to communicate with their audiences. When the internet gained popularity, community media organisations migrated to the internet, using a mélange of technologies, or simply started as online-only community media organisations (while still remaining community media organisations). If we focus on the 'old' print community media (which continue to exist, sometimes as online community zines), then we find a fascinating overview of their artistic capabilities in Jean-François Bizot's (2006) *Free Press: Underground and Alternative Publications 1965 and1975*. The text on the cover page of the first part of the book is a fascinating illustration of the artistic ambition and reach of these publications:

> "We are the future. The free press is everywhere. Pop art, irony, collages, surrealism, cybernetics, happenings, road movies, activists, poets, angry young men, psychedelia, beatniks, Situationists, Buddhism, Native Americans, revolution, ghettos." (Bizot 2006, 9)

Community media organisations, in their rich diversity and creative fluidity, sometimes activate artistic repertoires, in combination with, and grounded in, their participatory-democratic dimension. They are not the only types of organisations characterised by this combination, on the contrary. This combination positions them in close proximity of the field of community arts, a form of cultural practice in which art is produced and used by local people within their communities as an instrument for social change (Adams and Goldbard 2002; Fotheringham 1987; Kelly 1984). As Cultural Studies researcher, George McKay (2010) argues in his book chapter *Community Arts and Music, Community Media*, the community arts movement and the community media movement share a concern for their communities, and both wish to empower them by democratically opening up the artistic sphere and the media sphere and giving ordinary people (non-professionals) a voice.

Moreover, the desire to increase audience interaction and participation has a long history in the arts, even if it is not shared by all artists (at least not in similar ways). One seminal arts exhibition which thematised the role of participation in the arts, entitled *The Art of Participatio*n, took place in the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (2008-2009). While also others, such as Claire Bishop (2006) have significantly contributed to reflections on this matter, the *The Art of Participation* exhibition catalogue is still an impressive reference point for understanding the relationship between the arts, democracy and participation, and it continues to be a source of inspiration for community media affiliated artists.

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Shaking the Airwaves: Participatory Radio Practices[1]
Helen Hahmann

Several community-based artistic radio performances took place during the International Radio Art Festival *Radio Revolten*,[2] in 2016 at Radio CORAX in Halle, Germany. This text presents a selection of cooperations between radio makers, artists and the audience during *Radio Revolten.* These were:

The Radio Relay Circus incorporated radio dragging audiences, installations, musicians, radio makers and radio artists into one overwhelming performance.

The duo *Demo Dandies* relied on unreleased music productions handed to them by the public. Having the audience involved, added an exciting spontaneity to the performances; gave way to rough, timid, unpolished and shyly whispering voices. Insisted on real-time radio, unmistakably confirming place and setting.

Workshops from Víctor Mazón Gardoqui, Udo Noll and Lucinda Guy, as examined at the festival *Radio Revolten*, demonstrated that seminars are the most liberating and embracing way to open up new collective horizons for radio practices. Participation reveleas its purest face, when the artist leaves the stage to share his or her practices and knowledge with the listeners in order to produce creative radio moments.

The Artist as Multiplier

Three people lean over the shoulder of a person soldering an audio input onto a USB interface. The hands struggle to hold the tiny parts of the nascent FM transmitter. For days now, a group of radio makers and listeners have sat ensconced in one of the upper rooms at the *Radio Revolten* Centre with electronics artist Víctor Mazón Gardoqui. Each of them is building their own transmission device which, according to Gardoqui's description, allows "self-managed, non-commercial and non-regulated wireless communications." As with the production of fanzines, mural paintings, poetry and musical expression, radio can be shaped by each one of us—from the transmitter to the broadcast. The most empowering and reflexive way of gaining a feel for radio is a hands-on workshop like Gardoqui's philosophical radio-soldering seminar *Trans/Mission*.

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1 The text is a modification of the "Participation" chapter, from the book *Radio Revolten. 30 Days of Radio Art*, published in 2018 by Spector Books, Leipzig.

2 *Radio Revolten* presented radio as a multi-faceted art form at a four-week festival in October 2016 in Halle/Saale, Germany. 82 commissioned artists from 21 countries presented contemporary radio art in the form of installations, performances, concerts, workshops and interventions. On air, the festival broadcasted for one month 24/7 on the FM frequency 99.3 MHz in Halle. More than 40 syndicated radio stations from 15 countries relayed parts of the programme.

"I can't stop switching my little transmitter on. I´m addicted to it," said one radio maker after participating in Gardoqu's seminar, where he built a transmitter that can be controlled with a computer via a USB interface. The objective of the workshop was not only to understand how to construct a DIY transmitter, but also to explore the ways in which this module can be used artistically. The collective performance of the *Trans/ Mission* workshop took place in the dim light of the *Radio Revolten Klub*. Balancing a laptop or smartphone and a radio receiver in their hands whilst changing frequencies and sounds on both devices, made the entry of the group into the venue, an overwhelming moment. Sounds interwove, frequencies were captured and set free again. It was a highly empowering way of participating in radio, with control over all parameters in the hands of the radio makers.

Figure 1: Víctor Mazón Gardoqui at *Trans/Mission*
Photograph: Marcus-Andreas Mohr

Figure 2: *Trans/Mission* workshop
Photograph: Marcus-Andreas Mohr

The performance offered an intrinsic view on mini-transmitter techniques and the strategies of artistic practice. The audience gathered throughout the performance space and found themselves in a dense radiophonic landscape. Some people kept their eyes closed, listening intently to the layers of the *Trans/Mission* atmosphere. You heard overlapping jingles from the seats in front of the stage, while the radios on the bar tables added music to the mix. The noisy, snapping sounds of a radio tuned to an empty FM frequency provided the droning sounds to this collective performance. Morse code sizzled through the air.

The performance was broadcasted onto radio, thanks to *Leslie,* the dummy head microphone. This empowering moment energised the participating community of radio makers and offered inspiration for their own radio practises. A sensation that can also be projected onto the performance by the Demo Dandies, where the artists Felix Kubin and Felix Reithel—both from the broader cosmos of free radio FSK in Hamburg—and the audience succeeded in closing the gap between performer and listener.

Figure 3: *Demo Dandies*
Photograph: Marcus-Andreas Mohr

"We haven't received too many demos so far, but WHAT we have received is just what we were hoping for/what we suspected. It's gonna be great. Listen to the attachment," wrote Felix Kubin of the *Demo Dandies* to the *Radio Revolten* team a month before their performance. *Highpitched-Horst* was one of the first submissions for the set of the *Demo Dandies* in Halle. His song *Feine Sterne* is a scratchy and staggering ode to the stars. The proposal to the audience was made public months before the radio concert: send in your demos and we´ll play them live on the radio stage in Halle. Some tapes were even handed to them onto the stage at the event itself.

In total, *Demo Dandies* played more than five hours (!) of previously unheard tapes for an insatiable crowd in the club. Some of the tape's creators were actually in the audience. People shouted for certain recordings, demanding that the DJs stop talking and get on with it ("Fangt an!"), or just went wild for this unusual mix of music.

Demo Dandies offered themselves as multipliers to bring music to the stage which had never previously been broadcast or released as a recording. They reduced their direct influence on the performance to that of a presenter of music. The only thing that infuriated some listeners was the monopoly of the DJs, their hands on the mixers, who

decided which tapes would be played next. People could not wait to hear their tapes. This method of opening up a space on air for a demo tape community enabled listeners to automatically become part of a radio production.

Even more direct was the involvement of people in Udo Noll's *Field Radio* workshop, where the participants were invited to focus on the sounds heard when moving through a city or landscape. The acoustic perception of the place could be memorised through a sound recording. Udo Noll—now joined by a community of sound recordists—collects field recordings from places all over the world in his long-term project *radio aporee,* which has been running since 2006. The sounds are archived on a map on the internet. The extended idea for the workshop was to connect the immediate soundscapes of specific locations with radio. In the radio show in which the workshop's outcomes were presented, Udo Noll expressed the main impulse: "Is it possible to create spontaneous radio broadcasts as a daily—and ideally collaborative—practice?"

Listening closely and exploring sounds of places, imagining a scene not through a picture but through a soundscape, associating further acoustic layers to the soundscape you are in, thinking about which elements of the environmental sounds should be accentuated in the recording—all of these experiences, shared within the workshop group, helped the participants to listen more closely.

The *Field Radio* created by the participants in Halle was transmitted live on the web stream of radio.aporee.org. The live session captured interactions on the marketplace in Halle, at the Zoological Institute and on Domplatz, where the *Lebenskreis Brunnen* [the Circle of life fountain] was still splashing in the midst of autumn. In this setting, Martina, one of the participants, read a poem in Spanish while circling the fountain. This unique soundscape, with the crash of the water swallowing words, released that moment of recording and listening from time and place.

Meanwhile, Lucinda Guy was working with a group of children in the *Invisible Waves* exhibition at the *Stadtmuseum* of Halle. The British radio maker handed out portable cassette recorders to the kids. In the year 2017, you would describe them as vintage cassette recorders, where you need a bit of strength in your finger to push down the black plastic play button; recorders that sound rough, like words spoken through a telephone; recorders that not only allow cassettes to be played, but also recorded. With this beautifully simple and immediate technique the kids explored the sounds of the museum, recording laughter, whispers and short interviews between themselves. They were largely able to manage the recorders on their own. They recorded, wound their tapes back, listened to what they had recorded and re-recorded when disappointed with the results.

Figure 4: Lucinda Guy at *Invisible Waves*
Photograph: Marcus-Andreas Mohr

As the workshop took place within the radio exhibition itself, the kids were surrounded by microphones, old radio receivers, a remote radio studio in operation, a recreation of a pirate radio studio from the 1980s, headphones for listening to historic radio moments and a vast amount of other material that could be touched and tried out. They even had the chance to zoom directly into the programme of *Radio Revolten 99.3 FM*. For this purpose, the exhibition offered a microphone, connected to the festival frequency. If you pressed the button installed, as a signal of transmission for the radio crew at the remote *Stadtmuseum* radio studio, you could be switched on air at the main festival radio studio at the *Radio Revolten Centre*. And that´s just what the kids did. They spoke to the listeners and presented their recordings, holding their tape recorder close to the microphone. This spontaneous, playful and haptic way of establishing contact via radio, wasted no thoughts on a final product such as a finished radio show. The goal was to perceive and discover the possibilities of the sound that is around them every day, to explore their voice, the voices of others and ultimately create their own tape, including their own colourful tape cover.

Incorporating Radio

In the exhibition space of Jeff Kolar's installation *Baby Monitor*: Four narrow rooms were linked by opened doors. The centre of each ceiling features an array of suspended baby

monitors, others stood in a semi-circle on the floor. They send oscillating frequencies back and forth between the devices in the four rooms. Gregory Whitehead laid on the floor wailing a harmonica into the baby phones, which were set to transmit. The signal was juggled back and forth in all four rooms like an echo between the transmitting and receiving devices. In the rear room of the installation, Anna Friz laid on the linoleum floor next to the baby monitor, also sending sounds through the devices with a harmonica. A guest from the audience steped a little closer to one of the hanging baby monitors and listened out for the signal to see if it was returned from one of the other rooms. At the same time, Annett Pfützner of Radio Corax paced slowly through the first room with the dummy head microphone *Leslie*. She held *Leslie* close to the standing baby monitors and the harmonica of Gregory Whitehead. On 99.3 FM this acoustic scenario is made to overlap with a second stream, transmitted from the exhibition room of Emmanuel Madan's installation: the alto saxophone of Caroline Kraabel, the bass clarinet of Roberto Paci Dalò and my baritone saxophone. We stand opposite each other for a few minutes, bouncing tones back and forth, before we begin moving around the room. On air the sound of the woodwind trio blended with the shriek of the harmonica, the breathing and sighing of Emmanuel Madan's *Schwarz-Rot* and Jeff Kolar's *Baby Monitor*.

The Radio Relay Circus brought the contemporary radio art exhibition *Das Große Rauschen* (The big rustle) to a big floating stage, mixing seven installations with 15 artists and two radio streams to create a unique radio broadcast mix. This closing ceremony for the exhibition was the culmination of participative radio practices performed during the *Radio Revolten* Festival 2016. The Radio Relay Circus converted the *Radio Revolten* Centre into a huge radio studio, a radio studio more than 300 square metres in size, stretched over two floors, inhabiting (more than) seven different sound sceneries where the listener, the speakers, radio makers and artists could move freely between one another. People walked through this physical radio space and realised with every step that radio is an intrinsic phenomenon, a condition that we are participating in with our bodies day by day. We alone decide when to allow other people to eavesdrop on our productions.

All these are examples of different approaches to making radio-produced noticeable effects. For some people, whether they were radio makers, artists or audience, a single critical experience might have been sufficient to rethink usual habits of creating or listening to a radio broadcast: finding ways to disturb worn-out routines; bringing into transmission the notion of heavy white fogs and deep dark nights; shaking the airwaves with noisy blizzards, Dadaistic recitations, unpolished interventions and croaky whispers. Participatory radio interventions make a clear announcement to the radio of the future: it's worth keeping practices in motion, questioning repetitions and at the same time developing a strategy to make the constantly changing, impatiently wriggling radio production a routine.
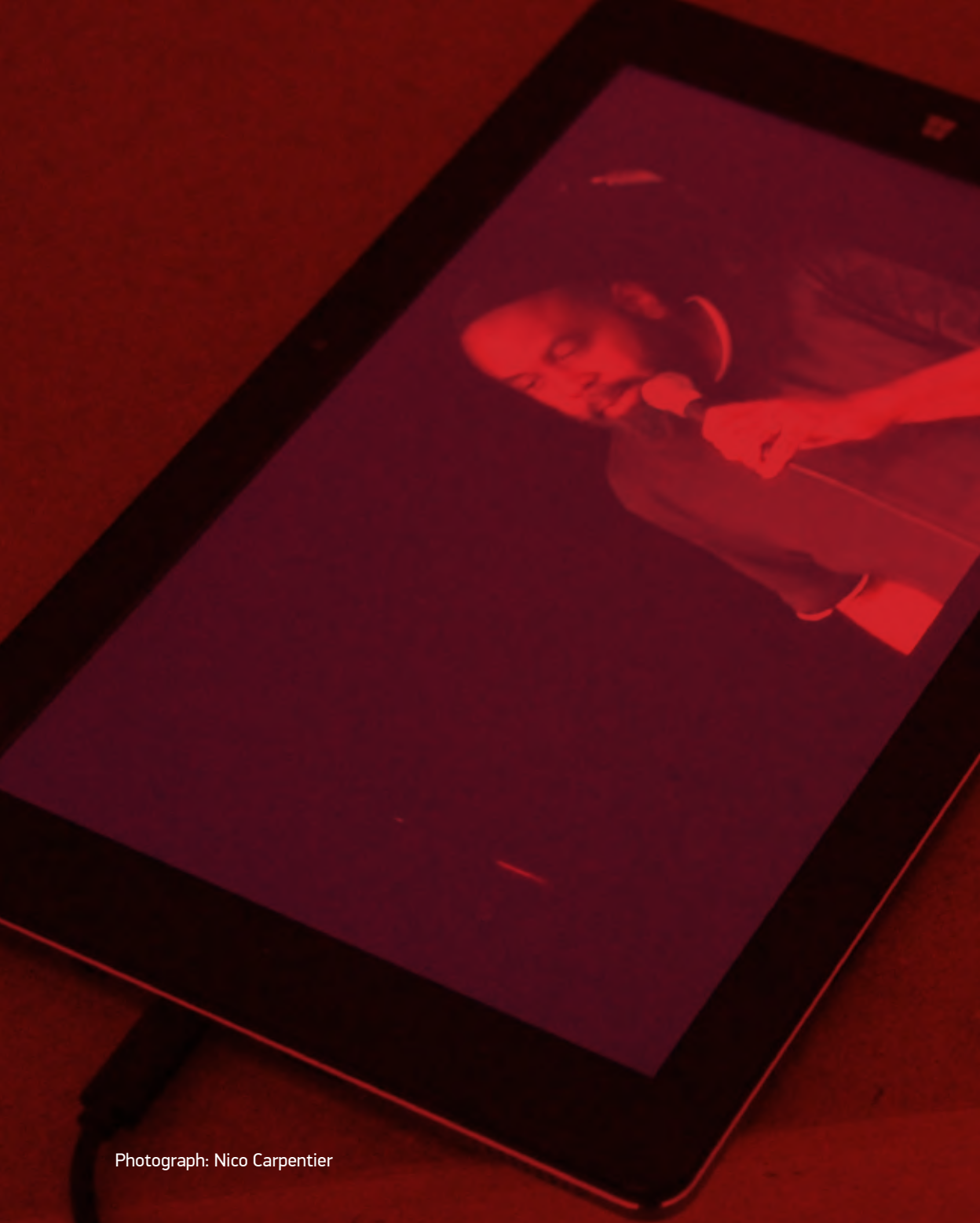
Photograph: Nico Carpentier

LIFE:MOVING
BRIONY CAMPBELL AND THE LIFE:MOVING PARTICIPANTS AND PROJECT TEAM

Video still: Briony Campbell and the *Life:Moving* participants and project team

Life:Moving[1]
Briony Campbell and the Life:Moving participants and project team

Life: Moving revolves around six films made by people affected by terminal illness as part of a collaborative participatory and research-based arts project. Over six months, through workshops and home visits, participants from John Taylor Hospice in Birmingham were given practical and critical training and support to develop and co-create their films. Working closely with filmmaker, Briony Campbell, and academic, Michele Aaron, different ideas, priorities and devices were explored, and six films were made. The six films were screened at the NeMe Arts Centre, Limassol, but were also featured in a separate exhibition at the Materia Care and Rehabilitation Unit in Latsia, Nicosia.

Various questions underpinned this project. What were the most pressing issues for participants in making these films? Which film-making tool—a smart phone, tablet or SLR camera—would best serve their creative interests and practical needs? In the age of the selfie, how would individuals with a range of physical restrictions and a lot to say represent themselves and bring personal and often difficult issues to public attention? And how would the team support this and create an environment which respected the vulnerabilities of all those involved? *Life: Moving*'s broad aim is to challenge society's misconceptions about terminal illness by giving those experiencing it the opportunity to tell their own stories, and by bringing these stories to a wider audience. In so doing, the project seeks to better understand the potential of digital film to serve the best interests of the vulnerable lives it so often depicts and then disseminates.

This potential, and the ethical praxis that harnesses it, is central to the research informing and informed by these films. While the digital age opens the world to all our gazes in newly connected and affecting ways, the sharing of human vulnerability is often rife with the same kind of objectifications and taboos long established in Western culture. This project sought to develop an ethical film praxis that communicates vulnerability in such a way as to forge human connection and empower its subjects, without compromise. In other words, without a retrenching of the invulnerable gaze that simply pities but remains untouched or un-humbled by the adversity of others. These are timely and pressing concerns, not least for arts practitioners and scholars, cultural theorists and community activists. *Life: Moving* was a powerful experience for all those it has engaged and testimony to the value of such projects for hospices, patients and the wider community.

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1   Project narrative by Michele Aaron
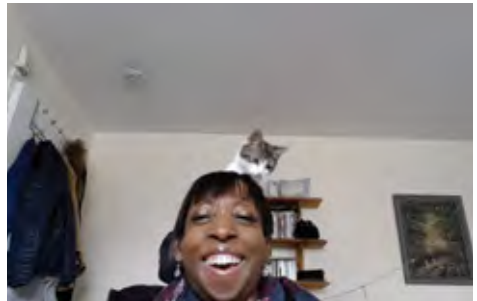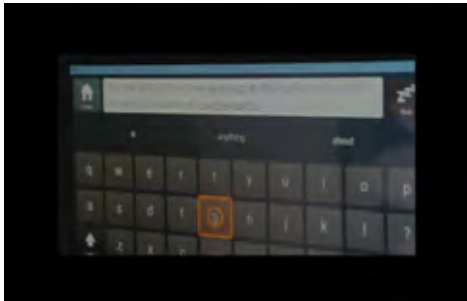
Life:Moving - The Six Participants

Photograph courtesy of Andrew Burchell

Andrew Burchell

Andrew's enthusiasm for the project came from his long-standing interest in art and culture, strong views on life and death and the very limited opportunities he has for social or creative activities owing to significant physical constraints. Unexpected hospitalisations during the project presented further obstacles to realising all his aims for the film, but in collaboration with friends, Briony and the research team, images were selected and monologues captured and brought together into two final cuts.

The challenge here was about achieving a balance between Andrew's ambitions for the project, his wealth of ideas and what was possible. The final result was achieved primarily through Briony visiting Andrew at home, and recording him there with a digital SLR camera. Though Andrew wasn't able to be as involved in the project as he had hoped, his characteristic optimism—his friends from his time living in Kenya pronounced him a 'life-ist'—compelled him to give what he could. The film captured his thoughtful reflections on his experience of the care system and the heightened value that medical advances place on human life.

Page 46:
Photographs and video stills: Briony Campbell and the *Life:Moving* participants and project team and Nico Carpentier

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Photograph courtesy of Keisha Walker

Keisha Walker

Keen to learn new things, Keisha was determined to take part in the project. Like some of the other participants, however, she found the process of filming and being filmed more exposing than she had anticipated. As a result, it took time to find the tools that suited her and allowed her to say what she wanted to say and in a way that was both comfortable and authentic.

Interested, originally, in conveying her particular perspective as she moved through her world in a wheelchair, a GoPro seemed the ideal tool for her to either wear or attach to her chair. However, it proved too fiddly to mount or film with. Alternative solutions were required: the familiarity of her smart phone camera was revived through a Samsung tablet, and its intimacy through a high-quality sound recorder to provide audio. A variety of technologies enabled Keisha to capture a range of her ideas and perspectives, which were worked together for the exhibition.
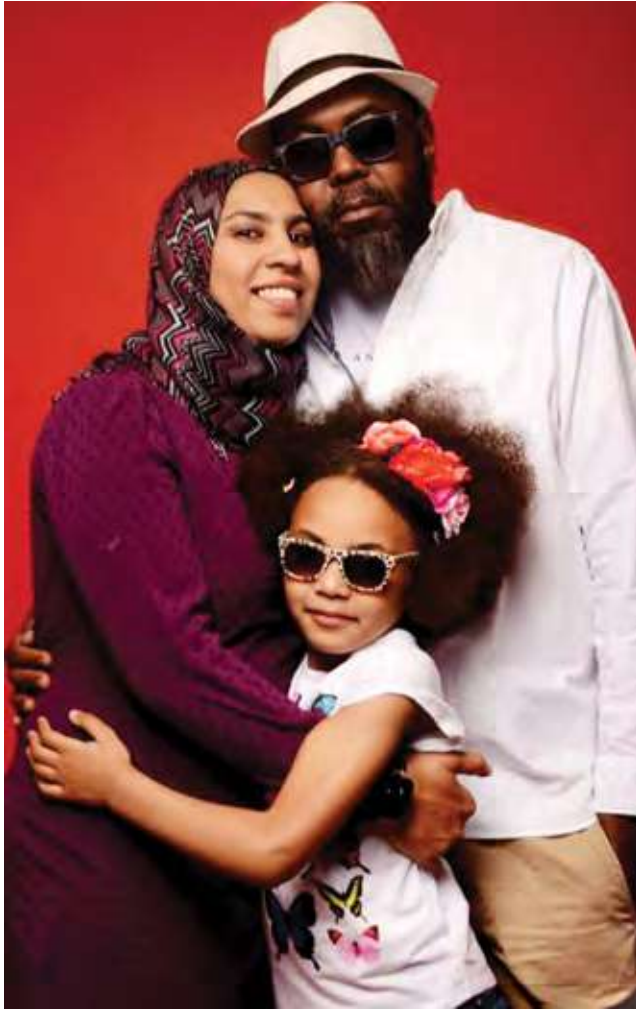
Photograph courtesy of Yussef and Haifa Ahmed

Yussef and Haifa Ahmed

The film, *The inspirational man and his Journey to one*, is a collaboration between Youssef and his wife, Haifa, and Briony. When the project started, Yussef was already very close to the end of his life and would die shortly afterwards.

Haifa attended some of the early project workshops and she and Yussef had a keen sense of what they wanted the film to show; that it might reflect his beliefs and experiences through highlighting his musical and political activities and at the same time provide an important record for their daughter Reem.

The challenge of this film was to find the right balance between the authorship and hopes of those involved in its creation and respecting and privileging the wishes of Yussef. The film combines old and recent photographs and footage of musical performances, Yussef's final birthday and his funeral. It provides one of the narratives to emerge as part of his involvement in the project. Due to losing Yussef so early on, there was reluctance to fix his story without him. Therefore, in addition to presenting an edited film on the central projector, other clips and recordings, which were produced or selected by Yussef and Haifa as part of the project, were made available on the touch-table. In this way, other narratives about Yussef could emerge through audience interaction.

Video still: Briony Campbell and the Life:Moving participants and project team

Robert Homer

Rob is a keen artist and, poet. No stranger to the creative process, Rob's challenge was how to transfer this familiarity to the unknown medium of film and via a set of tools that were new to him. His priority was a 'warts and all' disclosure of his experience of cancer. In order to achieve this, he started by filming on his phone last thing at night and first thing in the morning, his worst and best times of the day. This hand-held recording captured the intensity and intimacy he was after, but the quality was poor. These monologues would develop into the core of his film, but Rob went on to experiment with a higher quality SLR camera and time-lapse photography to provide other layers to his narrative of self-portraiture.

Peter

Photograph courtesy of Peter

Peter's approach to the project was shaped by his long-term love of both hiking and photography. He was clear from the start that his film would be focused on these, and on invoking a sense of what he most missed doing. He recorded a voice-over and edited it together with his selection of photographs he had taken in the past to create a slideshow of landscapes that have influenced his character and offered him sustenance throughout his life. No longer being able to visit them, this film serves as a tribute to what they have given him. Unlike most of the other films in the exhibition, Peter recorded and edited his film independently.

Photograph courtesy of Fran Tierney

Fran Tierney

Fran's project is especially, and inevitably, indebted to technology. She uses Eyegaze, an eye-operated communication system to speak, having lost the ability to use her own voice due to Motor Neurone Disease. But, as she pointed out in our first workshop, this computer-generated voice has no emotion. The challenge, then, for her and her aspiring-filmmaker son, Louis, was about how to fulfil Fran's wish to convey her feelings about her diagnosis and the implications for her family.

During a workshop that they attended together, Fran and Louis were introduced to the idea of using old photographs as a backdrop to storytelling. This proved a fruitful way for the family to engage with the project and to gather material that, together with footage taken by Louis, would become the visual accompaniment to the text that Fran wrote. The film was a collaboration between mother and son. Fran and Louis worked mostly independently: Fran on the script and Louis on filming and editing.

Interview with Michele Aaron
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Michele Aaron: I am a film academic. One of my areas of expertise is the representation of death and dying. Of my last two books, one was on the representation in contemporary mainstream cinema, another one on the representation of dying in visual culture. Indeed, I have always criticised the depiction of death and dying in mainstream narratives. I instead decided that, I wanted to be involved in co-creating alternative types of representations which challenged and even countered the mainstream's inaccuracies.

This project, where I worked with the filmmaker Briony Campbell, was very much about letting the participants lead. It was all about them, their voice, their needs, their wishes, their empowerment, their stories and stepping away from pretty inaccurate, misleading and sometimes even toxic representations of vulnerable people in society.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions relating to participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

MA: Power and questions of politics and participation were very important to this project, given that the regular representation of death and dying is all about the power imbalances inherent in conventional practices of film. In fact, any art practice that is conventional and traditional is frequently based on an objectification, a dehumanisation, and a disregard of the dying and the frail. Human vulnerability is often diminished. The project was about challenging that. And to do so, it had to be founded in collaboration and participation where the research team worked together with the participants who were enabled to tell their own stories as much as possible.

When we say 'participation,' we think of the individual participating in something 'bigger,' in society. But actually, we might think of participation as being necessarily collaborative. It is not only the individual in relation to society but more importantly the individual in relation to another individual. Society therefore consists, of collaborating participants. My project exposes the collaborative character of participation.

OY: Are you arguing for a reconfiguration of the power relations between mainstream filmmakers and people represented in their narratives?

MA: I think films can be a political art form for those who are the most disenfranchised, the least likely to be able to make films within the existing industries and traditions. Two of our participants were making the films with smartphones. None of them were using

what we might think of as the most inaccessible technology devices that are available. They were using devices that were familiar or easy to use. This is essential because most of them did not have the skills or the strength to do anything fancier. In this way, film can definitely reconfigure power relations where it pertains to the representation of the most vulnerable within society.

New technologies allow the most vulnerable within society to tell their own stories, which is the only way to break out of the othering that most stories, on whatever platform, channel or media, reflect. Of course, that does not guarantee that the stories they tell will not be characterised by the problem of inequality or dogma, or whatever it might be, but it makes it less likely. The six films that we have are very different. But what I think they all do show, is an authentic voice, experience and an appeal to the truth that is theirs rather than imposed upon them.

OY: Would this also mean that you want to defend another kind of society that is represented through your films where authentic voices from vulnerable people of society are louder?

MA: My work is focussed on ethics. I see the potential of film to create a society in which ethical practice is common and that would mean that all our representations do not ground representation in othering and in power discrepancies, but rather through ethical connection, appreciation of human vulnerability and even, one could say, the ethics of love rather than hate. Yes, you can say that things would change then.

OY: You mentioned that new technologies are a means to achieve this aim in your project. Do you think they do so also on a larger scale?

MA: Absolutely, but they are also the means for the opposite because they allow precisely for the pervasive use and dissemination of imagery and stories that are entrenched with that sense of othering, making this aspect much more immediate and intimate as well.

OY: You want to give voice to the 'other.' But how do you prevent a situation where you take their place so that they still don't get to speak?

MA: Given that my participants were all physically frail and likely to die relatively soon, it is inevitable that I have to speak for them. We dealt with this by making sure the films speak for them as much as possible and that this was discussed openly during the process. Of course, the participants consented to my use of the films at the *Respublika!* Festival, and in other events where the films are used to challenge conventional misunderstandings about the experience of death and dying and provide these important and honest self-portraits.

OY: How important is the notion of empowerment for your work?

MA: It is crucial. But I'd be wary of using it as well because the idea that someone is empowering someone else still keeps in place a certain power dynamic. I think that it is important to add that it was a collaborative and participatory project in which there was a sense of a shared vulnerability of all the people who were concerned in the making of the films.

OY: How do you think that your project offers an alternative perspective on what media can mean for citizens?

MA: The project's emphasis on ethics is a no-compromise rule about what the films would or could be. The films had to emerge from the people concerned. In that sense, it is a case study for a citizen-led art practice for individuals with specific vulnerabilities. More than that, what I discovered in the process is that it has been immediately appealing to end-of-life-care-professionals and the end-of-life-care-system who were very interested in doing similar art projects in hospices or hospitals. The films are very illuminating because of the ways they reveal quite interesting things about their subjects' experiences of the care and about what it's like to be terminally ill. They entail a strong educational value for the staff of hospices.

OY: Why is it important to offer citizen-led media outlets?

MA: The most obvious reason is the misrepresentation of the physically fragile. It a way to contribute to overcoming the discrimination and trauma that people affected by terminal illness experience because of the absence of other narratives.

Then, there is a practical reason in terms of society's economics. A change in the attitude towards illness and dying can help to address problems that emerge on a broader scale due to financial crises and the question of how to deal with the ill or dying proportion of the population.

But we saw also clear 'internal' benefits, which we anticipated as the project was designed in partnership with the psychotherapist at the hospice so that the participants were supported by, and working with, the therapeutic potential of this art project. The majority of the participants found it enormously beneficial on a variety of levels. For one of the participants, it countered "the sheer monotony and boredom of dying" as he put it. For the woman who uses the eye gaze technology, it was an amazing opportunity as she made the film with her son who is really interested in filmmaking and it afforded them a wonderful opportunity to spend time together and do something really constructive and meaningful.

Photograph: Adriana Frias Gonçalves, Ana Sofia Sousa Soares, Ana Filipa Santos Pimenta and Nico Carpentier

MEET Y/OUR WALL
OLD NICOSIA REVEALED

Orestis Tringides and Froso Nikolaou, photograph: Olga Yegorova

Meet Y/Our Wall
Old Nicosia Revealed

Nicosia's 'Green Line' has turned into a symbol which is interpreted in many different ways (e.g., 'The last divided capital of Europe' motto). This project aimed to achieve a more democratic production of narratives about Nicosia's dividing wall through its photographic explorations. With the participation of diverse (non-professional) photographers, an alternative narrative to the existing hegemonic discourses was created.

Old Nicosia Revealed is a photography collective, which, for the last 5 years, was been active in exploring and revealing Nicosia in a community-participatory manner, by using photography as a medium for a better understanding and appreciation of Nicosia, and thus, fostering a better dialogue within the community. Old Nicosia Revealed invites people to see, feel and understand, the features and stories of the wall, through discussion walks on history accompanied by photographic perspectives and activities. Workshops and the photo walks contribute to equalising and encouraging members of the community in two ways. Firstly, in terms of closing the gap between photographer-artist VS inexperienced in photography/amateur photographer; and secondly, also bridging between experienced/authority-laden historian VS an average citizen without the right to have a voice on the narrative formation of history.

In the *Meet Y/Our Wall* project, a series of photographs of the Nicosia buffer zone were produced by Old Nicosia Revealed. In a second phase, these photographs were printed and transported to other cities, in Cyprus, the Croatian city of Rijeka, and the Portuguese city of Viseu. Attached to other walls, the photographs were then photographed again, by many different photographers, including a Portuguese team of student-photographers of the Polytechnic Institute of Viseu, led by *R!* curator Nico Carpentier, with Adriana Frias Gonçalves, Ana Sofia Sousa Soares and Ana Filipa Santos Pimenta.

This strategy of wall displacement represents the complicated spatial relationship between the Nicosia Buffer Zone, and the many other parts of Cyprus where the Buffer Zone (and its complexities) is out of sight but still present. It also deconstructs the concept of the wall itself. Moving the images of Nicosia wall to other places, and to other walls, symbolically opens up and reconfigures all of these walls, showing both the presence and the limits of these human constructions, that sometimes divide, and sometimes protect.

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Katerina Charalambides

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Evdokia Georgiou

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Nico Carpentier *et al.*

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Nico Carpentier *et al.*

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Vuk Ćosić

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Helen Hahmann

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

Interview with Natalie Hami (Old Nicosia Revealed)
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Natalie Hami: Old Nicosia Revealed was founded 5 years ago by three people who were interested in documenting the old town of Nicosia through the medium of photography. It was an initiative that was and is very community-based. As such, it started off as a Facebook-page on which we did not only upload photos that we took, but also encouraged people to send in their photos. We categorised those as buildings, graffiti, and doors, through folders on our Facebook-account, and included a small description for each picture to provide some background information the photo did not instantly reveal. Throughout the years, we have organised walks around the old town together with organisations or initiatives and initiated cooperations so that, for example, anyone may buy souvenirs from the Home for Cooperation in Nicosia with the images that were submitted by the public and selected through a competition.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

NH: For me, the project has a lot to do with community and power. Community is an important factor because we are encouraging the citizens to participate through their own photographs. For *Meet Y/Our Wall* specifically, they took printed images and placed them on a wall outside the city, took a second photograph of it resulting in this chain of double image depictions at *R!* and beyond.

This process is also linked to power because one of the messages that we want to convey is that the wall holds power, which is not visible in some parts of Cyprus which are physically far away from it. It makes you realise the power which the wall holds in terms of being a dividing and oppressive element, but also in terms of being an inspiration for works of art, whether these works of art are images or words.

Lastly, the project also relates to democracy as it breaks with the mainstream narratives communicated by both sides of this divided country. It is about challenging those narratives by making people aware of the fact that there is more to say and see about this historical and political monument.

OY: You made clear that participation is central to your project. How do you allow for this participatory practice?

NH: We publish constant reminders to the public to send us their pictures through Facebook. And over the years we received many photographs. Another aspect that we

stress very much is our openness to critique or improvement so that people became very comfortable to correct us, for instance, if they think that a description of an image is not entirely accurate. Communicating Old Nicosia Revealed as an initiative, which is not about us, but about the community ensured that people get the chance to share their perspectives.

OY: You are taking a very important symbol for Cyprus, the Green Line, out of its location, and put it into new spatial contexts. How do you thereby change the previously taken-for-granted meaning of this symbol and what does this transformation stand for?

NH: The Green Line is indeed very spatially bound to Nicosia. The experience of separation takes place here more than anywhere else in Cyprus. I think that Nicosians always have this feeling that people from outside the city, from Larnaca, Limassol or Paphos do not seem to live the same reality as Nicosians do. Thus, there is a fear that people outside this spatial environment would not understand and feel Cyprus's problem. By distributing images of the wall in other sites of Cyprus, we want to create a better understanding beyond Nicosia of what this divided state means.

At the same time, it is not only a means to communicate the political meanings of the Buffer Zone in Nicosia, although this might sound paradoxical, it is also about spreading the historical, artistic and aesthetic beauty residing on this wall.

OY: Why is it important to create an understanding of Nicosia's divisive wall in other cities of Cyprus? And does that entail a link to democracy?

NH: I do not think that there is a clear opinion that is articulated through this project. It is not there to represent a political campaign, but it is a means to enable further dialogue. Looking at it from a wider perspective: Establishing a wide-spread understanding of Nicosia's *Green Line* in other places of Cyprus can then be a premise for further democratic dialogue about this situation.

OY: Through the participatory set-up of your project, you aim at closing the gap between what you call the "photographer-artist" and the "inexperienced in photography/amateur photographer." How do you do so?

NH: Most of us cannot call ourselves artists, photographers, or even amateur photographers. Through this project, we create opportunities where you can point with your camera at whatever matters to you. In this way, the view on the wall is multiplied and divided in much more diverse ways than if this project was to be led by a few professional photographers. It is symbolic of the many angles from which you can look at the wall.

OY: Why is it important to make this project as inclusive as possible for people who are not considered as professional photographers?

NH: It is important because, through projects such as *Meet Y/Our Wall*, people can understand that you don't have to be a professional or even amateur photographer to have a voice on how the wall and its symbolic meaning is shaped. Especially now, when almost everyone has access to a good camera with their smartphones, it gives any normal person the chance to become an artist and share their artwork, either through our Facebook page or, through the exhibition at *R!*.

On a broader level, this is important because I think that we need more active and empowered citizens. And *Meet Y/Our Wall* offers an interesting and easy way to make people participate and share their points of views. As it is working with images, it is also a nice way to engage the youth.

OY: What are the limitations of such a community-based project?

NH: To me, the limitations of this, and many other community-based projects, is that it doesn't become as widespread as it should be. It does not get as much attention as a project that is being produced and promoted by some well-known big organisations, and thus sometimes remains within the closed circle surrounding the community in which the project is developed.

Community Art - A Neo-liberal Solution for the Deconstruction of Welfare State?[1]
Pascal Gielen

The Impotence of Art

An illegal immigrant hesitantly expresses his criticism of an artist in front of a television camera. The man had promised to co-operate in a public intervention by the Belgian artist Benjamin Verdonck. The project focused the attention on the problems of refugees, illegal immigrants and other stateless people. The socially engaged artist had put up a cardboard house in the middle of the street on which he had written familiar advertising slogans, such as 'Nokia, connecting people' and 'My home is where my Stella is' (Stella Artois is a Belgian brand of beer). In the framework of Verdonck's artistic action, these slogans suddenly acquired a rather ambivalent, even bitter, undertone. Nobody missed the point. Apart from this fragile abode, the artist had also drawn up a pamphlet, in which he solicited understanding of the precarious condition in which these people who have turned nomads—often not of their own choice—find themselves. During the artistic manifestation, illegal immigrants distributed this pamphlet. However, the man in front of the camera was slightly displeased with the form in which the artist had formulated his message. The childish handwriting, in which the leaflet was written, was not very convincing, according to him. This immigrant thought that his cause, and that of his companions, was not being taken seriously. Verdonck defended himself in front of the same camera with the argument that this childlike writing was simply part of his own particular artistic style.

The short circuit, that occurred between the illegal immigrant and the artist could well be considered symptomatic of all art venturing beyond the boundaries of its own world. Whenever art leaves the familiar surroundings of the museum or the theatre, it falls prey to different opinions, perspectives and comments. It does not even have to flirt with social engagement or political activism for that matter. Even an aesthetically sound and 'nice' image in a public space can provoke a storm of protest only because of the simple fact that it stands in the way of pedestrians and others. In the aforementioned account, however, something more is going on. With his artistic intervention, Verdonck chooses not only to break free from his preordained place, but he also ventures to make a statement about society that is addressed to a specific part of that society.

All art—exhibited or performed inside or outside the confines of a museum, a concert hall or a theatre—makes a statement about society to a particular part of society. In other words, all art is relational. Even the artistic work of the most idiosyncratic hermit needs to be seen or heard—or, a relationship with a public is always necessary—in order to pass for art as such. Even the most abstract art, shown in a highly exclusive

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[1] An earlier version of this essay was published at http://geumcheon.blogspot.se/2012/01/mapping-community-arts.html.

environment to which only a selected group of insiders has access, makes a statement about society, in society and to society. The French curator and art theoretician Nicolas Bourriaud (1998) made a rather poor choice when he used the word 'relational' to shed light on a specific segment and tendency in the art world, for art is de facto relational or it is not art. Nevertheless, Bourriaud uses the concept of *esthétique relationnelle* for a particular form of art, though his examples seem only to indicate a specific attitude held by certain artists. In Bourriaud's terms, the attitude of the relational artist may be described as consciously seeking communication with their public. Moreover, he actively includes this aspect in his work. The kind of art to which he ascribes this purpose does not stand entirely apart from this endeavour, but may be considered as secondary to it. In fact, it does not matter so much what his/her art has to say about society and in which context it takes place. As long as the artist actively seeks a relationship with the public and attempts to engage it in a dialogue, a relational aesthetic is at work, according to the French curator. This does not imply that the relational artist makes critical, let alone subversive, work. The only criticism one might detect in his/her artistic work is rather indirect, with his/her explicit hunger for communication and dialogue, perhaps expressing a lack of sociability in contemporary society.

The example of Verdonck and the illegal immigrant, given in the opening paragraph, goes beyond that, however, for Verdonck explicitly denounces a social problem. With his action, the artist not only seeks a relationship with a public, but he also presents a critical message to this public. The playful packaging of the artistic statement barely covers its clear, political, perhaps slightly subversive, character. It goes without saying that this particular artist clearly chooses the side of illegal immigrants. His action is explicitly aimed at denouncing their situation. Yet, why was one particular illegal immigrant not completely satisfied? The answer has already been given: He takes offense at a particular aesthetic form. Thus, Verdonck's authentic artistic signature does not really seem to serve the good cause. The credibility of his action, with its real political claims, gets lost in an impotent world of fiction because, in the first place, the artist aims to realise an artistic project rather than a political statement with serious societal consequences. No matter how well-intentioned his engagement may be, his civil action always comes second. While what matters for the illegal immigrant is that his social appeal might not be taken seriously, for the artist, the possible loss of his artistic prerogative seems scary. First and foremost, his childish touch keeps him rooted within the art world and it is also what distinguishes the artist from the activist and separates the artistic world from the political and artistic work from social work. The question as to whether the illegal immigrant is better served or becomes happier is an entirely different matter.

Meanwhile, it is quite certain that Verdonck counts himself lucky because a year after his intervention the material traces of his action can be admired in a museum of contemporary art. The work on display stimulated the imagination; it was poetic and, at times, even critical of society. It will come as no surprise that the unanimous public

nodded approvingly when it ascertained that the political message it had deciphered was the correct one. The very same project that, in the street, enjoyed a certain degree of subversion, dissolved into common sense in the museum. Indeed, the significance and especially the effect of art depend very much on its context. Inside the museum, Verdonck's work met the strict criteria of contemporary art. One thing seems certain: with or without Stella, the artist has come home. Meanwhile, the question as to whether the illegal immigrant is able to enjoy a home rather than drowning himself in Stella is somewhat more difficult to answer. From an artistic point of view, it is also completely irrelevant; aesthetics and ethics are two different things.

Aesthetics without Art

The lesson of Verdonck teaches us that an engaged artist, who sincerely wishes to make a political statement, forces him-/herself into a particularly complex role. This is especially the case when he/she tries to substantiate this social claim from an artistic position. Building on the insights of Bourriaud, Verdonck's position—or at least the artistic project described here—could be described as auto-relational. In the long run, the relational bond with a public, including the political evocation of the fight for the rights of illegal immigrants, serves the identity of the artist. In this case, illegal immigrants involved are made complicit in a project that, in the end, will disembark safely in the art world.

The notion of auto-relational aesthetics, however, presupposes the existence of something called allo-relational art. Is it possible to detect projects or manifestations in the history of modern art that do not serve the identity of the artist or the artistic collective, but rather that of another person or the Other? Do forms of expression exist which ultimately emphasise the relational more than the artistic? A modest quest in modern art history leads us to the case of the Situationists. At the end of the 1960s, their artistic happenings and social provocations completely dissolved into society. Their art simply became politics. In the words of the Italian philosopher Paolo Virno:

> "The Situationists were very important when they became a political movement, but from that moment onwards, they were no longer avantgarde art: it's about two modes of existence. They clearly illustrate this double take. Before 1960, they were an artistic movement rooted in Dadaism and Surrealism. Afterwards, they participated in social resistance, making the same mistakes or gaining the same merits as other political activists." (in Lavaert and Gielen 2009, 4)

Allo-relational art can, then, lead to artistic suicide. However, it does not preclude the fact that the happenings of the Situationists inspired many activists following in their footsteps. In the feminist movement and the gay movement, among environmental activists and anti-globalisationists, one can find Situationist-inspired costume plays,

theatrical expressions and other aesthetic forms that seek to highlight (at times literally) a certain social subversion. Especially within so-called identity politics, artistic forms of expression seem to be a favoured way of reinforcing one's social claims. People literally colour their own cultural subjectivity. Moreover, in the artistic act of a costume play, for example, new subjectivities are generated. In other words, the pleasure of the play and the aesthetics are a substantial, constituent part of subversive movements. In an analysis of Baruch Spinoza, philosophers such as Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (2009, 379) claim that

> "The path of Joy is constantly to open new possibilities, to expand our field of imagination, our abilities to feel and be affected, our capacities for action and passion. In Spinoza's thought, in fact, there is a correspondence between our power to affect and our power to be affected. The greater our mind's ability to think, the greater its capacity to be affected by the ideas of others; the greater our body's ability to act, the greater its capacity to be affected by other bodies."

Contrary to Negri and Hardt's allusion, however, the relational power of aesthetic expression does not necessarily need to have a subversive intention. In her article on community art, Jan Cohen-Cruz (2002) points out that not all strains within the community art movement have a progressive, political character. She reinforces her argument by suggesting that the Nuremberg party rallies of Adolf Hitler were an aesthetic, communal ritual. During those rallies, not only blond, athletic workers paraded, but there were also women in traditional Teutonic attire performing folk dances. Cohen-Cruz's example leads us to a next point. Without necessarily subscribing to Nazi ideology, folk art is often intended to bring people together. This target beyond art binds the late Situationists to clog dancers and farce. Both make allo-relational art—in both cases, the artistic aspect is subsumed by other goals—the political (in the case of the Situationists) or the communal (in the case of folk art). Making a public complicit may, therefore, serve goals beyond merely artistic ones. It is this which distinguishes the political action of the Situationists from those of Benjamin Verdonck. The latter is auto-relational because, in the end, his political act is instrumentalised for his own individual artistic career, whereas some of the Situationists allowed their art to become political.

Mapping Community Art

Gradually, gropingly, the vectors of community art start to emerge in the account above. Yet, before going into greater detail, it seems sensible to attempt a possible definition of these artistic acts. The relationship with people is at the centre of this type of cultural practice. All community art is, therefore, at the very least relational art. In order for a work to be considered community art, the bottom line is that it actively involves people in an artistic process or in the production of a work of art. With this in mind, is a director

who engages professional actors for a theatre production also making community art? The earlier-quoted Cohen-Cruz would probably answer that the process of involving people in a work of art should at least be as important as any artistic process or project as such. In short, the community is at least as crucial as the art. The fact that the people participating are often not professionals, not even art connoisseurs per se, only serves to further delineate the territory concerned. Certainly, a community art project has only 'succeeded' when it realises an interaction between participants and the artist and wider community at which it was aimed. The purpose of such interactions may be political or subversive, social, identity-forming or therapeutic, but the aesthetic aspect will only ever serve as a formal tool. Only when symmetry has been achieved between the community and the art does the expressive form have a claim within the professional art world. In other words, a relational work may well be aesthetic, but it is not necessarily a successful work of art. By the same token, an artistic project involving a community is not necessarily a successful community project. The story of Verdonck teaches us that serving both the community and the art, presupposes a very precarious balancing act. In the terms outlined earlier, it calls for the right balance between auto- and allo-relational aesthetics. This distinction immediately suggests two directions towards which community art may navigate. The first is that community art mostly abides by the rules of professional art; the second is that it merely serves social interaction. The possible purpose of this social interaction adds two more directions to the map, as a distinction needs to be made between Situationists and farce. Whereas the first possible direction aims at radical subversion, the second group is only interested in the socially integrating effect. The latter dimension may be called the digestive effect of community art. In much the same way as a digestive remedy helps to enhance one's metabolism, this form of art helps to integrate social groups into society. This is done without questioning the dominant values, norms or habits. Digestive community art is, if you wish, a form of 'naturalising art.' It conforms to rules that are already in place within society. In some cases, community artists are deliberately put in place and subsidised—by companies, governments, or other official agencies—to bring about integration. Conformity and non-obstruction are at the centre of this way of working, which makes digestive art the opposite of the subversive artistic act. However, the division between both poles is not insurmountable, as integration may lead to emancipation—for example becoming conscious of one's own rights and of the possible injustice one is suffering from—which subsequently elicits (more) effective subversive strategies.

When the poles of auto- and allo-relational, digestive and subversive art cross one another, a wind-flower with four directions comes into being, as should be the case in any cartography worthy of the name. In this configuration, the North stands for what is reasoned and slightly hypothermic, as opposed to the warm and sanguineous South. The clichés the wind directions evoke, serve as ideal metaphors to contrast digestion with subversion. In the West, the cult of the individual dominates, with his/her own identity at its centre, whereas Oriental philosophy—in particular, Buddhism—regards the self or

the ego (atman) as an illusion. The West and the East, therefore, form ideal regions to which auto- and allo-relational art can come home. However, in the same way that only a few inhabitants of this globe actually live in the far North or South, community art will mostly be located in 'impure' places. The distinction between auto- and allo-relational art should, therefore, also be understood as the distinction between digestive and subversive, in other words, as a gradation rather than an end point. Moreover, there is also a North-West or a South-East where interesting hybrids thrive. In this cartography, it is only possible to locate oneself in relation to another point of reference. Inter-relations are always relative; x lies more to the South of y and more to the West but more to the South of x, and so on.


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   Auto-relational  ←──────┼──────→    Allo-relational
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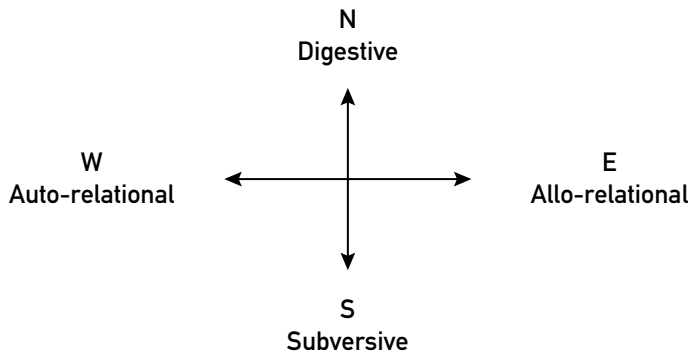
The development of an artistic idea may at first be merely an auto-relational matter, which opens up into a digestive allo-relational (repetitive) process, after which the final product is again summarised auto-relationally (though it may be highly offensive for the artistic in-crowd confronted with it). The aforementioned shift underwent by Verdonck, from a public intervention with illegal immigrants on the street to an exhibition with the remaining artifacts in a museum, illustrates that, on the map of community art, different itineraries are possible. Whereas an intervention on the street fluctuates between slightly subversive auto- and allo-relational art, the museum exhibition has a far more digestive auto-relational character, which has nothing to do with the artistic quality and persuasive power of that particular exhibition. The context and an amenable public together decide on the place at which an artistic project may be located on the community map. To illustrate this, we will use our compass to navigate a number of concrete examples.

Digestive Auto-Relational Art

Art in a public space that has to mark a district or the history of a region and confirm its identity is often a form of digestive art. The artistic work has at least the goal of 'livening

up' the public space, without questioning it and certainly without sabotaging it. If the artist who took on the assignment (for it is often commissioned art) actively involves the community of the place where the work will be realised in the development and possibly the execution of his/her project, this qualifies as community art, as we have seen previously. If the artist is able to channel all the involved social powers—often including the government commissioning agency, companies or businesses and local inhabitants—so that he can seal them with his own particular artistic signature, we are dealing with auto-relational work. Organisations such as *Les Nouveaux Commanditaires* (the New Sponsors) in France and Belgium or de *Stichting Kunst in de Openbare Ruimte* (the Foundation for Art in Public Space) in the Netherlands often act as intermediaries in realising such digestive auto-relational art.

On the one hand, they explore the wishes of the sponsors and look for a 'matching artist,' whereas, on the other hand, they also guard the singular identity of the latter. Through consultation, any frictions between artist and community are smoothed out beforehand. Art-scientist, Simone Kleinhout (2010), for example, describes a project by *Les Nouveaux Commanditaires* in the small French village of Blessey. In this village with only twenty-three inhabitants, a laundry was being restored and the mayor and inhabitants wanted a work of art to be included in this project. The artist, Rémy Zaugg, was willing to take on the job. He was confronted with a population of mainly farmers who barely knew anything about contemporary art, but who understood very well which requirements the work of art had to meet. It had to be in harmony with the sensitivity of the location and have favourable economic consequences. They even had an idea as to which material should be used to realise the work, which should include the characteristics of the environment such as water, stone and plants. And, as the sponsors thought, his work also had to have favourable social consequences. In the end, Zaugg was reluctantly forced to realise his work in the framework of a social integration project. The realisation of Zaugg's work would take almost ten years, a period during which he had to go through the trial of many negotiations. For example, he chose to work with concrete, a material that did not immediately fit with the rustic image the inhabitants had in mind. The artist did finally manage to carry his decision through in this matter and, in doing so, to leave his mark on the work of art. Anyone who goes to look at the work in the French Bourgogne region has to admit that this is a real 'Zaugg.' Meanwhile, Le Lavoir de Blessey (2007), as the work is retrospectively called, blends in almost perfectly with the natural slopes and the heritage of the area, confirming the history and identity of the village. In other words, through the intervention of himself and Les Nouveaux Commanditaires, Zaugg succeeded in making a perfectly digestive auto-relational work of art, to which the inhabitants even relinquished part of their private premises. Let us be clear once and for all acknowledging that the word 'digestive' is certainly not a synonymous with 'bad' art.

Digestive Allo-Relational Art

In the United States, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the National Endowment for the Arts joined forces in 1977 to inaugurate a programme in which artists realised projects in prisons. With this in mind, the Federal Bureau of Prisons kindly organised the 'arts-in-corrections' training. The purpose of artistic interventions was to facilitate the transformation of criminals into economically productive citizens (Hillman 2001). Although this federal initiative eventually disappeared, several state governments (including those of California and Mississippi) continued to develop similar projects. In the course of time, artistic trajectories may also transmute or change directions.

In California, several millions of dollars were invested in such projects, which demonstrates that the belief in the healing effects of the arts is remarkably strong in certain regions. Grady Hillman (2001) defends the project by saying that:

> "The evolving arts-in-corrections model is more than the intervention model of an arts residency in a penitentiary or juvenile detention center. It is a prevention, intervention and after-care model. [...] The benefit of this criminal-justice community is that it brings coherency to a system that is largely incoherent."

It goes without saying that this kind of community art programme primarily aims at social integration, with the artistic signature of the artist coming secondly. On the map, such programmes clearly orientate themselves in a North-Easterly direction, where digestion and allo-relatedness meet each other.

Subversive Auto-Relational Art

Let us remain awhile in the United States where, in 1989, the Republican senator, Jesse Helms, was appalled by the 'distasteful' catalogue for *The Perfect Moment*, which showed the explicitly homoerotic and sadomasochistic work of the photographer Robert Mapplethorpe. In the meantime, the affair has become world famous, so it does not make much sense to further elaborate on it. Even twenty years after the incident, few people doubt that Mapplethorpe's act may be interpreted as subversive. Yet, whether the exuberant artist's work can be simply categorised as community art may well be contested. Certainly, his art is relational, for, as mentioned earlier, all art seeks a relationship with a public. Few people would contradict the fact that the artist managed to capitalise on his own artistic signature—though perhaps quite a few people, including Helms, would venture to question the work's status as 'art.' But whether the artist was actively seeking communication with a public, in the sense that Bourriaud intends, is very much in question. Apart from the group of homosexual friends who posed for the photographs, it is difficult to find any traces pointing at a community. Yet, one

could defend the position that Mapplethorpe makes auto-relational art. His *esthétique relationnelle* is not so much to be found in the social attitude of the artist but in his photographs. Whether consciously intended or not, his work fits perfectly with the kind of identity politics in which a community finds expression. In any case, the work of Mapplethorpe may not only be read as a manifestation for the right to artistic freedom, but also as an expression of the right to make the (often socially suppressed) culture of a specific community visible. Mapplethorpe proceeds as an anthropologist in his own country, confronting American society with its own fantasies, self-indulgence or 'alterity.' By launching evidence of an extravagant lifestyle into public space, the photographer makes a case for its legitimacy, which may well be understood to be a political act. In this respect, the work of this individual is perhaps far more community-forming and community-affirming than much deliberately community-orientated artistic fieldwork. The hypothesis is defended that it is perfectly possible for an artist to make community art without addressing his work to a particular community. However, Mapplethorpe does explicitly embed the gay community in order to shape it in his oeuvre. It is exactly this aspect that makes him an extremely auto-relational artist.

Subversive Allo-Relational Art

Let us linger a bit longer in homosexual circles. The *Gay Pride* is a relevant example of exuberant aesthetics shaping a community. The parades, which are organised in an increasing number of cities, often remind one of the 'carnivalesque,' as the Russian philosopher and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1968) understood it. Bakhtin attributes a specific social function to the carnival—a temporary reversal of the existing hierarchy of power relations. It is by now well known that he called that mechanism 'symbolic inversion.' This inversion is, indeed, only symbolic; after the temporary costume play, one returns to the social order of the day. And, although a carnival may offer space to 'vent' one's criticism, it is the very existence of a *ventil* (air valve) which prevents a certain kind of atmosphere from turning into an actual revolution. Only when the *Gay Pride* parade transcends the temporality of the feast to point to the political rights of homosexuals, does the manifestation find itself in the field of subversion. The aesthetics are invested, however, in serving the rights of the community rather than an individual artistic identity. Therefore, on the map, this type of practice navigates a South-Easterly direction as subversive allo-relational art.

Nowadays, many (municipal) governments vie with each other for their own *Gay Pride*. Politicians hope that the colourful parade will highlight the openness of their city and, at the same time, attract a new type of tourism. According to the work of the American social geographer Richard Florida (2002), in the rush to form creative cities, a solid population of homosexuals is synonymous with a proportionately high creative potential. By this rationale, *Gay Pride* simply serves to tap into a new economy, as

'alter-sexuals' constitute a substantial part of the creative class. Given the generally established belief in the potency of this class and its industry, each homophobic policy demonstrates economic irresponsibility. Conversely, the tolerance of the administration, whether feigned or not, raises questions as to whether *Gay Pride* and other alternative manifestations have lost their subversive feathers. In a wider context, it opens up a discussion on the social position of any form of community art.

Repressive Tolerance and Pastoral Art

In 2007, the Belgian independent research group, *BAVO*, made an important contribution to this discussion. In their analysis, concerning the recent revival of politically engaged art, they denounce problematic forms of art, such as so-called NGO-art[2], putting forth the following proposition concerning this new type of political engagement:

> "It is noble and necessary that artists proceed to take direct action against the often harrowing abuses typical of these times. However, when it comes to judging the effectiveness of these politically engaged practices in tackling the current problems in a more fundamental way, they often leave much to be desired. […] They tend to reason and operate in the same manner rather than tackling large-scale, political problems, they focus on what they can do immediately, here and now, within the confines of what is obtainable […]. As in the case of humanitarian organisations, in the same way, one may detect self-censorship in this so-called NGO-art. Humanitarian organisations consciously do not make statements about political questions, because this could interfere with their relief operations, […]. NGO-art is in fact characterised by a denial of politics: above all, it has to do with the practicability of a given action. These artists deliberately avoid confrontation with governments or sponsors, because the concessions or funding which they need to execute their actions, may be compromised by such politics. The question as to what can be done, here and now, and how this can be realised in the most efficient manner, is more important than exposing and fighting deeper-lying structures—which is in fact the quintessence of politics." (BAVO 2007)

In the Netherlands—where quite a few community art projects are currently being financed by municipal administrations—one often feels the limits of this form of artistic engagement. For example, artists are often approached by policy makers to liven up the social life of one or other disadvantaged neighbourhood. When the politically engaged artist discovers, halfway through the execution of such a project that the problem of structural disadvantage does not rest on the individual shoulders of a few 'anti-social' residents, but that the negligent policy of a housing organisation is to blame, the civil servants who commissioned the project suddenly become slightly nervous. The artist

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2   NGO refers to non-governmental organisation.

might well publicly expose the fact that the putative 'win-win situation' of private-public co-operation between the housing organisation and the administration leads to little gain for the inhabitants. With such a threat hanging over them, the bureaucrats would rather halt this once much-welcomed community project.

When social engagement turns into political engagement, administrations prefer to withdraw their financial engagement. Considered in terms of the cartography outlined above, be it auto-relational or allo-relational, once the border between digestion and subversion is crossed, politicians and civil servants would rather rid themselves of such art. Therefore, it is very much a question of what a municipal administration would do with a *Gay Pride* parade that would expose the embedded homophobia that lurks behind the façade of verbal tolerance. The peculiar relationship between potentially subversive art and established power also emerges in the story of Verdonck. His earlier described public action, formed part of a series of interventions by the artist in the Belgian city of Antwerp, which took place over an entire year. These were included in a controversial documentary, in which the story of the critical illegal immigrant was also represented. At the beginning of the documentary, we see how Verdonck enthusiastically introduces his not-always-uncritical actions during a meeting with the cultural and political actors of Antwerp, including the mayor. At the end of the meeting, the mayor gives Verdonck a verbal pat on the shoulder and wishes him success, after which the mayor leaves the meeting with a benign smile on his face. In other words, the artist receives the green light from the incumbent power to demonstrate some subversive behaviour. This conforms to Herbert Marcuse's (1965) understanding of repressive tolerance, a hegemonic strategy which neutralises undesirable ideas by granting them a place. The possibility of such a mechanism inevitably raises questions about whether subsidised community art can acquire any sort of subversive power.

Moreover, it is striking that (often digestive) community art frequently surfaces in countries with pronounced neoliberal regimes, such as in Great Britain, Australia, the United States and nowadays, also the Netherlands. An attempt seems to be made to compensate for the absence or imminent breakdown of a strong social infrastructure, typical of the welfare state, through artistic operations. Perhaps that is the very reason why community art is currently experiencing a comeback. It is generally accepted that, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, neoliberalism spread rapidly to become a hegemonic ideology as humanitarian organisations or NGOs were established.

What is striking, in the Netherlands for example, is that the government stimulates community art in precisely those areas from which it withdrew crucial social services ten years ago. Community art becomes a cheaper form of social work, especially as it is usually offered on a project basis, whereas social services, including local schools and hospitals, call for a more serious, structural investment. It is very doubtful whether one can effectively tackle serious issues, such as social deprivation and disintegration, with

temporary projects and similarly temporary responsibilities. Who will take responsibility when the artist—who lives in the neighbourhood for anything from a couple of months to a year to set up a nice piece of art—leaves the neighbourhood?

Now that a connection has been made between government, social work and community art, one final point of discussion remains. This trinity suggests a specific ongoing form of power and disciplinary practice, which is further affirmed by the aforementioned example of the 'arts-in-corrections' programmes in the United States, leading to the work of Michel Foucault, the French philosopher who was particularly interested in prisons. In his world-famous work *Discipline and Punish*, dating from 1975, Foucault describes the birth of the prison. He goes on to show how punishments gradually acquire an increasingly 'humane' character. Public torture and executions recede into the background, to be replaced by confinement and an expanding army of nurses, psychologists and social workers. The crux of Foucault's theorem is that this model of discipline is disseminated throughout society, through institutions such as hospitals and schools. This research into the execution of power was continued in Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France, delivered during the 1977-1978 academic year, in which he unravelled the notion of 'pastoral power.' This is based on an idea of the shepherd who 'manages' his/her herd in a particular manner, which allows him/her to pay attention to the needs of an individual animal without losing sight of the rest of his/her herd. Subsequently, the church has applied this method of herding human beings and institutionalised it, according to Foucault. The central point of pastoral power is that human life is shepherded from the cradle to the grave. The art of the shepherd, or pastor, consists of addressing the members of one's parish as individually as possible, penetrating their private lives and taking note of their deepest secrets through confession. The pastor performs a sort of micro-politics, through which he is able to continuously evaluate and correct the members of his herd, in order to keep them on, or lead them onto, the right path.

Distinct from the sovereign power of the nation-state, pastoral power does not deal with the geographically delineated territory, but is aimed at people of flesh and blood. For this reason, pastoral power is also a form of 'bio-power'—administration directed at life itself. On the basis of in-depth interviews, the French sociologist Maurizio Lazzarato (2010) demonstrates how this pastoral power is part of an official 'system of correction.' In doing so, the inspecting civil servant constantly oversteps the dividing line between public and private territory, in order to get through to the deepest intimacy of the 'client.' Wielding the threat of possible sanctions (the withdrawal of social benefits), he/she checks toothbrush usage and whether beds have been slept in. Conversely, the inspector of the unemployment office hopes to help the person who is eligible to receive social benefits on the right—productive—path. Via elaborate registration and records in individual dossiers, the life of the person eligible for social benefits 'doubles' in a paper or digital register in which, each personal step is carefully followed. Though the client is constantly reminded of his/her own freedom and individual responsibility, he/

she is, in fact, placed in an asymmetrical power game in which he/she is constantly shown 'the right path.' Within the welfare state, not only the inspection services, but also a large group of psychologists and social workers form an extension of 'police power' of which pastoral power is just one strategy. In a subtle way, they infiltrate the daily private sphere to register, correct and make economically productive the most intimate parts of life. The point has now been reached whereby quite a few community art projects—especially when orchestrated by the government—are at the service of this police power. In the aforementioned 'arts-in-corrections' programme in the United States, this was all too obvious, where a community art project was explicitly launched to turn detained people into 'productive citizens.' Yet, even artists who enter into disadvantaged neighbourhoods with the best of intentions are often unaware of the fact that they are stepping into this 'correctional' logic. For example, quite a few artists would consider themselves exceedingly original when distributing photo or video cameras to socially disadvantaged families, and asking them to record their lives and those of their neighbours. While the social worker records their intimate details on paper and in files during a house visit, the community artist goes a step further, as the confidential document is for a registration which may become public at any given moment. In other words, the artist enthusiastically encourages residents to participate in a 'public confession' of their own misery. Like religious confessions, this is one of the pastoral power techniques for keeping the herd under control. In the case of the priest, the psychologist, and the social worker, such confessions still take place in relative confidentiality; for the artist, however, precarious social misery has an expressive character. While the socially engaged artist, with all his/her good intentions, thought he/she was fighting against injustice in the world, he/she finds him/herself at the service of the power that maintains the injustice.

Beyond Community Art

Many community artists might become weary when reading the above discussion. Others might treat the arguments with disbelief and attempt to neutralise them with as many counterexamples as possible. A mapping of community art shows us that this world is full of good intentions, sometimes even revolutionary thoughts, but also that great naivety and even incompetence exists. This discussion is not, therefore, intended to discourage community art, but to permit some self-reflection. Hopefully, this will help to better clarify the position of the socially engaged artist, allowing her/him to develop effective strategies in the future. Whoever thinks that the above-elaborated analysis suggests that community art is best carried to its grave, has missed the point. Firstly, let it be clear that the digestive, integrating power of some artistic projects is particularly useful when counting the growing number of diaspora and homeless people in a globalised world. Apart from that, it should also be noted that the notion of community art nowadays carries with it a remarkably subversive potency, which is hidden in the

very word 'community.' Within a neoliberal world, in which individuality, personal gain, competition and speculation have become the prevailing strategies of the day, exerting their influence over the social fabric, the community gives rise to associations that may sound naive but which are no less revolutionary within the current hegemony. When the community does not retreat into itself, but consequently uses its principles to the defence of an unknown other and the Other, it might well offer an unexpected ideological counterforce to neoliberal hyper-individualism. In short, nowadays the community still stands for an alternative way of life. According to the American philosopher Richard Sennett (1998), it even provides the most important architecture against the current, hostile economic order. In the contemporary network society, the community can no longer be understood as a closed social form with mere face-to-face relations, as the romantic *Gemeinschaft*, which Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) described.

The new or alter-community does, however, evoke associations with 'the common,' and the possibility of property to which everybody has an unalienable right. It also points in the direction of lasting solidarity across generations, inside and between neighbourhoods or (world) regions. Finally, it indicates a form of love which reaches beyond the walls of private family life. These new communities operate as neo-tribal groups in an alter-modern network world. The latter group implies, amongst other things, that it does not stick to its own identity, but is continuously transforming and being transformed through new meetings. These worlds of stateless communities develop their own economies of leisure, pleasure, love and knowledge, as islands within neoliberal hegemony.

'Keep on dreaming, baby,' sounds like a sober yet ironic voice, very near. Dreams probably do contain a sense of reality; perhaps it is the role of art to transform them into concrete forms—it will certainly take a lot of imaginative power to shape new communities. To move beyond community art presupposes, first of all, an art of communities, in which artistic reflection is not at the service of the evident questions posed by the mass media and neoliberalism, in which the aesthetic does not serve to slavishly patch up the holes a blind capitalism leaves behind. The art of communities knows how to occupy these holes in a meaningful way and to tactically manage them by constantly generating ways of escape. In short, community art only makes sense when it refuses to be used as an instrument of a uniform, homogenising, calculating logic, and when it produces the most divergent communities through the confrontation of many singular and dissonant forms of imaginative power.

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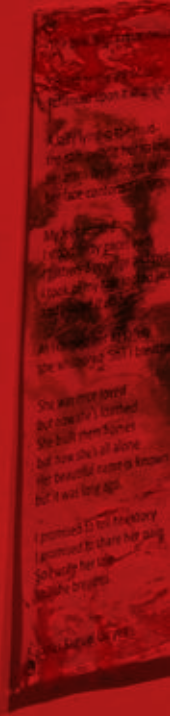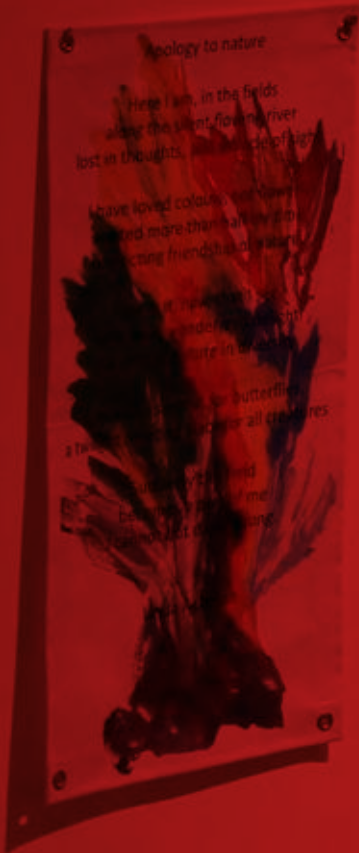
Photograph: Nico Carpentier

POETRY ROUTE RIVER FLOWS

WILFRED APIUNG AKAN, LEONOOR AKKERMANS, ELEANOR ANABIRE, LOES TEN ANSCHER, KATE OPOKU BOATENG, JACOMIEN DEN BOER, MARY CHULU, DESTA DEKEBO, ALIYI ABDULAH DERESSA, ASSEFA ADDIS HABTAMU, NAYEL SAYED HASIBULLAH, MOHAMED JALLOH, JULIANA ALPHONCE KABAITILAKI, LUFUMU FIKIRI KATIKO, JONAS SAMUEL LARYEA, SUSAN KOSGEI LEBULUZ, ELIZABETH MUTUMI MAILU, ALICK SYLVESTER MBEWE, ADÉLPHINE MUHIRWA, EMERENCE MUKANGABO, MWALE ERNEST MUPEMO, KOJO TAWIAH BAAH NUAKOH, JEROEN RIJKE, ALI MAKAME SAID, BRINAH MANDISA SENZERE, SAMUEL SMITH, YEWBDAR TADESSE, SULEMANA WAHAB, LOES WITTEVEEN AND SIMON SATUNMIA YAMBOR

Video still: Olga Yegorova

Poetry Route River Flows

River Flows combines poetry and painted monotypes to express a 'sense of place' in relation to the 'Koppenwaard' nature conservation area, close to the Dutch river IJssel. These poetic narratives touched upon issues of natural beauty, preservation, transformation, responsibility and sustainability. The international composition of the team that generated the art works, and the insider/outsider dynamics brought in a wide range of different perspectives, with, for instance, various references to wealth, labour, and religion.

This series—a poetry route—was created through a participatory process, where a group of international students of the Dutch Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences were invited to use the medium of poetry to express their relationship with the area. Supported by course lecturers/artists, the students ventured out, into unknown territories, and often to their own surprise, produced a series of 12 art works. Five of these were exhibited during *Participation Matters*, while the entire set is included in the *Respublika!* online platform, and in this catalogue.

Koppenwaard

an artistic approach towards
community resilience,
participation and social learning
in natural resource management

The beautiful Koppenwaard

Soaked in the joy of rain
I chanced upon a strange sight.

A lady lying in the mud
the rain pelting her naked, bloodied body
her arms lay helpless by her side
her face contorted in agony.

My feet rooted
I stood forty paces away
I gathered courage and swept fear away
I took of my rain soaked jacket
and placed it on her.

As I carried her to safety
she whispered 'Still I breathe'.

She was once loved
but now she's loathed.
She built them homes
but now she's all alone
Her beautiful name is known
but it was long ago.

I promised to tell her story
I promised to share her pain
So I write her tale
still she breathes.

Jonas Samuel Laryea

River Flows Team

Sense of a river

We are here!
The river, a gift of God...
The river passes,
spreads the lights,
the sky in the river,
as blue as my eyes.
Its music makes
me feel blessed.

Blessed
with its music,
with its perfume
that scatters along.
Please be kind,
let me touch you,
let me feel
in heaven,
if I touch you,
if I taste you,
but Ramadan
and a thirsty man.

Nayel Sayed Hasibullah

The forgotten factory

the noise and vibrations missing
as my existential purpose ended
I was once a place of wealth
they needed me in hard times
now they forget to remember me

who is at work in silence?
who cares for the vegetation,
green and covering me?

I will be there despite their shame
in me are monuments of history
I clean sorrows in their hearts
they shall never leave
my premises unhappy

Wilfred Apiung Akan
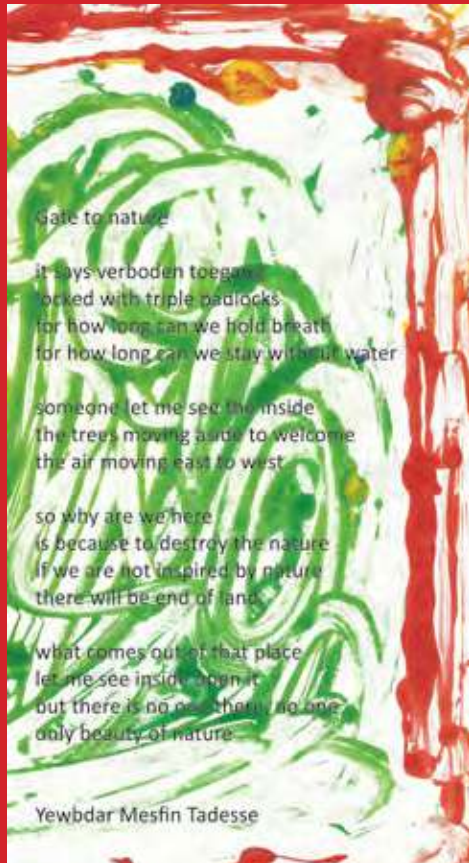
Gate to nature

it says verboden toegang
locked with triple padlocks
for how long can we hold breath
for how long can we stay without water

someone let me see the inside
the trees moving aside to welcome
the air moving east to west

so why are we here
is because to destroy the nature
if we are not inspired by nature
there will be end of land

what comes out of that place
let me see inside open it
but there is no one there, no one
only beauty of nature

Yewbdar Mesfin Tadesse

The flood

River, powerful beauty of nature.
The people living on riparian land,
praise the river as a good neighbour,
cherish her water from heart.

The river travels like a snake.
Makes my heart
but floods the cry
Rushing waters
flood the and bridges

Over land turned the river.
Tears are shed in the flood.
How to be friends
and live happily with the

River Flows Team

River flows

I am a cathedral
I am a sanctuary
Where ... people come
to wash off sorrows
and sorrows

...restful...
Where lullabies are
sang for loved ones

If only one man knew
my worth and value
If only he cherished
the food I bring to tables
The joy I bring to him
and his family
If only
he knows the beauty
I create around him

And ever herald me
to his generations unborn

Mohamed Jalloh

A lock but not locked

An area rich with nature
but locked.
Opportunities locked,
keys thrown away.
The river flows with sadness
I am going there!

Its trees greet me with love
Its fresh air comforts my soul
Its waters flow with happiness
The sounds of its birds inspire
Its a place that brings delight.

I am going there, will you?

Alick Sylvester Mbewe

My new friend

From the summer dykes,
I watch the butterflies.
The melodies of birds,
from tree to tree, they dance.

I walked along the silent paths.
To feel a cooling breeze,
and hear a noisy boat.

Walking down the stream,
At last, the doors were opened,
My dream of river IJssel.

Susan Lebuluz
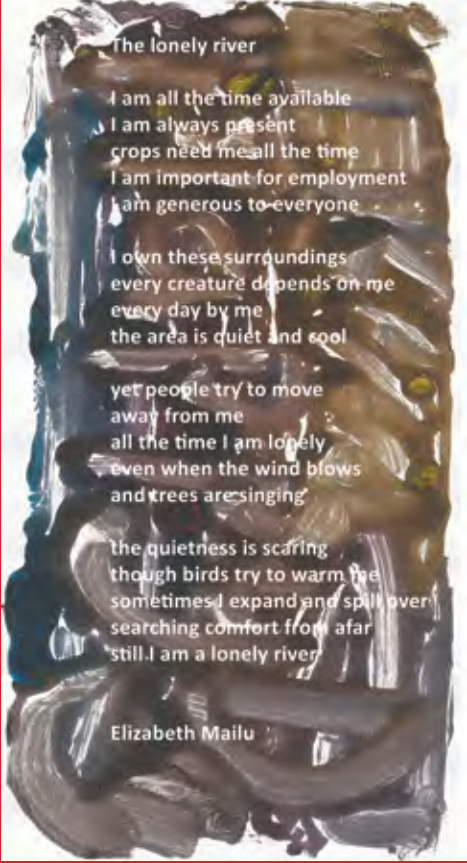
It all comes together

the whisper of the wind
blankets of meadows green
sometimes a gloomy grey sky
because the sun is just shy
It all comes together

cascading rivers of life
bringing much more each time
happiness and splendour
food and favour
It all comes together

be reckless
and we will all get less
nurture it
and we will gain from it
as it all comes together

Brinah Senzere

River Flows Team

The lonely river

I am all the time available
I am always present
crops need me all the time
I am important for employment
I am generous to everyone

I own these surroundings
every creature depends on me
every day by me
the area is quiet and cool

yet people try to move
away from me
all the time I am lonely
even when the wind blows
and trees are singing

the quietness is scaring
though birds try to warm me
sometimes I expand and spill over
searching comfort from afar
still I am a lonely river

Elizabeth Mailu

Apology to nature

Here I am, in the fields
along the silent flowing river
lost in thoughts, and miracle of sight

I have loved colours, not flowers
wasted more than half my time
projecting friendship of nature

How is it, now that I see
with deep wonder and delight
the bliss of nature in diversity

a mid-day summit for butterflies
a twilight meeting place for all creatures

Suddenly the field
becomes a part of me
I cannot but dance along.

Linda Aroriah

River Flows – An Artistic Approach Towards Community Resilience, Participation and Social Learning in Natural Resources Management
Loes Witteveen and Jacomien den Boer

Introduction

Although the societal justification for new and urgent spaces of communication, participation and knowledge creation in times of conflicts over natural resources, sustainability issues, and climate change adaptation is widely recognised, it is not yet aligned with the training of professionals involved. Themes like agricultural art, creative complexity, learning by designed confusion or poetry for transformation are not yet found in the curricula of the life sciences.

The research group 'Community resilience, participation and social learning' of the professorship Sustainable River Management at Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences, in the Netherlands explores the contribution of community art and visual arts in relation to complex public participation processes in a context of sustainability. To that end, the research group cooperates with the Dutch nature foundation *Natuurmonumenten.* In June 2017, a 'Media design for Social Change' course was organised for international students of the MSc program Management of Development (MoD), who all have functions related to agricultural knowledge and governance systems in their home countries. Students gained exposure to graphic design; painting, theatre, poetry, and processes of supporting community resilience, participation, and social learning. The experiences were put in practice in a community art project with *Natuurmonumenten.*

The students embarked on producing a poetry route to express a 'sense of place' in relation to the new nature conservation area *Koppenwaard*, with a former brick and stone factory, along the river IJssel. They were invited and challenged to create their interpretation of the landscape, their appreciation of the natural resources and surroundings in poems and painting. To the surprise of the commissioning Dutch nature foundation and the international students themselves, the collective effort materialised in a series of banners with poems and painted monotypes portraying the river and the riverbank as a source of wealth, natural splendour and delightful inspiration.

After some experimental use in public consultation workshops, it has now been agreed to use the poetry route for community participation in the redevelopment process of nature conservation areas across the major riverbanks in the Netherlands. The poetry route is expected to function as a 'conversation starter' and 'source of inspiration' in participatory processes, in which nature development, flood safety and economic viability are key. It is expected that the poetry route will support involved stakeholders to participate in the consultation process from a perspective of cultural and environmental values. Using the artworks of outsiders' and yet insiders for their creative production on

location, aims to induce an element of positive dissonance or disruption, producing new openings to the public debate. The poetry route aims to rebalance conflictive situations and jammed positioning by presenting novel views.

Quest for New and Urgent Spaces of Communication, Participation and Knowledge Creation

This is not the place to further elaborate on the nature and impact of climate change and resource depletion as we search to explore strategies, which have qualities to act on resulting societal challenges. We also don't elaborate on the sense of urgency and since the Paris agreement we can conveniently refer to the Obama quote "we are the first generation to feel the effect of climate change and the last generation who can do something about it."

https://twitter.com/barackobama/status/514461859542351872

In our search to understand methods of poetry and arts as a means to facilitate the sustainability transition, we build on our work in the field of communication for sustainable development and social change and align with authors such as Servaes and Lie (2014), Leeuwis and Aarts (2011), Van Herk et al. (2015), who focus on process approaches and space configurations in the sustainability transition. In this field, participation is considered a crucial element to create a shared sense of urgency that evolves in action and consequently supports a societal transition. As Servaes and Lie (2014, 4) state that "[...] participation remains one of the key concepts in development studies and interventions, and many other concepts relate in a direct or indirect way to participation." However, a certain bias for bottom-up processes based in small networks of actors without effective impact on higher governance levels started to occur when researching participation for development and transitions (Jørgensen 2012, 999). Instead, transitions "are still crucial dependent on shared recognition of the urgent need for change" (Jørgensen 2012, 1009).

In an attempt to gain further insight on the significance of such critiques on our work we also align with critiques which often define participation in more vague and ambiguous

terms. See for example Carpentier (2015), further elaborated in Carpentier (2016) taking the clear stand that participation in a political perspective (considering the power dimensions of participation) is not limited 'to merely taking part in.' We have interpreted such perspectives to stronger focus on a more inclusive configuration of all actors involved and exploring participation somehow disconnected from linear and formal processes of public participation in obligatory environmental impact assessment processes. Moving away from any 'ladder' modelling of participation also supports our notion of participation as a design challenge rather than a process whereby participation is often conceived as granting access by dominant or higher-level actors to less influential actors.

Participation as a design challenge has some sense of controversy in line with the above, as it assumes a role for 'process-designers' to outline an envisioned process configuration; a relation which most probably comes with its own particularities of power aspects. However, the mentioned design challenge refers to the creation of spaces that enable participation in communication, interaction and knowledge exchange, legitimised by the relevance of the issue at stake and also by the attractive invitational qualities of the space due to the qualities of the design.

Voicing is another way of framing such processes, as the design challenge we attempt to come to grips with is not a conversion of participation as democratic activity in certain decision-making contexts. In a context of the sustainability transition we search to gain insight, through the use of artistic or creative approaches and innovative strategies to facilitate community resilience, participation and social learning. The concept of social imaginary is more recently articulated to understand our work: "A social imaginary is a way ordinary people imagine their social surroundings; it is not a social theory because it is carried in images, stories and legends rather than theoretical formulations." [1]

Learning Out of the Box, Artistic Approaches and Positive Dissonance

The 30 students from the international master program Management of Development who joined the course Media Design for Social Change that would eventually lead to the creation of the poetry route. The course was deliberately designed to create a sense of positive dissonance for the students: they had to leave their comfort zone of standard or conventional written and spoken communication in knowledge creation and were pulled into artistic activities to explore new avenues in social change communication. The course works every year with a commissioned media production. Over the past years students worked on designing digital interfaces and film productions. In 2011, the course

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1   https://www.missouriwestern.edu/orgs/polanyi/2014pprs/Haney-2014PSppr-11-5-14.pdf

also worked with poetry resulting in the poetry route, 'Resilience: touching a colourful sky.' A student from Ethiopia, years later, reflected on the course in the following way:

"In the arenas of rural development poetry plays a crucial role in facilitating social learning and fostering innovation trajectories and networking among actors. Thus, we argue that in order to contribute to the resilience of small scale farmers, 'we' scientists, researchers and communication professionals engaging in rural development should re-think our multiple roles of communication [...] that could facilitate resilience and social learning in order to explore innovation of small scale farmers." (Kasim et al. 2016, 51).

The poetry route 'Resilience: touching a colourful sky' served as a model for the course in June 2017 which was built around the request of the Dutch nature conservation foundation *Natuurmonumenten* to provide a strategy for creating public engagement in the process of creating new nature conservation areas in river banks of the province Gelderland. The programme is introduced in the course manual as: "The programme reflects the dynamics of the subject; a limited amount of theoretical exposures will be combined with practical assignments, excursions and other events." Students were exposed to a series of artistic workshops such as colour theory, images and imaging, painting, graphic design, poetry, theatre, drawing and classroom lessons on river management, in which the gifts of the river were extensively addressed. These parts of the course were clearly reflected in the poems, as for instance, 'sense of a river' by Nayel Sayed Hassibulah: "We are here! / The river, a gift of God... / The river passes, / spreads the lights, / the sky in the river, / as blue as my eyes. / Its music makes / me feel blessed."

Figure 1: Touching sculptures at the Kröller Muller museum.
Photograph: Loes Witteveen

Figure 2: Desta Mohammed at the Koppenwaard, close to the river IJssel.
Photograph: Loes Witteveen

To gain familiarity with the Dutch reality and art works in relation to nature conservation areas, students explored settings where natural resource management, art and learning are a meaningful whole. Three visits took place at National Park *Veluwezoom*, the *De Hoge Veluwe*, and the corresponding Kröller Muller Museum of Fine Arts. The actual poetry writing activity took place on location of the *Koppenwaard* area, a former stone brick factory that was recently acquired by *Natuurmonumenten* (2010).

Similar to reports of earlier work (Goris et al. 2015) we came across dilemmas of participatory versus artistic qualities in the finalisation of the art works. The course is implemented by 'lecturers' and 'artists' which is introduced in the course manual to students as follows: "The course is as interactive as demanding and will be facilitated by professionals who combine activities in research, education and community art in international settings." This description anticipated further explanations to students as the envisioned poetry route would not consist of all poems neither of all produced monotypes; it had to become one entity that would resonate with the foreseen participatory and artistic quality of the compiled poetry route. All students submitted 3 poems. After review and editing, all students received one of their poems for their adaption and/or approval. From the resulting poems the lecturing artists made a selection of poems and combined the selected poems with a monotype (without participation of the students or the non-artist lecturers).

The recurring phrase 'we are here,' stated and practised since the start of the course induced a sense of place in the both the classroom and the parks visited, and resonated in the poetry. An example is the poem 'Gate to nature,' where Yewdbar Mesfin Tadesse writes: "so why are we here/is because to destroy the nature / if we are not inspired by nature/there will be end of land." Also the poem title 'Sense of a river' is considered a reflection of the relevance of working on location.

During the course, students were challenged to document their experiences, lessons and remarkable insights in a personal notebook by writing, drawing, sticking clippings and any other means. Considering this collection of documented experiences as data for their analysis of the events confronted students with a need for a suitable discursive way for analysing their learning trajectory. The analysis was presented in personal reflective journals, in which students had to explain the lessons learned concerning the use of artistic approaches for natural resources management. Mohamed Jalloh from Sierra Leone described: "Prior to this I had never written a poem and I was wondering how possibly can I be able to do this. After hard thinking and observing things around me (river, forest etc.) I started composing my poems and ideas kept flowing." From the reflective journals we read that students were very much surprised by their own abilities to write poetry, to design theatre pieces and do visual research; they were very much surprised that their efforts resulted in something as beautiful and visually attractive as the poetry route. The reflective journals shows positive dissonance: students views were stretched

and challenged, but with positive outcomes. The learning strategy in the course enabled students to express a 'sense of place.' They were able to find words to express their experiences in a natural area, also related to development and sustainability challenges. In 'as it all comes together,' Brinah Senzere writes: "be reckless/and we will all get less/ nurture it/and we will gain from it/as it all comes together."

Figure 3: The poetry route 'river flows' at Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences. Photograph: Jacomien den Boer

The Resulting Poetry Route

The *Poetry Route River Flows* (figure 3) consists of twelve, 85x120 cm banners. The poems were printed against a background of monotype paintings both made by the MoD students inspired by, or at the nature conservation area *Koppenwaard*, alongside the river IJssel.

The poetry route reflected the other focal points of the course. As mentioned before, the poetry route was designed to serve as a conversation starter and a source of inspiration in Dutch participatory processes, in which nature development, flood safety and economic viability are key. It aims to involve actors in participatory processes from a perspective of cultural and natural values; both the monotypes and poems do reflect these values.

Based on written and oral student evaluations we consider the 'Media Design for Social Change' with its *Poetry Route River Flows* a successful and convincing strategy for agricultural extension workers and rural development professionals to experience, and learn about innovative and artistic approaches for their professional challenges in rural sustainable development.

Poetry Route River Flows: Use in the Public Domain

Based on positive experiences with the first public exposition in June 2017, the poetry route was used in a participatory setting for area redevelopment at the Rheden municipality in the Netherlands. Its assumed contribution was to call on collective natural values rather than more technical point of view also categorised as Not-in-My-Backyard sentiments. Another assumption was that sustainability transformations are speeded up when participatory processes urges citizens and other stakeholders to actively think and engage in a development process, instead of leaving it to project teams and municipal or provincial boards. A specific quality of the poetry route is the consideration that using the artworks of outsiders (international students) and yet insiders (poems created on location) induces an element of positive dissonance or disruption, for the consumers and audience members, and/or for the participants, thereby rendering new overtures to the public debate.

From the first experiences using the poetry route in the public domain the necessity for properly positioning the poetry in the exhibition or meeting room transpired, so as to make sure that the banners are fully exposed and can take up their rightful space. Figure 4 below reflects how the banners were not hanged but positioned on the floor outside the conversation circle. Another major issue we had overlooked (or ignored) was the language barrier resulting from the English language of the poems. Upon witnessing talks by observers about their English language competency it was a quick decision to work on a Dutch translation or another native language of intended participants, to avoid language barriers and misunderstandings.

Other lessons learned from these early experiences, for participation to occur in the foreseen use by *Natuurmonumenten* and the Province of Gelderland relate to the phase of a development project and the facilitation of the poetry route. Exploiting the contribution of the poetry route requires its active positioning to an intended audience in relation to the phase of a development process. When it is used early in a development process, the anticipated use of the more open way of processing results of its consumption need to be outlined and when used in a phase of decision making is requires articulated positioning in relation to proposed development.

Figure 4: First public use of the poetry route at Rheden municipality, at a participatory event
Photograph: Loes Witteveen

The *Respublika!* festival exhibited a selection of five of the artworks in a smaller size, at the NeMe Arts Centre, while all twelve artworks were included in the *Respublika!* online platform (and this catalogue). The exhibition was revealing in a sense that it showed us the specificities of material art as the banners 'allowed' the public to 'consume' each banner and the combined the poetry route in a glimpse or with more dedicated time. Compared to digital exhibits, which have a more confrontational character for impatient audiences to realise, they do not pay attention to the full work; the poetry route does not call for the specific time frame of attention required for its complete or attentive 'consumption.' Just a glimpse is not enough to read and feel the poems.

Realising that the materiality of the poetry route is an important feature of its applicability in participatory processes, we envisioned how people are talking and experiencing the poetry route depending on its spatial positioning and visual qualities to create the space it needs.

Positioning *River Flows* in the Wider Research Theme on Resilience, Participation and Social Learning

The poetry route touched upon numerous themes that are topic of research in the research group 'Community resilience, participation and social learning.' Inclusion and participation are recurring topics. The group aims to support innovative governance by designing processes of participation and social learning, which produce social imaginaries of sustainable futures. We aim to create practical insights and to develop actionable tools that support the re-configuration of unsustainable systems. Aspects of discourses, and portrayal are critically questioned in the context of film, poetry and other art forms, thereby exploring the potentials of these methods. We design learning spaces with transformative qualities for transdisciplinary professionalism. Regularly occurring questions deal with the global sustainability transition, how it can be influenced and what is the relation to visual media. Everything works towards the creation of a learning environment for sustainability transformations.

Wrapping Up

When exhibiting and using the *Poetry Route* for its intended purpose, the challenge remains to articulate in more precise terms what the expected impact is, and how the 'consumption' process should be facilitated. Practicalities relate to translation or local adaptation and the logistics of exhibiting the poetry route and attention needs to be paid to the physical organisation of the printed banners in the space available, ensuring readable distances between the audience and the artworks.

As future activities of exhibiting are foreseen to go beyond 'showing' the *Poetry Route* for its aesthetic or intellectual interest, we search to find ways for evaluation or indicating evidence. Documenting and measuring this evidence for an artistic approach towards community resilience, participation and social learning in natural resources management no straightforward methods are available. People sharing their experiences will probably not tell their stories in a linear way or indicate a quantified (dis-)liking but instead will jump from one highlight to another, leaving gaps and returning to associate with other thoughts, feelings and ambitions. To keep us on track in the quest for poetry and participation in the sustainability transformation we rely on the last line in the poetry route river flows by Linda Agbotah: "Suddenly this field/becomes a part of me/I cannot but dance along" (in 'Apology to nature').

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Interview with Loes Witteveen
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your previous work in general?

Loes Witteveen: As an academic, I always aim to overcome a dilemma that emerges from my background in the arts. I have the conviction that issues of arts and creativity have a direct link to the academic fields of communication and participation. When I speak about participation, I do not only mean organising a rational conversation in very logical or linear ways, but my work is always centered around the very interaction itself.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts resonate with you in your project?

LW: What resonates with our project are the overlapping issues of participation and democracy. To me, it is about voicing. It's about communities participating in larger societal debates. We work on issues of social and material sustainability. There, very often, the democratic materialisation of participation consists of impact assessment processes. Instead, we like to work with the people involved, facilitating reflective processes for communities to explore and question what matters and should matter to them and how they can contribute to sustainability with or without a government asking them for an opinion. So, it transcends the idea of participation in the form of elections or other formal and established democratic processes into a process, where people decide more freely.

OY: Your project highlights the importance of sensorial communication forms as opposed to rationalised communication forms. How does the sensory experience work and why is it important?

LW: It is widely acknowledged that sustainable futures require urgent transformations, beyond technological interventions; we need to find ways to address discrepancies of power and access, and decision making over natural resources. We talk about social-ecological learning, we search to gain insight into the social imaginaries people use to deal with everyday decision-making, and we question how conflictive perceptions could be negotiated. Yet in the universities, while aiming to unveil these contemporary realities, basic qualities such as listening or sensing are overseen. While training students for research work, we focus more on statistics or, maybe, we practice some interviewing skills, but, watching and listening or taking time and being interested in people and things around us is something we only address to a very limited extent as basic competencies required for gaining access and insight into complex life-worlds.

This project has the overarching topic of sustainable river management in an era of climate change. In contrast to processes of participation that are mostly connected to already established possible scenarios by governments, we are calling people to get closer to the area in question, physically and emotionally. The river Rhine is a major river in the Netherlands (and in Europe). In order to think about this area and connect it to what we feel and think about nature, and how we experience it, we tried to create a space where people are confronted with their ideas, values, their own wishes through the exposure to others and their expressed sense of place.

Most of the students who wrote the poems and made the paintings were by no means engaged in the arts or used to assignments where artworks are the output of dedicated fieldwork. It was very new to them. This was a bit scary at the beginning for them, as it goes far beyond anything they were asked to do in their studies before. We had to embark on processes of which the outcomes could not be foreseen. It is a risky process for all involved; it was only at the first exposition, watching the audience reactions, that the meaning of the work really gained shape. And only then did the students recognise that the team of artists and lecturers shared similar uncertainties. There was a surprise about the resulting *Poetry Route* which saw its profile sharpened through the relationship with the audience.

OY: Can this sensory approach be transferred into democratic practices?

LW: Democracy is often based on a mathematical idea. If 51% of the people say 'We want this!,' it means 'We all want this!' and a decision is perceived as legitimate. But to me, this is quite funny because even the 51% do not necessarily want a certain thing they have voted for. They only express what they want with this pre-set option given to them. Between the expressed and the real desire, big insecurities can exist … uncertainties that are not addressed. I think that we should really ask each other: How would we like to live together? Or how do we think we should establish conversations, which really matter. We need to have the sensed and thought conversations instead of reducing people to numbers.

OY: Your project evolved from individual work, but also constitutes a collective contribution. Do you see a tension between those levels in your project and more broadly?

LW: We tried to discuss with the students that not all work is merely individual, it is also collective. Of course, there is an individual flow that influences the individual's creation. But there is also the contribution of everybody that merges into the collective outcome of community art, in our case the poetry route. And exhibiting the work, you need to select individual works, still honouring all of the co-creators. This becomes sometimes complicated when questions about authorship arise. That is why we included all the students' names in the exhibition.

OY: How important is the notion of empowerment to your work when encouraging people's participation?

LW: Empowerment is not very often part of my discourse. I emphasise diversity. And 'voicing' is my keyword. I might create moments of empowerment, but I would not label them like that because it implies that there are others defining that somebody needs to be empowered, marking a vertical relationship. I can deal with vertical relationships when it is about acknowledging different positions. Being in academia, I am entitled to teach. That is a deal. But I do not have to empower students. And they can and should kick me out if I do not manage to teach them appropriately. Maybe resilience could be another term to express our focus.

OY: What does 'voicing' in participatory practice mean and why does that matter to you?

LW: Participation means to create a space that allows communities to form their ideas and express their feelings. Everyone has different functions in open communication spaces, despite the inequalities outside of those. And what is important, is to break with the tendency of trying to make single-issue persons. This is nice in the opera: you have the villain, the queen, the nice guy. But in the rest of the world, every person has many different aspects of the self. You are not only the vegetarian fighting against windmills, but you are the person who also loves your mother and her chocolate cake, is fanatic about playing darts etc. People are a composition of many aspects and I aim to create spaces where this diversity becomes a recognised and a springy quality rather than reducing people to one aspect that becomes a one-sided argument in dichotomous discussions.

OY: Through your project, you also point at conflict situations due to global climate change etc. How does your project address these crises and possibly suggest solutions to them?

LW: I would seriously doubt that we offer a solution. I think the only solution that we provide in this project is to inspire to have these conversations. I would not dare to say that we achieve something beyond the creation of a communicative space. This opens the potential to establish shared visions about different social scenarios that we would like to achieve so that it may be possible to think about what future situations we would like to live in.

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

THE PARTY OF THE HOUSING DREAM

PETER SNOWDON AND THE GROUPE ALARM
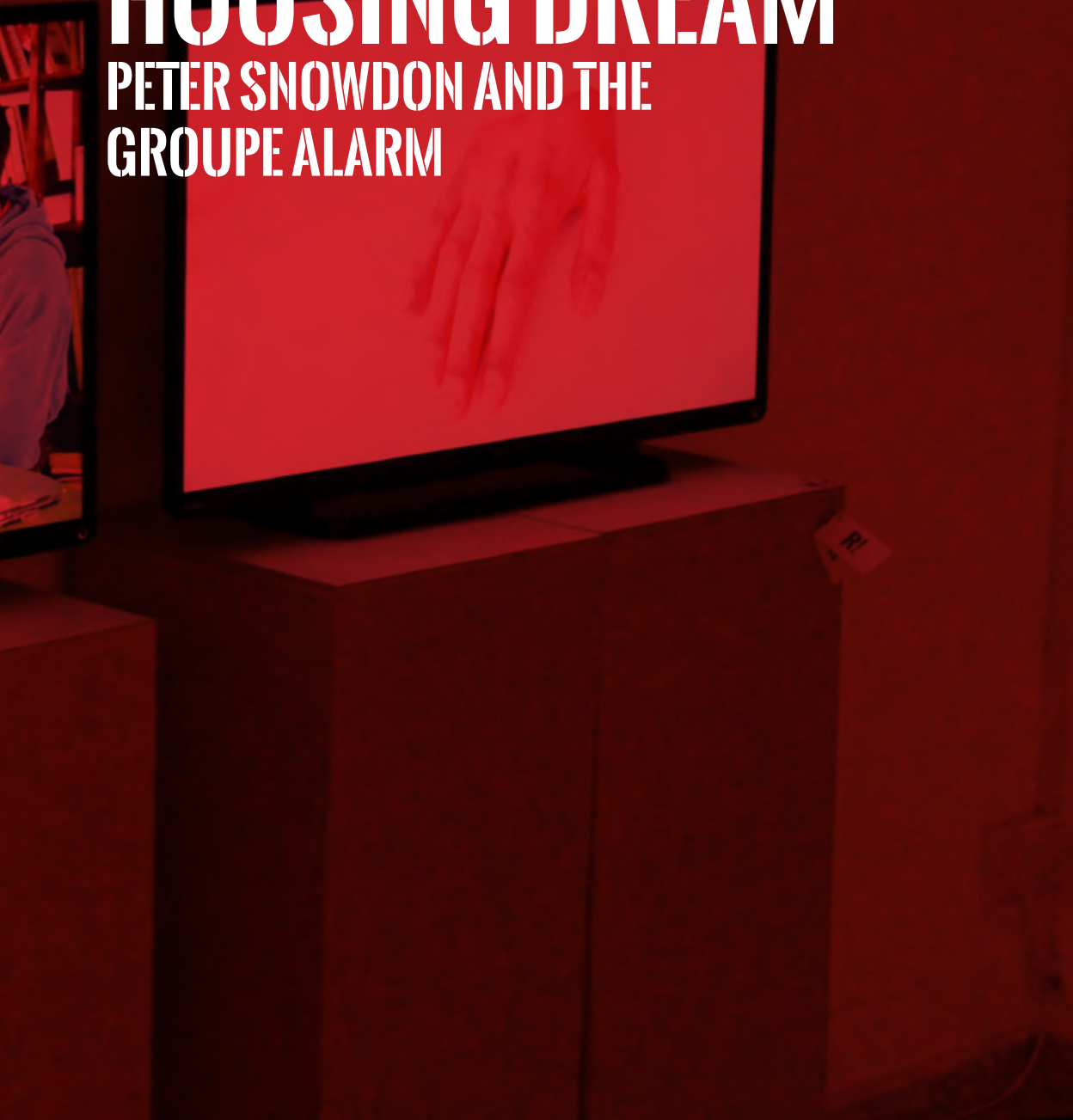
The Party of the Housing Dream, film still

The Party of the Housing Dream
Peter Snowdon and the Groupe ALARM

A series of characters who have left their homeland, or their hometown, spend their days and nights traversing the city of Brussels, searching for somewhere to live. Yet, despite their best attempts, they repeatedly find themselves back where they started—humiliated, cheated, outside, and alone. Gradually, the idea emerges that the only solution to their problems is to take democracy seriously and launch their own political party. Little do they suspect where their dream will lead them…

For many years, the Groupe ALARM have been using a variety of ludic and theatrical strategies, inspired in particular by Augusto Boal's 'theatre of the oppressed,' to provoke citizens and politicians not only to reflect on the housing crisis that affects the Belgian capital, but above all, to do something about it. One of the concepts they first came up with, many years ago, was an imaginary political party that served as a platform for them to present their demands: *The Party of the Housing Dream.*

The film has its roots in a series of collective writing and improvisation workshops held during the winter of 2013-14. By inventing a fictional backstory for the *Party*, we were able to tie together many of the stories and scenes that emerged during those sessions. While none of the actors in the film plays 'themselves,' all the situations that they enact for us, are rigorously true to their collective experience of searching for somewhere to live, and often failing to find anything but public impotence and private criminality.

The Party of the Housing Dream is an exercise in collaborative creation. The Groupe ALARM are collectively the authors of the film. The film was shot over a period of six months in 2015-16 in irregular bursts of activity, with a small professional crew. The dialogue was improvised before the camera, the story-line was constantly revised and rewritten as the production progressed, and the edit was progressively validated by the group as it proceeded. In this way, the film allowed the members of the Group to achieve the programme that Rahim sets out in the film's final scene: "Instead of being just spectators, we ourselves have to become actors."

The Party of the Housing Dream, 2015 - 2016 film stills

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Introductions to the Screening of The Party of the Housing Dream

Aurélia Van Gucht, Peter Snowdon and Abdo Naji

Aurélia Van Gucht: The film you are about to watch is the result of a long process of exploration and collaboration—lasting more than three years—between the Groupe ALARM and the filmmaker Peter Snowdon, who is unfortunately unable to be with us here in Cyprus tonight. However, I am delighted not only to be here myself, but also that I have been able to bring with me two members of the group, who are also two of the actors of the film, Abdo Naji and Mohammed Hindawi.

Peter Snowdon (statement read by Aurélia Van Gucht): The Groupe ALARM was born in 2001, when six families came together to identify and investigate the many obstacles preventing them from finding decent and affordable housing in Brussels (Belgium). Over the following sixteen years, the group has grown, and its members have increasingly been recognised not only for their experience, but also for their expertise. They are particularly well-known for their playful and theatrical public interventions, inspired by Augusto Boal's 'theatre of the oppressed,' through which they try to provoke citizens and politicians not just to reflect on the housing crisis that affects the Belgian capital, but above all to do something about it.

One of their long-running provocations has been to stage actions on behalf of an imaginary political party, which they called the Party of the Housing Dream, and which has offered them a fictional platform on which to present their demands.

The film had its roots in a series of collective writing workshops during the winter of 2013–14. By inventing a fictional back story for the Party, we were able to tie together many of the stories and scenes that emerged during those sessions. While none of the actors in the film plays "themselves," all the situations that they enact are rigorously true to their collective experience of searching for somewhere to live, and often failing to find anything but public impotence and private criminality.

The Party of the Housing Dream, then, is an exercise in collaborative creation. The Groupe ALARM are collectively the authors of the film. The film was shot over a period of six months in 2015–16, working mainly on weekends when everyone was available, with the support of a small professional film crew. The dialogue was improvised before the camera, the storyline was constantly revised and rewritten as the production progressed, and the edit was validated by the Group as it proceeded. In this way, the process allowed the members of the Group to achieve the programme that is set out in the film's final scene: instead of remaining just spectators, they themselves have now become actors—in every sense of the term!

Thank you so much for coming to this screening. We hope you will enjoy the stories we are going to tell you, and that you will stay around afterwards to share with us some of the thoughts and questions that they may raise for you.

Aurélia Van Gucht: I'm Aurélia, a social worker from Brussels. I have worked for more than 25 years in Molenbeek, a place well-known for a few years because of an NGO called 'Maison de quartier Bonnevie.' Molenbeek is an old industrial neighbourhood where a lot of people still live in poverty. As a social worker, I thought it was important to bring people together so that they would have the opportunity to think together about their housing problems. Step by step, we engaged in a process, and step by step we began to take to public spaces to speak about what changes we wanted in housing politics.

The film *The Party of the Housing Dream* is an exercise in collaborative creation. The group Alarm are collectively the authors of the film. It was shot over a period of 6 months with the support of a small professional film crew. The dialogue was improvised before the camera, the storyline was constantly re-visited and re-written as the production progressed and the editing was valeted by the group as it proceeded, as Peter Snowdon wrote.

If we start from Nico Carpentier's definition of participation, as "equalised power relationships in decision making processes," I think that our film can be an example. In matters of artistic production, participation, citizenship and democracy we can also make a direct link with the title of the film:

Dream: this is a part of any human being, Man's imagination and our own creativity.
Housing: a social problem for a lot of people around the world.
Party: means that we want to have our place in the political landscape.

And humour is what holds all of this together. Thank you so much for coming to this screening. We hope you will enjoy the stories we are going to tell you and that you will be inspired by them.

Abdo Naji: It's a great pleasure for me to be with you, at this event on this beautiful island and we thank you for inviting us and choosing our film. As you may all know, the problem of finding suitable housing is a difficult one. It is a challenge in Brussels and in many other cities. This has serious consequences for the social, economic and health conditions.

With our group ALARM, we started our voluntary actions to defend the right of the inhabitants of Brussels to have access to suitable housing with affordable rent. In the beginning, our activities consisted in organising meetings with the authorities, taking part in demonstrations, and distributing flyers and making leaflets.

In 2012 we shot a short video clip ('If I was a mayor') which was a big success. This encouraged us to produce a longer documentary, tackling the issues of housing. This is what became this film. It was a novel experience for me and my colleagues, and we hope that it draws your attention. Thank you very much.

Street Magazines as Communicative Spaces of Inclusion and Solidarity
Vaia Doudaki

Introduction

This essay concerns an investigation of the street press in Sweden, which is highly relevant in relation to discussions about community media and participation: The street papers constitute a special type of alternative media, involving homeless and socially excluded people in their circulation and content production, functioning as communicative spaces of participation, inclusion and solidarity.

The street press, having appeared already in late 19th century, has been proliferating from the late 1980s onward. Although they have been focused on many different themes and interests, a considerable number of these street papers connect to homelessness. *Street News*, established in 1989 in New York, is considered to be the first contemporary street newspaper. The International Network of Street Newspapers (INSN), founded in 1994, has today 110 members from 35 countries, mostly from Europe and North America, but also from South America, Africa, Australia, and Asia (insp.ngo).

In Sweden, the street press has a 23-year presence. *Situation Sthlm* (established in 1995), *Faktum* (established in 2001) and *Aluma* (established in 2001), are acknowledged for their dedication in covering challenging social issues and all won the 2006 grand prize for journalism, awarded by the Swedish Publicists' Association. *Aluma* is no longer active (it was bought in 2011 by *Faktum*) and this essay concerns the two other currently active major street publications.

While their content, form, and operation models vary, the street papers ('paper' refers here to any kind of print edition) share some basic features, at the international level, including: their distribution by homeless and poor people, which offers them latter employment and income; their focus on the coverage of issues of homelessness, poverty and social inequality, often from the perspective of the people who personally experience their outcomes—the homeless, the unemployed, the socially excluded; and the participation of these groups in the papers' writing and production (Howley 2005; Parlette 2010; Harter et al. 2004, Boukhari 1999; Mathieu 2012; Torck 2001). Howley (2003, 274) argues that the street papers constitute a unique form of communicative democracy, as, being the voice of the poor, they "seek to engage reading publics in a critically informed dialogue over fundamental issues of economic, social and political justice." This is confirmed by INSN's core values, which include commitment to "challenging inequality and social exclusion," and nurture of "creative and innovative approaches to social problems" (insp.ngo). Non-surprisingly, the street press is faced with many challenges, such as sustainability and balancing diverging roles and aims (e.g. attracting large audiences with topics of general interest versus advocating for social

issues, thus attracting smaller audiences, maintaining a grassroots logic versus adopting a business-oriented model) (Howley 2005; Parlette 2010; Anderson 2010).

The street papers are understood in this essay as a special type of alternative media, enabling or facilitating spaces of democratic practice. Alternative media are recognised as having alternative agendas to those of mainstream media, advocating for different social causes, giving voice to the members of their communities, and engaging in participatory modes of management and content production (Atton 2001; Downing 2008; Bailey et al. 2007; Carpentier et al. 2003; Cammaerts and Carpentier 2007; Voniati et al. 2018). Street papers share in their majority these features, at different levels. First, through their focus on issues of homelessness, poverty and social exclusion, they raise awareness on social inequalities and injustice, via concrete examples and 'real-life' perspectives; second, they give voice to the homeless (who are amongst the most voiceless societal groups); third, they promote, through their content, organisation, and their distribution model, solidarity, understanding and tolerance; and fourth, they help homeless and poor people survive and reconnect with society (Harter et al. 2004; Parlette 2010; Anderson 2010).

The Two Cases: *Situation Sthlm* and *Faktum*

Profile

Both Swedish street magazines operate as non-profit organisations, having as core activity the employment of homeless and socially vulnerable individuals, who work as sellers of the magazines.

More specifically, *Situation Sthlm* (www.situationsthlm.se) is a monthly street magazine, the first issue of which was published in August 1995. It is established as a non-profit company, owned and operated by its staff. Its revenue comes from magazine sales, subscriptions, donations, advertising, and sponsorship of social activities. Any profit the magazine makes is reinvested into the business. Approximately 33,100 people buy the magazine every month, and 153,000 read it. Following the model of most street papers, *Situation Sthlm* is sold in public places by homeless and socially challenged people, in the broader area of central Sweden. The magazine has actively more than 300 vendors, 20% of whom are women. These vendors buy the magazine from *Situation Sthlm* for 25 Swedish crowns ('kr'), and sell it for 50 kr.

Faktum (www.faktum.se) is also a monthly street magazine. It was established in 2001, in Gothenburg, as a charitable fundraising foundation. Its revenue originates mainly from sales, but also from subscriptions, donations and advertising (which excludes alcohol, tobacco, pornography or gambling). *Faktum,* also, has all its profit reinvested

into the business, with the aim to employ more homeless and socially excluded people. It sells approximately 36,500 copies a month, attracting 144,000 readers. It is sold by homeless and socially excluded people in the broader area of southern Sweden. Its vendors buy the magazine for 30 kr, and sell it for 60 kr. The magazine has approximately 400 - 600 vendors. As it is mentioned on *Faktum*'s website: "Some have substance abuse problems, others have no income or a low disability pension. Some of our vendors are selling to meet people and break their social isolation. About half are vulnerable EU migrants. About seven out of ten have no permanent residence" (www.faktum.se/faq).

Content

Both *Situation Sthlm* and *Faktum* share the main principles of street papers around the world regarding their content: A strong focus on issues of homelessness and social exclusion, and inclusion of their vendors' voices and perspectives.

Situation Sthlm includes stories about people, events and culture in Stockholm 'from a street perspective." The magazine regularly hosts stories with a community angle, as well as stories regarding substance abuse care, psychiatric care, and housing policy. For its commitment to covering socially sensitive issues, from the perspective of the marginalised, *Situation Sthlm* was awarded the Swedish PEN Berns Award in 2005. Also, as already mentioned, it won, together with *Aluma* and *Faktum*, the 2006 grand prize for journalism, awarded by the Swedish Publicists' Association, for their dedication in "giving voice to the most vulnerable and marginalised in society and thus widening the freedom of expression" (www.situationsthlm.se/tidningen).

Situation Sthlm has stories about the newspaper vendors and their lives, written by professional journalists. Additionally, it hosts the voice of its vendors, in a special section entitled *Homeless—in their own words* which is among the most popular sections of the magazine. Through this practice, which allows their voices to be heard, the vendors get also compensated for their work, earning some extra income, but also, equally important, they interact again with, and learn to master the language, which is crucial in finding a job and reconnecting with society. The book *Homeless—In Their Own Words*, 1997-2007 published in 2008, comprised of a collection of vendors' texts, and was highly popular, becoming a best-seller. The book *Raine's Diary*, published in 2010, is also worth mentioning. It comprised of 130 stories written by the homeless vendor Raine Gustafsson in the magazine during a period of 13 years.

Faktum's content follows a similar line, bearing at the same time certain particularities. The magazine has a strong focus on investigative journalism, covering topics related to housing, migration services, drug abuse treatment policies, homeless EU migrants, psychiatric care, bulling in schools, etc. According to *Faktum* "the magazine is about the whole society from an outsider's perspective" (www.faktum.se/tidningen). Its work on investigative journalism

has been honored (apart from the aforementioned 2006 grand prize for journalism) with several prizes by the Swedish Investigative Journalists association.

Faktum includes stories about its vendors and other marginalised individuals, written by professional journalists. There are also regular contributions by vendors themselves. However, most articles in the magazine are written by professional journalists, as *Faktum* wishes to offer to the vendors "a professional product that is of high journalistic quality and easy to sell" (www.faktum.se/faq).

Mission

Situation Sthlm's main mission, as it is mentioned on the magazine's website, is to support homeless and socially vulnerable individuals (e.g. people with substance abuse problems and/or suffering from mental disorders) in finding their way back to society, through employment and other means of assistance. Similarly, *Faktum*'s main mission is the empowerment of these groups through employment. Employment becomes for these people much more than a source of income; by taking responsibility for their work and interacting with others, they often develop or rediscover a sense of belief in themselves, and some, find (again) a purpose in life and (re)connect with society.

Both street magazines engage in a range of activities in order to fulfil their main mission. As already mentioned, the magazines' main tool of support for the homeless and socially excluded groups is employment, which is also combined with basic training on the specificities of the vendor's job. Furthermore, the two magazines offer their sellers legal counseling and assistance in their contacts with authorities, through a network of law school student interns. Additionally, *Situation Sthlm* supports its vendors through workshops and training aimed at developing or improving the latter's writing and computer skills. They are also offered by the magazine access to communication means—email, internet, telephone, and computer. Creating or assisting opportunities of interaction and socialisation, is another means of support. In both *Situation Sthlm* and *Faktum,* the vendors are welcome to enjoy coffee and snacks, and the company of peers, in the warm and welcoming environment of the magazines' premises. Finally, the two magazines offer extra material support to their vendors—e.g., the winter clothes provided by *Faktum.*

Through these efforts, *Situation Sthlm* and *Faktum* assume, in practice, a broader social role in three main ways. First, they connect with other (civil society) actors and stakeholders, through, for example, different volunteer projects. The internship programme of law students offering free help and advice on legal matters to their vendors is one example. Second, *Situation Sthlm* assumes also an educational role, stimulating the broader society on issues of homelessness and social exclusion, as it regularly offers lectures in companies, organisations and schools, and has also produced

educational material for schools, addressing nuanced and more inclusive perspectives on these issues. Third, they support other activities the homeless and socially excluded are involved in, which offers them opportunities for interaction and socialisation. For example, *Faktum* organised the Homeless World Cup in Gothenburg, in 2004.

Concluding

Situation Sthlm and *Faktum* through their consistent coverage of issues of homelessness, poverty and social exclusion, act as advocates of social causes, which is often manifested in alternative media. Their hosting of the voices of homeless and socially excluded groups, is also consistent with the alternative media's logics and practices.

Furthermore, they take on an interventionist approach that moves beyond content production, via their special mission to empower the homeless through employment and creation of support networks. In parallel, as they bring together varied groups of volunteers, collaborators and civil society members, in their effort to support the socially underprivileged, they promote a culture of social solidarity and active citizenship, nurturing the principles of communicative democracy.

However, one should not uncritically celebrate their potential in acting as spaces of participation and inclusion, in maximalist terms. One should not forget that the two street magazines discussed in this essay are managed and/or owned by professional journalists, and the contribution of homeless and socially excluded in content production is generally limited and, in any case, not in equal terms.

Still, the role of these media in offering opportunities for employment, empowerment, expression and visibility, to societal groups that remain largely voiceless and invisible, highlights their societal relevance. Apart from offering the means to survival, their role in helping these groups regaining or reclaiming a sense of citizenship is equally important, and is worth acknowledging and studying further, together with the limitations, demarcations or even new exclusions, such endeavours might bring along.

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Photograph: Old Nicosia Revealed

REFLECTIONS ABOUT POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY

A Brief Introduction to Reflections about Democracy and the Political
Nico Carpentier

Democracy is more than a model for governing countries. It is a model for decision-making that is operational at a wide variety of levels and settings, driven by a particular set of values, which entail respect for diversity, human rights, fairness, and social justice. As a value-driven model, democracy has many different materialisations, which each seek to balance the delegation of power (or representation) with the popular exercise of power (or participation). It always does this in particular ways, sometimes resulting in more centralised and sometimes in more decentralised versions. Democracy spans many different societal fields and settings, including institutionalised politics, but also the work place, education, the family, the media, and the arts.

Whatever version of democracy is used in whatever setting, it is important to keep in mind that democracy is always unrealised and unfinished. Democracy itself is the object of an incessant political struggle, about the balance between representation and participation, about the limits of democracy, about who gets included and excluded, and about democracy's desirability and questionable future. This is where the political meets democracy. There are, of course many different politics possible, some democratic, others not, but the political—the dimension of conflict and difference—intervenes in all of them. Actually, democracy tries to tame the political, preventing its forces to turn violent and/or oppressive.

The arts are not outside the political, nor are the arts disconnected from the democratic, first of all because people working in the artistic field pose questions about power, difference and conflict. Its representational logics, the choices what to represent or not, are deeply political. In some cases, the arts also engage more explicitly with democracy and the political, critiquing its present formations and articulations, thematising its imperfections and limitations, and creating horizons for future democratic development, and, to use Anthony Giddens's formulation, for the democratisation of democracy.

Revalidating Participation: Power and Pre-Figurative Politics Within Contemporary Left-wing Movements[1]
Bart Cammaerts

Introduction

"Practice what you preach" is a popular idiom not only within progressive politics, but also beyond, and this idea is also encapsulated in the famous Mahatma Gandhi quote: "If you want to change the world, start with yourself." This is often easier said than done.

Take decision-making processes within social movements and parties of the left. One would expect this to be highly democratic, more open, and less hierarchical than for example within conservative movements and parties, but Robert Michels' famous study of decision-making processes within the labour movement and socialist parties concluded that even though they profess a progressive horizontal politics and strive towards maximum participation, in reality they also organise themselves in highly hierarchical and centralised ways and take decisions in a very top-down manner (Tolbert 2013). In the post-revolutionary communist organisations and parties this tendency was arguably even more pronounced. He called this the *Iron Law of Oligarchy* (Michels [1911] 1962).

After a very active cycle of protests at the end of the 1960s and the emergence of what was then called New Social Movements (Offe 1987), a new left critique of this iron law was formulated. It advocated for 'real' participation and calling for a radical democratisation, not only of politics, but also of everyday life, of schools, of the workplace. In its Port Huron Statement, the US student organisation *Students for a Democratic Society* (1962), foregrounded that "politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community." Participation was a prime signifier within these radical democratic discourses. Furthermore, democratic participation was also intrinsically linked to power and to the ability to "determine the outcome of decisions" (Pateman 1970, 71).

This hope of a more participatory society did not fully materialise, and the liberal representative model of democracy with its rigid and highly hierarchical party system and a political oligarchy governing 'in our name' by simple majorities, came to be seen as hyper-elitist and disconnected from the interests and everyday struggles of ordinary citizens. This has, amongst others, led to very high levels of distrust towards the political class and media elites in particular, and liberal democratic institutions in general (Norris 1999; Dalton 2004).

In response to this increase in public distrust towards democratic politics and practices, we have seen, in recent years, a resurgence of the new left critiques through for example

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1   Parts of this text were also published in: Cammaerts (2015) and Cammaerts (2018).

the pirate parties and anti-austerity movements across Europe. They echoed the critiques of corporate capture and the need to re-democratise democracy. One of the central demands of the Spanish indignados or 15M movement was: *¡Democracia Real YA!* [Real Democracy NOW!]. This manifested itself not only in terms of a stringent critique of the competitive elitism model which is so prevalent within liberal democracies, but also through the articulation of a pre-figurative politics, practicing alternatives to the elitist representative model, which conform more to participatory direct democracy models (see Held 2006).

Out of global justice, the indignados and the occupy movements, a consensual assembly model to make collective decisions emerged. This has its antecedents in radical democratic progressive organisations such as community media and workers cooperatives. Besides this, we can also observe a delegative decision-making model being appropriated and advocated for by the Pirate Parties, for example. However, also *Momentum*, the parallel campaign organisation supporting Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the UK Labour Party, has introduced delegative decision making, embedding its radical left project within democracy and democratic principles[2].

While highly sympathetic to these innovations and revisits, we also need to acknowledge that they are not problem-free either. The issues I will identify call for a revaluation of ideology and accounting for power and conflict within decision making processes within the Left. In what follows, I will address first the assembly model and subsequently the delegative model, also sometimes called liquid democracy.

The Assembly Model within the Anti-Austerity Movement

The anti-austerity movement, reacting against the acceleration of neoliberal policies in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, juxtaposed a broken democracy frame with their own real democracy frame—i.e. a democracy that represents the real interests of the people rather than corporate interests and the interests the wealthy elites that seem to run our broken democracy. As Flesher Fominaya (2015, 154) points out, anti-austerity movements across Europe combined "pre-figurative practices of radical democracy within social movement spaces with a highly organised attack on the illegitimacy of representative democratic institutions." They argued that we need a more participatory, a more open and a more transparent democracy, as this quote from Occupy London Stock Exchange attests:

> "united in our diversity, united for global change, we demand global democracy: global governance by the people, for the people [...] Like the Spanish TomaLaPlaza we say

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2   Labour Party Socialist Network. "Category: Momentum." socialistnetwork.org.uk. http://socialistnetwork.org.uk/category/momentum/page/2/ (Accessed January 1, 2018).

"*'Democracia Real Ya'*: True global democracy now!" (Occupy LSX 2011a—
emphasis added)

One way in which the anti-austerity movement throughout Europe performs its alternative vision of democracy is through the general assembly model, which is horizontal in structure, autonomous in its decision-making and anti-representative in spirit. The assembly model aims to "create a social space facilitating equal voice" (Prentoulis and Thomassen 2013, 177). Following the example of the Spanish Indignados movement meetings (Nez 2012; Romanos 2013), these public assemblies were held in a deliberative spirit and a certain conversational group etiquette developed, including the appropriation of a set of codes and hand signals to govern discussion, to signal agreement/disagreement or add a point, amounting to what some described as "the democracy of direct action" (Razsa and Kurnik 2012, 241). This emphasis on deliberative democracy and consensual decision-making is in line with the pre-figurative practices of the anti-austerity movements across Europe, placing "new forms of democracy in the centre of the public space" and even inviting passers-by to join in and to participate (Romanos 2013, 211).

This adherence to openness and transparency maps onto movement frames of horizontalism and consensual decision-making as is apparent from these quotes, respectively from interviews with people active in the National Campaign against Fees and Cuts—a radical student protest organisation in the UK and Occupy London Stock Exchange as well as from a document published by Occupy Wall Street:

"We will organise through *democratic assemblies* at the lowest possible levels."
(NCAFC 2012/2014—emphasis added)

"*Open discussion* is at the heart of our Occupation and our decision-making process. The more people we can involve in our debates, the stronger and more representative the results will be." (Occupy LSX 2011b—emphasis added)

"[Consensus] is a democratic method by which an entire group of people can come to an agreement. The input and ideas of all participants are gathered and synthesised to arrive at *a final decision acceptable to all*." (Occupy Wall Street 2011—emphasis added)

Furthermore, and totally in line with new left visions of participatory democracy (Pateman 1970), the anti-austerity movement has an explicit agenda of extending democratic values and equal participation beyond parliament, advocating for more democracy in schools, universities and the workplace. In addition, solidarity with global democratic struggles is very much part and parcel of this 'real democracy' frame:

> "We want schools, colleges, universities and research institutions and the work they do to be *public, democratic, open and accessible to all*, and to be oriented towards free enquiry, the needs and interests of society, and liberation from existing hierarchies and oppressions" (NCAFC 2012/2014—emphasis added).

> "The citizens of the world must get *control over the decisions that influence them* in all levels—from global to local." (Occupy LSX 2010a—emphasis added)

These are all very sound intentions and ambitious aspirations of a democratic progressive movement in terms of its pre-figurative politics and its own practices concerning internal decision-making. Reality is, however, often much messier than these good sounding ideals. This became apparent when interviewing anti-austerity activists.[3]

First of all, not all decisions were made by the assembly. As such, the way that decisions were made within the anti-austerity movement needs to be differentiated. There were ad-hoc decisions, which were made daily or even hourly, and more principled decisions about identity, strategy and tactics. The former tended to be the domain of those who were 'running the show' and organising the direct actions. The latter tended to be made by the assembly, which operated according to horizontal deliberative principles and adhered to consensual decision-making (Nez 2012).

This also exposes a tension within the assembly model, namely that it can be time consuming and not very efficient, especially when decisions need to be made in the moment. Tina, from UK Uncut, a fair taxation protest organisation, said that consensus decision-making "is arduous, tiring and takes hours, but we make sure everybody is heard" (personal interview, 04/11/2015). Furthermore, and more problematic in the context of radical politics, according to Dave from Occupy LSX, decision-making by consensus "tends to lead to conservative decisions" and this, he argued, "compromised [Occupy's] flexibility" (personal interview, 10/10/2016). Similarly, a leading student activist from NCAFC, pointed to the massive efforts and energy that was put into face-to-face decision-making by consensus, but said that "there were, of course, also tensions with that" (George, personal interview, 23/02/2017), especially since it has to be acknowledged that a total consensus is an ontological impossibility, exclusions always take place (see also Mouffe 1999). The discourse of horizontalism and non-hierarchical structures also tends to bump up against practical issues related to organisation and the emergence of informal systems of authority.

This highlights another tension relating to power, horizontalism and the idea of a leaderless organisation. Whereas there certainly was an ethos of horizontality and democratic decision making within the anti-austerity movement, the idea of a 'leaderless'

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3   The names of all anti-austerity activists that were interviewed were anonymised.

organisation is fallacious. Tina, a leading activist in UK Uncut, clarified that "a leaderless movement does not exist, there are always people who are organising, answer the emails, do the Twitter and the Gmail, answer the media phone, etc." (personal interview, 4/11/2015). Similarly, in the context of Occupy LSX, there was a clear difference as well as a set of tensions between 'those in the centre doing loads of stuff' and those 'in the periphery,' as explained by Dave, who was active in the media team (personal interview, 10/10/2016). This was also acknowledged by another Occupy LSX activist (quoted in Deel and Murray-Leach 2015, 187-8):

> "Anyone that pretends Occupy is a completely leaderless movement is just denying reality. There's a core group of maybe 20 people, maybe 30 people that are basically coordinating the work that's happening: facilitating amongst working groups outside of the open forum process—background work."

While the assemblies tended to take place offline, mediation was essential to satisfy the need for transparency of the process and to communicate the consensual decisions reached by the assembly to those unable to be present in person. In the case of Occupy, online spaces were used to complement the offline decision-making process. The general assemblies were broadcast live and, at times, those watching the stream would be "given the opportunity to participate remotely by asking questions or making comments" (Kavada 2015, 880). Transparency was achieved, often, by decisions being reported on the movement organisations' websites. Decisions made during the NCAFC general assembly, held on 12 June 2016 in Edinburgh, were even tweeted, albeit in a succinct way:

- "Motion 2 passed. Now discussing motion 3: NSS [National Student Survey] sabotage.
- Debating amendments to motion 3.
- Motion 3 passes as amended.
  [...]
- A minute of silence for the victims of the attack in Orlando. #NCAFCconf
- Closing remarks from @Deborah_Malina: "go back to your campuses, build activist groups. I'm excited to continue the fight!" #NCAFCconf"

(@NCAFC_UK, 12 June 2016)

Occupy LSX had a policy of transparency for its assemblies and began to stream them live; for example, their Radical General Assembly held on 14 May 2015, after the UK's general election which gave David Cameron an overall majority ushering in an all-Tory government, were streamed and the video recordings of these debates were made accessible by the Occupy News Network[4] through bambuser.[5]

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4   Occupy London. "Brick Lane Debates: Radical General Assembly." occupylondon.org.uk. http://occupylondon.org.uk/brick-lane-debates-radical-general-assembly/ (Accessed January 18, 2018).

5   Bambuser.com is a Swedish live-streaming platform which is popular amongst activists because it enables the live streaming, from a laptop of mobile phone, of direct actions and meetings. The broadcasts are also recorded and archived for viewing after the event.

Besides the assembly model, we can also distinguish a delegative model of decision-making within progressive politics. The delegative model in a sense blends direct democracy ideals with representative democracy ones and is geared towards making direct democracy work beyond small-scale closed communities and organisations. Compared to the assembly model which is characterised by consensus and collective decision-making, the delegative model is majoritarian and more individualistic, based on a choice between different potential alternatives or issues.

Delegative Democracy within the Pirate Parties

The idea of delegative democracy was discussed by Marx and Engels (1971) when they wrote about the 1871 Paris uprising and the subsequent establishment of the Paris Commune (see also Carpentier 2011, 28-9). As such, it is not entirely unsurprising to observe that liquid democracy, which is a form of delegative democracy, is being foregrounded today as an alternative way of decision-making by current progressive protest movements such as the Indignados in Spain, the Occupy Movement or Momentum, the left-wing campaigning organisation loyal to Jeremy Corbyn in the UK. It was, however, above all the Pirate Party movement that has adopted the language and practice of delegative democracy in their political discourse as well as decision-making processes and procedures.

Besides its emphasis on digital rights, the Pirate Parties argue that democracy itself needs to be reformed by incorporating more participatory forms of democracy. In the interviews[6] I conducted with representatives of the pirate parties in Germany, UK and Belgium, they would say things like: "we are looking for more possibilities to participate" (PP Germany 2012) and "more fundamental work needs to be done to reach out" (PP UK 2012). At the level of pre-figurative politics, the Pirate Party movement operationalised the real democracy frame by adopting the concept of Liquid Democracy (LD), which amounts to a form of delegative democracy that is technologically mediated. Some also speak of adhocracy in this regard (see Jenkins 2006; Global Freedom Movement 2011).

LD is defined by the pirate parties as means for a *demos* to debate and subsequently vote on concrete ideas and/or policy proposals formulated by one or several of their peers. Individual members of the demos can furthermore delegate their vote to others whom they trust and who have particular expertise on the issues being discussed, "you can choose to delegate your vote to a person for a single idea, but for another theme you choose somebody else" (PP Germany 2012). For the Pirate Parties, LD is also about

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6   The quotes in this section come from semi-structured interviews that were conducted with: Kaye Loz, leader of the Pirate Party UK on 24 May 2012; with Anita Moellering and Christiane Schinkel, respectively press officer and chairwoman of the Pirate Party in Berlin on 4 June 2012 and with Thomas Goorden, a spokesperson for the Pirate Party Belgium on 15 February 2014.

"seeing the collaborative, the distributed and the non-hierarchical advantages of the internet in relation to policy" (PP UK 2012). It is thus also embedded in a broader techno-optimistic discourse and imaginary about the internet (cf. Mansell 2012).

The way this is operationalised is through a set of practices and protocols embedded in an online platform which facilitates LD as a process. This is what is being called the Liquid Feedback tool (cf. Figure 1). It is defined as an 'opinion-finding tool' and it is liquid in order to emphasise the fluidity and openness of the decision-making process.

"maybe the idea comes from one person, other people connect to it and start thinking about the idea and create other alternatives, and this is how politics should be developed" (PP Germany 2012).

Pirate Parties use these online 'Liquid Feedback'-type platforms and collaborative text editors (Pirate Pads) to discuss and shape policy ideas and in doing so, they adopt a strong discourse of horizontal democracy in which participation and public discussion and debate plays a central role:

"People can comment and vote things up and down. Certain things will be top of the pile and certain things we felt were not good or serious or well-articulated, or against the spirit of the party, they didn't get anywhere" (PP UK 2012).

"[Liquid Democracy] means that it is a process, it is never finished" (PP Germany 2012).

"[...] you get to choose which political topics you wish to actively participate in, you may also delegate your vote to other members" (PP Belgium 2014).

The use of LD as a tool of internal decision-making comes with its own set of problems and issues. In the various articulations of LD as pre-figurative politics there is little mention of how to deal with conflict. A bit reminiscent of the ideals of a Habermassian deliberative public sphere, LD is often presented as conflict-free: ideas are proposed, debate is concluded, votes are delegated, votes are cast, and decisions are made. However, as neo-Gramscian accounts on politics and power point out, conflict cannot simply be eliminated from the political, conflict is intrinsic and constitutive of the political (Mouffe 1999). Concurring with this theoretical position which foregrounds the political as inherently conflictual, once the Pirate Party in Germany started to grow and began to win mandates through elections, internal conflicts and disruptive power struggles emerged as well.
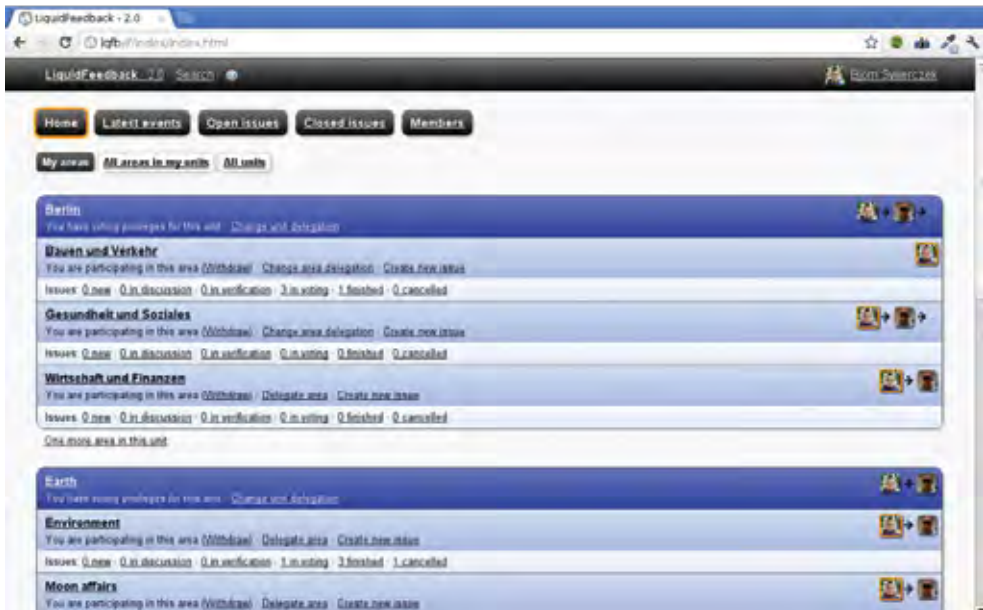
Figure 1: Screenshot of an Open Source Liquid Feedback Platform
Source: http://liquidfeedback.org

This led Der Spiegel (2013) to speak of "Liquid Democrazy" with regard to the German Pirate Party. The UK representative even commented on this by vehemently stating: "we are less fractious than the Germans" (PP UK 2012), but it is also fair to say that the Pirate Party UK is much smaller and less popular than its German counterpart(y) is. Besides these issues of scale, interviews with Pirate Party representatives revealed serious shortcomings in terms of dealing with (internal) conflict:

> "Conflicts and ideological conflicts are simply not being dealt with in an active way at all. Mostly we ignore they are there and I suspect most people just hope for people they disagree with to simply go away, which surprisingly works all too often. Since there is no hierarchy, there is no formalised way to deal with conflict or with gaming the system in any effective manner, mostly because there are no real exclusion mechanisms, which tends to rewards trolling behaviour above all else" (PP Belgium 2014).

This inability to deal with conflict also speaks to the inherent tensions between online discussions and debates on the one hand, and offline debates and decision-making power, which are left unaddressed by focusing too much on the potentials of the innovative technological tools enabling LD.

Another common critique is that this type of decision-making often leads to a fairly limited number of people have a disproportional impact on the decision-making process, which runs counter to its direct democracy ideals. Linked to this, there are also issues in terms of the lack of a critical mass of people actually participating in such liquid democracy experiments. As is well known, in line with Noelle-Neuman's (1984) *Spiral of Silence*, those that disagree often have a tendency to silence themselves and disengage from the process and there is no way to account for that within the platforms.

> "We've done some experiments with 'true' liquid democracy, but the adoption rate and the enthusiasm for actually using it was quite low. [...] one can easily observe the very low number of active or true participants" (PP Belgium 2014).

Finally, the emphasis within the LD discourse on issue-based deliberation and the voting up of 'good ideas' and down of 'bad ideas' reduces politics to individual issues without addressing the wider structural connections and disconnections between different issues.

Conclusions: On Ideology and Power

This last point implicates ideology as that binding narrative, which is something that is increasingly rejected by both the Pirate Party and the anti-austerity movements. This abject rejection of the left-right ideological cleavage is a contemporary manifestation of anti-ideologism, as these quotes from documents and interviews attest:

> "Some of us consider ourselves progressive, others conservative. Some of us are believers, some not. Some of us have clearly defined ideologies, others are apolitical" (Democracia Real Ya! 2011).

> "We reject [the left-right] terminology" (PP UK, 24/05/2012); "We say we are not left-right, we don't want to be associated with these old-style clusters" (PP Germany, 04/06/2012).

> "Not being framed as left was important to us, the media didn't seem to want to frame us as left and we certainly weren't framing ourselves as left. We felt that 'left' was a diversionary label and that our solutions were humane and represented common sense economically, ecologically and socially" (Dave, Occupy LSX, 10/10/2016).

This disarticulation of the progressive project from a leftwing ideology and thus also the rejection of a clear meta-narrative which binds together critiques and solutions is problematic and potentially dangerous. Whereas in some cases this disarticulation is strategic, for example with Occupy, at the same time it opens the door for partial

co-optation by hegemonic and reactionary forces, such as rightwing populism (cf. Cammaerts 2018).

Besides a blatant rejection of ideology and the left-right political cleavage, we can also observe a denial of conflict, discursive power and power relations in the context of progressive politics and decision-making. Power is always present and this needs to be explicitly acknowledged within progressive politics rather than swept under the carpet through the discourse of horizontalism and consensus-based decision-making. Especially post-structuralist and post-Marxism accounts of power are highly relevant in this regard (Foucault 1994; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Lukes 2005). As such, this is not necessarily about coercive power, but rather about the ways in which power operates at a micro level within particular processes, technologies and between people. These critical perspectives teach us that power is situated at many different levels and in sometimes less obvious or blatant ways.

Power is situated in discourse through the production of knowledge and expertise, through the ability to persuade and to argue a position eloquently and passionately. Foucault frequently reminded us that power is also situated at the level of subject positions, which again cannot be eliminated. Educational levels, class, status within the movement, or to put it in Bourdieusian terms, activist capital matter a great deal in this regard. Those more active within the movement also tend to be those with a more authoritative voice, more listened to, and more followed compared to someone in the periphery of the movement. This also has relevance to the role of affect within activism and political engagement (Jasper 1998).

Power also manifests itself through the power to include and exclude, through negative choices, through the hidden and unspoken, through the construction of a horizon of possible and impossible positions and viewpoints, as discussed by Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power. Furthermore, the strive towards reaching a consensus obscures the fact that exclusions always occur; there are always 'constitutive outsides,' as Derrida (1978, 39-44) highlighted. Intrinsically linked to this, power also inevitably invokes resistance and contestation; against the exercise of power, against exclusions, against ideological enemies. This brings the inevitability of conflict into the fray (Mouffe 1999) and the necessity to confront this.

It is, however, not a matter here of devising strategies to eradicate or eliminate conflict, power and power relations within progressive politics, this is ontologically impossible, but rather to make them explicit, to acknowledge the various manifestations of power, as well as creating an awareness amongst those engaging within progressive politics of what power does, how power operates and how it is situated in the power of voice and discourse, of action and practice, and of status and subject position within the movement and beyond.

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Artists, Cultural Producers and Activists: Integrations and Articulations of Struggles
Nicos Trimikliniotis

The world of art and creativity has been subject to sociological, and more generally social sciences and humanities, analysis, ever since the establishment of the modern social science disciplines (Rancière and Corcoran 2015). My particular interest lies in touching upon the potentialities of cultural formations and art—this particular social domain that Bourdieu (2016) has referred to as the 'artistic field'—in its relation to radical and emancipatory politics, embedded in a Greek-Cypriot context. In this text, I discuss some of the connections of the artistic field with other fields. Then I will turn to the Cypriot hegemony of austerity-and-chauvinist citizenship, embedded in a global context, which might call for more pessimism, but also offers opportunities for resistance and critique.

Interconnecting Fields

A starting point for this argumentation[1] is the social definition of culture, as discussed by Williams (1979). In contrast to the elitist view, which depicts 'culture' and 'art' as a privilege for the few educated minds, there is a strand, which has survived, albeit in a refined and qualified forms, in many readings in Critical Theory. Following Williams, 'culture' and 'art' reflects a broad frame of human representations, creations, art and craft production, which give meaning and value to the ways of life of various social classes and groups.

Williams's attempts to broaden the definition of culture reflect both the *continuity* with past practices of those in power and the *ruptures* produced by mass dispersion and multiplication, through media production and reproduction, consumption and data exchange. Williams was not the only one to recognise this. Benjamin (2008, 32), who—during the interwar period took technology seriously in the context of the transformation of art production—noted that "The representation of human beings by means of an apparatus has made possible a highly productive use of the human being's self-alienation." Benjamin, however, had no problem in admitting that the work of art has always been reproducible, but his recognition of the role of the mass technological reproduction of art was novel. Hence, art had to be distinguished from previous forms of reproduction: The reproduction of art using modern technological mechanisms profoundly affected the artwork's authenticity and the process of technological reproduction as part of the artwork itself (e.g., film) (Chattopadhyay 2017).

This is only one way of arguing for the interconnectedness of different societal fields, in particular for the case of technology and the arts. There are also arguments that connect

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1   For a detailed discussion on the subject on culture and crisis, see Trimikliniotis (2014).

the field of cultural production, the economy and politics. Bauman (2004) argued that, cultures, as global mechanisms, are producing human garbage; today's capitalism is characterised by 'liquid modernity' and is a producing the civilisation of 'wasted lives.' He is, however, suggesting that we are facing a bigger danger, that of the deterioration of civilisation. Bourdieu (2003) has also warned that culture is in danger, speaking of social/economic processes that threaten the very foundations of cultural production, namely its necessary autonomy of the various fields of cultural production that has been established in the course of time, taking centuries. As Swartz (2016) points out:

> "Bourdieu's conceptualisation that currently elicits inspiration across the broadest range of substantive areas of sociological investigation. For Bourdieu, fields denote arenas of production, circulation, and appropriation and exchange of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate, exchange, and monopolise different kinds of power resources (capitals). Fields may be thought of as structured spaces that organise around specific types of capitals or combinations of capital. In fields actors strategise and struggle over the unequal distribution of valued capitals and over the definitions of just what are the most valued capitals. Like a magnetic field, the effects of social fields on behavior can be far-reaching and not always apparent to actors. A field perspective stands in sharp contrast to broad consensual views of social life even though actors within a field share common assumptions about the worth of the struggle and the rules by which it is to be carried out. The concept of field stands as an alternative analytical tool to institutions, organisations, markets, individuals, and groups though all of these can be key components of fields. Field analysis brings these separate units into a broader perspective that stresses their relational properties rather than their intrinsic features and therefore the multiplicity of forces shaping the behavior of each."

However important the context of cognitive capitalism (Boutang 2012) is, there is another definition of culture, which sees culture as emancipation. Castoriadis (1997, 345) argues that in autonomous societies, culture and artistic production is intimately connected to freedom, in contrast to the arts produced in heteronomous societies, which are connected to hegemonic discourses. This sense of joy, the elevation and inspiration felt, as if being intoxicated—what Castoriadis calls the 'lucid drunkenness' that accompanies artistic creation—is at heart of the social imaginaries produced in much of today's world in transformation:

> "On the creator's part, one can no doubt speak of an intense sense of freedom and of a lucid drunkenness accompanying it. There is the drunkenness of exploring new forms, of the freedom of creating them. Thenceforth, these new forms were explicitly sought after for their own sake. They did not arise as a mere outgrowth of the artistic process, as had been the case in previous periods. This freedom, however, remained linked to an object. It entailed a search for and an instauration of a meaning in the form - or

better, an explicit search for a form that would be capable of bearing and conveying a new meaning. To be sure, there was also a return to the kleos and kudos - the glory and renown - of the Ancients."

Struggles as Poetry-Praxis in Overcoming Divided Cyprus

Artistic practice can thus never be seen as politically neutral, but this is particularly true in the Cypriot context. This current condition of citizenship reflects the hegemonic structure and discourse in public sphere officially and unofficially sanctioned and reproducing the basic 'nucleus,' which is based on the logic of the 'Cyprus states of exception' forcing the logic of ethical division on to the subject, an Althusserian (2014) interpellation, imposing a dual reality of 1/national chauvinism and 2/a neoliberal orthodoxy that is stripping off the old welfare elements.

This project, however, is never totally 'successful' or perfect: it is always incomplete and contested and is full of contradictions and paradoxes. Often there are cracks, which provide for openings and potentialities. As many scholars recognise, today, citizenship is in a state of flux (Balibar 2015; Isin 2009; Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013; Trimikliniotis et al. 2015). Riddled with gaps, imperfections and contradictions, these cracks and ruptures can generate, and are generating, spaces for resistance via the potentialities for overcoming the ethnic-chauvinist division as well as neoliberal austerity.

The key question in the context of Cyprus that media outlets, artists, activists and citizens and non-citizens at large are facing, is how we can *undo* the 'Cypriot states of exception,' (Constantinou 2008; Trimikliniotis 2013) so that we can break free from the austerity-and-chauvinist citizenship. This locally adapted Schmittean notion (Schmitt 2008), popularised by Agamben (2005), is at the core of thinking-through social justice in Cyprus, as it aims to decapitate the Janus-headed monster of austerity-and-chauvinism.

The austerity straightjacket, as the recipe to cure neoliberal capitalism in crisis, was implemented, with great ease, by the ruling blocks, adopting the specific economic package of measures. The 2013 bail-in—the so called 'haircut'—was essential to save the bankers but also to seal Cyprus from the rest of the Eurozone in order to avoid 'contagion.' What followed was a package of drastic cuts in public spending and benefits for the needy at the time of mass unemployment, in combination with labour market measures that have brought about mass redistribution in favour of the rich. These were imposed in the guise of an 'economic state of emergency.'

Cyprus was often in the headlines of many major newspapers after the Eurogroup imposed the unprecedented bail-in which bank depositors were forced to pay for bank

loses, causing a banking melt-down. We can now get a better picture of what is called the 'Cyprus template' and the 'Cyprus treatment.' At that time, there was an interesting debate whether the template could be used in the future, despite the desperate efforts to claim that the situation in Cyprus was 'unique.' As Arestis and Sawyer (2013) point out, the 17.5 billion euros requested by Cyprus was a comparatively trivial sum in absolute terms when compared to the previous Southern European bailouts. Cyprus makes up only 0.2% of the Eurozone economy and once the Cypriot banks were cut off from Greece, this small economy was ready for an experimentation with the idea of a bail-in. In the words of the Economist (2014):

> "Of the 147 banking crises since 1970 tracked by the IMF, none inflicted losses on all depositors, irrespective of the amounts they held and the banks they were with. Now depositors in weak banks in weak countries have every reason to worry about sudden raids on their savings. Depositors in places like Italy have not panicked yet. But they will if the euro zone tries to 'rescue' them too." [2]

There is another twist to the story, which is highly relevant to social movements and their struggles, and the story of the commons. The initial Eurogroup proposal violated the EU acquis. It premised its banking rescue on the imposition of an unprecedented confiscation of 6.75% on guaranteed deposits (i.e. under 100,000 Euros) and 9.9% for those with over. This was a shock therapy-type of liquidation of the banking and financial services of a small island state economy with a banking sector that was (but is no longer) 8 times larger than the country's GDP. It is at least odd that the proposal came from the right-wing Cypriot president himself, but it was endorsed by the Eurogroup (Demetriades 2017).

We have here an important legacy of resistance, which often remains unrecognised or undervalued: It was the mass Cypriot mobilisation *against* the decision of the Eurogroup, as proposed by the newly-elected Cypriot president, which averted the imposition of the bail-in on guaranteed deposits. This is a legacy that extends beyond Cyprus, saving the principle of guaranteed deposits for low-income earners across Europe and beyond.[3] After being tested in Cyprus, the bail-in system has become part of EU law: the directive entered into force on 1 January 2015 and the bail-in system took effect on 1 January 2016.[4]

In parallel to the above, we have the various versions of national-chauvinist ideologies manifested as policies operating as de facto apologetics for ethnic partitionism. Greek-

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2   "The euro-zone crisis. Just when you thought it was safe…." The Economist. https://www.economist.com/leaders/2013/03/23/just-when-you-thought-it-was-safe (Accessed April 14, 2018).

3   See Trimikliniotis (2013); Kitromilides (2013); Panayiotou, forthcoming; also see the paper "Η εξέγερση του Μάρτη του 2013 ," Δέφτερη ανάγνωση [Second Reading], *103 15-22 March 2014, at http://2ha-cy.blogspot.com/2014/03/blog-post_1458.html (accessed 19.2.2014).*

4   "Deal reached on bank 'bail-in directive'." News European Parliament, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20131212IPR30702/deal-reached-on-bank-bail-in-directive (Accessed March 20, 2018).

Cypriot approaches are increasingly colluding with chauvinist partitionists of the Turkish-Cypriot and Turkish sides. Arguments sound like: "partition is the best next alternative" to a unitary state or "a bizonal bicommunal federation (BBF) in Cyprus is worse than partition."[5] Other apologetics for partitionism are views such as "federation is a pseudo-dilemma" or sophistries to deny the content of BBF by claiming that we ought to support "the right content of federation" and calls for closing the check-points. Another version is paying lip-service to finding a solution based on the BBF model but in practice adopting a national-chauvinist, war-mongering, practice.

Moving Away from Global Pessimism

We need to paint a broader picture, as Cyprus is part of a world gone astray, a polarised "world out of joint," to use Wallerstein's (2016) words. Precarity is a function of this time-dislocation, spatialised and manifested as the global logic of fragmentation. However, there is a paradox at play as the logic of fragmentation is structurally connected to the logics of a unifying world. Globalisation is not a metaphysical motion forward, or some law of motion of capitalism connected to some irresistible, inevitable and linear set of processes of a world increasingly unifying and unified, 'becoming one.' We are witnessing unification drives, which simultaneously contain processes of multiplicity and fragmentation, which take on the form of dislocated and heterotopian disjunctures of globality.

We are dealing with powerful forces reshaping the world of labour, life and belonging, which are also reshaping capitalism at global, regional and local levels, but we should not get trapped in a permanent lament. Echoing Gramsci's (1994) famous article, "Against pessimism," this requires countering the infectious pessimism that reads the world as succumbing to global elites, a kind of 'Global Panopticon' (*à la* Foucault) of a world imprisoned and controlled via technologies of surveillance and control. This is a highly problematic and one-sided reading, which only reproduces paradigms of pessimism and despair. Contrary to the story of melancholic nostalgia, regretting the loss of the relative stability of world borders, the loss of welfare and labour regimes (themselves resulting from a long labour march forward) and the roll-back of human rights, we can envision the potentialities for a different world, based on what informs the current resistance struggles, the social imaginaries that have been developed in response to the "morbid symptoms" (Gramsci 1971, 276) of the current globe in crisis.[6] The old stability of welfare regimes, the stability of borders and the old nation-states (with their nationalist ideologies) have come to an end. We have been subjected to neoliberal experiments since the late 1970s, but in 2008 we have entered a new era, the crisis of the neoliberal experiment which happens to coincide with the geopolitical crisis of the American hegemony (Albo et al. 2010; Panitch and Gindin 2012).

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5   This was the position adopted by the leader of social democratic EDEK, Marinos Sizopoulos.
6   In the Italian original, Gramsci says "fenomeni morbosi," literally "morbid phenomena."

These fluid and uncertain times produce precarious spaces, where there is a multiplication of the modes and terrains of struggles. Even if this text presented some snapshots of potentialities generating and reassembling new forms of subjectivities and resistances,[7] it describes a context of interconnected fields, which all impact on the artistic field, but also offers to artists *and* activists positions to speak from, and ideas to resist contemporary hegemonies even more successfully. The field of the arts is still maintaining some of its autonomy—even if this autonomy could be stronger—which allows it to produce local critiques on these global phenomena, seizing the opportunities that present themselves, and to tap into the globally circulating critiques in order to show the pain inflicted by austerity-and-chauvinist citizenship, so that more democratic and just worlds can be imagined even better.

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7   For more, see Trimikliniotis et al. (2015); Trimikliniotis (2015).

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Photograph: Nico Carpentier

MIRROR PALACE OF DEMOCRACY

NICO CARPENTIER

Mirror Palace of Democracy
Nico Carpentier

Democracy is grounded in the idea that people should participate in their own rule. But it also always combines mechanisms of representation and participation, or in other words, the delegation of power and the sharing of power. How this balance—between representation and participation—works out in democratic theory and practice differs fundamentally over time and place, which produces a multiplicity of democratic discourses, practices and systems. Moreover, this balance between representation and participation is unstable and contingent, as different groups in democratic societies identify themselves with different democratic discourses, and engage in struggles over the nature of democracy itself, in combination with, for instance, political struggles of recognition and (re)distribution. This then makes democracy a site of material and discursive struggle, characterised by competing ideologies.

In some cases, political actors will attempt to push a social order outside the democratic realm, propagating non-democratic systems or practices. Democracy itself responds to these challenges with varying tolerance, sometimes positioning these actors outside the democratic order (which, in turn, legitimises the use of violent and undemocratic strategies), in other cases, accepting the actor's voices through the prism of the freedom of speech. This tolerance for the undemocratic within the democratic, and the development of undemocratic counter-strategies by the democratic, also renders democracy extremely vulnerable and under permanent threat.

Democracy's contingency is countered by particular ideological projects, the hegemonic ambitions benefit from that fantasy of homogeneity and stability, by articulating their particular ideological projects to be taken-for-granted and normal. In this context, ideology benefits from making the democratic diversity forgotten or seem undesirable. One key location, and object of interest of hegemonic projects is the notion of 'the people,' which is used to signify this homogeneity and unity. Ideologies claim to speak on behalf of the many, gain strength out of the claim of representing the people and offer subjects, through this process, opportunities for identification and identity construction. At the same time, no hegemony is stable and incontestable, which implies that diversity and plurality is bound to resurface, even if it sometimes takes time, and processes of symbolic annihilation can be strong. Moreover, social heterogeneity allows for a diversity of identifications and identificatory refusals. The multitude of performances introduce incessant discursive variations which undermine the capacity of hegemonic ideologies to tap into the phantasies of homogeneity and stability.

The *Mirror Palace of Democracy* aims to render this democratic contingency and these contradictions visible. The artwork uses the house-of-mirrors concept, which is a traditional attraction at amusement parks and fun fairs. The house of mirrors consists of

a maze, constructed with transparent acrylic and mirrors. The house of mirrors could in itself already be seen as a metaphor for democracy, as it positions the visitor in a maze that has not been created by the visitor him/herself (delegating power to a creator), but which requires the participation of the visitor to function. The house of mirrors also shows the individual, but replicates him or her, producing a visual collectivity—a one-person people. At the same time, the palace's mirrors complicate the notion of representation, creating endless reflections, which produce diversity and change. In the house of mirrors, representation is necessarily unstable.

The *Mirror Palace of Democracy* adds one dimension to this play with representation (in both meanings) and participation, by bringing in five ideological voices, that speak on behalf of the people, and represent the claim that ideologies have on 'the people.' Each voice explicitly speaks on behalf of the people, through the repetition of the sentence 'I am the people.' They invite visitors to identity with their voices, but the palace also materially embeds (and traps) the visitors within these voices. The five ideological projects are solidarism, liberalism, militarism, authoritarianism and nationalism. At the same time, the five voices—and their ideological claims—taken together are contradictory, showing that democracy that accommodate for, and is grounded in, diversity. All five voices claim homogeneity and stability, but their juxtaposition simultaneously signifies democracy's heterogeneity and contingency. Moreover, some of the selected ideological projects also signify the limits of democracy and the threats that particular ideologies pose for democracy, incorporating the notion that democracy is never established and realised. All five ideological projects are communicated by a particular individual, resembling a hologram, which are screened in the house of mirrors. Through this process, they become replicated and performative variations occur, destabilising them, but also merging them with each other, merging the visitor with them, and merging them with the visitors. Democratic contingency, and the contradictions within democracy, become both signified and written onto the bodies of the visitors.

The installation was created with the support of the Uppsala Stadsteater, production assistant Siddharth Chadha and actors Emil Brulin, Vaia Doudaki, Åsa Forsblad Morisse, Gary Gumpert and Annika Waern.

Installation photographs: Nico Carpentier

The Five Ideologies of the Mirror Palace of Democracy
Nico Carpentier

"I am the people, but I crave for strong leaders, to protect me and my family. We are under threat, and I am afraid. Our leaders will give us courage, and will transform us from sheep into wolves. Stand with us and our leaders, against our enemies. Let's show them we are not cowards." [authoritarianism]

"I am the people, and I am at war. We are under attack. The barbarians are storming our gates. We have no choice, if we don't fight back our civilisation will disappear. It's terrible that innocent people will die, and I really feel sorry for their families, but we have no alternative but to defend ourselves, and we will do that at all cost." [militarism]

"I am the people, and I care for you. I am you, even if we are different. If you have pain, I will feel your pain. If you need food, I will feed you, knowing that if I am hungry, you will feed me. And if you laugh, I will join you in laughter. We are all humans, and we need to take care of each other, love each other and not harm each other." [solidarism]

"I am the people, and we are all free human beings. We have to respect and protect each other's freedom, because it is the highest good we have, and it's under permanent threat. Without freedom, we wouldn't be human. We need to make our own decisions, and we are perfectly capable of doing so." [liberalism]

"I am the people, I am the nation. We have been living here forever, this is our land. We share the same blood, the same language, the same history and the same culture. We belong together, we are brothers and sisters, and we are entitled to rule ourselves. Besides, what we do ourselves, we do best." [nationalism]

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

IT'S GOOD TO KNOW

JOIN2MEDIA

Video still: Join2Media

It's Good to Know
Join2Media

The points of departure for the *It's Good to Know* documentary are the following three principles: Firstly, the right of access to information ('Right to Know'), which explores the status of this fundamental human right in Cyprus, from media and community/civil society/(active) citizenship perspectives. Secondly, peace journalism, showing the peace journalism work done in Cyprus, and how it relates to issues of missing persons, human rights, migration and discrimination, all related to media practices. And lastly, media ethics and the role of media, community media and an active media literate community. The context of this documentary is heavily shaped by Cyprus' political-historical setting, yet, it also interacts with international dimensions (which brings in a local-global perspective).

The Join2Media documentary was produced with the support of the community: dozens of actors from diverse capacities and backgrounds have come together to contribute with their perspectives during interviews, on the three principles; from mainstream media, community and alternative media, journalists, editors, community media producers, bloggers, academics, activists, CSO representatives, motion designers who come from either side of the dividing line of Cyprus.

The documentary is accompanied by a display of photographs that provide an impression of the three principles explored by the documentary, combined with the work and experience of the interviewees on the three themes. The photographs are the work of the *Women in Conflict Zones* project, which was exhibited in Nicosia with the collaboration of Join2Media. Examples are the contributions of interviewed community media broadcasters and activists. The photographic display, using photographic abstraction, adds a particular visualisation to mainstream media representations, which is often missing when it comes to these themes.

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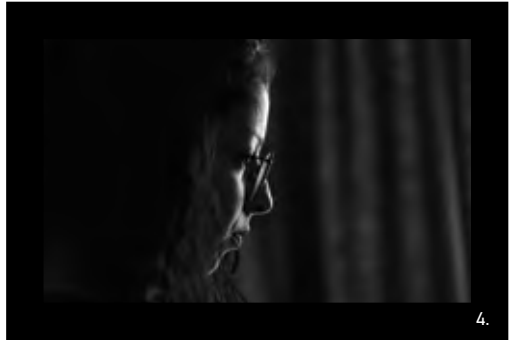
1. Anna Marangou

2. Faika Deniz Pasha

3. Flora Alexandrou

4. Hazal Yolga

5. Magda Zenon

6. Neşe Yaşın

7. Sezis Okut

8. Susana Pavlou

9. Nora NAdjarian

10. Oya Akin

Images from: *Women in Conflict Zones (WICZ)* initiative founded by Anna Prodromou

Photographs: Petros Karadjias

Interview with Didem Eroglu and Orestis Tringides (Join2Media)
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular art project, but what characterises your activities in general?

Join2Media: The idea behind Join2Media is to strengthen and develop the culture of community through community media. We emphasise a critical point of view on how mainstream narratives often ignore the voice of communities. Our initiative is about letting the voiceless speak through media and arts, whereby we aim in promoting alternative lifestyle concepts, cultures, happenings.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

Join2Media: The concept of democracy is crucial. The documentary has three parts, which are actually documentaries in their own right. Their three titles are: Access to information, Media ethics, and Peace journalism. The foundation of all three of them is the concept of democracy. Particularly, it is about presenting informed voices to investigate themes in ways not usually heard on TV, the internet or newspapers. Another aspect which relates to democracy is the wish to create dialogue through artistic expressions. When you deal with the arts, you receive messages, which you can interpret. It is similar to a democratic process. That is why we believe that the arts are fundamental to democracy. Our documentary arises from this spirit.

OY: Your project includes a range of participatory elements where you let diverse actors speak out about the afore-mentioned themes. Can you elaborate shortly why participation was important in your project, and more generally?

Join2Media: We did not approach this documentary with the idea of us communicating a message to the audience. Instead, we wanted the interviewees to send out their own messages without us intervening too much. That is why we chose to broadcast opinions from different actors such as journalists, community media actors, and more generally, people from the civil society. It was important to keep a balance between people living in the South of Cyprus and living in the North, so that the documentary could serve as a platform that acknowledges that there is another side to things, while simultaneously transferring the message that 'We are together in this.' This is crucial because we are living side by side, in two different communities without really knowing what happens on the other side. This documentary reveals to the audience that people living North or South, share the same problems. This insight creates an understanding between the communities.

Join2Media: We aimed at depicting the situation without interpreting it too much. We think that the solution that may come will always start from the people, not the politicians. We believe that empathy between the communities should be raised on both sides. This documentary may not be a big step, but there are many small steps needed by many people to instigate change. Unless people begin to co-create a solution, instead of relying on governments, it is not going to work. It is time for people to work on this.

The potentialities of technologies can be used to organise, and to collaborate and to ultimately start an information revolution. Therefore, it is important to understand how to use these technologies to coordinate, understand, and propagate our interests and needs, even beyond the binary communities of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. We are living on a small island, but our cities are diverse in terms of ethnicity, gender, etc.

OY: Does empowerment play a role in your project? And if so, who is to be empowered?

Join2Media: To cite Hazal Yolga, one of our interviewees, "What matters is an informed voice." In the Republic of Cyprus, people think that they do not have any power in their hands. They don't ask for information because of the assumption that the information would not be given to them anyway. This, however, is not the case. In the North, for example, there is a legal base that guarantees a range of information rights to citizens. But as long as people are not aware of this right, they do not use it. We aim at creating a situation where people are aware of their rights so that they can act upon them. We think that this is a crucial step towards the empowerment of citizens.

Beyond the idea of empowering citizens, we also challenge the wider mentality of "I can not change anything and the situation is hopeless." Community media arts projects like this one are appropriate means to disrupt this way of thinking, by raising the citizens' awareness by building connections between us.

OY: How, in your opinions, does your project offer an alternative perspective on what media can be for citizens, in contrast to mainstream media?

Join2Media: On a global level, we argue that community media can contribute to reducing the distance between the media and the audience, so that the audience is not only receiving but also spreads the messages. This does not mean that mainstream media are our enemies; it is rather a critique of the current conduct and a suggestion for improvement of mainstream media production.

Join2Media: There is a limit in the outreach of community media. The public over the age of 40, people who have children, or elderly people who are usually much more bound to their homes. In contrast, community media are often present and visible at events which you have to attend physically. This holds the risk that always the same type of crowd is reached by community media content. We need to find ways to reach out to those people who do not have the time or the means to attend these events because they too should hear alternative narratives and stories.

However, one thing to keep always in mind is that one should not solely take a goal-orientated approach to community media. The process itself should not be underestimated. Yes, we should aim at reaching out to many people, but it is also good to communicate just one message to a small circle of people. It is about having small, different dialogical platforms that do not have to reach out to the masses but spread their multiplicity to different people. The impact can sometimes be big enough, if it makes one individual continue the conversation. Changing ordinary people's lives in that way is already valuable. Community media is a vehicle to create and reach strong people. We do not need to reach thousands. A couple of hundred strong individuals are sometimes better than being able to say that you had an audience of 10 thousands.

And then, every process of community media production is unpredictable. There is a Turkish saying that can be translated into "With force, there cannot be beauty." Sometimes an idea, initiated by community media arts, leads to a series of actions and to the creation of communities. Sometimes, it does not. This is a fact that is not controllable.

Communities and Memories of Struggles: What is Left of the Occupy the Buffer Zone (OBZ) Movement?
Nicos Trimikliniotis

Cyprus is an archetype of a "border society" (Panayiotou 2012). It is an 'island society', well-integrated in the regional economic system as well as the geopolitical system of the region. It operates as a 'border economy', operating as a bridge and a capitalistic hub in the eastern Mediterranean. Until the collapse of the banking system in March 2013, it was listed as one of the high-income island economies, an off-shore financial centre with tourism associated to it (Bertram and Poirine 2007). It is also a divided island, with the so-called 'Green Line'—the buffer zone, a cease-fire line since 1974—patrolled by one of the longest stationed UN peacekeeping forces (Constantinou 2008; Trimikliniotis 2013). Cyprus demonstrates the existence of global fragmentations and precarities, where globalisation is not characterised by linear progress, but by the hybrid combination of unifications, disjunctures and crises, political struggle and contestation.

Occupy the Buffer Zone (OBZ) in Nicosia was an interesting new movement which manifested and inspired by the Global Occupy movement in 2010-2011. At that time, we had heterogeneous transformations and events, from the Occupy Movement events to the rebellions and riots in New York, Paris, London and Athens, right through to the revolts in the Arab world, the so-called Arab Spring. The Occupy Movement is as much a global, as a local movement, responding to the particularities within each society; OBZ in Nicosia took place in one of the last divided cities of the pervious geopolitical order during colonial times. Hence, what happens in Istanbul, Athens or Nicosia is becoming more significant to New York, Buenos Aires, Shanghai or London than ten, twenty, or thirty years ago. This becomes apparent, once we appreciate how London, a bastion of old capitalism and a global city of finance (Georgiou 2013) has also become "a riot city" under "the constant threat" with "new politics and a new place for political action" (Bloom 2012, 29). We witnessed similar scenes alternating in different cities, from London, Madrid, Athens or Istanbul as the 'days of rage' are spreading causing panic to the authorities. The responses by the forces of law and order were typical as they produced 'appropriate plans' to combat this 'new enemy' in the post-cold war world.

The OBZ must be seen as an urban social movement seeking "to overcome isolation and reshape the city in a different image" (Harvey 2008, 33) from the one created after Nicosia's division in 1974. The division of Nicosia goes further back to 1963-64 and 1958; but this was sealed and deepened in 1974, with the Turkish military invasion and occupation of the northern part of the country which followed the Greek Junta and the Greek-Cypriot para-fascists EOKA B led coup. In the Buffer Zone, where spatial and social separation meets with spatial and social contact, the OBZ movement appeared to redefine people's identity during the redefinition of space. Responding to the global call for action by the Occupy movement, the OBZ movement managed to localise the global message expressing with their presence their mutual desire for reunification and

to stand in solidarity with the wave of unrest, which has come as a response to the failings of the global systemic paradigm.[1] The Buffer Zone turned into an inhabited public place, a 'square' where people met, sang, drank, ate, slept, discussed, played, argued and demonstrated. The activists' presence was crucial for a new spatial perception and therefore for the revival of the 'dead' zone. The new concept that entered the debate affecting both the spatial and socio-political level was the claim of the transformation of the space of the buffer or dead zone into a 'common place of demand,' contesting the dominance of official urban action.

The Nicosia-based OBZ was a movement that turned urban space into a battlefield of conflicting interests opening the debate regarding urban life and socio-spatial segregation. It was a social movement claiming to defy borders seeking to squat in the abandoned buffer zone dividing Nicosia. In that context, mobilisations managed to localise the global call for action spread by the global Occupy movement, translating the demands into the 'language' of the local issues. Moreover, the largest numbers were drawn from local youth around the Faneromeni square, which is another highly contested zone according to the study of Karatzogianni et al. (2016). Although most organisers believed that the OBZ movement constituted a rupture in Cyprus' social movements, the patterns of mobilisation and its eventual demise seems to have followed the path of other actions of the past. The OBZ movement was a consequence of a longer historical trajectory. A genealogy of events and practices that preceded it, shaped the field. In the same light, this can explain the limitations of the OBZ movement which brought it to its end.[2] Various urban mobilisations and initiatives were the various germinal political traditions that prepared the path for OBZ: rapprochement activism, the anti-racist movement, autonomous and anarchist groups as well as socio-political and cultural initiatives within urban space are the main categories of Nicosia's tradition in contemporary urban activism. After global call and the other examples worldwide, the idea of 're-claiming the city' was no more an immature and high-flying suggestion.

It all ended abruptly with a police raid. If anyone visits the building squatted by the OBZ today, they will see very little (see Figure 1).

What do we then make of the legacy of the OBZ movement which was defeated and reduced to a faded memory of a distant past relegated to the digital world? It is not surprising that the movement was defeated by the overwhelming power of the state and conservative forces in the Cypriot capital city. It was killed off, when the police and

1   In 'Occupy the buffer zone,' manifesto of the 15th October movement, http://occupythebufferzone.wordpress. com/about/obz/

2   The 'Faneromeni crowd' was the 'dominant' tendency and the basis for the mobilisation drawing on a sort of anarchist/libertarian spirit. Other initiatives such as the Koġulu park movement of "Free Cyprus" was an important antecedent and many of the youths in OBZ were drawn from this pool took place. In February 2011 before the second mass rally of the Turkish Cypriot trade unions' platform, http://falies. com/2011/02/15/isyan-zamani-time-for-uprising-ώρα-για%20ξεσηκωμό/

Figure 1. Ledra Street, March 2018. Photographs: Nicos Trimikliniotis

anti-terrorist unit stormed the squat to remove the few teenagers there. What was surprising is how long OBZ lasted. A sober balance-sheet reveals how, at the end of the day, structural factors decided on OBZ's faith. The opponents of the OBZ were the mighty forces of gentrification: a rich bishop-businessman (the bishopric owned the squatted house); a right-wing mayor keen on 'cleaning up' and gentrifying the inner city; conservative and racist media keen to generate 'moral panics,' who branded OBZ as 'forces of filth and immorality;' a hostile UN authority; and hostile police on both sides of the barbed wire. Given that the squat was situated in the Republic of Cyprus-controlled area, it was the Republic of Cyprus police who pulled the plug in the end. They were keen to take on what they saw as inter-communal filth, deviants indulging in an immoral life of a sex-and-drugs culture. The left-wing government that was in office did not protect the movement: it was a government out of steam, exhausted by the economic crisis and political blows from the opposition; moreover, the government had no connection or understanding about this movement via their own affiliated or allied trade unions, youth or other organisations.[3]

3   Radical bloggers accused the government of colluding with gentrifiers in the 'clean up,' in a desperate effort to scoop some political capital from the Cypriot Presidency of the EU failed to halt the clamp down; not even the Left-wing newspaper offered any sympathy to heavy handed policing by the anti-terrorism squad during the raids.

The structural reasons for the demise of OBZ are well-known; what is more interesting from the vantage point of this analysis is that OBZ can be examined primarily as a 'border movement', which claimed to transcend borders, ethnicity, and nationality. In this sense, we need to examine whether, and to what extent, OBZ, inadvertently, may have contributed to its own eventual demise. It seems that no matter how brave they were, the organisers' stubborn aloofness verging on isolationism and defiance from the local life may have starved the movement from those vital connections with the locals, the spaces, and the histories. The initial ingenuity shown in localising the global, through the adaptation of the global Occupy movement to local concerns—hence naming it 'Occupy the Buffer Zone' rather than 'Occupy Nicosia'—appears to have evaporated in the end. This happened once OBZ became more settled, as the youth turned inwards and refused to reach out to the local society and other movements such as trade unions, migrant organisations etc. This tiny-in-numbers—but very visible in terms of its digital connectivity and imagination—"border movement" proved rather sterile and lost its dynamism at the end. After all, it was made up by heterogeneous youths who connected more like fringe groups based on an alternative life-style, which appeared to be fixed in their own ways. They proved unable to create the concrete unity that hammers together commitment, ideological and organisational forces in movements. Many had no previous political experience or interest, who claimed to be 'living the solution' in the comfort of 'no man's land,' rebelling for the first time; few others were more political and more experienced in activism, but most were teenagers.[4] Despite the initial success and media sympathy, OBZ was riddled by its contradictions and internal exclusions; cut off from any potential solidarity with other subalterns, local allies, migrants, and workers, it became vulnerable and an easy target. An important reason for the demise of OBZ was the fact that it was not connected to the historic social movements, i.e. the labour and democratic movement, known as the popular movement around the historic Left.[5] Of course, at that time AKEL (the Left-wing party of Cyprus) was in government, which complicated matters: the police, the prosecution authorities, the state and the establishment were the same. As demonstrated by Panayiotou (2015), the 'power-elite,' to use Mill's classic definition (1999), or the 'ruling class' in the more orthodox Marxist language, operates in Cyprus, since its emergence in the 19th century, under the shadow of "structures of power"—usually with the help of both the state and the Church, in what he refers to as "the invisible dimension": This permits "an 'invisible' elite" using ideology, nationalism and media as a "veil" for the nexus of power in the country. As proven later, after the explosion of the Mari power plant and the Banking crisis, the entire establishment's hostility towards the Left, made governance impossible. Ironically, the fact that so-called third-country migrants did not participate (Trimikliniotis et al. 2015) somehow 'saved' OBZ from additional police harassment in the guise of immigration control.

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4   Trimikliniotis (2012) and Trimikliniotis et al. (2015).

5   Panayiotou (2012).

However, this is a no-starter, as the police and immigration authorities could always have claimed that they needed to check for 'illegal immigrants' and settlers from the northern occupied territories.

Where does this leave us after the demise of the movement? The gentrifiers erased all traces of the OBZ: if one visits the house in the buffer zone which was once a lively squat, now all that exists is a revamped and freshly painted building and the iron cage bars preventing access to the side street which hosted the squatters who formed the OBZ. The OBZ movement only exists in the digital world, in the memories of those who experienced it. From the point of view of a border movement which proposed a transformation of a specific public sphere, which was a mere passage through a 'dead zone/buffer zone' to 'living the solution' beyond nations and states, what is then generalisable today? There are many studies of the global Occupy movement and the Cypriot experience is but a small part of this larger jigsaw puzzle. With Dimitris Parsanoglou, Vassilis Tsianos, in the book *Mobile Commons,* I attempted to contribute to this analysis, taking into consideration the temporality of protest, but also its durability, as part of the archive of social resistance:

> "There is a disjuncture and an inability of precarious and subaltern activists to speak to each other is indicative of how a so-called *anomic* space, a 'no man's land,' a buffer, in what is perceived as supposed vacuum of sovereignty, generates its own strange *nomos*: the 'real utopia' (Wright) or 'heterotopia' (Foucault) of a no-hegemonic space was forcefully 'normalised' and transformed overnight into yet another *dystopia* of the Cypriot state of exception. The *autonomy* was transformed into a heteronomy. Yet, despite the defeat, there is an excess generated which is now celebrated digitally and may well inform next struggles to come. History does not repeat itself; but macro-historical issues may well generate the next ones. Most often than not, struggles leave their marks, they punctuate social reality accordingly, even when they end up in defeat. This is shown in recent micro-struggles of youths of Faneromeni: they have set up 'the movement claiming the public space of old Nicosia,'[6] complaining against the 'take over' of private trendy cafes of the Faneromeni area and the 'occupation' by 'mainstream people.'" (Trimikliniotis et al. 2015, 105)

This presumably refers to conservative middle-class people and values. Often this is referred to in Greek as 'καθώς πρέπει' (kathosprepei) which is essentially a moralistic conservative approach to how one ought to look, dress, and behave, which is then translated in to an ideologically loaded life-style which becomes 'καθωσπρεπισμός' (kathosprepeismos).[7] We cannot be sure whether this will continue, or how successful it will be. What is apparent, is that the city is constantly generating new contestations, micro-

6   "Το Κίνημα «Διεκδικούμε το δημόσιο χώρο στην Παλιά Λευκωσία»." Δέφτερη Ανάγνωση [Second Reading], vol. 103, 15-22 March 2014, http://2ha-cy.blogspot.com/2014/03/blogpost_1458.html (Accessed April 11, 2018).

7   Tribal Vibes. "Η νέα όψη της άλλης πόλης - Parody". YouTube video, Duration 4:37. Posted March 2014. https://youtu.be/EjL6TSqc8fI (Accessed April 11, 2018).

struggles, subjectivities, and socialities. Moreover, the 'lessons' or ideas born from OBZ, are relevant to the next generation's claims of the 'right to the city.' Ideas and experiences, particularly once digitalised, migrate elsewhere: Athens, Istanbul, London and other divided and arrival cities may well find these experiences useful for the next struggles.

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Photograph: Nico Carpentier

MOTIVWV1.1

GEORGE KYROU

Motivwv1.1
George Kyrou

Camouflage in Cyprus has a totalising value; it does not give way to different uses or interpretations. Militarisation is a sterile concept that revolves around the suppression of individuality and creativity, diminishing the soldiers to mere pawns, not leaving much space for questioning the commands. The action of up-cycling the fabrics of uniforms, not only raises questions about the true values of camouflage in everyday society, but it also evokes a democratic dialogue regarding the strong military presence on the island of Cyprus.

In Cyprus, the military is both a divisive and unifying characteristic in both communities, as it is an experience both youth groups (are forced to) have. Camo is automatically linked here to military division, the compulsory military service and the assimilation of one's personality and lack of personal identity. This lack of identity is present within the minds of all Cypriots, due to the nationalistic propaganda present on both sides of the Buffer Zone.

The *Motivwv1.1* project aims to create a cluster of identities, a mixture of out-of-context patterns that visibly resemble each other, yet belong to different military forces with opposing mind-sets and agendas. Before the exhibition, several workshops were organised, with the aim of letting each participant customise and personalise their pieces with their individual touch, reflecting their own stories and experiences drawn from their military service. The fabrics were thoroughly examined, manipulated, shredded, painted, dyed, stitched back together, embroidered with slogans and iconographic statements, and merged with other items of clothing that fit the street-wear aesthetic.

The wide variety of camouflage patterns from all over Cyprus, including the UN, British Forces and hunting gear, allows us to create both intricate and simple items that outline the multitude of uses and identities camo inhabits, along with the clarity and function that these 'foreign' items have to offer.

The project is mainly based in Nicosia, where designated fabric collection points were positioned, and where the studios (in which the workshops took place) were located. An online forum was created for the design ideas to be discussed, allowing for the dialogue regarding the outfits to take place. Also, tutorial videos and blueprints of the designs were uploaded and shared online, granting us constant feedback and broadening the reach of the community to other areas of the world. The workshops and the work produced in them were then documented in pictures and short videos.

The purpose of the project is to promote experimentation through the process of bricolage: taking the fabrics apart and putting them back together. The project is purely experimental, it is a chance to provoke thought and start discussions between

the inhabitants of the island on the current issues. Mixed camouflage is a visual tool, a tactile material that has not been examined enough, and we wish to collect actions and reactions when people are given the chance to interact with it first-hand.

Photograph: Andriana Lagoudes, Ioanna Epaminondou

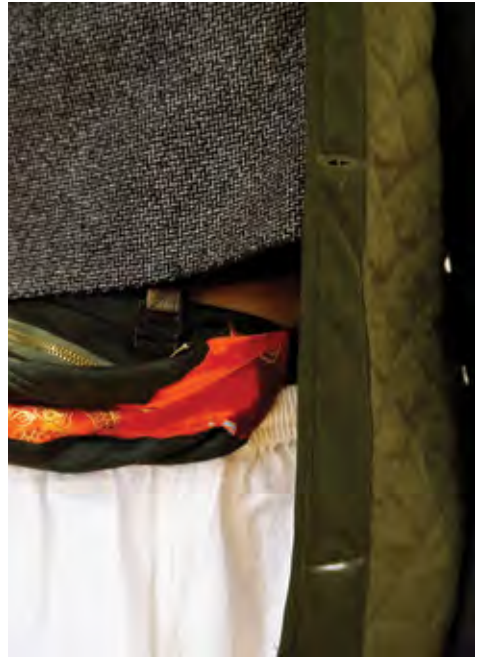Photograph: Eleni P. Nicolaou

Photograph: Andriana Lagoudes, Ioanna Epaminondou

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Photograph: Andriana Lagoudes, Ioanna Epaminondou

Photograph: Andriana Lagoudes, Ioanna Epaminondou

Interview with George Kyrou
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

George Kyrou: I have been a graphic design student for the past few years. The word that always comes up in this field is 'problem-solving.' My project is rooted in this idea. I try to do things in a less commercial way, by finding alternative and creative routes to tackle issues. The problem that I saw in Cyprus was militarisation and the many unused military clothes that lay around people's closets. This pushed some buttons in my head. I found a problem and came up with a solution to it: an upcycling project. Our work is an enabler for people to have fun, to be expressive and to tap into their oppressed creativity because we usually forget how to be playful.

OY: How do you relate to the *R!* theme with the work that was selected? *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

GK: I think the participatory part of the festival is most important to me. We are social beings, speaking to each other and usually, the conversations that we have with other people is what forms who we are. If I surround myself with radicals, I am going to grow into a radical.

My workshop space is available for everyone. By enabling participation in the art project, I attempt to remind people of how important art is. Especially with the hard-to-understand-art that we see in contemporary museums and galleries, people cannot really relate to art. Hence, by giving them something hand-held, something tactile, they feel more involved. And by involving people, you change mindsets.

OY: Why do you think that participation is important for this kind of project and more generally?

GK: Let's go with the metaphor of knitting clubs. Why do old ladies join knitting clubs? It is this sense of community that they search. They all sit in a circle and they knit, without really speaking to each other. It is like going to a meditation class. They sit there, all doing the same thing as equals, with a sense of belonging. That space, is a safe space.

Usually, we just sit in front of our computers. We talk to each other through the internet. There is still a community, but there is no physical connection between people. In my project, I wanted to create such sense of belonging, especially for people who are not really 'good' at art because people think that in order to be an artist, they have to be

able to draw or that, in order to be an artist, they have to be able to tell the difference between green and turquoise. It's this false sense of non-belonging. There is this fear that people have with art. If you just tell them that you are an artist they feel like you are either superior or inferior to them. It's like Queen Victoria said: "Beware of artists. They mix with all classes of society and are therefore most dangerous."

In my project, I want to stress that art is for everyone. It should not be only something for people who go to art school. It's there, it is in front of you, you have it in your closet. Take some thread, take scissors and make your own thing. I don't even know how to do fashion. I had to find fashion designers to help me out. I am useless with a thread, I stab myself all the time. But it is fun! We forgot how to play like kids. We became boring. And, it makes people think, even after the workshop.

OY: You are taking military camouflage fabric and put it into a new context. How do you thereby change the previously taken-for-granted meaning of those symbols and what does this transformation stand for?

GK: I am not going to say that we are pioneers. Military up-cycling has been happening since the 60s. But it is that power that the jacket has that I want to transform. This power that oppresses your beliefs and labels you as a number, as a soldier. By implementing my project in Cyprus, it washes all of that away and lets people play with it. Why not just take it apart and have fun with it? And by taking it apart, you are also taking apart the politics of those fabrics, the division of Cyprus and all the surrounding hostilities. It enables to look at things from a different perspective not just theoretically, but you are physically shredding the fabrics into pieces, dying them in the paint, changing their value. And once you manipulate it, it becomes yours, not someone else's.

OY: So for you, these camouflage fabrics represent a certain oppressive power. Does empowerment play a role to change or reconfigure this power structure?

GK: To me, it is not only about the fabrics' meaning, but most of all, about the people acquiring new skills and the feeling that they can create art inside the workshop and outside of it, at home. I don't know whether we are empowering people.

OY: In your workshops, the distinction between artist and audience collapses, at least to some degree. The citizen becomes also an artist. The artist's power to control the artwork seems to shrink, the participant's power position as an active co-creator rises. Is this correct? And if so, why does it matter to your art?

GK: Who is the designer? Who is the artist? These are good questions. I think, as the facilitator, I am an adviser because people do art and they do not even realise it as being art. Anyone with a phone in their pocket can create content. Put in the right context, that

content becomes art. But they don't really consider themselves as artists. This happens to many people. Most probably, in their daily lives, they use objects to make something creative without realising that they are being creative. So the workshop is helping the designer to be the tutor for all these suppressed creative urges that people have.

But whose property is this at the end? Does this project really belong to me, or am I just the supplier of the fabrics, the workshops, or the skills? I am getting supplied as well because all the materials are donations. We create the space, enable the people to work on the fabrics and to take home whatever they produced, but we are also in charge of the documentation, we own the picture. It's still us who guide the process. I would say that we can be called mentors of the inner artist in every workshop attendee. The designers who I work with are experts, they studied design or fashion. So they, as tutors in our workshops, have the power to change decisions. We are watching over the process, we're not going to let someone who does not know what they're doing shred a valuable fabric because we want the outcome or the experimentation with it to be as interesting as possible. We are still pumping in ideas, but, letting people do their own thing under our guidance.

OY: Is there anything else that is important for you to mention and that relates to *R!*'s themes?

GK: I find the concept of up-cycling especially important in the Cypriot context because we believe we have bigger fish to fry: a Mercedes to buy and higher mortgages for the house to pay. We tend to forget how wasteful and unsustainable we are as a society. This project is not just about teaching people skills or changing the political meaning of camouflage in Cyprus. It is also about reminding people how to love and respect their own plot of land, themselves and their planet.
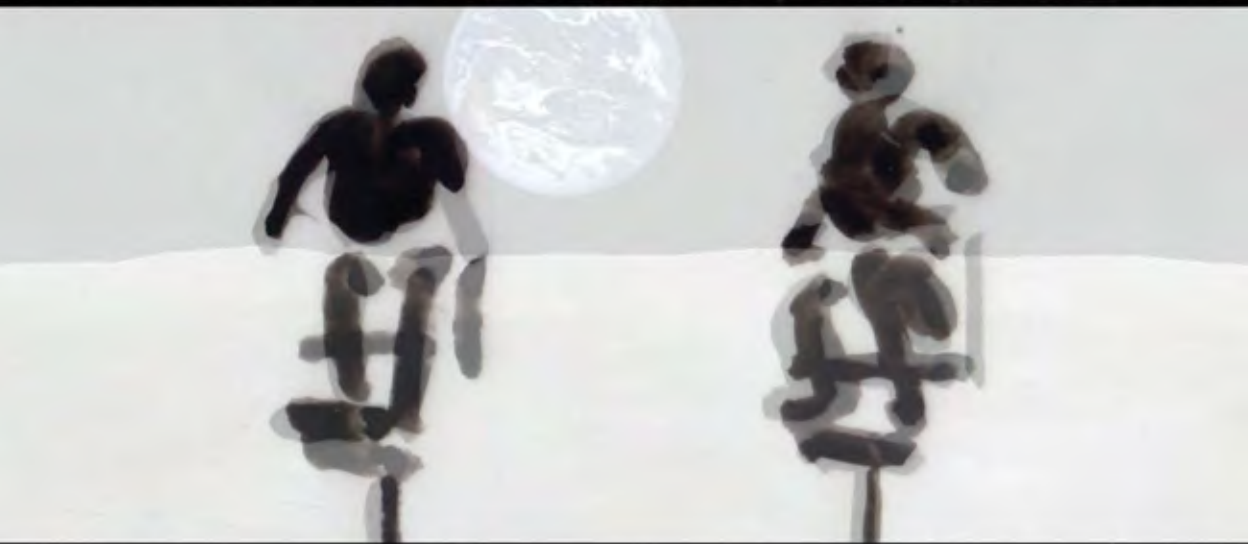
ECLIPSE
EMILIA IZQUIERDO

Eclipse
Emilia Izquierdo

Participation can mean a lot. It can mean to take part in a public discussion, going to vote, or it can mean opening up to an artistic discourse about political events. At its core, however, participation is directly linked to power. And in particular, to the power to decide: The power to decide whether a country starts a war or not, the power to decide whether one kills another person or not, the power to decide how history unfolds and is told, the power to decide how we relate to our fellow humans and our natural environment.

Power relations are an important element in my work: the oppressor and the oppressed, technology and the earth, the natural and the human, the coloniser and the colonised. I use soft mediums to depict hard realities, exploring these power relationships.

Eclipse (2017) explores the relationship between society and the cosmos. It opens with a solar eclipse and ends with a lunar eclipse showing a footage of violence, totalitarianism, political power games, the fight for social justice and natural phenomena. It explores the unaccountability of thermal imaging drone warfare; political power games between world leaders and ideologies that exist at the expense of society, democracy, individuals and nature; and lastly, it shows the civil rights movements fighting for social justice, demanding equal rights for all members of society. It weaves the cosmic and the political exploring our relationship with the earth in both spheres and investigating violence/technology through the process of combining hand-drawn animation and digital technology/archival footage.

This creates a sensorial investigation of a state of affairs that opens up questions about current political issues of the past and the present, inviting the viewer to interact with this exploration, also by holding the tablet on which *Eclipse* is playing. Using cosmic and terrestrial events, it explores how technology affects the way we see and understand the world alternating between the tactile touch and the digital touch. *Eclipse* appropriates historical audio-visuals of violence and gives them another meaning through the drawn animations and the established relationship to the nature and the cosmos.

Stills from video *Eclipse*
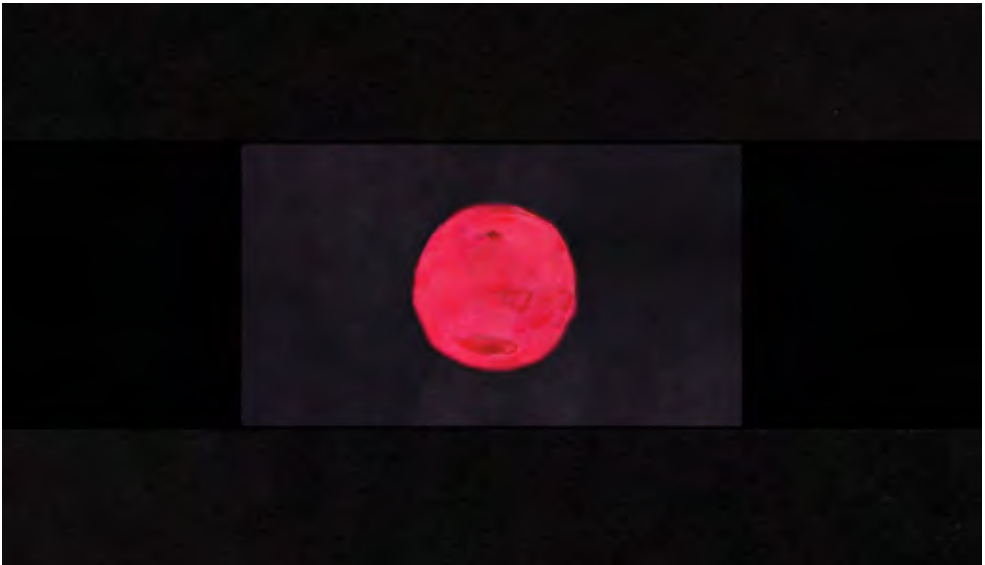
Interview with Emilia Izquierdo
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Emilia Izquierdo: I create frame-by-frame animations with hand-drawn watercolours, and archival or own material that are then put together into collages or montages. Physical drawings are always part of my projects. The main subject matter of my work is power. Power is part of all of my projects, whether they are about technology and the earth, the coloniser and the oppressed, … There is always an antagonism and a power conflict that I am exploring.

Eclipse is a part of a trilogy of films that relate to politics, technology and nature from different angles. It points to violence and how technology is used for the destruction of the environment or for causing political conflict. But it has also to do with liberation and resistance. Both are always placed in a connection to the giant universe that surrounds this violence.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

EI: My project deals with themes such as oppression and resistance. This is inherently connected with demands towards a democratic system. In the footage, I depict fascist historical material in a critical way that points at threads and limitations of democracy. Further, the piece is experimental and gains its interpretations only through the participation of the audience without telling you what to think. It opens many questions and invites the viewer to experience it. Lastly, power is a crucial part of *Eclipse*.

OY: Power is important to your work, but in what way? Are you depicting an asymmetry between dominant, power holding and subordinate, relatively powerless positions?

EI: It is not necessarily about having a clear position on power relations, it is much more about experiencing an actuality in a wider context. Sometimes we get caught up in a very human-centred mentality. This is a work that reflects about us in the context of the wider cosmos, which gives what happens a different meaning. It is not just violence in Afghanistan or drone warfare, but something that happens within a much larger environment. Even if you do not recognise the archival material, you still get an idea of what is happening: a fight for liberation or a conflict. It is, however, up to the audience to interpret these power relations, which this experimental and sensorial animation displays.

EI: We live through our senses. I am working within a visual language where you get to see which are the hand-made aspects, the digital and the archival aspects of it. This gives my work more textures and layers so that, when you look at it, it is very evocative. It is not just a straightforward linearity, but it is a multi-layered experience that the viewer has, without having to delve into rational thoughts about what he/she sees.

OY: You are taking visual or audio-recorded archival material about the human history and put it into a new context. How do you change the previously taken-for-granted meaning of these pieces and what does this transformation stand for?

EI: The question points at the distinction between what a happening means at a certain point of history in contrast to another one. A lot of the fascist discourses in the video are deeply related to certain things that are happening today. For me, it's easier to use experiences that have already been digested in history as a way of commenting current affairs. This applies to the history of fascism, dictatorships and abusive power, just as to liberation and the power to resistance and to break out of abuse or injustice. This same power is always present.

On another level, putting the archival footage together with my hand-drawn images into an animation, renders those events universal to similar happenings. Universalising archival material and using their energies, they become representations of our history and presence.

OY: You also depict a relationship between the virtual and the embodied? How do you deal with those realms?

EI: When you use both, virtual and embodied media, you apply different languages. It gives the digital image another context. But it also points at the ways we see the world through technological means and that these can be questioned, or at least, they can be accepted as being just the limit of what we are currently capable of seeing.

OY: Does your project make a political statement or critique on information, technology or media depictions of the world and its happenings?

EI: Yes, definitely. We are bombarded with images and there is a certain way of looking at things that is quite standardised. Now, we have certain digital forms that shapes things. For example, the NASA provides with digitally manipulated images of the universe that our current technological possibilities allow us to see. In 100 years, we are going to see things in a totally different way and if you go way back in history, other technological means assume very distinct things about this same universe. I ask to look at things

in different ways through the combination of different media that question current or historical taken-for-granted depictions. Raising this question is certainly political to me.

EI: *Eclipse* shows nature in contrast to violence produced by humans, or natural phenomena and human-induced phenomena. If two stars collide, it is also a very violent phenomenon but it is very different from someone using drone warfare to kill people, although there is also an element of explosion. There is a parallel and also a difference. These raise questions to be interpreted by the audience.

OY: As I understand, you do point to certain things that are strongly politically loaded. Would this also mean that you want to defend another kind of democracy or another kind of society?

EI: There are a lot of things happening in the UK, in the USA and other parts of the world that influenced this video. There is an extreme problem with the environment, with neo-colonisation and abusive power. And then there is also resistance. Thus, in my project, there is no linear narrative that can be extracted. I just depict these issues of justice and injustice, hopefully from a position of resistance. Am I proposing something? I think, when you ask questions about something, you are proposing to look at things within a larger context; to think of the world as a planet instead of as countries divided by borders; to think of issues that have happened in history and that are slowly repeating themselves. I think the questions are a proposition, but they do not provide the answers.

Speaking the Unspoken: Challenging Hegemonic Discourses
Hazal Yolga

Tilsen and Nylund (2016, 95) state that heteronormativity, particularly "the institutionalised assumption that everyone is heterosexual and that heterosexuality is inherently superior and preferable to any orientations outside of heterosexuality reflects the hegemonic effects of these discourses and the neglect of history" in a chapter of *Counselling Ideologies: Queer Challenges to Heteronormativity,* edited by Lyndsey Moon. In Cyprus, lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex individuals still experience discrimination and prejudice due to intact hegemonic structures of heteronormativity and gender binarism.

The article in the penal code, a remnant from the British colonial era (in the north and the south), which criminalised consenting sexual acts between adult men, prevented the mobilisation of LGBTI rights activists who have been struggling for awareness and recognition. The ECHR case Modinos vs. Republic of Cyprus, won by LGBTI rights activist Alecos Modinos in 1993, marked the beginning of a new era for LGBTI rights in Cyprus. However, due to another five years of public debate and opposition, the actual decriminalisation did not go through until 1998.

In the northern part of Cyprus, the Queer Cyprus Association (established in 2007 as an Initiative Against Homophobia) and its supporters, were able to make advances through their advocacy work with the amendment to the legislation decriminalising homosexuality in 2014. This is a significant step forward for the inclusion of LGBTI people as well as allowing more freedom for mobilisation and lobbying. However, a long-term dialogue is needed to create a shift in the society on this issue. Punishment for hate crime and hate speech towards vulnerable groups such as the LGBTI community were only recently included in the legislation. However, reluctance in implementing the legislation, the attitude of the wider society towards LGBTI people, and ignorance, and lack of public dialogue are all important factors contributing to the difficulties faced when mobilising such a movement.

In addition to these issues, the rise of global conservatism, created the need for a public intervention. In order to address this need, the Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC) in partnership with the Queer Cyprus Association and the Thomson Foundation initiated a project titled 'Unspoken: Creating Dialogue on LGBTI Rights in the Turkish Cypriot Community.' This project demonstrates the capacity of community media to intervene in society and deepen democracy, together with a network of partners.

The *Unspoken* project, funded by the EU under the Civil Society in Action V programme, was implemented between November 2015 and November 2017 with the aim of increasing awareness in the Turkish Cypriot community, particularly within various key sectors such as media, education, law and health on the rights of the LGBTI community

in order to combat discrimination based on gender and sexual orientation, as well as improving levels of media coverage and public debate in order to achieve social change.

The project included activities grouped under two interrelated clusters: The first cluster focused on the development and implementation of a full-scale awareness-raising campaign with the creation and installation of billboards; public service announcements for radio, TV stations and social media; dedicated seminars for various professional groups, a survey study mapping the attitudes of society towards LGBTI people and an international conference at the conclusion of the action. The second cluster focused on media outreach and capacity building activities and specifically aimed to target lasting change in the representation of the LGBTI community in the mainstream media as well as increasing media coverage and ultimately creating a positive shift towards a more inclusive media in the northern part of Cyprus. This cluster included activities such as an editorial roundtable discussion with key media leaders in the northern part of Cyprus for the coverage of LGBTI issues; monitoring four mainstream newspapers to document the news coverage of LGBTI persons and issues, a series of media literacy and communications workshops for LGBTI and human rights advocacy civil society organisations, and a training series for Turkish Cypriot journalists aimed at improving standards of reporting, and a toolkit for journalists.

The first of the three stages of the billboard campaign was launched in October/November 2016. As a big part of the awareness-raising campaign envisioned as part of the project, the aim of the billboard campaign was to shed light on the 'elephant in the room' by sparking dialogue on LGBTI rights. Two simple sentences were chosen featuring characters from everyday life: "Mediha deyze, ben geyim" (auntie Mediha, I'm gay) and "Kamil abi, ben lezbiyenim" (Uncle Kamil, I'm a lesbian). The design idea was to use a minimalistic strategy to separate the billboards from all the other cluttered and commercial ones around, being straightforward, unapologetic and surprising.

Fourteen billboards were installed in highly-visible areas in the northern part of Cyprus (specifically in Nicosia, Iskele, Famagusta, Karpaz, Kyrenia, Lefke, and Alsancak). Within hours of the launch of the billboards, the campaign received wide attention. Social media platforms, mainly Facebook, were buzzing with posts, comments and threads about the campaign, and photos of the billboards. Almost each post about the campaign had tens of people within that person's circle engaging with the content and participating in the ongoing conversation. The discussions about the billboards did not stay confined to the realm of social media; almost all mainstream media outlets in the northern part of Cyprus reported the campaign the next day and they continued to include opinion pieces and columns about the campaign and the reactions over the following weeks. Online newspapers' comment sections on their websites and their posts on social media were bombarded with hundreds of comments and threads. LGBTI issues had never been higher in the public agenda since the amendment to the penal code.

While the campaign received an outpouring of positive reactions showing support and solidarity, it also triggered negative reactions. For example, billboards in three different regions were vandalised within a short space of time. The physical and violent attacks on the billboards, also drawing great attention from the media, politicians, CSOs and LGBTI rights organisations from around the world, were a clear manifestation of the deeply rooted homophobia in the Turkish Cypriot community.

As nationalist, militarist and patriarchal discourses remained hegemonic in the Turkish Cypriot community, most of the negative reactions received in response to the campaign revolved around a few specific arguments. For instance, many of these reactions indicated that the campaign was 'too harsh,' as the 'society is not ready for this yet.' While attempting to guard the boundaries of their hegemonic comfort zones, these arguments situate the society as a rigid homogenous body that needs to be acclimatised to 'marginal' and 'radical' discourses in the public spheres.

Similarly, another pattern among the negative reactions was the trivialisation of LGBTI rights, manifested in comments and columns as 'we are discussing this now as if we have resolved all of the other issues in this country.' The social and cultural norms coupled with the decades-long 'Cyprus problem' overshadowing every other issue, LGBTI rights are not perceived as a human rights issue which requires immediate action. As implied in the reactions, the cause is rather insignificant to be spending time on, compared to the other issues at hand.

One of the most striking and popular patterns in terms of negative reactions was questioning the necessity of a public awareness campaign on LGBTI rights and the "flaunting of one's sexual orientation or gender identity" when everyone is free to do what they want to do in their homes. Overwhelmingly accompanied by unconvincing statements like "I am not homophobic / transphobic but ...," such comments signify what/who hegemonic, heterosexist and cisnormative systems of thought deem worthy of being in the public sphere and what/who needs to be confined to the private sphere. While cisgender and heterosexual individuals are often entitled to the public sphere as the hegemonic majority, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals are seen as *others* who better remain undisclosed, unspoken and silent for the sake of the common good. Carabine (1996) elaborates on the public and private divide (as cited in Santos 2013):

> "The public and the private are representatively seen as being independent and discrete: the public sphere appertaining to the objective, masculine and non-sexual; and the private sphere which is assumed to be inherently feminine, concerned with privacy, and the sexual." (Carabine 1996, 56)

Signifying the sexualisation of what is perceived as belonging in the private sphere, another prevalent reaction to the campaign was 'how do we explain these billboards to our children?,' which clearly indicated that heterosexual adults were projecting their views from a 'moral' and 'concerned' standpoint when the billboards did not include any content or visuals that could potentially affect children's emotional and social development.

The campaign distinguished itself from other LGBTI rights awareness-raising work carried out so far in Cyprus since the physical and material presence of the billboards displaying unembellished statements with taboo words like 'lesbian' and 'gay' created a counterhegemonic presence very difficult to ignore.

The project has encouraged the Turkish-Cypriot society to finally acknowledge the 'elephant in the room' by providing a platform for dialogue and challenging the hegemonic discourses by an intervention in the public sphere. The intervention has contributed to the dismantling and shifting of the systems of power through increasing participation and public dialogue with regards to human rights issues.

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Photograph: Olga Yegorova

INTERACTIONS

A Brief Introduction to Interactions
Nico Carpentier

Interaction is a deeply social process, and a crucial component of human existence, sometimes generating social cohesion and togetherness, without forgetting that harm, trauma and destruction is often also grounded in interaction. Interaction, defined here as the establishment of social-communicative relationships, is situated on a diversity of levels: Humans interact with each other, with the material world through their bodies and with their bodies, and with the meanings communicated by others. In *The Furniture of the World*, the Argentinean philosopher Mario Bunge (1977, 259), defined interaction in the following treacherously simple way: "two different things x and y interact if each acts upon the other," combined with the following postulate: "Every thing acts on, and is acted upon by, other things." If we zoom in further, and look at human interaction, we can also find the concept of interaction to include a vast range of practices, for instance, those related to interpretation, communication, and manipulation (as in handling).

This significatory broadness of interaction requires care in two—almost opposing—discussions. First, there is a need to be careful when privileging particular practices by labelling them interactional or relational. Lev Manovich, when writing about human-computer interaction in *The Language of New Media* (2001, 55), wisely called this the myth of interactivity. To cite his words: "to call computer media 'interactive' is meaningless—it simply means stating the most basic facts about computers." Bourriaud's relational aesthetics is one example of a perspective that taps into this myth, rendering it equally problematic as well. Second, however relevant interaction is, it remains structurally different from participation. Establishing socio-communicative relationships is important in its own right, but it is not the same as sharing power in decision-making processes. The conflation of interaction and participation takes out the strength out of both concepts, and it is something to avoid.

Still, interaction remains a key component of artistic activity, despite these two traps. Visitors who express a fraction of interest for an art work, interact with it. But art works can also invite visitors to interact in more material ways, encouraging these visitors to touch, move, play with it, sit on it, … In this way, the visitor becomes a necessary part of the art work, getting involved in how it works, (at least potentially) producing intensive experiences and pleasures, for all involved …

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

WOLFMOON
HOWLING
IRENA PIVKA AND BRANE ZORMAN WITH JASMINA ZALOŽNIK AND SUNCAN STONE

Photograph: Irena Pivka, Brane Zorman

wolFMoon Howling
By Irena Pivka and Brane Zorman with Jasmina Založnik and Sunčan Stone

A frightening and beautiful sound from a distant nocturnal landscape. When howling, wolves acoustically mark their environment and connect with their pack members. They holler on clear, calm nights, preferably during the period of twilight or at the onset of the night. Wolf howling forms and defines most relationships in the community as a means of communication. Collective instinct, joint action, and common decisions always prevail over the individual. The age of the Anthropocene is marked by dense urbanisation, demand for higher productivity of work, and the proliferation of individualism.

The democratic need to listen to the opinions of groups, or to other voices, is gradually being reduced. What can we learn from wolves? About connecting, participating and the responses of an individual to the community? Or about mutual respect between different packs and their territories? Could we consider wolf howling as a good example of possible sustainable relationships between citizens as well as other beings in our biosphere?

Photograph: Irena Pivka, Brane Zorman

Photograph: Irena Pivka, Brane Zorman

Video stills: Orestis Tringides

Video stills: Orestis Tringides

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

IT'S IN MY NATURE

BRANE ZORMAN

Soundwave: Brane Zorman

It's in My Nature
Brane Zorman

As certain spaces and times have become over-saturated, due to urbanisation and the population explosion, certain (animal) species have begun withdrawing to underpopulated landscapes and unoccupied times—into the night. We understand these withdrawals as a search for solutions that could lead to a 'better quality of life,' an existence that would be better than the one offered to us by over-saturated spaces-times.

Because of the culling, disease, shrinking of the natural habitat and living environment of the already decimated wolf packs, humans are counting wolf packs and its members, mapping their paths, statistically recording their minimal growth or decline. While researchers and volunteers try to count the wolf's current population on the terrain on the one hand, demands by stock breeders, hunter organisations, illegal shootings by wild hunters, and numerous traffic accidents caused by wolves crossing a road at night-time are constantly reducing those numbers on the other hand. A cynical paradox, so present and embedded in human society, shows its real face here as well: first, we take their land and resources, then we limit their numbers according to remained territories, and at the very end, classifying them as endangered species, we launch calls to protect them.

With the above in mind, Zorman approached his *It's in My Nature* composition, creating a sound work as a fluctuating collective echoing night scream against loneliness, despair, solitude, isolation and surrender.

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Soundwave: Brane Zorman

wolFMoon Howling: Live Performance Instructions / Guidelines
Irena Pivka and Brane Zorman

1. Conductor: musician, composer or musically educated person. His/her role is to give choir participants an introduction on how to howl and to direct/lead the choir members during the performance and to present a short rehearsal before the performance.

2. Suggested reference links for conductor and participants
   - https://goo.gl/dRwm54
   - https://goo.gl/CSZsy6
   - https://goo.gl/U9SRgb

3. Conductor creates a dramaturgy score in advance on how the howling performance will be structured. It is a matter of a compositional work with ups, downs, slow, faster, quite and loud passages.

4. During the performance conductor points to individuals or smaller groups form different directions and quietly, by using only hand gestures directs the intensity of howling, the ins and outs, fade-ins and fade-outs of the choir. Its is desired that conductor creatively controls the dynamic and spaciousness of the performance with a balance of predefined patterns and improvisation.

5. Choir participants: 10-15 participants of mixed ages and genders (children are welcome too!). They are placed in a circle facing the conductor so they can follow his/her instructions but also to observe and react to other choir members. Individuals can also slightly 'disobey' the conductor—they can add their own interventions if they feel like 'appropriate' at he moment.

6. Not only choir singers are welcome to howl—general public is also welcome but they have to do at least a short rehearsal/instructions from the conductor. It is desired that they have the capacity of tuning their voice/sound into the others performers and to follow conductor instructions as a very detuned 'wolf pack member' can introduce too much of a dissonance.

7. The suggested performance duration is 10-20 minutes.

8. Please do not to forget to credit conductor and choir members for their participation

Interview with Irena Pivka and Brane Zorman (CONA Institute)
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

CONA: In our collective work, we produce a sound art radio platform that is called radioCona. In the last few years, we focussed specifically on sound, sound walk performances, acoustic ecology, and bio-music. Our common artworks are always focussed on sound-work and listening experiences which address our understanding of space and time, nature and urbanity, combining knowledge from different fields.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

CONA: In this project, we turn our gaze from the Anthropocene to nature so that notions such as democracy, participation or power can play a role as a result of the observation of wolfs.

We reflect on how they are living in a pack together and communicate within the packs and between different packs. Wolf packs manage to communicate through sound in wide territories. By howling, they connect to each other and mark their location in relation to other packs. Thereby, they are protective of their own territory through howling so that other packs do not interfere in their territory. But they, in turn, also do not interfere in others' territories. They do not want to fight about territories. Instead, listening to one another helps them to prevent conflict.

OY: You already touched upon the importance of listening between wolfs and their packs. How could that be translated in relation to human societies or democratic systems?

CONA: Listening is one of the most important senses humans have. However, if we compare the wolf's behaviour with most of our human behaviour nowadays, we notice that we are not listening to one another. There is often no mutual respect. We are not able to do what wolfs may achieve through their simple tools, just telling each other: 'We are here. We respect your position and you should respect ours.' Conflicts evolve because neither nations nor citizens listen to each other in the political, cultural, religious or social realms.

Instead of listening to each other, many governments impose their own beliefs per se on their folk and other countries. They have the power position to rule the world and engagements do not take place with each other but always against each other. It happens through blaming behaviour which initiates the situation with stupid, childish,

and dangerous statements, which are, in turn, becoming a norm in the public sphere. This is problematic.

Listening becomes even more problematic because we are bombarded with so much (digital) information on a daily basis. The visual aspect of understanding seems to dominate and to increase even more. We are confronted with always more photos and videos shared on social media platforms.

OY: You talked about the wolf's interactions in packs. What role does the relationship between the individual and the group play in your project?

CONA: We are normally too stuck into being individuals. In this performance, we form a group of various people to put this ego-part within us at a secondary position. That is why it is also important that people who pass by can join us, so that this is not an exclusive event. Other people can join the performance anytime, as it is open and very clear. It is easy to join because it is obvious what is going on.

This is important because it blurs the line between the artists and the public. The artists are the ones who initiate, but then it is up to the others to join and share the idea. We are trying to encourage the active role of the individual and how he/she interacts with the society.

OY: Why is it important to you that the wolFMoon howling performance takes place in the urban space?

CONA: We consciously chose to make the *wolFMoon howlings* in public spaces where citizens may hear them and hopefully create a connection with nature within an urban setting. This is important because we are usually departing from intellectual urban systems and ways of thinking.

With our performance, we are also reminded of the fact that we are part of something bigger. When you are on an airplane, you see everything from above as clean and organised. We want to bring awareness of the wider picture on our planet into this really specialised micro-space of cities.

OY: Your project points to a crisis, or a conflict, between humans and nature. How do you address this crisis, and possibly, suggest a solution to it?

CONA: At the core of our performance is communication, understanding, accepting other positions without denying them, especially if you are holding a stronger power position than someone else. We urge for the reflection about how the Anthropocene treats nature and more powerless beings through annexing their space into an urban logic. We

are already the master of the whole planet. Our mind is not just driven by intuition and instinct, but we can be aware of it in contrast to many animals. This also increases our responsibility to use our power towards nature wisely. We are accountable to make sure that other species' existence is secured, or at least not threatened by us.

Unless we do this, we are going to destroy everything. However, it is not enough to wake up after we have already destroyed most of it. People and international co-operations took away so much land from all of the species that are nowadays endangered. Then, at some point, institutions are shocked that some species are at the risk of becoming extinct. We then mark them as endangered species and create zoos or national parks to protect them. This is a paradox. Thinking about the consequences of our behaviour has to start earlier and not just be recognised when it is too late. When we will not have any air to breath, we will not be in the position of questioning our actions anymore and initiate change.

Photograph: Elena Volina

WHAT IS IT ABOUT?
ELENA VOLINA AND MATHIEU DEVAVRY
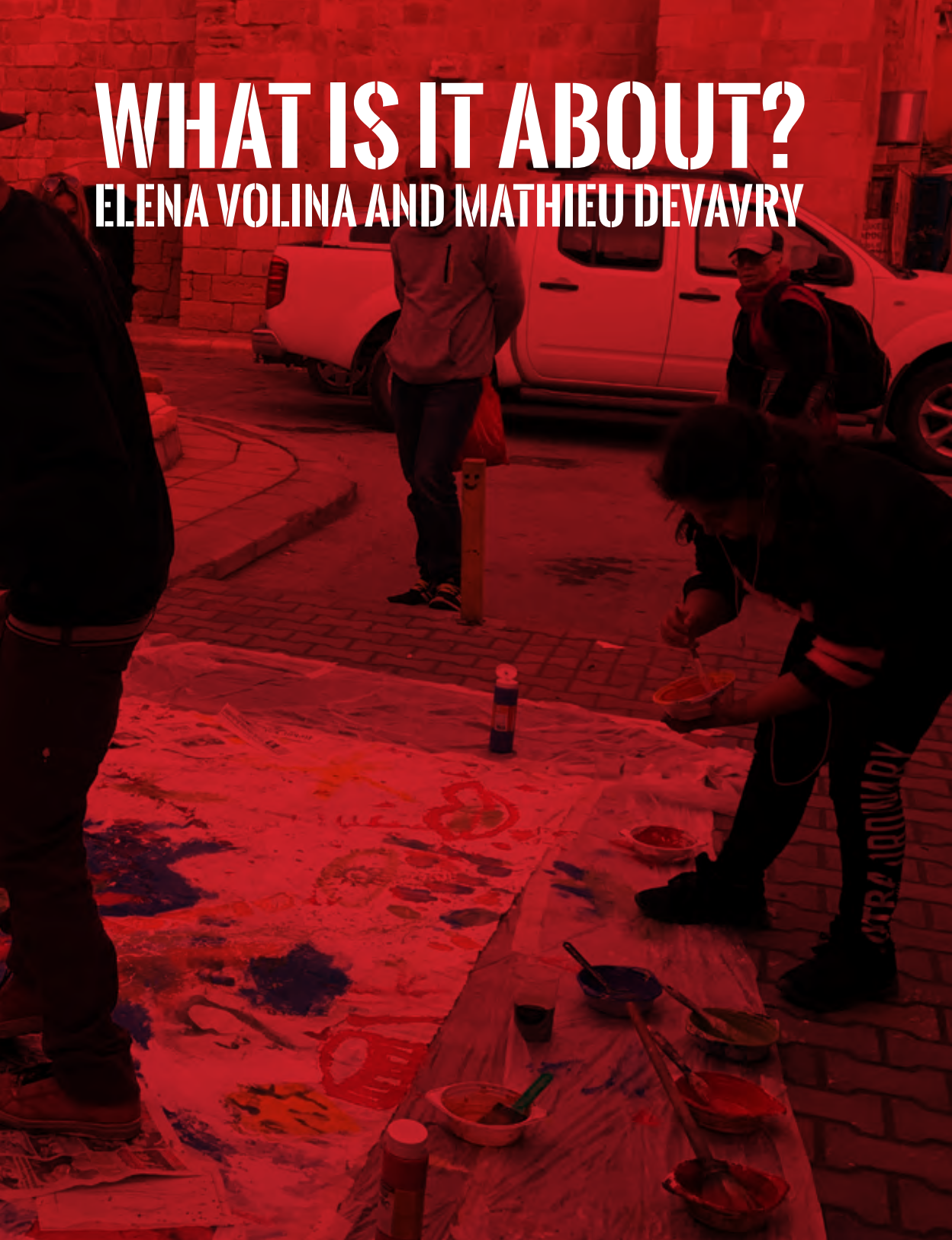
What is it About?!
Elena Volina and Mathieu Devavry

Some societies have the opportunity to freely express their opinion, to ask questions, to explore and to discover facts either through books, radio stations, social networking media, cinematographic media, or other means. Since the democratic revolutions took place, these societies secured freedoms of expression, which allowed for the representations of historical events to spread even more than before in and across countries.

Of course, who chooses which event is important (and which one is unimportant), and thus, what is to be communicated to society, depends on authorities, such as the state, organised religion, science, etc. These authorities, often determine what becomes the official History. Here, speaking about 'history,' the capital H / non-capital h refers to the question of who has the right to produce official histories, and to decide what (and who) shall be remembered.

History (with capital H) is problematic since history is much richer and many important events are reduced to the position of unofficial history. Giving more importance to history (non-capital h), allows avoiding dominant ideologies and hegemonic discourses, and supports historical diversity. If a person does an act, or poses a question, or makes an announcement on one day that affects a number of people, this act is important enough to be considered a historical moment. Afterwards, people might still remember this moment, turning it into history. This can be a revolutionary act, or an utterance from one single person, strong enough to be listened to by some people and not to be stopped. Whether it is important or not, all the facts are worth being perceived as historical. Even for a society where the state chooses not to consider it as a History, people can resist and remain responsible for what history is.

The project's intervention took place in Nicosia's public spaces and invited pedestrians to participate in it, by listening to recorded historical events and using painting techniques to personally respond. The main idea behind the audio fragments being played was to make visible the emotional outcome of the person's contact with the historical event(s). After connecting to a selection of Historical announcements, related to war, peace, science, arts, technology, music, sports, medicine etc. in different languages, the listeners who came in contact with these fragments were then invited to express their thoughts and impressions through painting. At first, the listeners did not know what the announcements were about. Only later is this information shared.

Painting was the imprinting medium of the participants' feelings or thoughts while they were listening to the material. Choosing a colour and different kinds of materials, the participants created an emotional translation of the audio fragment(s). Each colour and material represented an emotion, a thought, a reaction, ... This project was trying to

evoke the participants' thoughts through sound, and invited them to express themselves through painting instead of using writing, papers, books, speaking or sharing of opinions. The project was an open invitation for participating in one of Nicosia's public spaces. The project worked towards the democratisation of History, opening up official narratives and giving people a means of expression in the narration of history.

Photographs: Elena Volina

Interview with Elena Volina
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Elena Volina: I am a musician with an educational background in music technology and acoustics. That is where my interest in sound derives from. Artistic forms such as painting are a hobby for me. For this reason, I have also decided to work on this project together with the artist Mathieu Devavry.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

EV: Participation and power are central to my project, but especially the concept of participation. Without the people taking part, this would not work out. We need people to come, express themselves and their voices, think and paint freely without anyone judging them. This project does not only depend on them, it is created by them.

Democracy and power do matter, but without participation, the project becomes obsolete, just as a democratic system would without its citizens. The intervention may also relate to democracy as it represents the freedom of the people to say, or in this case, to paint what they think and feel about the voices they hear on the audiotapes.

I see further elements that reflect about democracy. The very first act from me, being able to select these audio-files and get access to that information represents already something that characterises a democracy. I am free to listen to the music, enjoy the art, or read the scientific article that I want to. And this enables me to use the information with other people who have also the power to say what they think and what they want in the ways they decide to do it. It is a domino-chain of what living in a democracy means.

OY: *In What Is It About?!,* creation takes place on both individual level as well as within the context of a group. Do you work with this tension between the individual and the collective?

EV: I cannot say that there is a tension. For me, they are very closely connected. The individual is needed so that the collective art piece can emerge. And the collective art piece develops only through the individuals taking part in it. I cannot separate those two parts, it is one.

You seem to highlight the importance of the senses and/or emotional communication forms, like listening, feeling into one's emotional response and depicting it through painting. Why is it important for your work?

EV: It is not a typical form of expression. People did not have to think rationally in this intervention. In that way, it became something that enabled them to directly express emotional and felt responses. I could have also made them listen to tapes and asked them to tell us what they think. But this would be the way people are always obliged to communicate. I wanted to enable them to express another point of view.

OY: In your intervention, the distinction between artist and audience collapses, at least to some degree. The citizen becomes also an artist. The artist's power to control the artwork seems to shrink, the participant's power position as an active co-creator rises. Is this correct? And if so, why does it matter for your art?

EV: I would not necessarily say that the distinction collapses. The artist still remains in his/her role. Mathieu and I are there to guide the participants. We instruct them, showing which colours they can use and we give the ideas about how to do it. Of course, the participants are free to express themselves. But this is still happening parallel to and based on our guidance. It is a collaboration between the artists and the participants who become artists in the process. It might be called a collaborative model, but it is not a setting where all the distinctions between artist and audience disappear.

OY: Do you see a connection between the relationship of guidance and freedom in your project and democratic practice more generally?

EV: In a democratic systems, we cannot determine what we are exposed to, which sounds we hear, what information we receive, and what remains unknown to us. The audio-files the participants selected to mix were about historically significant moments, such as war announcements, with ambient sounds. For some participants, it was the first time that they were urged to react on those audiotapes, the first time to express what they felt and what they wanted to say about them, whether it was happiness, sadness, or another emotion. All of these could be expressed artistically through the intervention.

OY: It seems that you point at a power imbalance with your project. There are authorities who decide what should be understood as History, with a capital letter, and then, there are the citizens who are only listening to what the authorities expose them to. Does your project address this imbalance, or even change something about it?

EV: When authorities decide what History is, the community is always informed about everything, based on these decisions. But at the same time, it is still in the community's or the individual's hands to decide if it's really important for them.

In my project, the participants could decide what they perceived as historical or not, and it was entirely their choice to react according to this decision. But I am not changing the power imbalance that exists. Through the project, I am mostly trying to figure out to what degree this power imbalance exists, observing what happens when people get to choose how to react to information they are exposed to.

OY: What role does empowerment of the citizens play in your project?

EV: Citizens gain a central role. The role of every participant is to develop a dialogue with the information we presented, either through art or at the end, by discussing it with the other participants. The dialogue developed at the later stage when the participants became more familiar with the meaning of the audiotapes. I hope that this would be a way for citizens to understand that it is possible to share their concerns, opinions, and truths.

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

SOCIAL SCULPTURE PERFORMANCE/ WORKSHOP UNFOLDING-UNWRAPPED

JOHANNES GERARD

Photograph: Hazal Yolga

Social Sculpture Performance/Workshop Unfolding-Unwrapped
Johannes Gerard

Creation draws a line between being a passive and an active agent. Creation starts with questions. This process of discovery is both exceptionally broad and incredibly relevant for creating strong contextual work and social behaviour; regardless of whether we are conceiving of a socially engaged performative art work or a highly sophisticated installation.

Particularly, the sequences of the workshop/performance focus on human behaviour in a group and as individuals. The workshop confronts the participants and audience sometimes in a real, sometimes in a metaphorical manner with situations of Conflict-Confrontation, where one is on his/her own, against the other. However, the way the sequences of the workshop/performance are structured also leads to reflections about solutions, in order to find ways of collaborating and creating a democratic process.

Nevertheless, the political situation and state of the world is quite far removed from a culture of collaboration and strong democracy. Not only distant politics and politicians are important for us, so that we become aware of conflicts and confrontations, our loneliness or powerlessness. What also matters is being creative and willing to act collaboratively, in democratic ways, in order to overcome conflicts, regardless of whether these are enacted in our own daily lives and environments, or on the political stage.

Social sculpture is part of the concept for my personal project, but at the same time, it is implemented in interactive and participative workshops for the general public/audience. I add my own ideas and concepts, as well as the keywords 'Conflict,' 'Confrontation,' 'Collaboration,' and 'Democratic process.'

Social sculpture revolves around four main axes: body awareness, spatial awareness, creative awareness and collaboration. *Social sculpture* is a term to describe an expanded concept of art advocated by the German conceptual artist Joseph Beuys (1921-1986), in the 1970s. Beuys created the term *social sculpture* to embody his understanding of art's potential to transform society. As a work of art, a social sculpture includes human activity that strives to structure and shape society or the environment. The central idea of a social sculptor describes a person/an artist who creates structures in a society, using language, thoughts, actions and objects.

The position of the body in the surrounding environment/location is vital. The concept focuses on the relations between bodies to each other, movements, objects and the surrounding space/environment. Participants are engaged in physical movements and actions, changing roles, decision-making, exchange of ideas and interrogating performativity. Sculptural and textile materials are introduced as working tools for creating communal body configurations.

Photographs: Hazal Yolga

Photographs: Olga Yegorova

Interview with Johannes Gerard
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Johannes Gerard: While the workshops for *R!* have a particular focus on the participation of the audience, many other videos, installations or performances that I do are more individual. In most of my work, I use a metaphorical style that offers interpretations that are alterable and never set in stone. I do not blurt out straight political statements. Sometimes, it is very difficult to see which statement I am making. You, as the audience or participant, have to think about it and there is always more than one interpretation. Interpretations are never fixed anyway.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media, and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

JG: Participation and collaboration play the most important roles in my project. And then, it is about establishing a democratic process since the participants of my workshop need to find ways to work together. My project deals with conflict, the individual in a group and the process of finding ways to collaborate with others and finding common solutions which help to move forward.

OY: You just mentioned that the individual finds him/herself in the context of a group. How do you work with the relationship between individual and collective and what does that stand for?

JG: I have been doing this performance many times in different countries and it is never the same. Every group has always a different dynamic. People mostly start as individuals; sometimes being complete strangers to each other, sometimes knowing each other from before. At first, I just make them walk around, they have to first cross each other's ways as individuals. Then, they have to pair up, while one person leads the other one, whose eyes are covered. And later I divide them into groups. In this process, I involve objects that are used with as well as against each other.

When I did this workshop with five women in Russia, for example, I was very surprised because the women were quite aggressive towards each other at the beginning. They started to fight very seriously with the chairs. As I slowly lead them to work together as a group, the tension decreased. In Lithuania, in contrast, as the women of the group knew each other from before, the fights with the chairs were not as brutal. They kept their distance, without wanting to hurt each other. So the tension between the individuals and the group varies a lot.

JG: It reflects certainly a democratic process when it comes to making decisions on what to do next and how to do it. At some point, the participants have to make decisions as a group about how to move and in which direction to go. Thereby, it is important to me to avoid situations where one person takes the lead. Otherwise, I may have to intervene. To give an example, while the Russian group was good at distributing the power to decide among each other, in Lithuania, pre-set dynamics of the friends' group made it hard to avoid leading characters. They instantly wanted to hand over the power to decide to one person. This changed also my role. I had to encourage everyone more to have an own opinion.

The democratic dimension is not obvious here, but I aim at making people reflect on this in the aftermath, asking them about their thoughts on the workshop. I do not just stand there as the big artist, making a great project that you have to like, but I also ask for critique. I give something being prepared to receive reactions from the participants. To me, this strongly resembles democracy.

OY: Your project seems to highlight the importance of the sensorial forms of expression. How does the sensorial experience work in your project and why is it important to you?

JG: The sensorial experience of my project is important as it aims to make the people get a sense of their body and their environment. Thereby, I do not just mean the room you are moving in, but most of all, your social environment and the other bodies surrounding yours.

OY: What happens with the spatial environment and its daily objects as you start using them? Do you transform their meanings? And if so, what do you want to achieve through this transformation?

JG: I use objects in order to awaken peoples' own creativity, their imagination. When you see a chair, you usually just think of it as something you can sit on. But I ask the group to do something crazy with the chairs: walk on them, fight with them, whatever comes into their mind. It is very important to me that people open their minds and become creative with daily objects and explore alternative uses for them. The ropes serve to make a space, borders and limits visible. At the same time, they can serve as a bounding factor that the group uses to tie each other together. Many of these objects become symbols of working against each other and finding ways of moving in the same direction in more harmonic ways.

OY: In your performance, the distinction between performer and audience collapses, at least to some degree. The citizen becomes also an artist. Is this correct? And if so, why does that matter?

JG: Maybe you are not Picasso or Matisse, but everyone has creativity. And art is a very important means to discover yourself. Creativity, then, can help people to overcome their daily conflicts. My role is to encourage the participants to revive their creativity. Thereby, depending on the group I am working with, I let go of my guiding power because the people develop their own ideas. Some groups however, are completely lost if you give them too much freedom. And then, although that does not resemble my character normally, I have to become more strict and play the teacher role to ultimately make everyone explore their own creative expression.

OY: Can this experience be translated into how democratic processes can be enabled?

JG: In a democratic society you have lots of individuals with conflicting ideas, where people have to find solutions, or at least ways to live with each other despite those differences. This connection is not something that you come up by just participating in the workshop, but only through your own reflection. To me, it is crucial that everyone involved asks him/herself: Why am I doing what I'm doing?

OY: Do you see your workshop then also as a means of empowerment?

JG: I can only speak of empowerment if there is an independent reflection that the participants develop. This happens in workshops with kids who do not necessarily do what I tell them to do. They are empowered because they take the power to disobey. It is empowering when a person tells me that he/she does not like to do certain things instead of treating me as the master. If I do something, I assume that not everybody likes it. And if someone tells me that an exercise is very stupid, at least I empower the person to have their own opinions and to dislike things. This is why workshops may go very well, but they can also end up being a complete disaster. And that's ok.

all sources
are
broken

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File type:
Video

File type:
Picture

Title: Il Conformista
Author/s: Bernardo
Bertolucci
Year: 1970
Book: Postmodernism,
or, The Cultural Logic of
Late Capitalism (p. 18)

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Late Capitalism (p. 18)

File type:
Picture

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

ALL SOURCES ARE BROKEN

LABOR NEUNZEHN

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

All Sources are Broken
Labor Neunzehn

All Sources are Broken is an internet-based-project developed by Labor Neunzehn. *ASAB* is both an artistic experiment and a collaborative re-archival practice, which presents itself as an open access web content management system (WCMS) for the investigation of the hypertext space of post-digital books. It encourages creative re-reading practices, parallel narratives and unconventional learning strategies. It is an online space for creativity, collective action and re-contextualisation. The project aims at exposing the offline/online cycle of data and ideas, exploring how both are being shaped by migrations between the material and the digital world, ultimately creating output originating from that cycle.

By means of a participative process of data collection, *ASAB* aims at offering a response to the question about where the networking function of hyperlinks is situated in offline texts. *ASAB* also encourages possible strategies for re-reading books in the post-digital era. This INPUT, which requires an attentive analysis of texts and citations, can then be utilised in order to produce an OUTPUT for deconstructing the cycle. The hope is to build a narrative similar to the one used in experimental cinema; storytelling that begins with the deconstruction of the text, in order to gradually allow—after some initial embarrassment and disorientation—for new organisations of discourse to emerge. *ASAB* uses a back-end desktop publishing tool for the creation of print layout: a javascript based, interactive area that grants logged-in users the ability of reorganising books' citations and multimedia sources, to elaborate and print out physical objects. Instead of employing a re-archival approach that prioritises the encyclopaedic, the project focuses on parallel subjects and narrative patterns.

ASAB stems from a participatory dimension that becomes clear in the re-archival and deconstructive processes enabled in the project. This, however, is not taken as a means for 'pure' emancipation. On the contrary, as an artistic practice, *ASAB* deals with a critique of democracy for how it has developed, and continues to develop, through the World Wide Web infrastructure. If information architecture, which constitutes the structures in which hypertext operates, were compared to city planning, Labor Neunzehn suggests that the latest development of the internet recalls the experience of the shopping mall. Just like in a shopping centre, the information architecture can work to create paths and barriers intended to direct user choices. Or, alternatively, it can design strategies that sustain discovery and sharing activities—as *ASAB* does—facilitating dissemination and contiguity with original context as key tenets. We want to stress (and play with) the deferred space between offline and online, its delay and decay. Working at the intersection of intertextuality, audio-visual collage, sampling, cutup media and deconstructed narratives, *ASAB* progressively takes the form of self-published works, installations, video and lecture performances, in order to show the different levels of the discourse that brought us here, until all sources are broken.

http://www.allsourcesarebroken.net/

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

**Interview with Alessandro Massobrio and Valentina Besegher
(Labor Neunzehn)**
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Labor Neunzehn: We in Labor Neunzehn work on different subjects, such as on music composition, media art, and film, and philosophy. But all of those attributes and reflections can be combined in many different ways. So, we do not have a particular art field that can describe what we do but can speak about the particularities that characterise *All Sources Are Broken* as a project.

OY: How do you relate to the *R!* theme with the work that was selected? *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

LN: There are two main keywords that relate to the curatorial line of *R!*: media, or new media, and participation. The project is a collaborative practice. So the participatory dimensions, strategies, and practices are embedded into the project. This internet-based platform requires an active participation on the web. But it is also an artistic experiment that relates very much to media and new media content.

The participatory dimension unfolds possible strategies for reading books in the post-digital era. It is a process of collection of data in an online-offline cycle. One of the aims of the project is to incorporate offline books, old media, paper, as the main source of data into the online space of knowledge.

Thereby, the participatory character is not just related to quantity or quantification of data. The website is not a wiki or a simple archive of books for other media. It is a platform in which we are interested for the process of collecting data that requires the user to be active. Participation is understood as exploring and expanding the media content of the website by adding new hyperlinked contents. This is both, a way of tracking the data and also a way of detecting obsolete data where hyperlinks disappear from the web, change their positions or are literally 'broken.'

It means that participating in the project, the user implicitly accepts some rules that are unusual for the infrastructure of the world wide web 2.0 strategy where everything is easy, everything is fine and where you have a particular path that is already described, a space where you basically have to just play a little bit in order to do something. Instead, we actually ask the user to take the time, to open a book and to find cross-references between the hypertext and the text in the book. This demand has nothing to do with

a lack of technology, but with a conscious choice of creating a space where the user becomes an active co-creator.

LN: This project does reflect the emancipative potentialities of the participant. This potential, however, cannot be fully used through solely using the website. To explore this potential, it requires commitment. You are really required to read a book, to understand what you are reading, to find quotations and to see whether those quotations are reflected somewhere on the world wide web.

OY: You stress the participatory dimension of *ASAB* a lot. Why is this so important? Do you see a political meaning in it?

LN: There is definitely a political motivation. It emerges from the ways the world wide web has developed up until now. However, the motivation does not come from a place of nostalgia, but rather, from our concern about how we can find information, acquire and explore knowledge through the internet.

There are a lot of resources online. However, you need to be registered on certain platforms or access the university archive so that knowledge is at your disposal. This is not bad, on the one hand, but a free exploration of knowledge is not enabled. We have many choices to take on the internet, however, also these choices are filtered through personalised social media, platforms where you have to become a member and create an identity. This altogether leads to an avoidance of experience. Our project aims at creating a user that has his or her own agency and acquires self-determined knowledge.

In this experiment with *ASAB*, we are also open to the possibility of failure. Because nobody might be willing to explore this possibility. And this is fine, too. This is art, an experiment, and not a political opinion.

OY: Your project depicts a relationship between the virtual and the embodied, the digital and the tactile. How is this relationship presented? how does this project deal with those realms? Does this representation also have a political meaning for you?

LN: As a premise of our work, it is important to understand that this project does not arise from a judgment of any of those platforms as good or bad, desirable or not desirable. *ASAB* is a process that observes how the entanglement of the online and offline operates on learning.

ASAB explores, on the one hand, the physical and digital world as two dimensions in the context of a post-digital world. On the other hand, it stresses the interweaving of these

dimensions in one, online-offline cycle. There is no online without offline anymore. A student at a high school will not only use his textbook, but also the internet, to do his/her homework. We are always within the online-offline cycle.

Our project tracks and observes strategies within this offline-online cycle of collecting data in a non-judgmental way. Thereby, we also show how the migration between the real world and the world of knowledge from books into the digital might take place.

OY: In *ASAB*, the individual can contribute to the collection of data so that the wider collective may benefit. Do you work with this tension between the individual and the collective?

LN: We hope to have more people participating so that more and more quotations can be re-mediated through further hyperlinks of sounds, text or video. At some point, we could even print books that are the result of the hyperlinked knowledge provided on *ASAB*. But at the same time, we are prepared for a failure. On the level of the individual, we stress the human factor, such as the willingness to invest time and effort into this process. So the limit is the participant him/herself who has the choice.

It can happen that no one will be available to invest his/her time so that no community arises. But this is an art project. It is free, it is political, but at the same time, experimental and unpredictable. What matters is the process where one can experiment, and learn. It requires a lot of work to do so, to discover broken links, to find resources that are not updated and to interlink everything with each other.

OY: You stress the importance of the process as such, without laying a too strong focus on the outcome. Do you see any connections on how this may relate to democracy?

LN: I see a link that addresses the use of speed and velocity in democratic processes.

Photograph: Orestis Tringides

OPEN MIC – A COMMUNITY RADIO EXPERIMENT

MYCYRADIO

Photograph: Orestis Tringides

Open Mic – A Community Radio Experiment
MYCYradio

The *Illuminated Night Ride* grasps one of the most habitual activities of a citizen—the act of taking a walk through the city centre after a working day, studying or taking care of family members. The project aims to radically lower the barrier of participation in media through this experiment, so that the pedestrian does not need to go to a radio studio, nor does s/he have to arrange an interview with a journalist to take part in the co-creation of a story that is distributed. Instead, MYCYradio created a mobile space of participation that connected some of the historical paths of Nicosia with day-to-day life of the people in the Buffer Zone.

MYCYradio, a multilingual web community radio station, based in Nicosia's Buffer Zone, performed the *Illuminated Night Ride*. The project consists out of the installation and incorporation of audio and light systems on the bicycles that used during the ride. This created an illumination spectacle in the old town's night. The light systems installed on the bicycles were connected to audio equipment that broadcasted audio and music segments. The light riders who participated in the pack, with (mounted) audio recorders, recorded the soundscape and the reactions of the public that observes and interacts with the night ride. The conversations between the riders and the public were recorded.

Artists, activists and (un)organised cyclists in the old town participate in the ride and its preparation/installation along with community radio broadcasters. The event is open to members of the public. The idea of this ride combines the old town curation with activities of those organisations, where the old town stories/histories are rooted in the bicycle rides. The conversations arising from these stories among the riders and the public as well as the interactions and reactions are thereby audio-visually recorded. The captured soundscape (and the 'awe' reactions, triggered by the *Illuminated Night Ride*) created an artistic dimension that marked an intervention in the public space, in a very specific spatial context.

One of these bicycles was also transformed into an installation at the NeMe Arts Centre in Limassol. Moreover, a supportive preparatory training workshop was provided, not only for the radio technical aspects, but also to introduce the concept of community media and radio to the public and to instil its democratic participatory values and practices to the participants.

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Photograph: Orestis Tringides

Photograph: Hazal Yolga

Interview with Hazal Yolga and Orestis Tringides (MYCYradio)
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular art project, but what characterises your activities in general?

MYCYradio: We are a Cypriot community radio station that speaks to its audience in different languages and dialects trying to include not just ethnolinguistic or officially recognised communities, but also people who are considered minorities concerning class, ideas, gender, or interest. Everything is broadcasted live through the internet and partly captured in podcasts.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

MYCYradio: The illuminated bike-ride touched upon most, if not all of the themes. Carrying the microphone around was about decentralising power, bringing agency to the people and getting their voices heard. If agency is brought to you, it bridges the gap between you and the soundscape of which usually only those with power have access to. It makes you a participant, reminding us what democracy really stands for.

OY: In your project, the distinction between performer and audience collapses, at least to some degree. Is this correct? And if so, why does it matter for your art?

MYCYradio: The project is supposed to blur the line between the artist and the participant because the participant becomes ultimately the artist. In the public sphere, art can be a medium to get yourself heard and to reach out to people that you could not reach in any other way. Bringing participatory practice into art distributes power, increasing your potential. During the illuminated bike rides we claim the public sphere, just as we claim the media sphere in our regular radio shows through sound. Thus, we exemplify the correlation between the arts and community media.

OY: How does that have to do with democracy or the democratic system?

MYCYradio: Democracy is also about everybody getting a chance to speak with people representing each other. However, we see that even in systems that call themselves democracies, this is not happening. It is always a hegemonic discourse that makes its way to the crowds so that the people don't get their opinion included. Although *Open Mic* is not a political project, it is a small initiative to see what happens when we let people speak and enter into a dialogue. It is an experiment, an exercise that may resemble democracy in a metaphorical way.

OY: If you want to give voice to citizens, how do you prevent a situation where you get to speak for them?

MYCYradio: You trust them instead of telling them what to do. We can propose a format, but leave it flexible and open for transparent changes and discussions. In that way, we decrease the risk of taking over the participants' will. It is crucial to create a space where participants can be involved as much as possible. Then, it is up to them to choose their level of involvement. In our case, we allow people to speak into the microphone for 20 minutes if they want to, or leave it if they don't.

OY: How does the national with the local intersect in your project and what does this mean?

MYCYradio: There are blurry lines between what you consider as being local and national or global. New technologies enable us to transcend these lines. Throughout the history of communication, you used to connect to something when it was local to you, while now, this has expanded. It mingles with other expanding circles. I can be an active citizen caring about the human rights in Syria although I am physically in Cyprus.

OY: What does your project tell us about the relationship between the everyday and the political?

MYCYradio: Everything we do is political. But for some reason, things that are beyond us as ordinary citizens have been defined as political. Politics became something that men in suits do in fancy rooms. I (Hazal) refuse that claim. Everything I experience as a woman on the street is also political. What we go through in 'the everyday' is 'the political.' Politics is not just about oil and gas or the euro rates—things that do not interest us on a daily base—but it is everything that we do. I think that is a good button to push, formulating a critique on those pre-set categories of the political and the everyday.

OY: Your project also deals with careful listening. Why does listening matter to you?

MYCYradio: I would say that observing rather than just listening is central to our project. Our project does not have a clear format that people are used to. We cause a lot of movement, biking through the city with flashy lights and music through an area where people are just used to shops. We invade the space of shopping, which is going to make people wonder about the meaning of this intervention.

OY: Why is it important for you to invade the public space through your intervention?

MYCYradio: People are used to being exposed to advertising, to cafes and the music of the people who are established and have the power to form the public space in whatever

ways they want. This is the system they are used to. We want to break with that and cause confusion so that the persons can enter into a dialogue with themselves. Surprise and spontaneity cause authentic reactions. You cannot filter your reactions when you experience something novel. In this moment, you need to create your own, new understanding of what is happening.

Thereby, we challenge the norms that exist in a public space. If a car can blast out music loudly into the street, why can't I sing out loud walking on the same street? Why can the car take over the soundscape but the human voice is not acceptable or perceived as weird? We blasted out music whilst riding our bikes and by doing so, encouraged people to express their own freedom by using the public sphere in ways they would like to use it, punching a hole into this restricted space of norms.

This is what art does. It opens the possibility for people to reflect. Now, we have a lot of ready-made information. Everything is set, written, interpreted. But art allows for the abstraction to take things in your way, instead of wanting a quick like or dislike. It reaches beyond the superficiality of pre-set meanings.

OY: How do you think does your project offers an alternative perspective on what media can mean for citizens?

MYCYradio: People are speaking of the media as an entity that is far away from us, saying things such as 'We need to reach the media,' 'We should invite the media.' But often, we do not realise that we are the media and that we can produce media, finding platforms to do the same thing. This project brings the media to the people, making them the integral generators of media. It challenges the notion of media itself.

COMMUNITY SPECTRADIO
YIANNIS CHRISTIDIS, MARKOS SOUROPETSIS AND CO

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

Community Spectradio
Yiannis Christidis, Markos Souropetsis and Co

The project was a performance, aimed at creating an audio-visual experience, which commenced from the broad theme of community radio identity. The performance's aural aspect consisted of electric guitar experimentations and electronics, while the audience was simultaneously exposed to a live video-art composition.

Regarding the sound, an electroacoustic hue created by Yiannis Christidis' guitar improvisations were added to fragments of radio recordings by Cut-Radio's producers, the community radio station of Cyprus University of Technology. These recordings consisted of either unprocessed excerpts from radio shows, or already-edited sound collages, based on the radio station's past broadcasts. Both radio sound categories created a first layer, to which the percussive sounds, deriving from the guitar's electronics, combined with the sounds of iron and glass objects on the strings, which created a particular—sometimes disturbing—soundscape.

The video stream was a live-evolving collage of images, and is controlled by Markos Souropetsis. The images were pre-shot by students enrolled in the course 'Radio Production-Digital Radio' of the Communication and Internet Studies Department of the Cyprus University of Technology. These images are the students' personal and visual reply to the question: "What is the moving image of community radio?" During the winter class of 2017, nine students were instructed to film their responses to a series of lectures and workshops regarding the definition of community, and how the community could relate to radio. Their spontaneous visual responses depict their points of view regarding community radio. The morphing (cloning, randomisation, speed and colour modification etc.) of those videos formed the visual outcome for the performance, which intended to create an immersive experience. A live combination of image and sound, constantly exploring the transgressive nature of community media ensued: The stable cinematographic shot, with the students' points of view, was digitally manipulated along with sound originating from the community media context.

The overall goal of the artists was to question and demonstrate the fluidity of the term 'community radio,' regarding both its definitions and its representations in the minds of our current students. The performance wishes to push audio-visual experimentation towards/using a context of community media.

Photographs: Orestis Tringides

Interview with Yiannis Christidis
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Yiannis Christides: When it comes to a specific form of art: Music and sound art that mixes noise with traditional material in combination with humorous material is what I do. When it comes to my academic work, I am into sound studies and the social anthropology of sound. It is about how people listen to their environment and how they go through this sound environment. So it's an anthropological/musical approach that I focus on, both academically and artistically.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

YC: It is mostly about community media. My affiliation running the community radio of the Cyprus University of Technology leads to a relationship with community media by default. The greatest challenge for me is thereby to cultivate the term solidarity in the students' minds, hearts, and souls. It is about making them feel and practice community media, not only understand what this means. In a wider sense, solidarity/voluntarism are the values which we always try to make students reflect on, as an additional, non-formal educative tool, so that, when they leave the university, they have this experience of community. However, the notion of community can be really challenging to understand, to accept, and especially to sense and practice.

OY: Why do you think that solidarity or voluntarism are important in a wider societal context?

YC: To me, they are values that are at the top of the human values that one needs to live in order to die happily. They are also tools to raise voices and make people stronger. Being alone, one can never be strong enough, no matter how passionate he/she is. But more can happen if people with common interests, common concerns or common joys unite. This may sound utopian but this is a true value. To me, it is very high in its priority as a 'life-skill.'

OY: And do these values also translate into wider concepts of democracy for you?

YC: Of course, they are means to being heard. Democracy, by default, has space for everyone to be heard. So it is more than necessary to form communities or to call out for groups of people. It is an essential element for the functioning of democracy.

OY: Where does participation come into play in our project?

YC: Elements of participation can be tracked in the following steps: The first discussion about community media and radio with the students, their small research on what community media is, the public talks about community media, ... Another level is the one in which the responding images are combined with the sound used in my performance with Markos, together with other sounds that have been broadcasted by the previously mentioned community radio station. It is a participatory project on many levels. From the practical aspects to more intellectual ones. At the last stage, the performance also tries to trigger discussions, which also demonstrate participatory elements. There, it is about making the subject 'community media' more juicy.

OY: In your performance, you take existent media pieces from the previously mentioned steps and thereby also change their meaning, in a way. What does this transformation stand for?

YC: There is already an interventional value behind the media that is transformed. It is the first response of students to the questions "What does community radio mean for you?" It is the first response, after some talks we had, about how to describe the notion of community media. But on a second level, this transformation intends to demonstrate the flow of community media, the ways it changes and the evolution which can also be personal for each producer. It concerns the continuous transformation that the medium may demonstrate. So, the performance has this evolving set-up between video and sound. On a basic level, it translates from an innocent media concept to a noisy complex concept. 'Evolution' is the keyword.

OY: Your project seems to highlight the importance of the senses, through listening and seeing, as communication forms. How does the sensory experience work in your project and why is it important to your work?

YC: I think the way to describe this project starts off with the word comfort. It's how people feel comfortable with what they are exposed to. The evolution of the media pieces may end up in something that cannot be tolerated for a long time acoustically. Noise is something unwanted by definition. But noise is also something that can be precious and requires some discomfort to discover its value and its magic; there are elements that may seem and sound complex and noisy, but in the end, they may demonstrate really detailed concepts. And the same applies to community media. The project can be seen as an effort for making a metaphor that describes the evolution of community media.

How does your project contribute to understanding what community media art can contribute to society?

YC: Even listening to the word 'art' makes many people feel uncomfortable. But the point is to stress that community media art can be something that is taken out of the everyday. It can connect art to something that is felt and take it out of its elitist and snobby image that it might have.
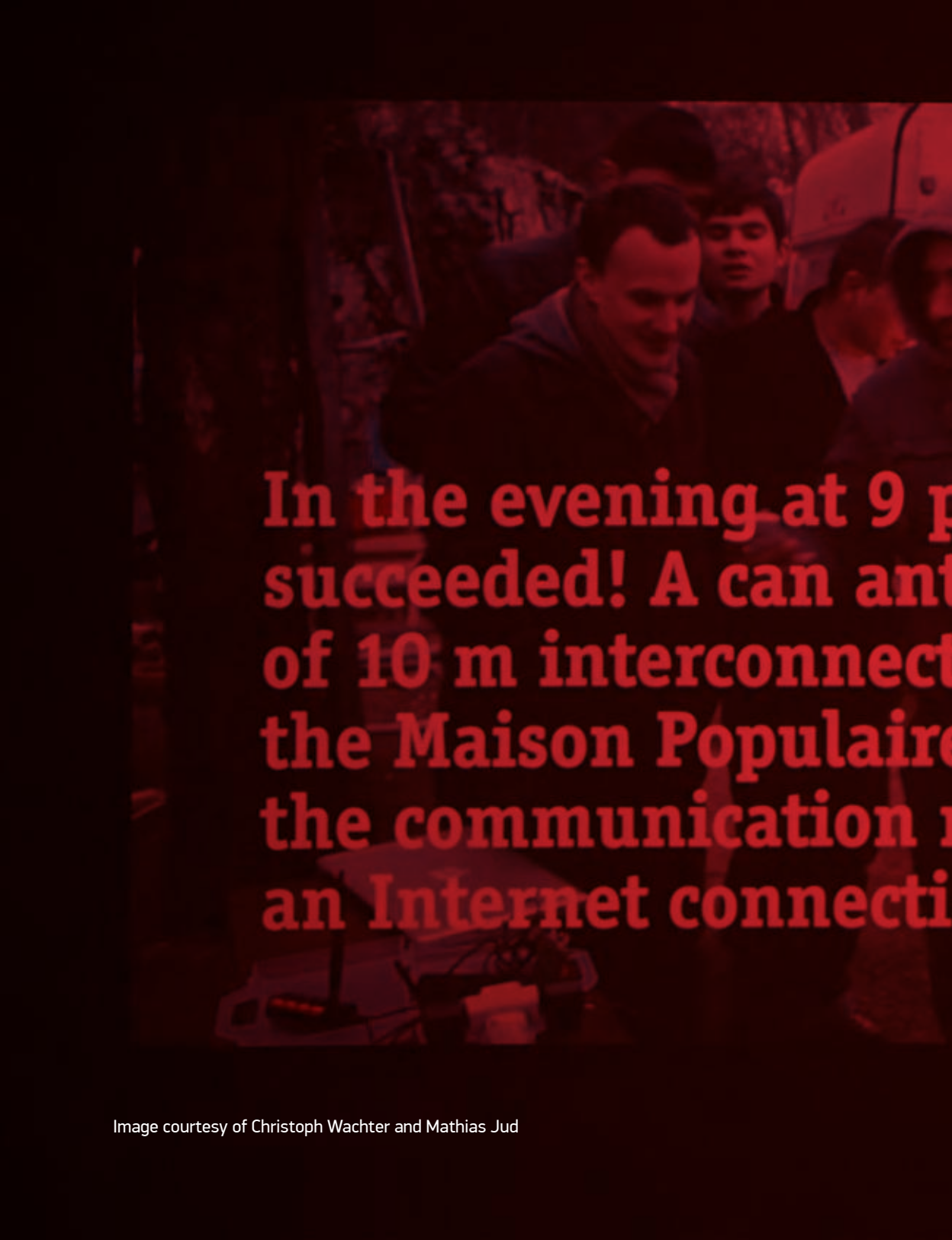
OY: More generally speaking, to what degree do you think that community media art is even possible? And what are its possibilities, and its limits?

YC: It is not about the limitations of community media art. I would say it is about the limitations of the concept of art. I mean, even what we are doing now can be a form of art. It depends on the context and how it takes place. One might say that our performance takes place on a rather non-artsy road. But if someone wants to consider something as art, it is art, without having to delve into philosophical questions about what art is.

If we talk about community media, we talk about a form of art, whether it is video, sound, cinema or other media expressions. If community media is, for example, used to pronounce an opinion on a law change, this is can be seen as art. For me, there are no obvious restrictions on community media art. Except for, if there is a neo-nazi community media project. This cannot be art but to me, this can only be shit.

OY: Does that mean that as long as the themes of community media do not reach the borders of democratic values, anything can exist and emerge as an artistic expression through community media?

YC: Yes. But even if an art work has democratic values, it can be considered as art. If we use audio files of the radio propaganda of Goebbels along with background sound from the most anarchist forms of community media. Is that art? Maybe we don't have to answer this question, but we have to think about it. And maybe, there are more important questions to ask oneself than whether a neo-Nazi community media projects can be understood as art or not. I think this should not happen in the first place.

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REFLECTIONS ABOUT IDENTITY, COMMUNITY, TECHNOLOGY AND NATURE

A Brief Introduction to Reflections about Identity, Community, Technology and Nature
Nico Carpentier

Democracy and the political are dependent upon the creation of togetherness, on the creation of a 'we,' a political community constituted on the basis of a feeling of belonging. Communities might be open and heterogeneous, even global, and recognise that they consist out of a multitude of overlapping (sub)communities that respect each other's place in the political sphere. Alternatively, communities might define themselves as radically homogenous, and simultaneously as radically different from a 'they,' that acts as a constitutive outside to be destroyed. The internal diversity, which always exists, is then handled by expulsing or prosecuting these 'internal others.'

Identity is one of the mechanisms that allow for the generation of community, driven by a sense of belonging and togetherness, enabling for collaboration and cooperation amongst its members. But identity also complicates and frustrates togetherness and belonging, as subjects always identify with a variation of identities, some of which support the formation of a particular community, and others which destabilise it. Moreover, identities are not stable, but contested and intrinsically political, which makes them contingent and susceptible to change.

Community is not only constructed through identities that become articulated, but also material elements can become part of the community assemblage. Here, technology is an important component, as it allows to enhance communities, providing them, for instance, with the communicative opportunities to interact and/or resist. At the same time, technologies are not necessarily technologies of freedom, but can also be deployed to harm or destroy communities. In this sense, technology is un-neutrally neutral: It has its affordances that render it always specific (and thus not neutral), but the same technology can still be used in a multitude of ways (which thus makes it neutral), including Frankenstein-esque ways that turn technologies against its creator. Here, nature becomes a significant metaphor, and a reservoir, to think outside technology, and about materials that have their own agencies, not necessarily within reach of people, showing the limits of human intervention.

Just a Short Article About the net.art That Was a Community
By Vuk Ćosić

Angry Prelude

In past few years two intensely reputable British institutions decided to set up large shows dedicated to the first half century of digital art including my own area which is net.art. The first was the Barbican with the *Digital Revolution* and then there was the *Electronic Superhighway* at the Whitechapel.

The reason this is an angry prelude is that both shows—while providing their vast audiences with badly needed insight into some of the truly important works of digital arts—completely failed to even signal how our aim was not to just make those works. An artist's time on earth simply cannot be reduced to generating intriguing (digital) objects intended to decorate rich people's homes.

Our work included the building of the scene—as we used to say—and much of it was about creating our own network.

First-Person Shooter Disclaimer

Here's the thing. I was very much involved, so it's a big Freudian mess to write about net.art as both a first-person shooter and a cool observer. It takes two parts PR narcissism and three parts therapy.

Which reminds me of a little piece I wrote for Jeremy Hight. It was about which artists influenced me and which were influenced by me. I googled it now and it's nowhere to be found. As influences, I claimed Duchamp and Martek. And said I had influenced 0100101110101101.org and Rtmark. OK, now that this tangent is out of the way, let's move on.

The few words that follow are here because I agreed to participate in the conference about community media and the year is 2018. I am me and you are the person reading this.

Don't Worry, net.art Is Perfectly Normal

Just like capital, art is a little like water—it has this habit of expanding to all spheres of the human endeavour. So when military-technical humans came up with this grand digital network, it was only a matter of days if not hours before art followed. That's why I say net.art is normal.

In 1993 and 1994 the seeds of the internet passed from the military and academia to the civilian sphere. While the majority of early users were looking at a way to publish their corporate brochures or academic papers, there were a few inquisitive artistic types, each of them with their own brushes with the art system, ready to take on the beast and discover new ways of asking questions. The personal prehistory of some early net.artists looks like this: Jodi did video cut-ups in an art school, Heath Bunting was practically homeless and had experimented with anti-corporate hacks, Alexei Shoulgin was a photographer escaping the frame. Me, I was running away from literature as well as war.

Early net.art Days

Upon my very first contact with the web I decided to examine the context well and it took me only two days to click through the e-n-t-i-r-e Yahoo directory. That's how small the web was. Now you can (maybe) imagine how peculiar a moment it was to try and actually succeed in creating something that was entirely different from what the whole world was doing. That was the first adrenaline rush.

The second one was finding out that there were other people with similar thoughts. I guess I was also a bit lucky and Geert Lovink invited me to the founding conference of Nettime in 1995. That was important because I met Heath there and we started to post our stuff on the Nettime mailing list otherwise dedicated to internet theory and critique. Paul Garin was there too, and he was a bridge with Nam June Paik and all that fine Fluxus work. Most impressive was Pit Schultz, who later gave a name to our group and curated our first show. Soon after that meeting, Jodi began sending in some eeevil ASCII glitch materials and Alexei wrote the most deadpan anti-art manifestos. The stage was set.

We all met for the first time in Amsterdam in January of 1996 at the Next 5 Minutes conference and finally had a chance to consummate our affair.

net.art Is Also Physical

One common misconception about net.art is that it was somehow limited to web sites, mailing lists, and the purely digital. It was not.

As a matter of fact, the backbone of our heroic period was the constant flow of festivals, conferences, and sometimes exhibitions, where we would meet and fiercely debate matters. We really liked each other very much and some of these connections are still the closest I've come to true friendship.

In retrospect, it is also fair to say that while we were the first generation to intuitively grasp the digital sphere, we were also among the first to understand that it really is not a separate realm. It is clear today that humanity did not exactly emigrate from the physical world into a digital one. We are rather confronted with a dynamic hybrid of the two.

In a similar fashion, it seems clear that the boundary between analogue and digital art is not a matter of some razor-sharp technology-driven divide, but a blur of cross-penetrating techniques and approaches.

Just as we managed to import some of the older avant-garde concepts to the digital space, we also exported explicitly digital features to good old analogue art practices. I call this analogue/digital vista the Umpire and it has nothing to do with Toni Negri.

But it is also important and fair to say that the vast majority of what we produced as net.art projects was in fact digital. Only in 1998 and 99 did some of us do material things, such as hardware, prints, and the like. Early net.art was browser art to a large extent.

net.art Is Only Partly Art

Our early online work was rather technological and formalist, meaning that it took us some time—a week, maybe more—to learn the underlying technology (HTTP, HTML, and such four-letter stuff). But then it began to turn conceptual and reflexive. In our case, this meant understanding the possible and probable social implications of the network. I said social, not only artistic, because for one reason or another it was clear to all of us that we had a job beyond decorating people's browsers.

Defining net.art

As with any self-absorbed artist, I also have a habit of collecting books and articles about my work. Some are great, some insulting, but one thing is common to all of them: none succeeds in defining net.art.
Well, here goes. I will give you a formula to calculate the proper definition: take the quote "Art was a substitute for the internet." and rotate it by 45°.

net.art Was Not Totally eviaN

Just like with every other generation, our life and work as net.artists was part constant work sessions, part constant discussion with our peers, and part constant interaction with the outside world. Just like with every other generation, net.artists kept in touch in

order to understand their own work, to learn the techniques, and also to conspire against the art world.

During the heroic period of net.art from 95 to 98 we were thus in a permanent session of devising strategic statements and projects. First, Pit Schultz came up with the name net.art, together with a little dot. We immediately loved it because it was somehow fair that our label would sound like a file name. He then created the first ever show of net. art and it included us four. That was how the Pantheon was fixed. Pit is our Apollinaire and our Vollard.

Nettime was our studio and where the most crucial connections were made with activists and theorists. The fact that people of such different focuses were sharing the same mailing list was not trivial. It was a normal thing to read about TAZ and about Castells and about surveillance and do browser damage all in the same day. Nettime made net.art better.

1997

History repeated itself after exactly twenty years. Just like in 1977, a grassroots creative/ life movement met the broader world and it was marvellous. Just like with the year of the Pistols and the Clash, we had everything lined up: good work, success, and mortality.

In that year we suddenly started to receive invitations to big art places—most notably documenta X, which was really a display of absolute unpreparedness on both sides. Our ambition there was to show that we matter (we didn't really) while the curators tried to prove that we didn't matter (we actually did).

That was the year we separated from Nettime, which was a sad thing. The habit of Nettimers to be theoretical and activist about stuff was great but it was disappointing when we realised our friends wanted net.art to be located safely away in a browser with their debate space left alone. We split and made our own mailing list, called 7-11.

7-11

The list was moderated by Keiko Suzuki, who is the mother of the child prodigy Satoshi Nakamoto, author of the most remarkable post-internet art piece.
The list was a brutal place—we have intentionally spammed ourselves in impossible and non-existing languages, unsubscribed and then re-subscribed everybody, did media hoaxes directing curators and critics to write to our list and so on. The list didn't last too long but it still resonates as the pinnacle of our collective adventure.

net.art Was Dead

In the autumn of 1998 Heath invited all of us to Banff, which is a wonderful place in the Canadian Rocky Mountains where artists go to die. The occasion was a conference entitled "Curating and Conserving New Media," where very eminent art leaders and statesmen were to discuss our destiny in eternity. So it was necessary to hold a press conference right there and declare the death of net.art. I thought of that as a cool situational performance also reflecting the hated professionalisation of our field. Instead it became a useful parenthesis with which to close a period that we now call heroic. It also did a slight disservice to net.art, giving the wrong kind of signal to the literal types who happen to dominate.

Of course, nothing died with that press conference, least of all net.art. None of the artists involved stopped working, many new ones showed up, and plenty of fine work ensued. What maybe ended was the hype that was unintentionally aligned with the first wave of the startup gold rush called the dot-com era. This refrain is being repeated nowadays with the second startup gold rush being aligned with post-internet art, which is, of course, net.art. The only difference is that selling out is no longer a topic.

From net.art To the Internet of Bad Things

I see net.art as a crucial chapter in my personal history, one that coincided with an important phase in global developments.

All these years later, it is of course very sad to look at what humans have done with the net. My only thought is that a very nice opportunity was lost. I once read a book by Brian Winston where he explains the so-called period of disruptive potential of each media technology. Read it.

Now we are all investing a good portion of our annual income on hypnotic technological objects that function as status symbols but are simply tools for corporations and governments to better record our habits and friendships, direct our attention, and punish us if we breach some secretly agreed upon invisible protocol.

Think about it: your wristwatch is sending your heart beat to the cloud, your car is telling your insurer about every meter you drive, your glasses are turning everything you see into ads, and your phone and computer are conspiring to send a drone after you.

Our technology is ratting on us.

net.art After Snowden is Poetry After Auschwitz

I have never read Adorno and for all my life I thought that this quote was from Celan. Never mind.

Each generation of humans contains some specimens that make it their task to dive into the outer edge and with net.art there was this sense of urgency. I clearly remember being aware that there was art that needed to be done in order to deal with the internet. And by this I don't mean art as some personal therapeutic note-taking while looking at the phenomenon. No. I am honestly talking about a tangible feeling of being in the room while something new was being dumped on society. My job was to help. Our art was in large measure aimed not just at other net.artists, the art bureaucracy, and art consumers, but at our fellow humans creating the internet infrastructure, the early internet economy, and other grand structures. That feeling is turning sour now and I feel bad about the ways in which the digital sphere is mirroring human nature. And I think that art should address that. Good luck.

Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

OPEN COMMUNITY - OPEN NETWORKS

CHRISTOPH WACHTER AND MATHIAS JUD

Detail: Antennas on Lesvos, 2015
Photograph: courtesy of the artists

About Open Community – Open Networks
Helene Black and Yiannis Colakides

Open Community – Open Networks[1] is the featured exhibition showcasing the works of *R!* guest artists, Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud who have been working together on participatory community projects since 2000. Their work concentrates on critically examining the power of the existing networks and providing tools to resist it. Starting from the idea that infrastructures create an economic and political divide, Wachter and Jud's work, using low cost hardware (such as Raspberry Pis) and their own open source software, resists this divide by proposing new and independent networks.

The internet is seen by many as an open, limitless and borderless space for communication. This falsely perceived openness is confirmed and substantiated by means of participation on so called free platforms like Blogs, Facebook and YouTube. Simultaneously internet hosts and ISPs intervene in all areas of this communicative space via algorithms, to mine data, impose censorship, proliferate fake news, exclusion, and surveillance. Wachter and Jud, confront these embedded and disguised forces by transforming them into accessible community-based art, as Mathias Jud stated: "We should start making our own connections, fighting for this idea of an equal and globally interconnected world… This is essential to overcome our speechlessness and the separation provoked by rival political forces."[2]

The exhibition at the NeMe Arts Centre consisted of an Artists' talk, an all-day workshop and video documentation of previous works as well as specific on-site installations which demonstrated the power of alternative networks. The work presented featured aspects of digital networks that affect us personally: our privacy, freedoms, but also our imagination and our ability to understand our networks as an integral part of our society's environment. By counteracting cultural hegemonies and political rules governing our communication structures, thus revealing the control mechanisms, Wachter and Jud open up new and approachable alternatives to the existing structure of the internet. Their works have a tenacious social agency, reaching beyond the selection and placement of art or objects in a space. It is about empowering the audience, collaboration, and innovation, both in a physical space and in the virtual world.

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1   NeMe Arts Centre - 28 October - 03 December, 2017

2   TED. "Art that lets you talk back to NSA spies". TED video. Duration 12:56. Posted September 2015. https://www.ted.com/talks/mathias_jud_art_that_lets_you_talk_back_to_nsa_spies/ (Accessed 12 June 2017).

Photograph: Sakari Laurila

Open Community - Open Networks
Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud

The digital communications society is based on a worldview that has its roots in exclusion and non-integration. The idea of exchange that is borderless and free, which creates itself and even creates its own structures, has remained only an idea, which, for instance, circulates in the arts. In the context of globalisation, the denial of differences is a phenomenon that seems to prevail and specific individual world views are lost in an all-encompassing and all-absorbing world of communication.

However, these differences can suddenly surface when we begin to see the world from a different perspective, particularly, from the perspective of a refugee. If we think of the people arriving in boats—people with whom we have worked on Lesvos—it becomes clear that once they come to Europe and to the European Union, they do not come as free men and women, but rather, as people who are exposed to experiences of oppression, exclusion, and harassment.

Meanwhile, their public representation is solely shaped by a categorisation of what is legal or illegal, admissible or inadmissible, so that the people that are on the run, are transformed into objects in these representations. For instance, the discussions about smuggling refugees become a blend of victims and perpetrators. When we take a look at Australia, this goes even further, when refugees are solely perceived as offenders and criminalised actors, without even going through court procedures.

Even if we believe that we can emancipate ourselves from these images and representations, we still end up relying on their framing. This brings us to the central issue of visual art, where we are positioned: The questions we pose evolve around how a person can express and represent him/herself, and—even more so—how an individual can determine and situate him/herself, with his/her own motives. This is the core of a self-referentiality that is centrally located in the definition of the modern human subject, and in the concepts of expression, human dignity and self-determination.

The equality of human beings, which needs to be revived through the strengthening of human rights, becomes relative in asylum politics. This equality is not achieved in the late stage of capitalism, in the globalisation of our societies and—not surprisingly—also not in digital communication. On the one hand, subjects are trapped by the nation-states in an inclusionary/exclusionary system, as the political management of asylum dramatically sharpens its claws. This management, with its forensic and criminal conceptions, became an extension of bio-politics. On the other hand, we are turning into a communication society with communication modalities and monitoring options, including networks, as well as communication connections, which entail eventually the potential to achieve travel freedom and freedom of movement. Our own perspectives

generate a link between these two aspects, so that we can show how the structures of digital communication produce a worldview under the aforementioned circumstances.

Therefore, the examination of the different world views and different ways of accessing the world creates actual global validity and equality, allowing for commitment, for self-identification and subjectification. These forces are released and open a field in which general considerations and proper positioning become possible. Generating consideration is an endeavour that reveals, on the one hand, power structures and dependencies, and, on the other hand, strengthens us because it permits criticism and consideration of one's own positioning.

In the following pages, we introduce some of our projects that reflect how we use digital communication in a context of dominations and powerful actors.

qaul.net

In 2011, we launched *qaul.net* to explore our expression and communication options in the digital era. *qaul.net* is an independent open communications network and allows chat, voice calls, file sharing without internet and mobile phones, directly in a spontaneous network of devices. *qaul.net* implements a redundant, open communication principle, in which wireless-enabled computers and mobile devices can directly form a spontaneous network. Chat, twitter functions and movie streaming is possible independent of internet and cellular networks. *qaul.net* can spread like a virus, and an Open Source Community can modify it freely. In a time of communication blackouts in places like Egypt, Burma, and Tibet, and given the large power outages often caused by natural disasters, *qaul.net* has taken on the challenge of critically examining existing communication pathways while simultaneously exploring new horizons.

Silent Protest

In September 2014, we received an email from a Chinese activist who wanted to organise an event in the public space in Beijing to which apply regulations and policing control. To circumvent the limitations, his event should take place on another layer to which participants in a wider range could join via their smartphones. *qaul.net* was extended by a streaming server that allows a mutual sharing of audio messages in an open and independent network. With smartphones, sound was transmitted or received via WiFi connection.

Can you hear me?
About heard, listened to and isolated voices in the digital communication society

Between the US Embassy and the British Embassy in Berlin, we designed the art project *Can you hear me?* (https://canyouhearme.de/web/). Due to the revelations of Edward Snowden, this very place became a political focal point. From there, the British and the Americans were spying on the government and the people in Berlin. Public protests went on without consequences. Instead, oppression became rather widespread. Ironically, the digital media means of expression that were considered, at the beginning of the Egyptian, Tunisian, or Turkish rebellions as promising tools were subverted into their opposite. The digital space which should allow democratic debate is fundamentally manipulated. Because of that, cultural, political, and communicative structures are also shaken and it leads to an experience not unlike the one experienced by people under authoritarian and restrictive regimes, where a gruelling dependence and speechlessness arises. Monitored frequencies in Berlin are used to establish an open mesh network. Messages could be sent to the intelligence agencies on the frequencies that are intercepted by the NSA and GCHQ. Everybody—even the government officials and the officials of the intelligence agencies from the embassies at Pariser Platz—were invited to join the discussion.

Antenna Tower

Wi-Fi routers today build a very dense network. In most cities, it is common to find more than a dozen strong signals. Connections between portable devices manage to bridge up to 250 metres. This distance can be augmented with sticks, routers and directional antennas such as the simple but effective can antennas. A wooden tower with WLAN can support antennas. From here, an open, independent wireless communication mesh network deploys. Customary routers are equipped with a customised open operating system and with improvised crafted directional can antennas. With these antennas and such towers, large distances can be bridged and the network can expand to large areas.

#GLM
#GLM [Grassroots Local Meshnet]
Video 26:00 Min. France 2013

Otherwise cut off from the internet, a neighbourhood network connects an informal settlement in South Paris to the internet with the help of can antennas and computers, March 2013. Roma families build a gigantic antenna in an informal settlement in order to participate in the WLAN communications network *#GLM [Grassroots Local Meshnet]*, Paris, 2013. The bicycle is equipped with a mini-computer and numerous can antennas. Commands can be sent via a WLAN connection, for example, sending or checking e-mails
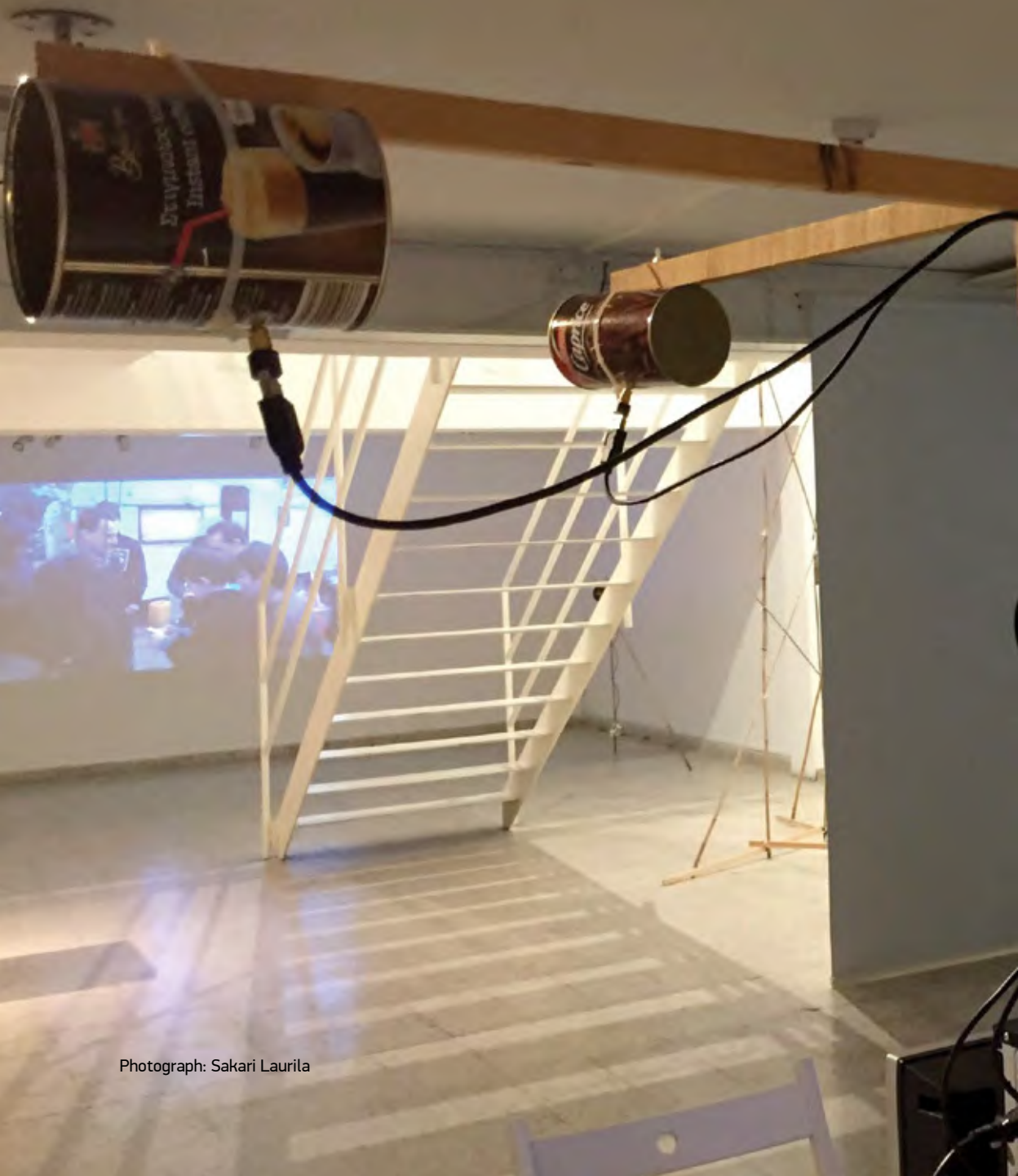
Photograph: Sakari Laurila

or downloading music. If the bicycle is near an internet hotspot, it dials in automatically and the commands are executed. The bicycle connects people in informal settlements with the internet.

Gezi Park Edition

In 2014, we were invited to Istanbul as well as to the Asian part of the town, south of the Bosporus to give a series of workshops. People started building independent networks and connections on the basis of *qaul.net*. Together with activists, we developed an extended version of *qaul.net*, based on their experiences from the Gezi Park protests. We developed independent and mobile stations that can run even during power outages or network failures to allow local communication. These stations can be used for text messages, voice chats and file sharing. The Gezi Park Edition allows links to the internet and other networks. Information can be exchanged over those interfaces even time-delayed. The local network also works as a kind of anonymity for the access to the internet, as the devices cannot be identified by their IP addresses. Only random IP addresses are used within the network, and they are not registered. As a consequence, the messages in the cloud cannot be prosecuted by authorities. This network is accessible for everyone, as a freely available and configurable open source software. Such networks can appear anywhere in manifold variants and amounts. There is no central logging so to protect users. The independent network remains available even after shut downs of web platforms, mobile services or internet connections.

Capital of The World

We have built many independent networks with refugees in Greece and Germany, which included streaming and file sharing functions through internet sharing. All of these communication options can be self-controlled. For decades, digital media have been celebrated as a relief from hegemonic dependencies and power politics, even as a tool for growing democratisation. Yet, communication networks increasingly prove to be entanglements that shape our personal ways of perception and expression. Regardless of our multiple, contemporary communication possibilities, many people remain voiceless. They are neither seen nor heard. As refugees with no rights or as 'illegals,' they are often pushed into precarious circumstances.

Today, all over Europe, we see campaigns to close borders, to hunt down boats used to transport refugees and to prepare for a general 'war against human trafficking.' Excluded, locked out, left alone, detained in the middle of nowhere, lost in the border regions— asylum seekers are held in place by travel bans and forbidden zones. Their quarters are located at the periphery. Asylum seekers in Switzerland are accommodated, e.g., in remote mountain valleys and army bunkers.

By interconnecting and linking these non-places, they become starting points for a socio-political upheaval. The *Capital of the World* was coined by an asylum seeker from Senegal, engaged in a Swiss asylum procedure, who dreamt of a common capital for the whole world. This would be a place where people from all cultures and speaking all languages met and found a shared homeland. The *Capital* stands also for the world's resources, its potential and richness that might grow from such a commonality. In this project, we developed tools for learning, interconnecting and for the purpose of developing relations to a community, to the neighbourhood and to others.

People displaced from crises zones and war zones are unprotected in many stages of their flight, without protection and without possibilities for personal initiatives. Required information is only available in scattered ways. There is always the risk of misinformation. Asylum seekers, whether arriving or while feeing, have no access to society, have no private sphere and are isolated— legally, linguistically, culturally, economically, socially, … But at the same time, they have abilities and expertise. *Capital of the World* is about expanding this expertise and to equip people also in precarious conditions with possibilities: Communication possibilities, even for emergency calls, possibilities for an exchange and self-representation in the neighbourhood, information sharing, ways of learning and of acquiring know-how about software, networking, communication and learning tools.

Patterns of identification and recognition have become more and more specific. They take on the form of language tests and detailed rules of conduct. They even make our opinions feel increasingly inhibited. A central role is played by acts of communication and by the medium of communication. Thus, the reflection on what may help us to gain insights into our own views is crucial.

The history of the recent more informal and cultural colonisation tactics reaches back to the age of colonialism. Subjugating foreign countries always depended on networks of global communication. Early spark-gap radio transmitters and the first submarine telegraph cables formed the backbone of colonisation, where colonies and the new technologies developed hand in hand. The sinking of the Titanic was, among other things, a catastrophe for privatised communication channels.

When comparing proprietary systems with open communication standards, different forms of inclusion and exclusion can be diagnosed. The European Union's central strategy for the 'war against human trafficking,' contains the monitoring of social media platforms and the observation through drones. Likewise, links of communication have strategical importance for appearing and disappearing humans.

In this context, independent networks offer a first step towards a critical reflection. We invite the marginalised to collaboratively develop specific tools to reveal a *dispositif* of politics and power and to overcome the fatal walls of silence. *Capital of the World* also allows a gathering of information and to examine the effects of a policy that finds its European echo in arguments for military action. Specific methods of observation and archiving will provide us with new insights into a system of propaganda and secret military operations.

In Greece, we also worked with repressed and harassed asylum seekers and activists. A countless number of boats have set sail in the last few months. Many of them sunk, leaving hundreds of people dead. Media images show groups of people traveling through Europe without any kind of help. In this manner, a refugee crisis is depicted that continually re-creates the gap between the privileged (who have airline tickets and visas) and those who are denied basic existential necessities. It shows how Europe attempts to shield itself from those fleeing from war and crises, by means of border fences, drones and coastal patrols.

Top:
Antennas at the Pariser Platz, government district Berlin, 2014
Can you Hear Me? https://canyouhearme.de
Image courtesy of the artists

Bottom:
Photograph: Sakari Laurila
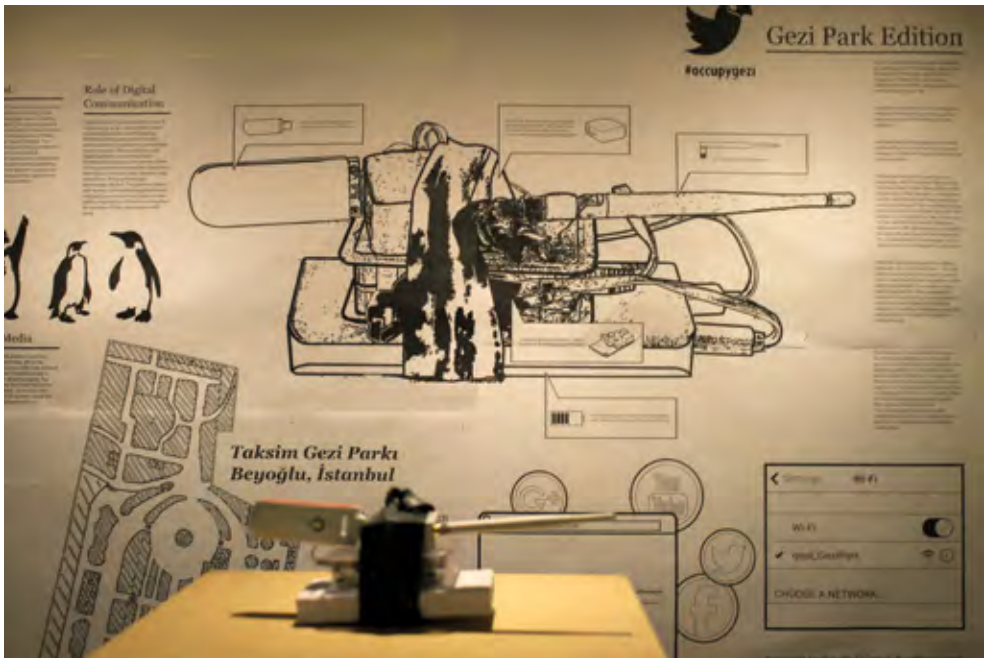
Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

" "

...

AN ARCHEOLOGY OF SILENCE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

AN ARTIST TALK

CHRISTOPH WACHTER AND MATHIAS JUD
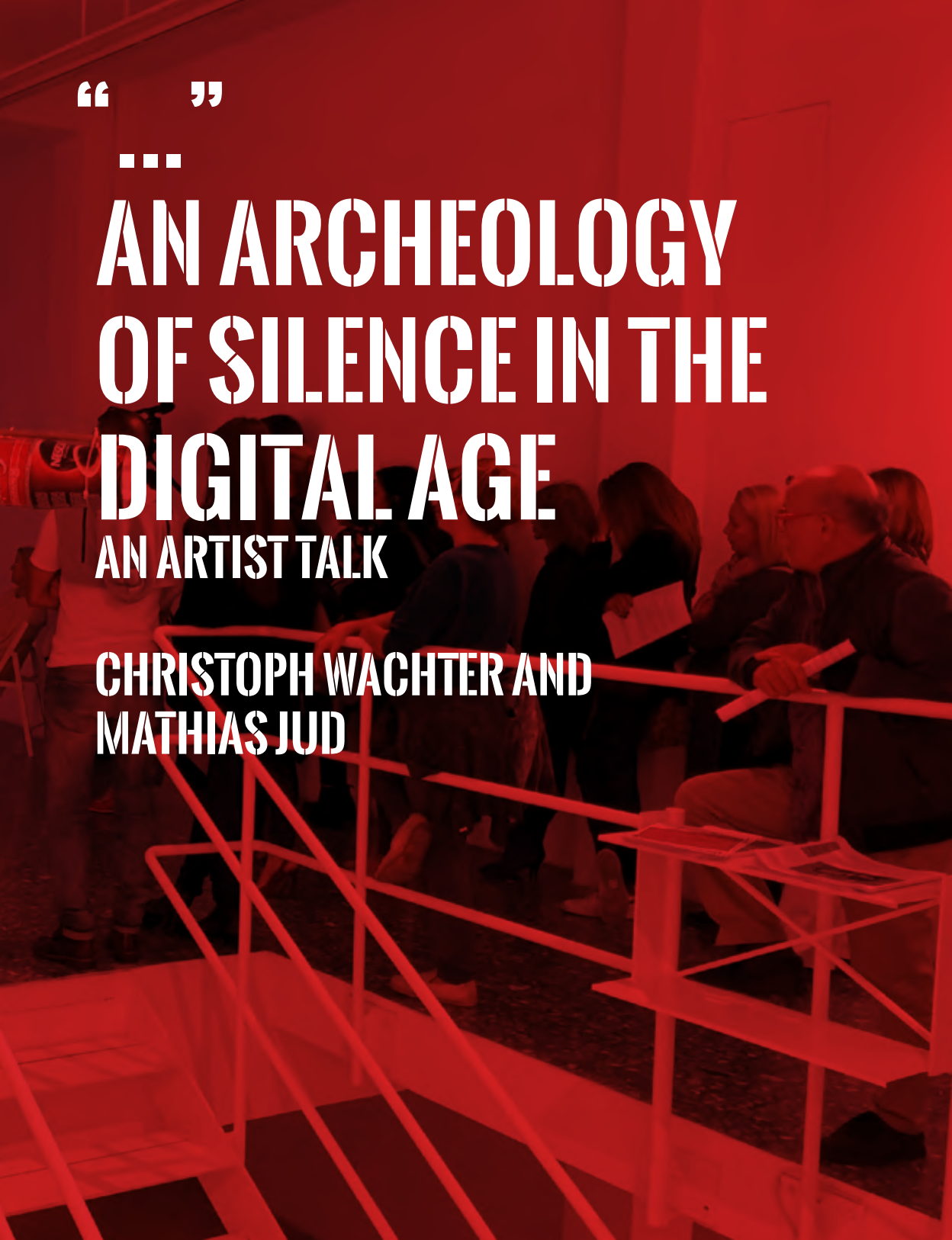
"…"
an archeology of silence in the digital age
An Artist Talk: Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud

What does the war in Syria have to do with the privacy debate in Europe? What does NSA mass surveillance have to do with a Chinese internet café?

On the one hand, we have our own specific views. On the other hand, the forms of expression are subject to a collective political, cultural, governmental and linguistic regime. In order to overcome the forms of attribution, exclusion and paternalism in our own views and expressions, we specifically address the social and cultural mechanisms of exclusion in our art projects. Our projects, such as picidae (since 2007), New Nations (since 2009) and *qaul.net* (since 2012), have gained worldwide interest by revolutionising communication conditions. As open-source projects these works uncover forms of censorship of the internet, undermine the concentration of political power and even resolve the dependency on infrastructure. The tools we provide are used by communities and activists in the USA, Europe, Australia and in countries such as Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, Iran, India, China and Thailand. Even North Korean activists participate. In the digital age we usually forget about the exclusion and the gaps because they don't appear in our world view. By looking into our communication conditions, we can realise new strategies and ways to reach out to each other.

This talk is a *tour d'horizon* to the isolated and hidden depths. Particularly in the digital age we usually forget about the exclusion and the gaps because they don't appear in our world view. By looking into our communication conditions, we can realise new strategies and ways to reach out to each other.
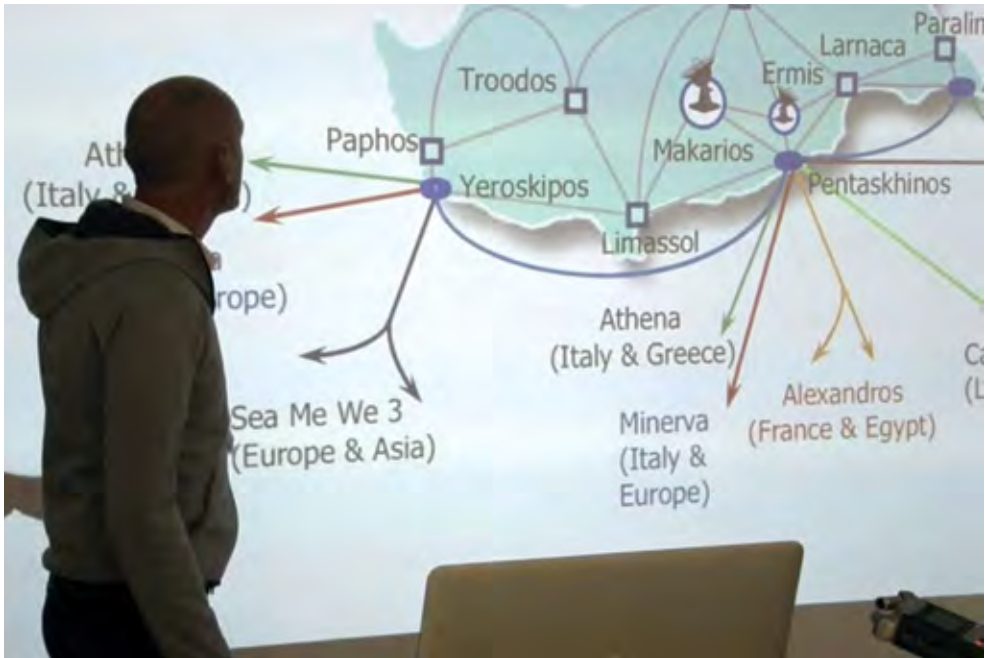
Video stills: Olga Yegorova

Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

TOOLS FOR THE NEXT REVOLUTION WORKSHOP
CHRISTOPH WACHTER AND MATHIAS JUD

Tools for the Next Revolution – A Workshop
Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud

The workshop was a journey into the possibilities of expression in the communication society which uncovers the narratives and power structures behind it. Participants created their own internet independent Wifi communication network, learnt how to use it and how to extend the range of Wifi networks with self-built antennas.

Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

Photograph: Sakari Laurila

Photograph: Helene Black

Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

Photograph: Liza Philosof

YOU BELONG HERE

LIZA PHILOSOF

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

You Belong Here
Liza Philosof

The work comments on a very western-democratic notion of freedom, where everything is possible and where we can choose anything we want. It simultaneously highlights that we can only pick one thing at any given moment. The video enters into a dialogue with several freedom-related values, as, for instance, the freedom of movement. We have to remember that even now, there are people who do not have the freedom of movement because they live in an undemocratic country. They do not have the freedom to choose where they want to live as the regime decides for them where they belong.

The idea of belonging then comes into range and leads up to another related idea—identity. In democratic countries, the identity of the individual remains in his hands. The country does not enter the emotional, mental space of the individual and decides what s/he identifies with. As an artist and designer, I moved to Los Angeles and am now part of a vast and diverse cultural landscape of artists and communities.

I can choose where I belong, even though I was born and raised elsewhere. This perspective stems from the fact that I grew up in a country that upholds democratic values and gave me the freedom of thought that I can belong anywhere as long as I decide to do so. Today, I belong and identify with the United States and Los Angeles' culture, and perhaps and in few years, I can choose to identify with a completely different culture. I have the power to decide.

You Belong Here consists of two-one shot footages that run together, displayed on two screens with a small seat in-between them. Even if a visitor is free to choose which video to watch at what point in time, s/he can never see both at the same time. On one side, they can see the Hollywood Boulevard of Los Angeles, USA. On the other side, they see captions of Pico Island, Azores Portugal. *You Belong Here* speaks about the freedom of choice, as a supreme value of democracy.

You Belong Here was created as part of the program of the *Once Upon Water* 2017 Artist Residency that took place in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean at Pico Island in the Azores.

Stills from video *You Belong Here*

Interview with Liza Philosof
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Liza Philosof: In my art, I usually use lots of colours. But what I always try to keep up is a minimalistic and simplistic style. This is part of me being a designer. I always start with less, with very simple movements, so that the climax emerges from itself. I cannot stand it when something is very crowded. I try to take simple acts so that as in *You Belong Here*, the video speaks for itself and creates the art without me having to edit or Photoshop things into it.

Olga: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your film?

LP: There is an internal part, during the making process, that might link to the notion of community (media) organisation. Half of this project took place in the Azores, in the middle of the Atlantic. I did not hear about this place before I went there. There is certainly a connection to community organisation as this is a product of being around other artists there and part of the very small but well-connected art community. I had then the chance to show the work in the Azores as well as in LA so that it broadened beyond the smaller community into the wider artistic communities of both places.

Speaking of the video itself, it stresses the freedom of choice. It shows the blessings that I have, living in democratic systems. I can choose where to live. Now, I live in Los Angeles. And the reason why I could do that is that I moved from one democratic system to another one. If I was living in Lebanon, which is just 10 minutes from where I grew up, maybe I could not have done the same thing. Unfortunately, you stop thinking about this freedom because it is just part of your daily life.

The mobility you have as a citizen of a democracy state gives you a further opportunity: You can transcend conflicts that may exist between two nations. To give an example, I went to a concert of one of my favourite artists in LA. He is from Syria. I, living in Israel, never thought that I could see him live. But the mobility I have enabled me to do so.

OY: In your artwork, you speak about the endless freedom of movement that a democratic system offers, but also of the limitation to being able to choose only one option. Can you tell me more about this tension emerging from freedom and limitation?

LP: It derives from the idea of choice in general. We live in a situation where most of us, living in democratic systems, have the feeling that everything is possible. We grew up to

think like that, at least many of us, depending on the parents you had, or the community you grew up in. But I lived like that, knowing that everything is possible. But in fact, you always have to choose only one thing from all of the options. So yes, everything is possible, but you can just be doing one thing at the same time. And this is the idea of the movie. You cannot be in LA and in the Azores at the same time. You can choose, but you also have to choose. The biggest freedom you might have is always limited to your choice. So you better enjoy this one choice you take.

OY: In your project, you seem to point out the local, everyday life on the streets of two distinct places. Is that correct? And if so, how is the relationship between this depiction and other media contents?

LP: First of all, I think that the everyday life is most interesting. I do not go to cinemas to see big Hollywood productions. I love to see the daily life. And it was an opportunity to give the viewer an authentic picture of what is actually happening on the Hollywood Boulevard. It is not glamorous, it is ordinary. There is no star walking on the street. It is a pretty shitty and dirty place. This is not what we see in the media about Hollywood. I felt like this was a secret mission: This is Hollywood Boulevard, take it as it is, without edits. I want to show the more authentic face of places.

OY: Do you argue for media that relates more to the everyday life in general?

LP: Well, I think this is already happening if we look at social media channels. We are not innocent anymore. We know about Photoshop and all the other tools which can edit realities. If you like to watch strongly edited action movies, you can do it. But you just have to be aware of the fiction behind it. I am more interested in sharing authenticity. Everyone has the access to a smartphone, everyone can be a photographer and everyone can shoot whatever they want to. Thus, we can get a more authentic picture of how the world is. That enables us actually to have access to much more than what we used to have. Even seeing stories from someone else on Instagram gives you an insight into something that is happening on the same day for someone else, who is living in completely different contexts than you do, who used his/her freedom for a very different choice.

On the top screen: So your role is pretty crucia[l]
- Yes.

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

FUGUE
NANCE DAVIES
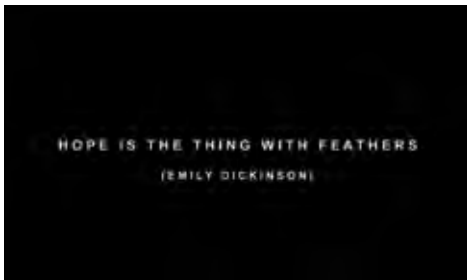
Fugue
Nance Davies

Davies's work explores empathy, inter-relationship and interdependence of all life forms. She maps the spaces where public and private experiences collide. She does this by constructing a matrix of surreal juxtaposition through the poetics of hybrid imagery. Empathy is critical to democratic processes. They are contingent and co-evolving. These systems, or processes, must be practised to become real. At best, they arise in an environment encouraging qualities such as compassion, selflessness and imagination.

A chorus of voices (artists, writers and theorists) shapes her thinking and art practice. Some are predictive in their warnings of the breakdown of democracy—that a 'spectacular-ised society' would materialise and metastasise. The 'spectacle' (framed by Hollywood, television, and ubiquitous advertising) distracts from real, embodied, and socially connected life. Mega-consumerism confuses, re-directs, and undermines identity. This 'brainwashing' creates dependence on an authoritarian voice. In the end, 'media noise' and a declining educational system, produce a debilitated human—no longer a human 'being' capable of critical thinking, nuanced judgement, empathy or compassionate participation in a democratic society. Consequently, millions are now incessantly consuming products, debasing and threatening others who are not like them, incapable of discerning truth from fiction and, inadvertently, taking down the earth in their own lethal spiral.

The ubiquitous 'digital screen' is replacing pathways for democratic participation, empathetic debate and new visioning. As the interface between our private and public lives—these screens allow us to slip back and forth—shedding our bodies for virtual echoes in repeating cycles. The televisual, ominous 'blue glow,' hypnotising and isolating us as spectators is now, literally, in our hands ... everywhere and almost all the time. We have to ask ourselves—Who performs? Who witnesses? What is lost when we lose the wisdom of the contingent body-mind? How does the music of the universe become the noise in the 'airlock?' In a thriving democracy, an invisible web, collectively woven through empathetic conversation, debate, and healthy struggle—creates a sense of connection, cohesion, and shared identity. Democracy is, now more than ever, dependent on the poetics of everyday life and the human connection.

Her work occurs across this complex terrain—geographical place, virtual space, psychological space, and the movement in-between. Her original media—painting and drawing—influence her voice in moving image development. Currently, media includes both tactile and virtual/electronic material [video, sound, and light]. Contexts for her work are installation spaces (art venues) and moving spaces (i.e. subway trains and stations), online moving-image sites, and large public projections spaces. The 'interstitial' influences both, her conceptual concerns and her formal decisions.

Fugue explores the concept and structure of the musical form 'fugue'—a polyphonic composition based upon multiple themes, enunciated by several voices in turn. Fugue is also a term used in psychiatry to describe a period during which a person suffers memory loss. Davies is investigating the condition of contemporary consciousness and identity—as it manoeuvres, morphs, and sometimes forgets itself in our constantly shifting and unstable world.

HOPE IS THE THING WITH FEATHERS
(EMILY DICKINSON)

Stills from *Fugue* videos

Interview with Nance Davies
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Nance Davies: I map the spaces where public and private experiences collide—by constructing a matrix of surreal juxtaposition through the poetics of hybrid imagery. I do this by allowing my senses, intellect, and intuition to flow freely and create new fusions. I am especially drawn to the spaces where site, audience and the process of making intersect.

Painting, drawing and music shape my voice in moving image development. Currently, media includes both tactile and virtual/electronic material [video, sound, and light]. Sites are installation space (art venues) and moving spaces (i.e. subway trains and stations), online moving-image sites, and large public projections spaces. The interstitial influences both my conceptual concerns and my formal decisions.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. Which of these concepts play a role in your project?

ND: I particularly relate to the *R!* theme of community participation and the rise of collective consciousness in a functioning democracy. In my country, we are witnessing the phenomena of such a 'group mind' in small communities all across the country in response to our new heartless political reality.

OY: You mentioned how private and public experiences collide in your work. Categories such as 'the private' and 'the political' or 'the public' are often used for the advantage of dominant groups within societies. How does your project contest these pre-set categories?

ND: Cultural and/or spiritual participatory art has existed either directly, or by proxy, throughout history. Today, a similar need for this art form has grown proportionately with our estrangement from nature and each other. I believe people are eager for this involvement as it offers a path into the territory of the maker. Once inside that space, the chance for personal agency is awakened and begins. This new citizen as 'maker, do-er, responder' is one who will likely feel empowered to do more, to take initiative, to make connections and share ideas with others, to step 'out of line' and try something new. This transition from silent and private citizen to artist-activist community member allows for new definitions and elaborations of language and terminology to emerge. This can also be the beginning of the process of 're-framing' concepts in terms of how they function and determine societal ethics and power dynamics. Private interests and needs can now

be addressed through the process of political organising, leading to significant socio-cultural change, as we have seen with the recent project 'Indivisible' here in the US.

In my project *Fugue* the individual videos visualise various stages along a continuum from 'psycho-socio confusion and identity disintegration' to the eventual awareness of 'empathy' as one recognises oneself in the other....be it human, animal, as well as the earth itself.

OY: Your project seems to highlight the importance of the senses and emotional communication forms. How does the sensory or affective experience work in your project and why it is important to you?

ND: Since my childhood by the Pacific Ocean, I've been drawn to the sounds, scents and visual dynamics of nature. This eventually led me to 'Installation' as process and space as it allows me to re-create this embodied environmental condition. As I grew up, I saw the correlations between these systems and those of culture. I'm fascinated by the ebb and flow of crowds navigating tricky spaces; by strangers aggregating together in response to crisis; by the rise of collective consciousness under pressure to create a tipping point. My desire to understand interrelationship fostered empathy.

OY: Does this representation also have a political meaning for you?

ND: I believe our political system has veered away from the premise of a democracy. Aggregated corporate wealth has colonised most sectors of our culture through systematic, targeted advertising which induces psychological states of fear and insufficiency leading to selfishness, hoarding and isolation.

OY: Is the focus on a sensorial experience also connected to participation?

ND: Yes. In my installation in particular, the work is not complete until the participants realise the sense-based space and begin to understand how their movement through the space impacts and changes it.

OY: Your project depicts a relationship between the virtual and the embodied, the digital and the tactile. How does this project deal with those realms?

ND: I present virtual reality and embodied reality as related, exchangeable and unstable states. These states, or conditions, can offer enlightenment or disconnection from self and others; integration or fragmentation.

Through your work, you pinpoint a crisis within the society and the individual due to consumption and the proliferation of individualism. How does your project address this crisis?

ND: I am investigating the condition of contemporary consciousness and identity—as it manoeuvres, morphs, and sometimes forgets itself in our constantly shifting and unstable world. My project explores the crisis that is emerging from end-stage capitalism by exposing its various consequences: fear and identity confusion; random and directionless movement; disconnection from the natural world; isolation and the dissolution of collective community connection, activism, sharing and compassion. Under such conditions, the individual psyche cannot cohere as body and mind begin to separate.

OY: Which role can your art project play to address these crises?

ND: For example, the video *Fugue ((((((between))))))* documents several participatory actions in my project, *One Hand Tied*, exploring human interaction and the poetics of the 'everyday' gesture. People-pairs, using only one hand each and no words, meet at a table and spontaneously perform an unrehearsed task together. They confront the need to let go of control and improvise a solution with one another. The focus is the space between: embodied knowledge and improvised interaction; connection and rupture; empathy and control; interdependency and the illusion of separation. As described earlier, the participants choose to engage in a task of their own devising. They invent the task, engage in and struggle through the limitations of working, watching, responding, and re-calculating...in order to complete the task.

One Hand Tied exists as both a participatory art project and a lyrical documentation. The participants' experience, in the best of worlds, extends beyond the performance as it demonstrates the difficulty of working together, and serves as a model for collaborative projects in the real, social, political world.

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

ARCHITECTURE OF A SPECTRAL CITY
WILL KENDRICK

Architecture of a Spectral City
Will Kendrick

The internet offers us a space of possibilities where hierarchies are toppled and time is collapsed. It was often proposed that the internet would provide us with a utopian refuge from the physical world. However, this act of removal of certain boundaries has brought forward a point at which information has been flattened out to such an extent that most things in this space are rendered meaningless. High art rides alongside to irrelevant objects, and reality, fiction, lies and truth sit hand in hand.

> "Barriers between the authentic and the implausible are breaking down. Reality is more subjective than ever, and the clear communication of ideas and opinions is difficult to achieve. Swept away on a looping tide of clickbait into seamless worlds of video game vistas where our news-feeds are tailored to our desires. We are told that we are all different, we are all individuals, and it's coincidental we all want the same things, same images, same products, and same celebrities that shimmer and flicker before us." (Charlotte Cousins[1])

The focus of this project is to imagine an interim space where these positions have completely overridden all reality. A digital dream space where newly sentient code contemplates the contradictory landscape that birthed it. The work uses the traditional means of collage to re-imagine the virtual sphere. Taken from the areas of pop culture, science fiction, religion, commerce, politics, and theoretical science, these elements create the cloudy landscape of our projected, often dystopic, future.

> "Kendrick's work sands down the rubbing spots between planes of existence: real:virtual:botanical:human. Screen-lives buffer as ancient artefacts are re-branded for mass consumption. Sci-fi psychedelia assert parity while hierarchies bleed out in numerical free-fall. Revolution creeps on crepe soles, holding something that is half light-saber, half spirit-level. In a holding space for those who shuttle between worlds." (Sarah Hayden[2])

We have all now become a part of the network, trading in our personal privacy for social connections that we all deeply desire. With AI, genetics and nano-tech and the hybridisation of these technologies moving at such an astonishing pace, our future seems ever more clouded. The future of our childhood has not only happened, it has become a distant past. These positions create an increasingly uneasy feeling about our technological and political futures. Resource wars rage as global warming's effects

1   Digital Artist Residency. "Will Kendrik." digitalartistresidency.org. https://www.digitalartistresidency.org/artists/will-kendrick/ (Accessed September 1, 2018)
2   MAM Chiloé. "Talleres ♦ 2017.11 – Will Kendrick." mamchiloe.cl. https://www.mamchiloe.cl/2017/11/talleres-♦-2017-will-kendrick/ (Accessed September 1, 2018).

present themselves in ever more violent capacities. Vanity and greed are driven by the ferocious appetite of a capitalist system which has consumed and poisoned our political arenas. By looking at our collective successes and failures as a species, can we harness the possible impacts that technologies could have to help us reach a fairer and more democratic society? Is it possible to rekindle the caring social structures of our ancestors; did those structures ever exist? Can we reconcile the problems we face with our emerging technologies or will we, as some believe, be extinguished by them?

Photograph: Olga Yegorova

Photograph: Nico Carpentier

Stills from video *Architecture of a Spectral City*

Interview with Will Kendrick
Olga Yegorova

Olga Yegorova: You were selected to take part in *R!* with a particular work, but what characterises your art in general?

Will Kendrick: My work tackles many themes which are often grounded in digital culture, the video game sphere or science fiction. One of the recurring themes is the relentless exposure to imagery through digital technology and how we try to find a point of calm within that noise. It's a push and pull between attraction and repulsion, digital and physical, and the perceived disconnects between the natural animal world and the human technological world.

OY: *R!* covered a variety of themes and concepts, where all projects related to notions such as participation, democracy, community media and/or power, always in very diverse ways. From your point of view, which of these concepts play a role in your project?

WK: I guess it hits on a few of those topics in a much broader sense. I think the work is often talking from a perspective of our technologies and the network we built. By network, I mainly talk about the internet. It's still relatively new to us in the grand scheme of things and we still don't know where it will take us. It's a place in which we engage with each other and a place where we share and store our stories and information. It is a global community that is now at the centre of our lives. It knows everything about us and can project everything to us that it believes we will consume. The future is hazy now. It's interesting to think of how we might exist in this virtual space in the future.

OY: Your installation depicts a relationship between the virtual and the embodied, the digital and the tactile. How is this relationship presented? And how might this representation also have a political meaning for you?

WK: I often think about the work as existing in this dream space between human thought and an imagined sentient code. I want it to have an attachment to the idea of a ghost-like entity within this virtual realm. My installation acts like a physical representation of a seam between our human minds and a machine as it begins to wake. It's flooded with the information that it is riding. I am talking about a space that we may or may not have to contend with but it is something that intrigues me greatly. What happens as we move closer to our technology? Who owns this space? These are questions that are often in the back of my mind. Companies like Elon Musk's Neuralink are currently working on the development of implanted brains to computer interfaces. They are in one sense very exciting prospects to me, but on the other hand, with the current state of media, privacy and directed marketing, where might this tech put us in the future?

Your project might point at a potential crisis within the society that arises from the several unknown aspects of the technological advancement or consumption. How do you address these crises? And do you see wider, political or societal meanings in the ways your work depicts those?

WK: I have often used various advertising campaigns and band iconography within my practice. I think that they are unfortunately the dominant symbols of our society. In many ways, these signs have replaced the gods. Celebrity coupled with commodification is a big problem. We thought that fame and money will make us happy but this is our greatest distraction. With attention diverted and our wallets open, we have sort of walked into a very strange place and many of these companies have become powerful social institutions, not to mention the amount of wealth and political sway the larger corporations garner from these behaviours.

I don't think the work is focused solely on this but I have it there as part of a collection of discussions that are swirling around the space I am depicting. I think that, within the work, these particular discussions manifest themselves more as a warning for the future. They are more about the notions of sleep working into things, of drifting from one situation to the next. It urges to be aware of that as we move slightly more hopeful and optimistically into the future. There is a new space opening and we need to be aware of our past mistakes.

OY: You are taking objects from various times of human existence and put them into a new context through your installation. How do you thereby change the previously taken-for-granted meaning of these symbols and what does this transformation stand for—on a political or societal level?

WK: The symbols do start to take on a new meaning when you put them into the context of our social evolution. I think of them as a part of an archive being scanned and processed, as some kind of emerging consciousness trying to understand our past technologies and behaviours; biology and physics; our successes and failures in order to move forward together. I think this is what this space represented in my installation feels like to me. It's sometimes dark but depicts overall an optimistic worldview.

CONCLUSION

Respublika! is Political. Why Participatory Art and Art on Participation Matters. A Political Analysis

By Olga Yegorova

In order for something to be political, it does not have to happen in a parliament, be communicated by a man in a suit, or be decided through votes during elections. The struggle for recognition of different societal issues as politically relevant has a history: in the 1960s, the second-wave feminist movement was evoking the concept that "the personal is political" (Ryan 2007), involving an opposition to misogynist oppression of women in the pre-categorised 'domestic' or 'private' sphere. In 2011, the Occupy Wall Street movement questioned the (neo-)liberal idea that corporate actions are merely 'economic.' Their shout of protest "We are the 99%" (Mark Ruffalo, cited in an article in The Guardian on 2 October 2011) catapulted the problem of unequal wealth distribution into both public and political awareness. And lastly, to cite Henry Jenkins during a lecture at Uppsala University (23 January 2018), also "the cultural realm becomes more and more a space of political engagement."

We can acknowledge that all events, processes or practices occurring within the social realm are political. Thus, we can shed light upon them by examining their political dimension (Fraser 1990; Hay 2002). The interaction between artist and audience, man and woman, lover and beloved can be just as political as the communication between a government and 'the people.' The purpose of this text is to reflect on *Respublika!* as a political phenomenon. This is not to say that *Respublika!* is only political. On the contrary, it is also a complex web of happenings, ideas and interactions that are worthwhile examining on many levels, including cultural, artistic, media-related or even economic dimensions.

On its online platform, *Respublika!* claims to incorporate art projects that "reflect on media, democracy, and its participatory component, analysing the (de)centralisation of power in contemporary societies," or "use participatory mechanisms to produce art projects, working with and empowering members of one or more communities."

In this text, we will evaluate parts of these announcements in the following ways. First, we discuss how *Respublika!*'s art projects critically reflect on the status quo of contemporary democracies, and their ways of dealing with power and participation. As a second step, we depict the ways in which the participatory co-creation of some of *Respublika!*'s art projects exemplify how participation can be used to equalise power imbalances. In a third step, we reflect on lessons to learn about participatory processes building upon some achievements of *Respublika!.* In order to do so, we first create a common understanding of key concepts for this text: power, participation, and democracy.

In Foucaultian terms, power is "always present" and power relations are "not something bad in themselves" (Foucault 1988, 11-12). The use of power through participation has been understood in many different ways, ranging from the power to decide upon

something or someone (Dahl 1957, 1961), to the power to limit the scope of decision-making by setting the agenda for decision-making processes (Bachratz and Baratz 1963), to the power to influence the preferences and interests of people (Lukes 1974). The use of power is always closely related to the imbalance of power between privileged, power-holding actors, and non-privileged, less powerful actors. In political theory, participation becomes relevant as a way to equalise power imbalances (Carpentier 2016; Carpentier 2011; Carpentier, Dahlgren and Pasquali 2014). Simplified, participation can be understood as the act of reclaiming and using one's power within decision-making processes in various ways.

In democratic theory, participation is crucial. Held (1996, 3) describes democracy as "a form of government in which, in contradiction to monarchies and aristocracies, the people rule." However, in order to make a political system work, not everyone can physically participate in each decision-making process within a state. For this reason, representation of the people comes into play. Balancing representation and participation within a democratic system is a constant challenge that creates equally constant tensions (Pateman 1970; Carpentier 2011).

Democracy, Power and Participatory Mechanisms Through the Critical Lens of *Respublika!*[1]

The above provides a basis for how democracy, participation and power are understood in political theory. By reflecting upon some common themes of *Respublika!*'s art projects, we will now be able to see how their artistic expressions can help us to better understand the same concepts. In particular, we will be able to reflect on the individual, homogeneity and heterogeneity, conflict, senses and emotions in modern democracies.

The individuum in a democracy – torn between heterogeneity and homogeneity

Hegemonic discourses in (and outside of) democracies try to homogenise citizens. This attempt is repeatedly criticised by several art projects of *Respublika!*. To illustrate that, let us first go mentally on a walk through the installation *Mirror Palace of Democracy* by Nico Carpentier. Entering the labyrinth of visible and transparent walls and mirrors, there are five voices, five personas who address us. All of them claim repetitively "I am the people" and invite us, the visitor, to affiliate ourselves with them. The first urges for the need to support each other. The second promotes freedom as our highest good. The third tries to convince us to accept strong leadership. Yet the fourth voice reaffirms a sense of belonging to the nation-state we are in, while the fifth voice calls for an attack on others in order to protect ourselves. The voices are the personifications of five ideologies: solidarism, liberalism, authoritarianism, nationalism, and militarism.

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1   http://respublika.neme.org

Each hegemonic ideology tries to persuade us that it is fully capable to represent the identities, needs, and interests of everyone, of "the people." However, as we walk through the *Mirror Palace of Democracy*, it becomes clear that there is a contradiction. If every single ideological discourse claims to be true, we understand that homogeneity is not possible. It can be attempted but can never fully accomplished. From this bird's-eye view, one understands that these are mere options for us to choose from. Meanwhile, our own reflection in the mirrors that we see in the labyrinth reminds us that none of the options will ever represent us fully, but always only certain aspects of us. Indeed, the more options we have to choose from, the more likely it becomes for us to feel represented by the choice we make. At the same time, the more voices there are to share their power amongst themselves, the less power our chosen representative has to enact his/her agenda, and hence represent our will.

This leads us to a critique of majority-driven participatory mechanisms that is formulated by Loes Witteveen who co-created the *Poetry Route River Flows*: "If 51 % of the people say 'We want this!,' it means 'We all want this!' and a decision is perceived as legitimate. But to me, this is quite funny because even the 51% do not necessarily want a certain thing they have voted for." What they express is solely that they want one option more than the other option. Loes Witteveen expresses a critique of the ways our democratic systems bypass people's diverse identities, interests, and needs. Projects such as the *Poetry Route River Flows* provide an impulse for Witteveen to rethink participatory practice: "Participation means to create a space that allows communities to form their ideas and express their feelings. Everyone has different functions in open communication spaces (...) And what is important is to break with the tendency of trying to make single-issue persons."

Similar to Witteveen's idea, George Kyrou, who upcycled military fabric in *Motivwv1.1*, also criticises the imposition of a collective identity on young people who perform their military service in Cyprus: "Militarisation is a sterile concept that revolves around the suppression of individuality and creativity." It aims at the "assimilation of one's personality and lack of identity."

What does this tell us about homogeneity and heterogeneity in democracies? First of all, it urges to be aware of the potential threat of any dominating ideology that tries to put everyone under one collective identity umbrella, because of its attempt to suppress minorities and diversities. In Laclau's (1993) sense, this would mean that one discourse comes to dominate and undermine all the other discourses. It is a way of creating ideas and meanings that are so naturalised that alternative understandings of the world are suppressed, resulting in the domination of a single perspective. This gives birth to what Gramsci (1971) calls hegemony.

At the same time, we may also understand that no hegemonic discourse—however powerful and dominant it may be at a certain point of time—is unshakable and permanently fixed. To illustrate this with the previously mentioned arts projects, the visitor of the *Mirror Palace of Democracy* can proceed into the unknown and exit the labyrinth of democratic choices and/or form his/her own attempt to establish an alternative discourse. Similarly, the military servant has the choice to leave his/her occupation to question and contest the ideas that were indoctrinated. George Kyrou gives us an example of how this can be done, which will be discussed later. In Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (2001, 112), the possibility to change a discourse at any given time is coined with the "impossibility of an ultimate fixity of meaning." To them, any meaning within discursive structures can only be partial, and contingent to the ever-evolving flow of discourses.

With this in mind, we may rethink common negative connotations of disagreement and conflict. In order to do so more thoroughly, the following section will explore what *Respublika!*'s art projects suggest about the concept of conflict.

Conflict in Democracies – Good Conflict Vs. Bad Conflict

Not surprisingly, there is a lot of disagreement about conflict. A very tangible example for this presented itself during Johannes Gerard's workshop/performance on December 9, in Limassol: In order to raise awareness on conflict and confrontation among the workshop's participants, Johannes instructed the group to use chairs to fight against each other. Most of the participants followed the instruction and started first carefully, and later with more vigour to swing their chairs against the others. However, one participant refused to take part in this exercise as, according to her, this would provoke unnecessary aggression of people against each other instead of a peaceful sense of togetherness. In a discussion after the exercise, a heated debate unfolded where some participants argued that aggression is part of our nature, which makes (violent) conflict unavoidable. Being able to explore this inner violence within the safe context of the workshop felt good to them. Others started to take on the opinion of the participant who refused to raise her chair against others, arguing that (violent) conflict is not inherent to human nature and that a culture of conflict incites more conflict.

The debate during Johannes Gerard's intervention gives us a glimpse of the contestations when it comes to conflict and raises a further question: Is conflict desirable, and if so, under which conditions? *Respublika!*'s art projects offered different answers. Based on Carpentier's (2015, 131) and Wallensteen's (1991, 130) concept of conflict, I will structure the varying opinions on conflict held by *Respublika!*'s art projects first, as violent behaviour, second, as societal contradictions, and third, as antagonistic positions. For reasons that will become apparent, I will not limit my definition of conflict to phenomena

related to human behaviour. For this reason, I will speak more generally of violent conflict and worldly contradictions.

Although encoded in artistic expression, it is not hard to see how the artistic video *Eclipse* by Emilia Izquierdo strongly criticises human-induced violent conflict, which manifests in war, oppression and neo-colonialisation that often uses technology. However, as Emilia Izquierdo sets this footage in juxtaposition to natural phenomena, the normative evaluation becomes more complicated: "if two stars collide, it is also a very violent phenomenon but it is very different from someone using drone warfare to kill people, although there is also an element of an explosion. There is a parallel and also a difference." The artist does not tell us where the differences and similarities between violence caused by nature and human lie. However, one may think about the previously described debate about violence and conflict in Johannes Gerard's intervention, and ask: Is violence a natural and unavoidable part of our cosmic as well as our societal reality? Ethically speaking, this is a difficult idea to assume, as it would provide an essentialist ground for the justification of violent behaviour, disregarding the moral obligation to take responsibility for our actions. However, *Eclipse* does not exclude this idea, but instead leaves the power of interpretation to its audience.

Let us now turn to conflict in form of worldly contradictions. Particularly, I want to pay attention to the conflictive relationship between human society, the Anthropocene, and the fauna and flora of our planet, which is a common critique of many art projects of *Respublika!*. For instance, Will Kendrick's futuristic imaginary world, which is driven by technological advance, points at one of those contradictions. Kendrick analyses the conflictive relationship between capitalist commodification and our natural habitat in challenges such as global warming.

The project demonstrating the contradiction between humans and nature the most is *wolFMoon howling* by Irena Pivka and Brane Zorman. Through their sound performance that imitates wolf howling in a public urban space, such as the Buffer Zone of Nicosia, the artists give an impulse for a "reflection about how the Anthropocene treats nature and more powerless beings through annexing their space into an urban logic. We are already master of the whole planet. Our mind is not just driven by intuition and instinct, but we can be aware of it in contrast to many animals." The specific threat that *wolFMoon howling* illustrates arises from our invasion of the natural habitat of wolves through urbanisation processes, and violent behaviour towards other species more generally. As a result, this powerful position of humans "increases our responsibility to use our power towards nature wisely. We are accountable to make sure that other species' existence is secured, or at least not threatened by us," according to Pivka and Zorman. What they suggest as a solution to the unequal conflict between humans and animals, namely the greater responsibility and accountability of humans, might be transferable to many other conflicts that may evolve.

wolFMoon howling also allows us to formulate another lesson about antagonistic conflict in democracies. The sound performance is, on the one hand, intended to make people listen to the long-forgotten howling of wolves because of our urban invasion. On the other hand, it encourages the listeners to learn from wolves' ability to avoid conflict through careful listening to each other: "By howling, [wolves] connect to each other and mark their location in relation to other packs. Thereby, they are protective of their own territory through howling so that other packs do not interfere in their territory. But they, in turn, also do not interfere in others' territories. They do not want to fight about territories. Instead, listening to one another helps them to prevent conflict." In contrast, in human society, "conflicts evolve because neither nations nor citizens listen to each other in the political, cultural, religious or social realms," the artists note.

This critique resonates with Andre Dobson's (2014) *Listening for Democracy*, which draws attention to the ways in which "a great deal of attention is paid to voice and speech in our reflections on democracy, and very little to the senses, such as sight and hearing" (Dobson 2014, 18). In particular, Dobson criticises how political conversations are centred around speaking in a confrontational way against each other instead of listening to each other. In this way, Dobson situates himself within the deliberative idea of democracy, which does not necessarily "aim to wish conflict away," but rather "to make it more apparent" through the practice of listening in political discourse (Dobson 2014, 4).

Not all conflict can be resolved through listening. To underpin this, Emilia Izquierdo's *Eclipse* gives us again food for thought. After some footage material from Nazi Germany and nuclear catastrophes, she uses archival footage of the Civil Rights Movement in her multimedia film. Liberation of, and resistance against, oppression become possible scenarios of conflict between oppressor and oppressed. This juxtaposition provides a first glimpse for how antagonism harbours the potential to equalise unjust power imbalances and, thus, how the conflict should not be *a priori* condemned in a normative way.

Another intruding conflict within the context of *Respublika!* that may foster this idea concerns the ethnic division of Cyprus into the two main communities. Thereby, the Cypriot art project *It's Good to Know* by Join2Media can be recognised as an example to reflect on how conflict can be democratised instead of being abolished: while the documentary treats different topics surrounding the shortcomings of mainstream media, it also aims to overcome the hostile depictions of both sides, which inhibit a mutual understanding between one and the other. Particularly, for Join2Media, "It was important to keep a balance between people from the South of Cyprus and from the North so that the documentary could serve as a platform that acknowledges that there is another side to things, while simultaneously transferring the message: 'We are together in this.'"Thus, the project did not only serve to strengthen a unifying community that involved conflictive parties but also as a way of creating space for opinions from both sides, without denying possible conflicting opinions. As Carpentier, Lie and Servaes (2003,

61) would say, the Join2Media's project could be seen as a means to "cut across borders and build linkages between [a] pre-existing gap."

This understanding of conflict resonates with Chantal Mouffe's (2005) discourse-theoretical distinction between antagonism and agonism. Mouffe rejects striving towards the reconciliation of conflicting discourses, which builds on Habermas' consent-oriented deliberative ideal (Habermas 1992). In contrast to Habermas, Mouffe sees conflict as not only unavoidable but as constitutive to 'the political' (Mouffe 2005; Maddison and Patridge 2014, 31). To Mouffe, antagonism thus never disappears, yet it can be "tamed" (Dreyer and Sonnichsen 2014, 268). This means that opponents become adversaries instead of enemies (Dreyer and Sonnichsen 2014, 267). When agonism prevails, adversaries still disagree and know that an agreement will not be achieved. However, they mutually accept the legitimacy of the other's perspective (Dreyer and Sonnichsen 2014, 268). Confrontation can still take place in agonism, but it does so within the common ground of democratic values (Yegorova 2017, 22).

Respublika!'s art projects showed us that there is a lot of conflict about conflict. They raise questions and ideas that resonate with different beliefs within political theory and create awareness of the fact that in order to address conflict, there are numerous contextual factors that need to be considered, such as the power relation between the conflictive parties and the degree of hostility in conflict, as well as the different means that may be varyingly appropriate in order to increase the potential of conflicts to enable a thriving democracy.

Senses and Affect in Democracies – An Emotional Wake-Up Call

Using our senses and expressing our emotions are phenomena that are usually not attributed to the political realm. However, according to Chantal Mouffe (2013, 6) it "is impossible to understand democratic politics without acknowledging 'passions' as the driving force in the political field." Many of the art projects of *Respublika!* criticise the lack of emotion and use of the senses in political participation. For instance, Loes Witteveen thinks that participation should go beyond rational thinking, stressing participation which involves affect: "in contrast to processes of participation that are mostly connected to already-established possible scenarios by governments, we are calling people to get closer to the area concerned, physically and emotionally." Through *Poetry Route River Flows*, Witteveen illustrates that even decisions that require a lot of rational thinking, such as those involving the management of the Rhine river banks, may be enriched through the sensorial and emotional exploration of related themes prior to rational abstraction.

Elena Volina makes passengers listen to historical moments on audiotape upon which they may reflect. However, this reflection is neither written nor spoken, but painted

on canvas as an 'emotional result' of the listeners' experience. In ways that became apparent, *wolFMoon howling* also urged people to listen to nocturnal sounds. It is not only the sensorial aspects of politics and participation that are illustrated but also the emotional ones. According to Nance Davies, "empathy is critical to democratic processes. They are contingent and co-evolving." Therefore, she wants to stress human connection, both physical and emotional, on screen.

The artists' critical awareness of the need for emotional and sensorial forms of participation in democracies points to a gap in the academic discourse. Concerning sensory forms of participation and political discourse, Dobson's (2014, 18) above-mentioned auditory approach comes closest. Apart from that, according to Dobson, sensory democratic theorising treated the visual sense mostly as spectatorship. Concerning affect in politics, a lot has been investigated in new social movement research where the potential of emotions for the creation of collective identities and the generation of social change was examined (Goodwin, Jasper, and Poletta 2009). A lot of attention has been paid to negative emotions such as anger as a mobilising force to counter injustice, or more broadly, to fuel collective struggle of groups for recognition or distribution (Cossarini 2014). However, the idea that emotions not only matter to understand why a political process unfolds but also, that senses and emotions and their expressions can be actively used in democratic decision-making, is an achievement of *Respublika!*'s art projects.

As a final reflection on the power of emotions in participatory moments and social change, let us take a look at how *The Party of the Housing Dream* manages to establish a counter-force to an unjust societal issue surrounding the housing market in Brussels through humour. Therefore, we will recall a scene of the film: a man coming to a meeting with a public servant shows her his papers and asks for the process to be dealt with quickly because of the urgency of his concern. Instead of the expected office setting, the scene is set in the context of a physiotherapist appointment that the public servant is attending. She is stretching her leg, bending her knee and not even looking at the man who approaches her in a way that implies the seriousness of his situation. What is happening in this scene? A real-life problem, namely, the little respect, attention, and understanding of public servants towards their clients, is exhibited in a humorous way. It expresses a strong critique through turning the situation into ridicule. The use of humour can serve as a means of resistance against the social injustice surrounding the housing market in Brussels. In Tsakona and Popa's (2011) words, the Groupe ALARM uses the means of humour to deconstruct an oppressive social reality through enjoyment.

Participation in Action: Respublika!'s Potential Towards Empowerment

We have now named several reflections on democracy and participation expressed by *Respublika!*'s art projects. This part of our analysis will place an emphasis on the participatory character of some of *Respublika!*'s art projects. Specifically, we will first look at how participatory artistic creation in the context of *Respublika!* addresses power imbalances, and second, use the given examples to reflect upon the nature and dilemmas of participatory (arts) practice.

Just as participation is generally conceptualised as a way to equalise power imbalances, so did the participatory creation of the art projects of *Respublika!* offer different moments of emancipation to subordinated groups, people or instances. In the following section, I will pinpoint three different kinds of emancipatory moments. The first emerges as a result of empowering people with certain vulnerable positions within societies. The second constitutes the reclamation of the public urban space and soundscape. And finally, a third moment can be overarchingly described as a way of claiming the power to redefine the oppressive meaning of symbols of hegemonic discourses.

Emancipatory Moments from Vulnerable Societal Positions

To illustrate the different ways of creating emancipatory moments for people in vulnerable positions, it is worthwhile paying attention to *Life:Moving* and *The Party of the Housing Dream*. Through the films of *Life:Moving*, people affected by terminal illness show us snippets of their living environment. One would rarely see these people presenting a news report, as actors in theatre halls or as public speakers in other contexts. They represent a part of society, which is often pushed into 'the private,' decided upon by public healthcare institutions or dramatised in scenographic ideas, which could not be further away from reality, by film-makers who do not experience terminal illness themselves. This is problematic because, like the *Life:Moving* project's initiator Michele Aaron states, not only does this create misinterpretations among the public of what it means to be terminally ill, but as a result, also contributes to the creation of stigmas with traumatising effects on people who are affected by terminal illness.

Through *Life:Moving*, the gap between power-holding actors who decide upon the healthcare procedures or representations of death and dying and the people affected by terminal illness becomes narrower. The participants of the John Taylor Hospice acquire skills during workshops for producing their stories; they get to choose specific technologies that are tailored to their convenience and they are the ones writing and telling the stories of their own experience. The product is six films which are not only shown to the wider audience in the UK but specifically to communities that are directly related to terminal illness, such as, the Cypriot health centre Materia, where a small *Respublika!* exhibition was organised. The emancipatory moment of the film project takes

place on different levels: as a very personal and therapeutic means for each participant and their families to process and express their experience, as an authentic counter-discourse against the misrepresentations of terminal illness in mainstream media, and lastly, as a way of communicating the perspective of people who are terminally ill not as patients, but as humans to hospital staff and healthcare providers.

Similarly, emancipatory is the making of the film *The Party of the Housing Dream* by Snowdon and Groupe ALARM. The project involves a variety of people, of whom some have fled their home countries to find refuge in Belgium and had hardships finding housing in Brussels. In their day-to-day lives, they struggle against more powerful actors for the recognition of their precarious situation and an equal distribution of housing opportunities. Thus, they often find themselves in an unequal power relation because of their socioeconomic or legal status, being at the mercy of public servants and local authorities.

There are several more dimensions of empowerment in the work of Snowdon and Groupe ALARM that tackle these unjust circumstances. Just as in many other films, the film-maker Peter Snowdon does play a relatively central role by dramatising the scenes, editing as well as interviewing the characters throughout the entire film in a radio-like studio set-up. However, the actors get to discuss their experiences with each other, design the characters and create the beginning and the end of the film. Thus, they have a strong decision-making power throughout the whole process. The participatory characteristic of this project goes even beyond the film-making. For the screening of the film at *Respublika!*, two of the actors are physically present in Limassol and are thus able to use their power to shape the interpretations and discussions of the audience members after they saw the film. The work of the Groupe ALARM illustrates how participatory practice is enacted throughout different stages involving the planning, the production and the *a posteriori* discussions of *The Party of the Housing Dream*. Furthermore, the ways in which authorities and public servants are ridiculed through the characters and scenic design of the film (described in the previous part of this text) creates a reversed power dimension between power-holding public servants and relatively less powerful people searching for housing.

Reclaiming the Urban Space and Soundscape

A second empowering moment, which takes place during the festival week of *Respublika!*, evolves when artists and participants reclaim public spaces of Cypriot cities. Many spaces in modern cities have a strongly pre-determined infrastructure, which serves for example purposes of consumption, relaxation or transit. By putting a ten-meter long canvas on a public square as Elena Volina and Mathieu Devavry did, by fighting with chairs (Johannes Gerard), driving through the main shopping street of Nicosia with illuminated bikes (MYCYradio), or, by howling like wolves in the Buffer Zone of Nicosia, the public art projects of *Respublika!* challenge the behavioural norms of urban spaces.

During an interview with MYCYradio, Orestis Tringides and Hazal Yolga unravel why these norms are questionable:

> "If a car can blast out music loudly into the street, why can't I sing out loud walking on the same street? Why can the car take over the soundscape but the human voice is not acceptable or perceived as weird? We blast out music with our bikes and by doing so, signify the people their own freedom to use the public sphere in ways they would like to use it, punching a hole into this restricted space of norm."

Consequently, all of the interventions that happened during *Respublika!*'s festival week in public spaces implicate an empowering experience. They demonstrate to the participants that it is possible to use their daily urban environment more freely and creatively. On a more general level, these interventions are also footsteps towards the cultivation of an urban culture that goes beyond consumption and pre-determined usages of the urban space. It reminds us that the status quo, no matter how normalised it is, can be changed.

The Power to Challenge the Meaning of Symbols

This leads us to a third emancipatory moment. Here, artists and ordinary citizens contest the ways they were taught to think about certain symbols, specifically, about oppressive symbols. Two projects that root in the Cyprus Problem exhibit how the hegemonic meanings of symbols can be countered – George Kyrou's *Motivwv.1.1* and Old Nicosia Revealed's *Meet Y/Our Wall*. George Kyrou's project uses fabrics from military forces of the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriots, the British as well as the UN. The camouflage patterns remind Kyrou of a system that suppresses creativity and "diminish[es] soldiers into pawns." The uniforms are symbols of authority, and division imposed by nation-states. In Kyrou's workshops, participants get to cut, shred and stitch the pieces of different uniforms together "and by taking [them] apart, you are also taking apart the politics of those fabrics, the division of Cyprus and all the surrounding hostilities (…) it becomes yours, not someone else's," according to Kyrou. Symbols of division become unified into a fashionable piece of clothing. They lose their hegemonic meaning and turn into an act of resistance against the military presence in Cyprus creating opportunities for participants to work together, have fun and feel a sense of belonging.

Also Old Nicosia Revealed transforms the meaning of the most tactile symbol of Cyprus' division: the Buffer Zone separating North and South Cyprus, or the so-called 'Green Line.' *Meet Y/Our Wall* creates alternative narratives to this symbol. For instance, by taking aesthetically pleasing pictures of the walls of the Buffer Zone, the group emphasises its historical beauty. Bringing the photos into other places within Cyprus or even to other countries gives us space for further possible interpretations: suddenly, the Buffer Zone is not only a phenomenon of Nicosia, but its presence becomes obvious in many other parts of Cyprus and of the world, where awareness of it is born. At the same time,

it symbolises that a wall is movable and transferable. And finally, the artistic use of pictures of the divisive wall of Cyprus and its relocation diminishes the normative value of it. It is neither good, nor bad. A wall can have different meaningful purposes. It can ensure protection but it can also cause hostile division.

The involvement of participants in both *Motivwv1.1* and *Meet Y/Our Wall* enables them to change the common and dominant narratives about symbols. It gives them agency to transform them into something light, fun, beautiful, or banal. Hence, it opens up the possibility for people to start relating differently to oppressive narratives around symbols in their day-to-day lives.

What We Learn About Participatory (Arts) Practice

The participatory art projects illustrate how participation can become a vehicle for challenging unequal power relations, even if we should be careful, as, for instance, Pascal Gielen argues in this book. What they also teach us, are different insights about how participation in arts practice can and/or should be.

One lesson we learn from various projects is that although participatory projects do aim at changing larger social issues and having a wider reach, the process of their making is also valuable. The participation of ordinary citizens who get to work on creative projects for the first time can and should be an empowering experience. This leads us directly to the insight that participatory processes should not only strive towards the greater good but also, be a means of personal growth for the participants. Commonly, the value of participation is often seen on a systematic societal level. *Respublika!* exhibited why this underestimates the individual benefits of participatory arts practice. In the example of Snowdon and Groupe ALARM, the process of the filmmaking could serve in itself as the establishment of a community and as an exchange of common experiences among people who face problems to find housing. In the case of *Life:Moving*, this meant that the terminally ill people found joy in the process of the elaboration of their films, or at least, a meaningful distraction from "the sheer monotony and boredom of dying," as one participant phrased it.

If we consider how *Respublika!*'s art projects are an enriching experience, then a third lesson is to be learned: project initiators have to be willing to share their decision-making power and collaborate with all involved. During his interview, the filmmaker Peter Snowdon commented in a way that appealed to the core of community media values: "What is important to me is that the people affected get to negotiate and decide. The negotiation needs to be open already in the making of films, and not just when a result is achieved so that the control over means of representation, images and of storytelling is shared." Also Michele Aaron and Briony Campbell understood the importance of collaboration by involving hospices, the terminally ill people and health care providers

directly in the process of the decision making in the films. As Michelle Aaron said: "When we say 'participation,' we think of the individual participating in something 'bigger,' in society. But actually, we might think of participation as being necessarily collaborative. It is not only the individual in relation to society but more importantly the individual in relation to another individual."

Building upon that, everyone interested in creating participatory processes needs to know: in order for people to participate, a conscious effort must be invested in minimising the obstacles to participation. A project has to become adaptable to the needs of people who are often excluded from participatory practice. MYCYradio achieves this by bringing their microphone, and hence, their studio to the crowded city centre of Nicosia on bicycles. This makes it possible for people, who would or could usually not to come to the radio-studio otherwise, to make themselves heard. But lowering the barrier to participation can mean much more than increasing its spatial accessibility. In the films of *Life:Moving* one had to think, explain, and purchase different technological devices in order to meet the participants' individual needs. In the case of *The Party of the Housing Dream*, this might have meant to arrange financial and logistical means to enable two actors to present their film and discuss it in front of the audience in Limassol during the Festival week.

However, giving the power of decision to ordinary people entails a risk. In the arts realm, the artwork may turn out not very aesthetically pleasing or appreciated in the art world (Bishop 2006, 12). In the realm of democratic participation, this can mean that participatory structures are used to promote non-democratic discourses. For example, Yiannis Christidis indicates that one has to set the limits to participation for "a neo-Nazi community media project." The other option would be, as Nico Carpentier notes, to accept "the actor's voices through the prism of the freedom of speech," no matter how dangerous these voices may be. Putting all the effort into the build-up of a participatory project, one has to keep in mind: participation is usually (and probably should also be) voluntary, based on the free will of each person. However, what freedom also implies is the freedom to decide not to participate. What follows is that even if the barrier to participate is completely diminished and the community radio folks knock every day on your door to ask you to speak for ten seconds about any topic of your interest into a microphone, you have the right to say no to participation.

What does this mean for people highly invested in participatory arts, media or political action? The outcome of any participatory action is unpredictable, and thus, "[one] has to be prepared for failure," as the artists of Labor Neunzehn acknowledge. Their project *All Sources Are Broken* can only become the internet-based platform for collective sharing of knowledge interlinking offline and online-sources it wants to be if there is a collective to do so. But "sometimes an idea, initiated by community media arts, leads to a series of

actions and to the creation of communities. Sometimes it does not. This is a fact that is not controllable," as Orestis Tringides and Didem Eroglu from Join2Media realise.

George Sand said in 1872 that artists have the "duty to find an adequate expression to convey it to as many souls as possible." While we do not want to go into a deliberation about the *raison d'être* of the arts, it does also link directly to a politically relevant question: What is the value of participatory mechanisms and participatory systems, when no one is willing to participate? What value would *Respublika!* have if all the work would have ended up in front of empty exhibitions, seminar halls and grumpy participants? Probably, we could have justified this unpleasant outcome by getting back to participation as being based on freedom.

Luckily, this was not the case, and, we can see how *Respublika!* gave a tangible set of critiques and reflections on issues that need to be addressed or thought in modern democracies through its art projects. It took politics out of the parliament and into the streets and exhibition places of Cyprus. At the same time, the synergy of professional artists, activists, academics, and citizens in the *Respublika!* art projects provide us with a toolkit for further theoretical and practical exploration of participation in democracies.

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APPENDICES

R! Festival Activities

#	Date/Time	Activity	Location	
1	28.10.2017 10:30-17:00	*Tools for the Next Revolution* by Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud	NeMe Arts Centre, Corner of Ellados & Enoseos streets, Limassol	
2	12.11.2017 10:00-15:00	*Motivwv1.1* by George Kyrou	CCMC, Ledra Palace Buffer Zone Crossing (black gate next to Ledra Palace), Nicosia	
3	25.11.2017 10:00-15:00			
4	09.12.2017 15:50-16:30	*WolFMoon* by Irena Pivka, Brane Zorman and The Cypriot Howling Team	Outside Ledra Palace, Buffer Zone, Nicosia	
5	09.12.2017, 10:00-20:00	*What Is It About?!* by Elena Volina and Mathieu Devavry	Faneromeni Square, Nicosia	
6	09.12.2017 15:00-17:00	*Social Sculpture* Performance/ Workshop *Unfolding-Unwrapped* by Johannes Gerard	Heroes' Square (Plateia Iroon), Limassol	
7	10.12.2017 10:00-20:00	*What Is It About?!* by Elena Volina and Mathieu Devavry	Hoi Polloi Square / Arasta Square (next to Hoi Polloi), Nicosia	
8	10.12.2017 19:00-20:30	*The Party of the Housing Dream* by Peter Snowdon and the Groupe ALARM	NeMe Arts Centre, Corner of Ellados & Enoseos streets, Limassol	
9	10.12.2017 21:00-21:40	*Community Spectradio* by Yiannis Christidis, Markos Souropetsis & Co.		
10	11.12.2017 15:00-17:00	*Social Sculpture* Performance/ Workshop *Unfolding-Unwrapped* by Johannes Gerard	Heroes' Square (Plateia Iroon), Limassol	
11	11.12.2017-31.01.2018 9:00-20:00 (daily)	*Life:Moving* by Briony Campbell and the Life:Moving participants and project team	Materia, Athalassis 41, Latsia, Nicosia	
12	12.12.2017 17:45-20:45	*Life:Moving* by Michele Aaron and Briony Campbell		
13	13.12.2017 15:00-17:00	*Social Sculpture* Performance/ Workshop *Unfolding-Unwrapped* by Johannes Gerard	Phaneromeni Square, Nicosia	
14	13.12.2017 19:30-20:30	*All Sources Are Broken* by Labor Neunzehn	NeMe Arts Centre, Corner of Ellados & Enoseos streets, Limassol	
15	14.12.2017 19:30-20:30	*Poetry Route River Flows* by Jacomien den Boer and Loes Witteveen		
16	15.12.2017 15:00-17:00	*Social Sculpture* Performance/ Workshop *Unfolding-Unwrapped* by Johannes Gerard	Phaneromeni Square, Nicosia	
17	15.12.2017 20:00-22:00	*It's Good to Know* by Join2Media	Studio 21, Nicosia	
18	16.12.2017 21:00-23:00	*Open Mic - a Community Radio Experiment* by CCMC/MYCYradio	CCMC, Ledra Palace Buffer Zone Crossing, Nicosia (point of departure)	

1. The workshop explores the possibilities of expression in the communication society and uncovers the narratives and power structures behind it. Participants will create their own Internet independent Wifi communication network, learn how to use it and how to extend the range of Wifi-networks with self-built antennas.

2,3. Upcycling workshops allow for the participation in the construction of new transnational uniforms, using (parts of) the many uniforms that are present on the island as raw materials. If you have old uniforms to share, bring them.

4. Irena Pivka and Brane Zorman organise howling sessions as means to reflect about connection, participation, individuality, community and respect. Howling is about speaking and listening. Join the Cyprus Howling Team for a new howling session outside the Ledra Palace in the Buffer Zone.

5,7. The *What Is It About?!* performances invite participants to listen to a selection of historical sound fragments, which are always open to a multitude of interpretations. Through painting, participants can then express their responses and interpretations.

6, 10, 13, 16. The *Social Sculpture* performance revolves around four axes: body awareness, spatial awareness, creative awareness and collaboration. Participants will engage in physical movements and actions, changing roles, decision-making, the exchange of ideas and the interrogation of performativity.

8. The *Party of the Housing Dream* is a film about a series of characters who have left their homeland, or their home town, spend their days and nights traversing the city of Brussels, searching for somewhere to live. Yet despite their best attempts, they repeatedly find themselves back where they started - humiliated, cheated, outside, and alone. Gradually, the idea emerges that the only solution to their problems is to take democracy seriously and launch their own political party. Little do they suspect where their dream will lead them.

9. The *Community Spectradio* performance consists out of guitar-electronics accompanied by a live video–art composition. An electroacoustic hue created by guitar improvisations is combined with fragments of recordings, made by producers of Cut–Radio, the Community Radio of the Cyprus University of Technology.

11. *Life:Moving* is an exhibition of films made by people affected by terminal illness as part of a collaborative participatory and research-based Arts project. Over six months, through workshops and home visits, participants from John Taylor Hospice in Birmingham were given practical and critical training and support to develop and co-create their films.

12. The workshop, with Michele Aaron and Briony Campbell, deals with the issues raised by the *Life:Moving* installation/project, which consists out of films made by people affected by terminal illness. Issues at stake are, among others, participation, power, and the representation of living and dying.

14. The lecture-performance focuses on one dimension of the *All Sources Are Broken* project, namely hypertextuality, books, archive, and the online/offline. The performance consists out of a projection of two video streams combined with the live voice-over of the Labor Neunzehn artists.

15. Two members of the *River Flows* team present their participatory project, which empowered international students to paint mono-types and write poems inspired by the 'De Koppenwaard' location on the IJssel river bank, expressing a sense of place, highlighting the cultural heritage of the former brick factory and articulating the value of the area's natural resources.

17. *It's Good to Know* is a video documentary, which has 3 axes-themes:
    1. The right of access to information (the "right to know"), a theme that explores the status of this fundamental human right in Cyprus, from the media and the community/civil society / (active) citizenship perspectives;
    2. Peace journalism, showing the work done on/in PJ in Cyprus, and how it relates to the issues of missing persons, human rights, migration and discrimination in media practices, etc.;
    3. Media ethics, and the role of media, community media and an active media literate community.

18. The *Illuminated Night Ride* tour takes cyclists through the old town of Nicosia, with the light-decorated and sound-blasting MYCYradio bicycle taking the lead. The light riders, who participate in the pack, will record the soundscape and the reactions of the public. The starting point is CCMC/MYCYradio in the Ledra Palace Buffer Zone. Bring your bicycle and your lights.

Photograph: Yiannis Colakides

RESPUBLIKA!
SEMINARS

The artistic-democratic capacities of communities and their organisations are often underestimated and neglected, pushed aside by traditional top-down structures, and leadership, expertise and professional models. This seminar aimed to critically explore the artistic-democratic capacities of communities and their organisations, identify problems, obstacles and restrictions, and look ahead at the conditions of possibility for the continued democratisation of the social and its many fields.

SPEAKERS:
Vuk Ćosić
From Nettime via Syndicate to 7-11

Abstract: A first person shooter ride through the heroic period of net.art with anecdotal, circumstantial, amnesiac and other barely useful reminiscences of the way in which this newly found and carved space of freedom made us all click. This definitively unauthorised autobiography of a movement will be delivered by talking and supported by illustrative slides. Everybody needs to attend.

Pascal Gielen
How can artists stay autonomous, and keep their creativity alive in the contemporary society?

Abstract: How can artists stay autonomous, and keep their creativity alive in the contemporary society? In this paper is stated that the individual bourgeois model of the artist is not sufficient any more to make autonomous art and to stay creative on the long run. If artists want to stay mobile and autonomous they need to build collective organisational structures, which are called 'traveling caravan.' In the parallel historical shifts between 1970 and 2000 from liberalism to neo-liberalism, from Fordism to post-Fordism and from modern to contemporary art, artists need to build up their own artistic biotope if they need to make their work without governmental interference (subsidies) and free market solutions. The cooperative can be seen as an interesting model to develop such a 'mobile autonomy.'

Helen Hahmann
Highjacking Radio Art. Artistic practice in Community Radio

Abstract: "I can't stop turning on my little transmitter. I'm addicted to it," said a participant of the seminar hosted by electronics artist Victor Gardoqui at the 2016 Radio Revolten Festival in Halle/Saale, Germany. The workshop was attended by many radio-makers from the free Radio CORAX. They built their own DIY transmitters and explored

various ways in which their modules could be used artistically in a collective performance. Sounds were interwoven, frequencies were captured and set free again. It was a highly empowering way of participating in radio, with control over all parameters in the hands of the radio-makers. Their performance also cut through the barriers that separated the sphere of the artists from the sphere of the festival crew. A breeze of community radio-makers hijacking the Radio Art Festival spread through the air. How does a shared creative or even artistic radio experience influence radio-makers? How does the implementation of artistic, emancipative audio formats and aesthetic practices in the routine of community radio open up new horizons for people's habits of listening to and producing radio?

Nicos Trimikliniotis
Beyond austerity citizenship and nationalistic communalism in Cypriot 'community media': social media, digitalities and emancipation – towards a mobile commons

Abstract: From the perspective of emancipatory communities, global debates on digital technologies, digitalities and social media in general, in short the digital media nexus (DMN), are dominated by stale binary logics: on the one hand techno-optimist perspective view DMN as emancipatory, opening up potentialities for action and generating alternatives spaces versus those techno-pessimists perspective which view them as means for total surveillance, domination, social control, racialisation, hatred and/or confusion and alienation. This paper aims to unpack and challenge these approaches by presenting the trends manifested in the Cypriot community media, as a contestation that transforms citizenship, belonging and democracy. On the one hand, we find evidence that media as whole, and particularly the DMN-related spaces, are utilised as means or agent of empowerment and social change by facilitating processes for emancipatory communities to connect, to communicate and to overcome the barbed wire, ethnic/national divides, institutions and barriers. On the other hand, we find evidence that they reinforces and generates new domains for domination, surveillance, racialisation, hatred. In fact they are both happening at the same time in what is the generations of logics of fragmentation, polarisations and expansion of spaces for contestations, struggles and exclusions/belonging dialectics. Drawing on our studies on communities involved in peace activism and migrant/translational action in and around Cyprus, this paper examines the potential and obstacles for overcoming both the alienating austerity citizenship produced by the capitalism of crisis of our times and the oppressive nationalistic communalism in Cypriot 'community media.' Our concept of 'mobile commons' attempts to capture how 'commons on the move' are a product of this motion, mobility, movement and the encounters produced. The commons emerge as spaces, trails and traces generated in the context of digital materialities, which are cognitive, knowledge-based, communicative action, as much they are practical and live. In doing so, we are particularly attentive to class, gender, ethnic other lenses that that distort emancipatory projects and potential.

R! PARTICIPATION, ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND COMMUNITY MEDIA
13 January 2018, 6.30 - 8.30pm NeMe Arts Centre Limassol, Cyprus

This seminar aimed to discuss the needs, opportunities and challenges for increased levels of participation in all societal fields, and its implications and requirements for active citizenship and civil society. One particular field, the field of communication, was gently highlighted during the seminar, without decontextualizing communication and disconnecting it from the many other social fields and their specificities.

SPEAKERS:
Bart Cammaerts
Power and Pre-Figurative Politics within the Progressive Left

Abstract: Robert Michels famously studied decision-making processes within socialist parties and concluded that even though they profess a progressive horizontal politics and strive towards maximum participation, in reality they organise themselves in highly hierarchical and centralised ways and take decisions in a top-down manner. Arguably in the post-revolutionary communist organisations and parties this tendency was even more pronounced. He called this the *Iron Law of Oligarchy*. In the 1970s, a New Left critique of this iron law was formulated, advocating for 'real' participation and calling for a radical democratisation, not only of politics, but also of everyday life, of schools, of the workplace. Arguably, this did not materialise and the liberal representative model of democracy, with a rigid and highly hierarchical party system and a political elite governing in our name by simple majorities, became ever more elitist and disconnected from the interests and everyday struggles of citizens. This has, amongst others, led to high levels of distrust towards the political class and media elites in particular, and liberal democracy in general. In recent years, we could observe the resurgence of this new left critique in the form of the anti-austerity movements across Europe. The Spanish indignados demanded: *Democracia Real* - a 'real' democracy. This manifested itself not only in terms of a stringent critique of the competitive elitism of liberal democracy, but also in terms of a pre-figurative politics practicing alternatives. Out of the global justice, the indignados and the occupy movements emerged a consensual assembly model to make collective decisions. This has its antecedents in basic democratic progressive organisations such as community media and cooperatives. Besides this, we can also observe a delegative decision-making model being appropriated, for example by the Pirate Parties. Also Momentum, the parallel campaign organisation supporting Jeremy Corbyn's leadership of the UK Labour Party, has introduced delegative decision making re-connecting with its social movement roots. Delegative democracy goes back to the early soviets. While very sympathetic to these innovations or revisits, we also need to acknowledge that they are not problem-free either. This becomes especially apparent if we account for power within these processes.

Vaia Doudaki
Street Papers as Spaces of Participation and Inclusion

Abstract: The street press concerns a special type of (alternative) media, involving homeless and poor people in their circulation and content production. While their content, form and operation models vary, street papers share some basic features, at the international level, including their selling by homeless and disadvantages people, which offers the latter employment and income; the participation of these groups in the papers' writing and production; and the street papers' focus on the coverage of issues of homelessness, poverty and social inequality, often from the perspective of the people who personally experience their outcomes: the homeless, the unemployed, the socially excluded. Non-surprisingly, street papers are faced with many challenges, such as sustainability and balancing diverging roles and aims (e.g. attracting large audiences with topics of general interest or advocating for social issues, thus attracting smaller audiences, maintaining a grassroots logic or adopting a business-oriented model). This talk, bringing in examples of street papers in Greece and in Sweden, and building on the work of scholars on alternative and community media, will examine how these organisations create spaces of participation and inclusion (for vendors, volunteers, collaborators, etc.) in relation to their organisation and content production, but also whether and how certain conditions and practices limit this participatory potential.

Hazal Yolga
Speaking the Unspoken: Challenging Hegemonic Discourses

Abstract: "Unspoken: Creating Dialogue on LGBTI Rights in the Turkish Cypriot Community" a two-year long project at the crossroads of civil society and media has carried out multiplicity of activities to spark public debate on LGBTI issues. Through awareness raising efforts and working closely with mainstream media in the northern part of Cyprus, Unspoken has challenged hegemonic, innately sexist and discriminatory discourses. Through dialogue with civil society actors and media, Unspoken strived to raise awareness of the Turkish Cypriot community and media workers. Strengthening the dialogue on these previously unspoken issues has attempted to decentralise and shift the power from the political elites to civil society through increasing participation and civic engagement with regards to the human rights issues and democracy.

Nico Carpentier
The Discursive-Material Knot, Participation and Community Media Theory

Abstract: The presentation was grounded in *The Discursive-Material Knot* research project, providing a theoretical backbone to think through the complexities of participation and community media. The main focus was on how both concepts are constructed through a series of discourses and material practices, and how these constructions characterised by an always specific combination of fixity and contingency.

BIOGRAPHIES

Nico Carpentier is Professor at the Department of Informatics and Media of Uppsala University (Sweden). In addition, he holds two part-time positions, those of Associate Professor at the Communication Studies Department of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB - Free University of Brussels, Belgium) and Docent at Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic). He is also a Research Fellow at the Cyprus University of Technology (Cyprus) and Loughborough University (UK). In 2011, he published the book *Media and Participation*, in which he studies participatory practices in media, politics, development and the arts. Moreover, he has, for more than 10 years, been researching community media, in a variety of European countries, including Cyprus. Recently, in 2017, he published a book called the *Discursive-Material Knot*, on Cypriot community media. The year after, together with Vaia Doudaki, he co-edited the book *Cyprus and its Conflicts. Representations, Materialities, and Cultures*. He was the *Respublika!* curator, and has also curated three Iconoclastic Controversies exhibitions, which took place in Cyprus, in 2015-2016, and in Brasilia in 2018. http://nicocarpentier.net.

NeMe is a non-profit, Cyprus-registered cultural NGO founded in November 2004. NeMe works on three platforms, a virtual, a permanent and an itinerant one, focusing on contemporary theories and their intersection with the arts. NeMe presents projects in the form of exhibitions, publications, performances, lectures, screenings, workshops and is maintaining archives on its work as well as on Cyprus video art. The NeMe Arts Centre (NAC) is NeMe's non-commercial exhibiting space which promotes a critical and interdisciplinary approach to the arts focused on research and cultural production. NeMe supports and engages in initiatives and dialogue that involve institutions, collectives, artists, and researchers from the local and international communities. NeMe supports the discourse of socially engaged arts practice by providing opportunities to work contextually in a variety of public spaces, including urban environments and community locations. NeMe's non-profit financial strategy relies exclusively on fundraising. http://www.neme.org/.

Olga Yegorova is a journalist, volunteer lecturer and current PhD student at the University of Leicester in England. During *Respublika!: a Cypriot community media arts festival*, Olga was the curatorial assistant to the curator Nico Carpentier. Born in Ukraine, Olga grew up in Germany after her parents' migration to Germany in the context of Jewish immigration in the 90s. As a young adult, Olga worked and studied in Bolivia, Spain and Sweden. As a freelance journalist in Germany and Bolivia, Olga reported on local news as well as gender-related topics. In Germany, she published her work in the international German broadcaster Deutsche Welle, the public television channel SR as well as the tabloid newspaper BILD Zeitung. In Bolivia, she wrote articles for Bolivian news outlets such as *Pagina Siete* and co-organised educational programmes for Bolivian journalists together with the Fundación Para el Periodismo and the Deutsche Welle Akademie in La Paz. During her master studies in "Digital Media and Society" at Uppsala University, Olga chose to specialise her efforts towards

investigating the Latin American women's movement #NiUnaMenos. She analysed the movement's on- and offline discourse to reveal the fight against gender-based violence in Bolivia and the levels of participation within the movement. In April 2018, Olga lectured a course on online-journalism and social media at the University of Rwanda in collaboration with the Swedish Fojo Media Institute. Working as a research assistant, Olga collected the empirical research on sex workers' conditions and prostitution policies in Germany for the Stockholm School of Economics during 2017-2018. In September 2018, Olga commenced her PhD research at the University of Leicester, using participatory methods in order to relate the stories of women in Ethiopia with childbirth-related illnesses and their communities. Her research is within the realm of communication, collaborating with the medical departments of the University of Leicester in England and Gondar University in Ethiopia.

p.34: **Helen Hahmann** is an ethnomusicologist and radio maker from Radio CORAX in Halle (Saale), Germany, where she is currently working as coordinator for internal and external communication. Since more than ten years she is involved in the coordination of festivals, conferences and EU-projects for CORAX, with the declared goal to strengthen the local infrastructure of community radios and their global networks. She was the festival coordinator of the international radio art festival *Radio Revolten*, in 2016, where she also took part in various radio performances as a musician.

p.42: *Life:Moving* – **Briony Campbell** works with photography and video, to tell stories about who we are and how we understand each other. She shoots documentaries, events and campaigns for arts, education, and social research clients as well as teaching and facilitating collaborative projects. Her exhibitions include *Life:Moving, a collaborative project*, MAC, Birmingham UK, 2017; *Muslim Girls Fence*, WOW Festival, Southbank Centre, London 2016; *Encontros Da Imagem, Emergentes*, Theatro Circo, Braga Portugal 2013; *Lambeth Treasures*, Royal Festival Hall, Spirit Level Gallery, London 2013; *Photo Annual Awards Exhibition,* Teplice Spa, Czech Republic 2013; *Fugitive Images*, with Photomonth, Haggerston Estate, London 2012; *The Bar Tur Award*, Chelsea College of Art, London 2012; *World in London*, by The Photographers Gallery, Victoria Park, London 2012; *Lives of Others*, with The London Festival of Photography, London 2012; *Overexposed City*, with The 189 Collective – Apiary Studios, London 2010; *The Ian Parry Award show*–Getty Images Gallery, London 2010; *Fresh Faced and Wild Eyed*–The Photographers Gallery, London, 2010. http://www.brionycampbell.com/.

p.53: **Michele Aaron** is Associate Professor in Film and Television Studies at Warwick University, UK. In 2016-17, she was the principal investigator on the AHRC funded project *Digital Technology and Human Vulnerability: Towards an Ethical Praxis*. Aaron is also the director/curator of Screening Rights Film Festival, the Midlands International Festival of Social Justice film and debate, which launched in 2015. Her research interests focus on the question of the potential of film to affect and even effect personal, social and political

change. Historically, this meant writing about the power and ethics of representation and spectatorship in relation to, principally, mainstream English language cinema. In recent years, these interests have very much turned both outwards and towards film practice and she is, increasingly, engaged in community-based collaborations—with artists, filmmakers and community groups—that create work that explores this potential of film. Michele Aaron's books include *Death and the Moving Image: Ideology, Iconography, and I* (2014), *Spectatorship: The Power of Looking On* (2007), Ed. *Envisaging Death: Visual Culture and Dying* (2013), Ed. *New Queer Cinema: A Critical Reader* (2004), Ed. *The Body's Perilous Pleasures* (1999).

p.56: *Meet Y/Our Wall* (**Old Nicosia Revealed** - Natalie Hami and Orestis Tringides) – For the last six years, Old Nicosia Revealed has been active in exploring and revealing Nicosia in a community-participatory manner, using mainly photography as their medium of choice. The project involves recording all the hidden aspects of Nicosia's old town as well as providing an explanation and description of the photos taken. It began as a systematic recording of old shop signs but quickly spread to old houses, buildings, as well as having photos provided by organisations such as the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) and then categorising them on a Facebook page www.facebook.com/old.nicosia.revealed. It took a very promising turn a few years ago, when Old Nicosia Revealed gained a Small Projects grant, offered by the Home for Cooperation (which is part of AHDR) to provide top quality souvenirs for the Home. This also involved organising and conducting workshops, product design, organising a competition, press releases, publicity along with engaging the public via social media. Old Nicosia Revealed continues to organise photography tours around the city of Nicosia, with the most recent one having taken place in the historic area of Ayios Andreas. **Natalie Hami** is a writer, editor and freelance journalist who graduated with a BA Hons in English Literature and Classical Studies and an MA in Victorian Art, Literature and Culture from Royal Holloway, University of London. At present, she is working as a technical writer. In her free time, she focuses on her blog *My Cyprus, my Kypros, my Kıbrıs* www.mcmkmk.org. **Orestis Tringides** lives in Nicosia with two cats. He works with anything media, journalism, radio, community media, photography, film… or anything else that comes along. He worked as a researcher at VUB (Free University of Brussels), based in Cyprus. He is also working with anything ICT and how it can be useful for humanity. Currently he is working in palliative care. Orestis is open to suggestions and can be contacted at orestist@gmail.com.

p.67: **Pascal Gielen** is Professor Cultural Sociology at the Antwerp Research Institute for the Arts (ARIA). In 2016 he received the Odysseus Grant of the Flemish Scientific Fund for excellent international research. With this grant he instituted the interdisciplinary Culture Commons Quest Office which does research about the conditions of sustainable creative labour in different urban contexts. He is editor in-chief of the international book series *Antennae-Arts in Society*. His research focuses on the institutional context of the arts

and on cultural politics. Gielen has published many books which are translated in English, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, Ukrainian, Spanish and Turkish. Gielen is also editor-in-chief of the international book series *Arts in Society.*

p.82: *Poetry Route River Flows* – Participants: Wilfred Apiung Akan, Leonoor Akkermans, Eleanor Anabire, Loes ten Anscher, Kate Opoku Boateng, Jacomien den Boer, Mary Chulu, Desta Dekebo, Aliyi Abdulah Deressa, Assefa Addis Habtamu, Nayel Sayed Hasibullah, Mohamed Jalloh, Juliana Alphonce Kabaitilaki, Lufumu Fikiri katiko, Jonas Samuel Laryea, Susan Kosgei Lebuluz, Elizabeth Mutumi Mailu, Alick Sylvester Mbewe, Adélphine Muhirwa, Emerence Mukangabo, Mwale Ernest Mupemo, Kojo Tawiah Baah Nuakoh, Jeroen Rijke, Ali Makame Said, Brinah Mandisa Senzere, Samuel Smith, Yewbdar Tadesse, Sulemana Wahab, Loes Witteveen and Simon Satunmia Yambor.

p.92: **Loes Witteveen** (PhD) is a researcher in the research group Communication, Participation and Social Ecological Learning at Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences and in the Environmental Policy group of Wageningen University, the Netherlands. Her work also covers themes like Film for Social Change, Visual Methodologies and Policy Design in Mediated Realities, in a context of life sciences and sustainable development. Her current work explores creative strategies for public participation in sustainable river management in Upper Citarum communities, India and Visual Problem Appraisal in the riverine area in the Netherlands. **Jacomien den Boer** is a researcher at the applied research group Sustainable River Management at the HAN University of Applied Sciences and Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences. She has a background in environmental governance and sustainable development, with a focus on social learning processes in flood risk management arenas. Community participation as a tool for the societal sustainability transition is a major interest in her research. Currently, she works on decision tools for social learning and spatial development in riverine areas in the Netherland and on public participation in environmental policy design.

p.106: **Peter Snowdon and the Groupe ALARM**. The Groupe ALARM was established in 2001, when six families came together to identify and investigate the many obstacles that prevented them finding decent and affordable housing in Brussels. Over the following sixteen years, the group has grown, and its members have increasingly been recognised not only for the experience that grounds their political positions, but also for their expertise. They continue to campaign actively for the right to housing for all, and are particularly well-known for their playful and provocative public interventions, in which they draw on the techniques of the *Theatre of the Oppressed*. In 2012, they made a short video clip with Peter Snowdon, to highlight the issue of housing during the municipal elections. *The Party of the Housing Dream* is their first 'real' film. **Peter Snowdon** is a director and writer, known for *The Uprising* (2013), *Bewick's Mambo* (2008) and *Walking Through Paradise* (2010). He holds a Masters in Transmedia from the LUCA

School of Art in Brussels, and a Doctorate in Visual Arts from the University of Hasselt (Belgium). Currently, he is a postdoctoral fellow in practice-based ethnography at Leiden University. **Aurélia Van Gucht** was born in 1966, in Nieuwpoort, Belgium. Daughter of a painter, she spent her childhood in the south of France and in Belgium. She obtained a Bachelor's degree in Philosophy and Letters and a Master's degree in social work. Her graduation thesis was entitled *Cinema Distribution in Brussels in 1992. An Aspect of Acculturation to American Values*. From 1993 to 2000, she was in charge of a social restaurant in Molenbeek, where she developed her interest in social work with people living in extreme poverty. Since 2001, she has been employed at the Maison de quartier Bonnevie. This non-profit organisation, created in 1975 in Molenbeek, in the heart of a former industrial district, strives towards the development of a more liveable and sustainable neighbourhood, considering the needs of the poorest. She also works on creating opportunities for people who suffer from poor housing, allowing them to express themselves and to share their experiences in order to achieve structural change in the government's housing policy in Brussels. From this idea came the project of the ALARM group (Action for Shelter accessible to Refugees in Molenbeek). ALARM, defends the right to housing in a fun and creative way. **Abdo Naji** was born in 1969 in Dala, Yemen. A bright student from a modest family in southern Yemen, he left his rural area for the city to study. In 1995, he obtained his Master in Law. From 1996 to 2006, he worked as a police officer in Yemen. In 2006, as a result of turmoil in the country, he moved to Belgium with his wife and five children. The family resided first in the north of Belgium, where he learned to speak Dutch. Unable to find housing that was adapted to the needs of his family, he moved to Brussels in 2007. To facilitate his access to employment, he learned French. Being unable to validate his Law degree from Yemen, he followed various courses. Only in 2014, he got a stable labour contract. At the end of 2007, when he was confronted with problems of overpopulation and unsanitary housing, he contacted the non-profit association Maison de quartier Bonnevie to find information and help. From this moment on, he becomes actively involved in the meetings and activities of the ALARM group whose members defend the right to housing for all. In 2012, he participated as an actor in the video clip: *I, if I was Mayor* created by the ALARM group and directed by Peter Snowdon. In 2015, he is again involved as an actor in the film of the same director: *The Party of the Dream of Housing*.

p.116: **Vaia Doudaki** is Associate Professor (Docent) at the Department of Informatics and Media, in Uppsala University. She has worked as a Lecturer and Assistant Professor of Media Studies and Journalism at the Department of Communication and Internet Studies, in Cyprus University of Technology. She holds a PhD from the Department of Communication, Media and Culture, of Panteion University (Athens, Greece), specialising in the sociology of news production. She has worked as a post-doctoral researcher at Panteion University. She has taught at Panteion University and at the National Centre of Public Administration and Local Government (Athens, Greece). She has also worked for several years as a journalist for print and internet media (Athens, Greece). Her research

and publications focus on the study of media, conflict and crisis, on theory and practice of news making and journalism, on journalistic identities and practices in the internet era, on audience, community and participatory media. Broadly speaking, she is interested in the study of representations, identities and discourse, within and through media.

p.126: **Bart Cammaerts** is Professor of Politics and Communication in the Department of Media and Communications at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). His research focuses on the relationship between media, communication and resistance with particular emphasis on media strategies of activists, media representations of protest, alternative media and counter-cultures, media histories, political theory and broader issues relating to power, participation and public-ness. He publishes widely; his most recent books include: *The Circulation of Anti-Austerity Protest* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), *Youth Participation in Democratic Life: Stories of Hope and Disillusion* (co- authored with Michael Bruter, Shakuntala Banaji, Sarah Harrison and Nick Anstead, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015) and *Mediation and Protest Movements* (co-edited with Alice Matoni and Patrick McCurdy, Intellect, 2013). He is the former chair of the Communication and Democracy Section of the European Communication and Research Association - ECREA and former vice-chair of the Communication, Technology and Policy section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research - IAMCR.

p.138, 165: **Nicos Trimikliniotis** is Professor of Sociology, Social Sciences and Law, at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Nicosia. He heads the Cypriot team of experts for the Fundamental Rights Agency of the EU. He is also a practicing Barrister. He has researched integration, citizenship, education, migration, racism, free movement of workers, EU law, discrimination, constitutional and labour law. He is the National Expert for Cyprus for the European Labour Law Network. He is part of the international team on world deviance, which produced *Gauging and Engaging Deviance 1600-2000* (2014) and its' sequel *Scripts of Defiance* (2017). Selection of Publications: *Mobile Commons, Migrant Digitalities and the Right to the City* (2015); *Beyond a Divided Cyprus: A State and Society in Transformation* (2012); *The Nation-State Dialectic and the State of Exception* (2010); *Rethinking the Free Movement of Workers: The European Challenges Ahead* (2009). In addition, Dr Trimikliniotis has also held the following posts: Senior Research associate for SYMFILIOSI (NGO working on reconciliation); Senior Research consultant for PRIO Cyprus Centre on reconciliation, discrimination and migration (2008-2012); National expert for the Odysseus Network (2010-); National expert for the European Network of Experts on Free Movement of Workers (2008- 2013); National Expert of the European Network for labour Law (2010-); National expert for the European Network of Experts on Discrimination (2003-2007).

p.154: **Join2Media** – The main aim of the Join2Media platform is to allow the wider community members to participate in an interactive community media platform, aiming to develop the sense of active citizenship and ownership and provide voice to the voiceless.

The J2M team consists of Sezis Thompson, Ebru Deniz Tekman, Orestis Tringides, Didem Eroglu and Shadi Nemer. http:// www.join2media.eu. **Didem Eroglu** was born and raised in Nicosia, Cyprus. She has a BA in communication from EMU and a MSc degree on Environment and Development from University of Reading, UK. So far, she worked in the media sector and events management, also at international levels. At present, she is one of the editors of the J2M website and she works as a freelancer. From 2016 – present, she is the Communication Officer at Join2Media.

p.172: **George Kyrou** is a 24-year-old Cypriot creative, currently finishing his BA Hons Graphic Design degree at Kingston University London. His collective Μοτίβω focuses on fashion sustainability, through upcycling military surplus materials and organizing community events that promote an anti-consumerist mindset. Μοτίβω aims at encouraging people to get creative with their clothes waste, by providing a platform for people to exchange clothes, ideas and tips on how to customise their wardrobe and move away from fast fashion, while also opening up conversations about the militarisation of the island of Cyprus.

p.188: **Emilia Izquierdo** lives and works in London, UK. She graduated in 2006 with an MFA from Slade School of Fine Arts, University College London followed by a Master's in Art and Politics from Goldsmiths University, London, UK. Her recent 2018 exhibitions/ screenings include 20th Belo Horizonte International Short Film Festival, Belo Horizonte, Brazil, Unseen Festival 2018, Experimental Moving Image, Boulder, US, EXP 01, Experimental Moving Image, Genesis Cinema, London, UK, The Oberhausen Seminar, Oberhausen International Short Film Festival, Oberhausen, DE, Intersections, The Ammerman Center for the Arts and Technology, 16th Biennial, New London, CT, US and Part II Soundscapes Landscapes/City Above - Life Below w/ Medea Electronique, Onassis Cultural Centre, Athens, GR; Dobra International Experimental Film Festival, Museum of Contemporary Art Cinema, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; WNDX Festival of Experimental Moving image, Winnipeg, Canada; IPPE 9th Conference in Political Economy, Art/Activism section, Pula, Croatia. http://www.emiliaizquierdo.com/index.html.

p.192: **Hazal Yolga** is a Project Coordinator at the Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC). She has been a researcher for the Cypriot Community Media Research Programme of Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB). As part of her role at CCMC, she manages funded projects focusing on media and human rights, the latest being *Unspoken: Creating Dialogue on LGBTI Rights in the Turkish Cypriot Community*. Hazal Yolga has collaborated on several video art installations and holds a Master's degree in Communication, Culture, and Technology from Georgetown University.

p.200: **CONA – Irena Pivka,** new media artist, scenographer, architect, producer and **Brane Zorman,** composer, new media artist, sound engineer, producer are working together on a series of collaborative projects. Working through different backgrounds,

they connect digital electroacoustic creativity with space, listening to works in situ, thus constituting a critical relation toward public space and contemporary social environment. Their important long-term, ongoing radio art work *radioCona* (from 2008) constitutes the radio FM frequencies as a space of art, performance and exhibition of contemporary art. Every year *radioCona* hosts international artists and curators, producing and promoting radio and sound art. Their performative works investigate urban space through sound, listening and new media. For in situ listening and moving through space, they are developing digital tools and sound maps. These works constitute perception of a space in a new way and strengthen the interaction/awareness of the landscape and listening. The authors are working on locational sound works and sound maps for the past few years, which can be seen in many of their projects: *2Walk (2017)*, *WALKING the Aphelion / the Perihelion (2016-2017), Field Frequency Flux* (2015)*, Walk the City (2013)*. See www.cona.si, www.radiocona.si, www.irenapivka.si, www.branezorman.si.

p.216: **Elena Volina and Mathieu Devavry – Elena Volina** holds a BA on Engineering of Music Technology and Acoustics where she specialised in Acoustic, Live Electronics, Sound SynthesIs. Live Recording and Video. Since 2009 Elena worked as a sound assistant on the short film *The Distance of a Glance* and for the film *Fish and Chip,* and live tv productions for several TV channels. This year she is finishing her Master on Cultural Policy and Development. She lives and works in Brussels in an NGO.
Mathieu Devavry was born in March 1981 in Reims. He spent his childhood in Verzy, a small village in France's Champagne region in the heart of the Montagne de Reims area. He began painting while still very young by watching his father. Originally from a winegrowing family, Mathieu Devavry began working in the vineyards. He quickly returned to his painting, gravitating toward the so-called decorative art of trompe-l'œil, a technique he learned at the BLOT school in Reims between 1999 and 2001. When he arrived in Besançon in 2002, he met various contemporary painters and abandoned trompe-l'œil. He has worked with numerous techniques in the Chouechart collective including graffiti, portrait painting, stencilling, slam and radio among others. He has produced a number of performances during cultural events, all of which focus extensively on figuration. After four years spent in Besançon, he moved to Lyon in 2006, devoting himself to a very personal painting style based on spontaneity and inwardness. Mathieu Devavry is also a member of the NGO Urban Gorillas based in Nicosia. http://www.defiscalisation-art-contemporain.com/en/mathieu-devavry.

p.224: **Johannes Gerard** studied at the School of Print and Design, Cologne, Germany (1975–1977) and Dun Laoghaire School of Art and Design (today IADT), Dublin, Ireland, MFA in Sculpture and Printmaking (1977- 1981) He states: "Throughout my life situation I lived and worked in different locations and countries. Among others, Germany, Ireland, Spain, The Netherlands, Argentine, Australia, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Myanmar, China, Taiwan, Russia and Armenia. This kind of life style and art career had at the end a great impact about my vision and concepts as an artist. To be on the move, curiosity

of crossing boundaries, feeling home nowhere and a certain restlessness became an important source of inspiration. Themes in my work have a vision towards identity, relations (between humans and humans-environment), transition, boundaries, lost, loneliness, sexually related topics, inner strife, time, destruction, death. Accordingly, I pay close attention to the candid subtle details within the environments we create or live in. My interpretations are at the end embedded experiments through changing observations and analysis of our visible and non-visible environments and human behaviour." General website Visual Arts: https://www.johannesgerard.com; Website Performance / Education: https://www.johannesgerard-artprojects.com; Website Video Work: https://vimeo.com/johannesgerard.

p.234: **Labor Neunzehn** is an artist and curator duo, engaged in a multidisciplinary discourse that involves expanded cinema, music composition, publishing, and a critical reflection in media art, with a specific reference to the mutual migration of languages between the online and offline domains. They recently curated for the Transmediale festival (in cooperation with Rhizome) a web archiving workshop and a public talk about digital preservation. Most recent works include *All Sources Are Broken*, an internet-based project that investigates the hypertext space in post-digital books, links obsolescence and creative re-archival practices – the exhibition *From Field Recording to Data Sonification in Late Capitalism*, the daily film screenings exhibit *Beyond the Surface*, and the concert series *Cluster*, focused on contemporary notation and live coding. Among others, Labor Neunzehn has participated at Transmediale Festival of art and digital culture, File Electronic Language International Festival in Brasil, Besides the screen Conference in Porto, *Respublika!* at the NeMe Arts Centre in Cyprus, Libros Mutantes Madrid Art Book Fair, Arctic Moving Image and Film Festival, Isadora Werkstatt at Uferstudios in Berlin, OFFF Festival in Barcelona, European Media Art Festival in Osnabrück, Issue Project Room in NYC, Cartes Flux in Espoo Finland, Oslo Screen Festival, Mir Festival in Athens, Simultan Festival in Timisoara Romania, Gaudeamus Muziekweek. Labor Neunzehn is run by Valentina Besegher and Alessandro Massobrio, and based in the homonym project space in Berlin since 2015. **Alessandro Massobrio**, born in 1974 in Turin, Italy, works in the field of music composition, sound and media art. His music has been performed, among other venues or festivals, at Issue Project Room in New York, Cafe Oto in London, Logos Foundation in Gent, Netmage Festival in Bologna, Live!iXem in Palermo and Rome, PEAM in Pescara, O Artoteca in Milan, Ostrava Days in Czech Rebublic, Detmold Concert Hall in Germany, Hoeve Lichtenberg in Maastricht, Stony Brook University in New York, Gaudeamus Musik Week in Utrecht, Unerhörte Musik in Berlin. Also active in audio-visual art, he collaborated at installation, live cinema and film projects for festivals or institutions like Dolomiti Contemporanee, Athens Video Art Festival, Torino Film Festival, Montreal Nouveau Cinéma, New York Film and Video Festival, LU. **Valentina Besegher**, born in 1976 in Milan, Italy, works in the field of visual art, expanded cinema and media art. Her works have been exhibited, screened and performed internationally in museums, galleries and festivals, among which Transmediale Festival of art and digital culture, File Electronic Language International

Festival in Brasil, Besides the screen in Porto, Libros Mutantes at La Casa Encendida in Madrid, Arctic Moving Image and Film Festival in Norway, OFFF Festival in Barcelona, European Media Art Festival in Osnabrück, Simultan Festival in Timisoara Romania. She is a co-founder and curator of Labor Neunzehn, and she lives and works in Berlin.

p.244: **MYCYradio** is a Cyprus community radio station. MYCYradio aims to engage with, and serve, all communities living in Cyprus, by providing a platform for a diversity of voices to be heard, while also highlighting cultural and linguistic diversity, encourage social integration and promote a culture of active citizenship and participatory democracy. It was established under the auspices of the Cyprus Community Media Centre (CCMC).

p.254: **Yiannis Christidis, Markos Souropetsis and Co – Yiannis Christidis** has studied Cultural Technology and Communication at the University of the Aegean, holds an MSc in Sound Design from the University of Edinburgh, and a PhD in Social Anthropology of Sound from Cyprus University of Technology. His research focuses on the cultural aspect of sound, and its functionality in everyday life and the relationship between the listeners and their place. He has designed sound and music for audio-visual and radio productions, web applications, and theatrical activities. https://buskingsounds.wordpress.com/. **Markos Souropetsis** holds an M.Sc. in Cultural Informatics and Communication and a B.Sc in Cultural Technology and Communication from the University of the Aegean. He is a PhD candidate at the Department of Communication and Internet Studies of the Cyprus University of Technology, where he is also a Research Associate and Teaching Assistant. In the latter capacity, Markos has taken part in the production of audio-visual and video-art projects. His research focuses on the implementation of new technologies in non-formal learning settings, like museums and archaeological sites.

p.266: **Vuk Ćosić** is an artist and a curator, working and living in Ljubljana. He is one of the pioneers of internet art, frequently exhibits (Whitechappel, London; Venice Bienial; Habana Bienial; Manifesta, Zurich; ICA, London; Beaubourg, Paris; Reina Sofia, Madrid; Garage, Moscow; ICC, Tokio; Kunsthalle, Vienna; Digital Artlab, Tel Aviv; ZKM, Karlsruhe; Ars Electronica, Linz; Castello Rivoli, Torino; Walker, Minneapolis; Postmasters, NYC; Friedricanum, Kassel; Neue Galerie, Graz; IAS, Seoul; Baltic, Newcastle; Moca, Oslo; Barbican, London, Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich...) and lectures (Museums: Beaubourg, Paris; Guggenheim, Venice; CCA, Glasgow; Thing, NYC; LAMoCA, LA; Festivals – Hong Kong, London, Liverpool, Dessau, Montreal, Banff, Madrid, Gorizia, Copenhagen, Barcelona...; Art schools and Universities- Stockholm, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Troy, Dundee, Liverpool, Venice, Linz, Barcelona,...). Subject of numerous BA, MA and PHD theses (universities of Rome, Sao Paolo, Leeds, Manchester, Bruxelles, Trieste...), media coverage (NY Times, Liberation, La Repubblica, Guardian, Financial Times, Cahiers du Cinema, Artforum, Newsweek, Wired, Haaretz, ORF, CNN, BBC...), as well as key publications on new media (MIT press, Thames and Hudson, Tate, Taschen, Baltic...). http://www.ljudmila.org/~vuk/.

p.272: **Christoph Wachter and Mathias Jud** have been working together since 2000 on participatory community projects. Their works (https://www.wachter-jud.net/Projects-Exhibitions.html) have won awards at Ars Electronica, Transmediale, Cultural Ministry of the State of Saxony, Migros Kulturprozent, Zürich, Cynetart, EMARE, Werkleitz Gesellschaft. Their works have been internationally presented at museums such as: NCCA (Moscow, Russia), Willhelm-Hack Museum (Ludwigshafen), Shedhalle Zürich (Zürich), NGBK (Berlin), Batiment d'Art contemporaine (Genf, Schweiz), Kunsthaus Dresden (Dresden), Weisman Art Museum (Minneapolis, MN, USA), Manchester Art Gallery (Manchester, UK), Young Artist Biennale (Bukarest, Rumänien). Presentations at media art festivals such as: ARS Electronica, Transmediale Berlin, FILE Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Cynetart Dresden, Videonale Osnabrück and Monitoring Kassel. Chosen projects: *qaul.net* (2012) - Prix Ars electronica [the next idea] grant - grant by the Edith-Russ-Haus for media art New Nations (2009–2012) *HOTEL GELEM - Embedded Tourism - participating in precarious living condition* (2011–2012, Community Project), *[o] picidae – Break through the Chinese Firewall* (2007–ongoing) - honorary mention (transmediale08, Berlin) - sponsorship award of the cultural ministry of the state of Saxony (Cynet Art Festival, Dresden) *Zone*Interdite* (2000–ongoing) - Ars Electronica (honorary mention) - Golden Cube (honorary mention) - EMARE – European Media Artists in Residency Exchange (Werkleitz). https://www.wachter- jud.net/Curriculum.html.

p.294: **Liza Philosof** is an Israeli-Californian artist based in West Hollywood. She graduated her B.A in Visual Communication on 2011 from Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design Jerusalem. Her work is multi-disciplinary, though she is a designer by trade and currently spend her time working in time-based media and back to paint after a few years. Inspired by minimalism, colour, and stillness, she creates subtle, nuanced video works. Between the years of 2013 and 2014, she worked as an art director of the design and art magazine Nisha, owned by Time Out Company Tel Aviv. As part of her role, she was responsible for all aspects of the graphic design of the magazine and leading the graphic design team throughout the process. Since she has moved to Los Angeles on 2016, she worked on many art projects and collaborations, as *Dancessence* with the choreographer and dance director Donna Sternberg, The Adriatic and the artist Moshe Hachmon with the channel water (Youtube) and the international non-profit organisation Shesaid.so, a network of women with active roles in the music industry. She also worked with Christian Arena, who is an Emmy Award-nominated Los Angeles based musician, and with director Eric Stoltz and producer Kenneth Hughes on the poster design for the movie *Confessions of a Teenage Jesus Jerk*, which was screened at Cannes Film Festival 2018. lizaphilosof.com.

p.302: **Nance Davies** is a Boston-based, interdisciplinary artist and curator whose work explores the impact of mass-mediated culture and consumerism on inter-relationships and interdependence of all life forms. Recent work explores the poetics of the 'everyday'

gesture and the transformative role of empathy. Davies studied at Yale School of Art and received an MFA from Mills College in Oakland, CA in 1999. She was the recipient of the Coleman Award (Boston University) and the Zorach Fellowship (Skowhegan). She has exhibited in New York City; Boston; Vancouver, BC, Canada London; Melbourne, Australia; Dublin and Londonderry, Ireland; Dordrecht, The Netherlands; Istanbul Turkey; Athens, Greece; Limassol, Cyprus; Johannesburg, South Africa; Manila Philippines, Seoul, South Korea; Baltimore, MD; Oakland, CA; Richmond, VA; Winston-Salem; NC; Portland, OR; and Rockport and Portland, ME. Davies was born in California. She teaches at Massachusetts College of Art and Design in Boston, MA, USA.

p.312: **Will Kendrick** studied at the Bath School of Art 2010 (Bachelors Fine Art) and at Glasgow School of Art 2015 (Masters Fine Art). His solo exhibitions include 2018, *Architecture of a Spectral City*, Museo De Arte Moderno, Castro, Chile; 2017, *Am I Even Here*, Arebyte, London, 2017, *Burning Snow*, SpareRoomResidency,Liverpool; 2016, *I'll See You In Another Life Brother*, Serf, Leeds, 2016, *I've Never Been There But I Know What It Looks Like*, AIR Sandnes Norway, 2016, *While I Am Standing Still*, Dysfunction, Strathaven, 2015, *Your Life is Yours to Consume*, Supercollider, Blackpool!, 2015, *They Say Dreaming is Dead*, GSofA Project Space, Glasgow; 2015, *Only the Statues Remain*, Roman Baths, Bath; 2014, *MMORPG*, Spike Island, Bristol; and 2012, *Trichromatic*, Elements, Bath. http://www.willkendrick.co.uk/.