

Infrastruktura kulturna, djelovanje političko – bečki primjer

Intervju s Canom Gülcüom



[BLOK]:

ANA KUTLEŠA,
IVANA HANAČEK,
VESNA VUKOVIĆ

Cultural infrastructure, political action – Viennese example

Interview with Can Gülcü

U gradu bogate tradicije lijevih političkih pokreta aktivistička scena i danas je živa i aktivna u razvijanju progresivnih političkih reakcija na aktualne mehanizme opresije. Koja bi mogla biti uloga umjetničkih i kulturnih praksi u tim borbama, središnje je pitanje festivala Wienwoche. Ova oktobarska manifestacija koristi kulturne prakse za političko djelovanje, ali to nije njena jedina veza s politikom: samo osnivanje inicirala je Zelena stranka 2010. godine kao reakciju na druge gradske festivale koje su pokrenule i financiraju političke stranke. Nakon četiri godine djelovanja, koja je pozicija Wienwochea, koji su učinci na širu scenu, kako kulturnu tako i političku, kako se radi i gdje leže zamke, teme su o kojima smo razgovarali s Canom Gülcüom, članom kustoskog tim festivala.

BLOK Član ste kustoskog tima festivala *Wienwoche* od njegovih začetaka 2011. godine. Internetska stranica festivala navodi da festival „sustavno radi na razvoju i promociji socio-političkog i kulturnog prostora za sudionike iz umjetničkog i socio-kulturnog okruženja te civilnog društva“. To se također odnosi i na vraćanje javnog prostora njegovim korisnicima. Koja su bila vaša polazišta u pokretanju festivala i na kojim se načelima on zasniva?

CAN GÜLCÜ Naša polazišna točka bila je uključiti u festival različite skupine iz Beča koje se aktivno bave kulturom i politikom i koje nastoje javno izraziti svoju poziciju u javnoj sferi. Suradujemo s različitim inicijativama: od onih aktivnih u LGBTIQ zajednici ili u migrantskim zajednicama, do skupina koje se bave urbanističkim razvojem ili pak pitanjima alternativne ekonomije. Osnovni princip festivala je uspostavljanje suradnje s takvim inicijativama. Projekte razvijamo zajedno od samog početka i nastojimo pronaći način kako ih prezentirati. U početku smo imali poteškoća s formatom dvotjednog festivala koji se održava u rujnu, no s druge strane to također nosi i neke prednosti.

BLOK Takav je format festivala sam po sebi vrlo reprezentativan, čime se iz lanca produkcija/izlaganje/distribucija automatski isključuje produkcijski proces. Generalno gledajući, festival

The activist scene in Vienna, a city with a rich tradition of left political movements, is still today very active in developing progressive political reactions to current mechanisms of oppression. The Festival Wienwoche explores the possible role of artistic and cultural practices in these struggles. This October event uses cultural practices as a means of political action, however this is not its only connection to politics: it was initiated by the Green Party in 2010, as a reaction to other festivals in Vienna that were established and financed by political parties. Can Gülcü, member of the Festival's curatorial team, spoke with us about the position that Wienwoche holds today after four years of activity, its effects on the wider cultural and political scene as well as about their concept of work and the possible traps that they encounter along the way.

BLOK You have been a member of the curatorial team of the *Wienwoche* festival from its very beginning in 2011. As stated on your website, the festival *systematically works on the development and promotion of socio-political and cultural latitude for artistic, socio-cultural and civil society participants, and also in the sense of reclaiming urban space*. What were your starting points and what are your basic principles?

CAN GÜLCÜ Our starting point was to include different groups that engage both in cultural and political practices in the city of Vienna and which are trying to state certain positions in the public sphere. We collaborate with various initiatives: from people who are active in the LGBTIQ community or in the migrant communities to people who are active in urban development questions or those who are engaged in questions of alternative economies, and so on. The basic principle is, I would say, a co-operative work with these initiatives; we develop projects from the very beginning until the end and we try to find formats of presentation within a certain time frame. At the beginning we were a bit struggling with the two-week festival format in September but on the other hand, it has some advantages as well.

kao format koncentrira se na prezentaciju radova, pri čemu ne pridaje toliku pažnju načinu na koji su ti radovi producirani. U kojoj je mjeri format festivala ograničavajući? Pruža li ikakve emancipacijske mogućnosti i ako da, koje su to?

CAN GÜLCÜ... Produkcijiska faza nije isključena iz koncepta festivala *Wienwoche*, naprotiv, ona je glavni dio festivala i u fokusu je našega rada od samih početaka festivala. Primjerice, 2012. godine, u prvoj godini festivala, svi sudionici razvijali su vlastite projekte raspoređeni u pet radnih skupina. No, godišnji ritam nije se pokazao idealnim, s obzirom na to da grupe nisu imale mnogo vremena za realizaciju svojih projekata. Stoga smo promijenili koncept i u posljednje smo tri godine nastojali maksimalno unaprijediti procese produkcije.

BLOK... Znači li to da inicijativama možete pružiti i financijsku i infrastrukturnu podršku ili se morate oslanjati na njihovo dobrovoljno sudjelovanje u festivalu? To svakako podrazumijeva mnogo organizacijskog posla, ali i drugih segmenata, poput osiguravanja prostora za sastanke i rad...

CAN GÜLCÜ... Mislim da bih trebao nešto više reći o organizaciji *Wienwoche* festivala kako bih mogao odgovoriti na vaše pitanje. Mi smo poprilično malen, no vrlo aktivan tim. Projekte *zaista*

razvijamo zajedno, u suradnji s raznim inicijativama. Putem otvorenog poziva primamo prijedloge i ideje za projekte, o kojima odlučuje odbor u kojem su i vanjski stručnjaci. Prijedloge zatim razmatramo unutar našega tima, dakle s kolegama koji su zaduženi za produkciju ili odnose s javnošću. U drugoj se fazi natječaja sastajemo s kandidatima i dajemo im detaljan osvrt na njihove prijedloge i ideje. Zatim slijedi razdoblje od tri tjedna tijekom kojeg kandidati dodatno elaboriraju svoje prijavljene projekte te su za to (kao što je to slučaj u arhitektonskim natjecajima) i plaćeni, što je vrlo važno istaknuti. Takve doradene prijedloge potom ponovno razmatramo i donosimo konačnu odluku. U idućoj fazi, uglavnom početkom travnja, odabrani autori i skupine u suradnji s umjetničkim direktorima festivala i našim timovima za produkciju i odnose s javnošću razrađuju koncept projekata i formate u kojima će se ti projekti realizirati. Od tog trenutka svi zajedno radimo na projektima. Produkcijiska je faza, dakle, jedan od glavnih aspekata našega festivala. Naša se uloga organizatora ne svodi na puko financiranje projekata

ZA RAZLIKU OD MNOGIH DRUGIH FESTIVALA, NE ZANIMA NAS SAMO KONAČNI REZULTAT PRODUKCIJSKOG PROCESA, CILJ NAM JE I DA UČIMO JEDNI OD DRUGIH U TOM PROCESU I DA PRONALAZIMO NOVE NAČINE KULTURNE I POLITIČKE KOMUNIKACIJE.

IT IS NOT JUST ABOUT SEEING A RESULT OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS IN ONE CERTAIN MOMENT, A PURE REPRESENTATION, LIKE MANY FESTIVALS DO, BUT ALSO ABOUT LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER AND DISCOVERING NEW WAYS OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION.

BLOK... This festival format itself is highly representative, which means that it automatically excludes the first chain in the cycle "production/exhibition/distribution," namely the production process itself. A festival is generally interested in circulation of works that have been somehow produced, and it does not care how. To what extent is the festival format limiting? And what – if any – emancipatory possibilities does it open?

CAN GÜLCÜ... On the contrary, the production processes are not actually excluded from the concept of the *Wienwoche*; they are its main part and they were a primary focus of our discussions at the beginning and later in our work. In the first year of the project, in 2012, all the participating groups developed their projects within five working groups, with feedback of the other participants who were not directly involved in the production. However, as the annual rhythm (which means that each group did not have enough time to realize their project) was not ideal for such time-intensive collective processes, we have changed the concept in the last three years and we tried to optimize the production processes with the groups and our team.

BLOK... Does it mean that you can support these processes, financially and infrastructurally, or do you have to rely on the

willingness of people involved? Certainly, this implies a lot of organizational work, as well as other requirements, a space to meet and work, just to name one...

CAN GÜLCÜ... To answer your question, it makes sense to say something about the organization of the *Wienwoche*. We are a quite small, yet quite active team of people. And by saying that we develop projects in collaboration with initiatives, I mean that *we really develop projects together*. We have an open call through which we collect proposals and ideas for projects in a public board meeting with external experts. Then we discuss the projects within the team, that is to say, with people who are involved in the production process or public relations. In the second phase of the open call we meet with the candidates who proposed projects and we give them a detailed feedback on their applications. There is a period of three weeks, in

i njihovu prezentaciju na festivalu u rujnu, cijelo vrijeme surađujemo s inicijativama u razvijanju projekata. Za razliku od mnogih drugih festivala, ne zanima nas samo konačni rezultat produkcijskog procesa, cilj nam je i da učimo jedni od drugih u tom procesu i da pronalazimo nove načine kulturne i političke komunikacije. Također je važno istaknuti sljedeće: prije nego što smo počeli raditi na projektima i surađivati s inicijativama, mnogo smo vremena posvetili promišljanju radnih uvjeta u kulturi; razvili smo svojevrsan sistem honoriranja autora za njihov rad. Nastojimo slijediti princip kolektivnih ugovora, koji autorima garantiraju određen iznos za određeni rad. Planiranje realističnog i pravednog budžeta također je važan dio cijelog procesa.

BLOK Slijedite sindikalne principe rada, iako nemate sindikat...

^{CAN}_{GULCU} Upravo tako. Za rad u kulturi ne postoje kolektivni ugovori, ali su različite kulturne inicijative postavile smjernice o tome koliko bi određeni rad trebao biti plaćen i njih nastojimo slijediti. To je vrlo važno za rad u sklopu festivala *Wienwoche*, tim više jer mnogo ljudi u kulturi radi za vrlo malen ili nikakav novac i unatoč tome odrađuju maksimalan obim posla koji pojedini festival ili institucija traži. To nastojimo izbjeći.

which they can further elaborate their applications and – this is quite important to emphasize – are paid a certain amount of money for that work (which is the usual practice, for example, in architectural field). So these adapted applications make the basis for our final decision. In the next step, authors and groups have meetings with our production and PR teams, as well as with us, the artistic directors, in order to outline the conceptual framework and to discuss the formats. And from that moment on, usually in early April, we work together, meet, discuss, share work etc. So, the production process is one of the main issues for the *Wienwoche*. Our role as organizers is not reduced to a mere financing and presenting finalized projects; we constantly cooperate with the initiatives in development of their projects. It is not just about seeing a result of the production process in one certain moment, a *pure* representation, like many festivals do, but also about learning from each other and discovering new ways of cultural and political communication. It is important to underline one further thing: before we started working with projects, with initiatives, we gave a lot of thought on the working conditions in the cultural field. For instance, we have developed a certain framework on how the authors are paid. We try to follow collective contracts, so that you get certain amount granted for certain work. Constructing and

BLOK Festival *Wienwoche* okuplja i surađuje s inicijativama koje su uglavnom samoorganizirane ili *bottom-up*. No, s druge strane, riječ je o kulturnom projektu koji je osnovao sam grad Beč, a čiji je službeni organizator *Udruženje za promociju korištenja grada (Verein zur Förderung der Stadtbenutzung)*. Sama činjenica da grad Beč stoji iza festivala značajno određuje vaš projekt. Pretpostavljamo da to podrazumijeva i znatnu kontrolu grada nad projektom, bila ona vidljiva ili ne, ili pak internalizirana. S druge strane, javlja se i opasnost instrumentalizacije kulture u svrhu promocije vladajućih stranaka. Možete li nam reći nešto više o odnosu između političkih stranaka i festivala *Wienwoche* te taj odnos proširiti i na druge primjere kulturnih projekata u lokalnom kontekstu, ukoliko ima sličnih konstelacija?

^{CAN}_{GULCU} *Wienwoche* pokrenut je kao inicijativa Zelene stranke. Riječ je o stranci koja je na vlast došla na lokalnim izborima 2010. godine i vodi grad u koaliciji sa Socijaldemokratskom strankom. U Beču se, uz *Wienwoche*, održavaju još dva festivala: *Donauinselfest*, čiji je organizator Socijaldemokratska stranka i *Stadtfest*, koji organizira konzervativna stranka. Oba festivala financiraju se iz gradskog proračuna za kulturu. Po dolasku na vlast, Zelena stranka nije željela da se spomenuti

planning a realistic and fair budget with us and our co-workers who are responsible for administration is part of the whole process.

BLOK So, you don't have a union, but you follow these practices, as if you have one...

^{CAN}_{GULCU} Exactly. There are no collective contracts for the cultural work, but there are recommendations from different cultural initiatives, in regard to how much a certain job should be paid, that we try to follow. This is quite important when talking about working for and within the *Wienwoche*, all the more because in the cultural field a lot of people work for nothing and still do the maximum that a certain festival or an institution demands, which is something that we try to avoid.

BLOK You collaborate with and bring together the initiatives that are mostly self-organized, or bottom-up. On the other hand, the *Wienwoche*, acting as an umbrella for all these initiatives, is actually a cultural project established by the City of Vienna and formally organized by *Verein zur Förderung der Stadtbenutzung* (The Association for the Promotion of City Use). The very fact that the city established the festival certainly gives it a very

festivali nastave financirati iz gradskog proračuna, s obzirom na to da u određenoj mjeri služe političkoj promociji – što zapravo i nije točno, barem ne što se tiče festivala *Donauinselfest*. No, budući da je riječ o afirmiranim festivalima, vladajuća koalicija nije se uspjela usuglasiti u odluci o prestanku njihovog financiranja. Stoga su Socijaldemokrati predložili da se polovica sredstava predviđenih za financiranje *Stadtfestivala* prenamijeni za organizaciju novog, trećeg festivala. Zelena stranka odbila je organizirati „svoj vlastiti“ festival i umjesto toga predložila platformu za festival najboljih praksi, po pitanju transparentnosti, pravednog plaćanja rada, uključivanja svih stanovnika grada i slično. Nakon toga osnovano je spomenuto Udruženje i otvoren je natječaj za ravnatelje festivala. Radostina Patulova, Petja Dimitrova i ja smo se javili na natječaj i dobili posao. No, zašto je to istovremeno i otežavajuća okolnost? Tijekom prve dvije godine, mediji i ostale političke stranke poistovjećivali su festival sa Zelenom strankom – zbog načina na koji je festival osnovan i *Sporazuma o transparentnosti* koji su Zelena stranka i Udruženje bili potpisali. No, u odboru Udruženja, kao ni u festivalskom timu, nema nijednog člana Zelene stranke. Zelena stranka ni na koji način nije organizacijski povezana ni s Udruženjem niti s festivalom *Wienwoche*. Kao i svi ostali festivali i institucije u gradu, apiciramo za financijska sredstva gradskom uredu za kulturu: dobivena sredstva uložimo

u projekt i zatim dostavimo izvješće o utrošenom novcu. Osim toga nismo ni na koji način povezani s gradskim uredom za kulturu. Otežavajuću je okolnost stvarala činjenica da su mediji i pojedine političke stranke (konzervativci i politička desnica) festival *Wienwoche* tijekom prve dvije godine održavanja često nazivali *Zelenim* festivalom. To je bilo vrlo uznemiravajuće za nas, kao i za inicijative koje su sudjelovale u festivalu, jer nisu željele da ih se ni na koji način povezuje sa Zelenom strankom. Nismo željeli promovirati Zelenu stranku. Međutim, prednost je to što je festival od samog početka „nedodirljiv“. Ocjenjivački sud, iako okuplja pojedince koji su blisko povezani sa zajednicama, koje djeluju u kulturnom polju i u lokalnim institucijama, i mi kao festivalski tim, od početka smo bili potpuno neovisni od ikakve vanjske kontrole. Imali smo slobodu raditi što smo htjeli, kao i grupe s kojima smo surađivali. Iz istog smo razloga izazvali dosta skandala u ove četiri godine: trošimo novac iz gradskog proračuna za kulturu za otvoreno političke projekte, projekte koji pomiču zakonske granice. Pretpostavljam da nikada više neću raditi u takvoj institucionalnoj infrastrukturi, s jednakim budžetom i bez ikakve kontrole.

BLOK Bliže se lokalni izbori u Austriji. Hoće li to utjecati na *Wienwoche*, promijeniti ga ili možda uzdrmati?

strong frame and we assume that it could, on one hand, imply a lot of control – be it visible or invisible, internalized or not. On the other hand, there is a danger of instrumentalization of culture for promotion (PR, public image) of the ruling parties. Can you elaborate the relation between political parties and the *Wienwoche* as well as broaden it on other cultural projects in the local context, if there are similar constellations?

CAN GÜLCÜ The *Wienwoche* started as an initiative of the Green Party, as they came in the government on the local level in 2010 – so we have a coalition between the Social Democrats and the Greens on the level of the city government. The city of Vienna has two more festivals, *Donauinselfest* and *Stadtfest*, which are organized by the Social Democratic Party and by the conservative party, and both of them are financed from the cultural budget. When the Green Party came to power, they did not want these two festivals to be any longer financed from the municipal cultural budget, as they are in some extent promotional of political agendas, which is actually not exactly true, at least concerning *Donauinselfest*. What they wanted was clear, nevertheless they had to discuss it within the coalition and they could not reach an agreement on this point since these were both established festivals. So the Social Democrats

proposed to take half of the budget of the *Stadtfestival* (which is organized by the conservative party) and to organize a new festival. The Green Party refused to organize its “own festival” and proposed instead to create a platform for a best practice festival in regard to transparency, fair payment, inclusion of all the people living in the city etc. At that point the Association was founded and they made an open call for the directors. Radostina Patulova, Petja Dimitrova and I applied together and we got this job. So, why is this a disadvantage? In the first two years the media and other parties created a strong connection to the Green Party, although there is no real one, due to the process of foundation and because of a transparency contract (*Transparenzvereinbarung*) signed between the Green Party and the Association (which defines and includes all the points I have mentioned before and it is also available on our website). However, there are no members of the Green Party in the Association board, nor in the team. So, the Green Party has no organizational connection to the Association nor to the *Wienwoche*. As every other festival or institution in the city, we apply for the money at the city’s cultural department: we get it, spend it and make reports on the money spent. But besides that, there is no connection to the department for culture. The disadvantage was that the *Wienwoche* in the first two years

^{CAN}_{GÜLÇÜ} ... Smatram da se festival u protekle četiri godine izgradio i afirmirao. Više ga se ne povezuje sa Zelenom strankom – ove godine nije bilo nijednog takvog članka u novinama. I kao dodatak na prethodno pitanje: svjesni smo potencijalne instrumentalizacije Festivala. Naravno da Zelena stranka, s obzirom da je na vlasti, promovira svoje projekte, i *Wienwoche* je jedan od tih projekata. Međutim, smatram da je velik dio našeg rada na festivalu previše eksperimentalan i prekontroverzan za stranku koja se obraća široj publici. Stoga je takav festival nemoguće instrumentalizirati. Dapače, Zelena stranka nikada ne promovira *Wienwoche*, dok ga stranke političke desnice vrlo glasno kritiziraju: primjerice 2014. su godine organizirali konferenciju za tisak na kojoj su napali naš festival.

^{BLOK} ... No, to im posredno koristi. Javnim kritiziranjem festivala koji se pripisuje njima promoviraju se njihove opozicijske „vrijednosti“...

^{CAN}_{GÜLÇÜ} ... Tako bi bilo kada bi se oni zaista držali toga što govore. Zelena stranka u velikoj se mjeri nastoji obraćati široj publici, a takvo što ne provodi se konfliktima. Obraća joj se putem „veselih“ plakata i pozitivnih poruka, a činjenica da je konflikt tema ovogodišnjeg izdanja festivala zasigurno im ne ide na

ruku. Zelena stranka konflikte oko našeg festivala i antagonizme koje naša praksa proizvodi ne smatra produktivnim izvorom svoje politike – vrlo je velika razlika između našeg načina rada na festivalu *Wienwoche* i načina na koji ga Zelena stranka koristi kao svoju političku poruku. Stoga Zelena stranka teško može *Wienwoche* okarakterizirati kao dio svoje politike, i zapravo tako nešto nikada nisu ni izjavili. Također, organizacije civilnog društva nisu potpuno bespomoćne i znaju kako izraziti i postaviti svoje zahtjeve. Svjesni su kako funkcioniraju mehanizimi predstavničke demokracije i znaju kako izbjeći instrumentalizaciju. Nadalje, uvijek smo izbjegavali „brendirati“ festival. *Wienwoche* se uvelike fokusira na pojedinačne projekte i svojim formatom festivala okuplja sve projekte koji su međusobno vrlo raznoliki. Za razliku od drugih festivala, mi nemamo središnju bazu, poput središnjeg informativnog centra. Sve je vrlo decentralizirano i obraćamo se različitim publikama. To također znači da naš festival nije lako promatrati kao jednu cjelinu i pretvoriti ga u igračku stranačke politike.

^{BLOK} ... Naše sljedeće pitanje tiče se različitih inicijativa s kojima surađujete. Zanima nas na koji način povezujete umjetnike, umjetničke prakse i samoorganizirane prakse te, posebno, civilno društvo. Kakva je scena bečkog civilnog društva? Pitamo

of its existing was frequently addressed by certain media, and also by certain political parties (the conservatives and the right-wing) as the *Green Festival*. This was unnerving for us, as well as for the initiatives which participated with their projects, who did not want to be connected to the Green Party in any way. We did not want to do the promotion for the Green Party. However, the advantage is that the project is untouchable from the beginning, the Board (although it gathers people who are very much connected to the communities, in the cultural work and in the local institutions) and we, as a team, were completely independent of any control from the outside. So we had the freedom to do what we wanted to do, and the projects and the groups were free to do what they wanted to do. This is also the reason why we produced quite a lot of scandals in these four years: we spend the money from the municipal cultural department for quite obvious political projects, which move the line of the law. I guess I will never work in the same institutional infrastructure, with the same budget, without any control, like this, again.

^{BLOK} ... As we talk, the local elections are just around the corner. Would this change or stagger the *Wienwoche*?

^{CAN}_{GÜLÇÜ} ... My opinion is that the *Wienwoche* has quite established itself in the last four years and this connection to the Green Party is not a topic any longer – there was not a single article this year that even mentioned this issue. And to answer about the other aspect, namely the instrumentalization of the Festival. I think that we are quite aware of that. The Green Party of course promotes its projects, as they are in the government, and the *Wienwoche* is one of these projects. However, I think that a lot of the things that we do are too edgy and too controversial for the party that wants to have a broad voice in the public sphere. So, these cannot be instrumentalized then, actually quite the opposite. The Green Party has never promoted the *Wienwoche*, the right-wing, on the other hand, criticizes it massively: last year, for example, they made an extra press-conference to attack the festival.

^{BLOK} ... But it works for them. When the right-wing is doing a campaign against it, it is a promotion of their different, oppositional “values”...

^{CAN}_{GÜLÇÜ} ... Well, it would be if they would stand behind it. The Green Party is very much trying to address broader audiences, and that does not happen through conflicts. They address them

stoga što je povijest civilnog društva u Hrvatskoj vrlo specifična, povezana sa poslijeratnom situacijom i rekonfiguracijom kulturne i umjetničke scene 1990-ih godina. U ono vrijeme mnogi su se organizirali u civilno društvo jer nisu imali drugih mogućnosti, no danas je civilna scena – uključujući i BLOK – u dobroj poziciji, organizacije su međusobno dobro povezane i omogućen im je pristup mnogim fondovima za financiranje projekata. Sada smo konačno svjesni koliko takva pozicija može biti problematična i služiti kao kontrolni mehanizam u liberalnom kapitalizmu. Znamo da je situacija u Beču drugačija, stoga bismo voljeli od Vas čuti nešto više o inicijativama civilnog društva s kojima surađujete. Kako ih odabirete, je li riječ o skupinama s razvijenom infrastrukturom ili su u pitanju *underground* organizacije?

^{CAN GÜLCÜ} Naravno, „civilno društvo“ vrlo je širok pojam. Mi ga definiramo kao svako djelovanje koje se odvija izvan državnih okvira. Donekle sam upoznat s poviješću civilnog društva na Balkanu nakon 1990. godine, koji su uglavnom formirale nevladine organizacije i smatram da se ono razlikuje od civilnog društva u Austriji. Format „nevladine organizacije“ je samo oblik organizacije koji vam pruža određene prednosti. Kao primjer navest ću grupu *Rosa Lila Villa* s kojom smo surađivali nekoliko puta dosad. Riječ je o LGBTIQ društvenom centru sa širokim

spektrum aktivnosti: sudjeluju u podizanju svijesti o LGBTIQ problematici, bave se organizacijskim aktivnostima i savjetuju pojedince po pitanju javnog izjašnjavanja njihove seksualne orijentacije i/ili rodnog identiteta. Dijelom ih financira i država. Povremeno surađuju s gradskom administracijom ili državnim organizacijama, no inače sami kreiraju svoju vlastitu politiku djelovanja. Nadalje, kao što ste spomenuli u vašem pitanju, ne fokusiramo se na umjetničke, nego na kulturne prakse, što nije isto. Umjetničke prakse čine samo jedan dio produkcije *Wienwoche* festivala, najčešće u fazi osmišljavanja konačnog formata. Cilj je uočiti što pojedine grupe žele, i ovdje nije riječ samo o većim organizacijama poput nevladinih organizacija ili pak većih institucija poput *Rosa Lila Villa*, nego i o malim inicijativama. Mnogi se projekti unutar festivala *Wienwoche* međusobno povezuju, nastoje surađivati i povezivati svoje teme, strategije i datume... Smatram da razilaženje između nevladinih organizacija i *underground* organizacija nije toliko relevantno u kontekstu bečkog civilnog društva. Neke su od tih organizacija etablirane i dugogodišnje, neke su tek osnovane – no to ne znači da su se one niotkuda u jednom trenutku pojavile samo zato što se odjednom otvorila mogućnost za njihovo financiranje.

through happy posters and nice messages, and the conflict is the topic of this years' festival. They do not see it as a productive source of politics – there is a very thick line between how we do the work within the *Wienwoche* and how the Green Party makes its political statement. Therefore it is hard for them to say that it is part of their politics, and they actually never said so. Besides, all these civil society organizations are not completely out of power, they know how to state their own demands. They are aware of how the mechanisms in representational democracy function and they know how to avoid being instrumentalized. Furthermore, we have always avoided putting the *Wienwoche* on top of everything. The *Wienwoche* is very concentrated on single projects; it is a sum of all, completely different projects. We do not have a central location like other festivals do, such as central info center for example. Everything is very decentralized and addresses different audiences. This also means that it is not very easy to take it as a whole and transform it into some kind of a toy for party politics.

^{BLOK} Our next question is focused on these different initiatives that you collaborate with. We are interested in how you connect artists, artistic practices and self-organized practices and, very

precisely, the so-called civil society. What is actually the civil society in Vienna? The Croatian civil society has a very specific history, connected with the post-war situation and the 1990s reconfiguration of cultural and artistic sphere. At that time a lot of people organized in civil society having no other choice. Today, this Croatian civil scene, by which I mean us as well, is in a good position, very well networked and with access to many funds. Now we are finally aware of how this position can be problematic and serve as a mechanism of control in the liberal capitalism. As we are aware that the situation in Vienna is different, we would like to hear who are these people, how do you choose them, are they groups with infrastructure to work or are they *underground* organizations?

^{CAN GÜLCÜ} The term “civil society” is, of course, a very broad notion. We define it as every practice that takes place outside of state-organized frameworks. As I am to a certain extent familiar with the history of the civil society in the Balkans after 1990, mainly organized by NGO's, and I think it is not the same. An NGO is a just an organisation form that gives you certain advantages. We can take the example of *Rosa Lila Villa*, a group that we have worked with on several occasions. It is an LGBTIQ community house not far from here, doing different things, from raising

BLOK ... Takve organizacije služe i kao ideološki aparati. I kad se načelno zalažu za drugačije ciljeve, još uvijek mogu biti u službi određene politike, i to se ne tiče samo nastojanja da se izbore za financijska sredstva, nego i reproduciranja ideja o tome kako bi društvo trebalo izgledati. To možda funkcionira u manjem okviru, međutim ne vide širu sliku o načinu na koji društvo funkcionira kao jedna cjelina...

CAN GÜLCÜ ... Naravno, svaki euro iz financijskih fondova ima svoje pozadinsko značenje, ta su sredstva dio određenog programa i s određenom svrhom. S obzirom da imamo slobodu odlučivati o našim aktivnostima, nastojimo dobiti sredstva iz gradskog proračuna za kulturu i usmjeriti ih u političko djelovanje. I to zapravo radimo. To se, dakako, događa u određenom okviru, dakle u okviru festivala, i upravo u takvom okviru moramo udovoljiti određenim zahtjevima, što zaista može biti problematično. S druge se strane time otvara mogućnost za međusobno povezivanje ljudi, pruža im se mogućnost produkcije i ostvarivanja kontakata s ljudima koji ih podržavaju. Takav je pristup znatno drugačiji od dobivanja financijskih

MI SE NA MIGRACIJE NE FOKUSIRAMO KAO NA „OSJETLJIVU I POTREBITU“ TEMU, MIGRACIJE SU ZA NAS NORMALNA POJAVA U DRUŠTVU.

THE POINT IS THAT WE DO NOT FOCUS ON THE MIGRATION AS A TOPIC “WITH SPECIAL NEEDS,” BUT AS A NORMALITY OF OUR SOCIETY.

awareness on LGBTIQ issues, organizing, to advising people about “coming out.” It is also partly funded by the state. From time to time they work with the city administration or state organizations, but they create their own politics. Furthermore, we are not, as you mentioned in your question, concentrated on artistic practices, but on cultural practices, which is not the same. Artistic practices are just one part of the production of the Wienwoche, mostly in regard to finding the format at the end. But the point is to detect what are the demands of different groups, which are of course not only organized in NGOs or bigger institutions like *Rosa Lila Villa*, some of them are “pop-up” initiatives. There are many projects within the Wienwoche that connect to each other, trying to cooperate, connect topics, strategies, dates... I think this diversion between NGOs or more underground organizations is not quite relevant for the Viennese context, as it could be the case in the Balkans. Some of these organizations have been active for a quite long time, otherwise maybe for two weeks, but they did not just pop out at a certain moment because the possibility to get to the resources suddenly opened.

sredstava sudjelovanjem u nekom većem projektu poput programa Europske unije. Iza našeg pristupa ne stoji nikakav program, promišljamo što u danom trenutku i političkom kontekstu ima najviše smisla.

BLOK ... Prije početka intervjua imali smo malu raspravu; komentirali ste kako imamo potpuno pogrešan dojam da se vaš program fokusira na migrante. No, s obzirom da Austrija i Beč imaju dugu povijest migracije, voljeli bismo od Vas čuti na koji način *Wienwoche* djeluje po tom pitanju. Migranti nisu homogena skupina ljudi, bilo po pitanju klase, vjeroispovijesti ili rase... Kako se nosite s time?

CAN GÜLCÜ ... Vaša je pretpostavka pogrešna zbog izraza „fokusan na migrante“. Migracija je bila središnja tema prošlogodišnjeg izdanja festivala, i jedna je od tema koje se uvijek javljaju u projektu *Wienwoche*. No mi se na migracije ne fokusiramo kao na „osjetljivu i potrebitu“ temu, migracije su za nas normalna pojava u društvu. Gotovo svaki drugi stanovnik Beča ima migrantsko zaleđe. Migracije su samo jedan od aspekata kojim se bavimo; naime, svjesni smo toga da bi u velikim institucijama, kada bi se one time bavile, bila riječ o migracijama. Od početka smo bili svjesni da naš rad nije *usmjeren na migracije* ili migrante, nego da su upravo migranti i ljudi s migrantskim

BLOK ... They are also ideological apparatuses. They can think they propagate whatever, but they can be in service of certain politics, which is not just about fighting for funds, but also about reproducing certain ideas of how the society should function. Maybe it can work in their small scale, but they lack the bigger picture of how the society functions as a whole...

CAN GÜLCÜ ... Sure, any euro of a fund has a subtext. It is within a certain program and has a certain purpose. What we try, since we can freely decide about our action, is to take the money from the cultural department and redistribute it for political issues. That is actually what we do. Of course, it has a certain framework, which is the Festival, and we have to meet certain demands within this framework and maybe that is problematic in a way. On the other hand, it is also a way of connecting people to each other and giving them the possibility to produce and to get in touch with people who support them. It is rather different from getting funds by taking part in a bigger project, such as an EU program. There is no program behind it, the program is to think what makes most sense politically at the moment.

BLOK ... We had a little disagreement prior to our interview: you said that our impression that your program is focused on migrants

zaleđem dio produkcijskog tima festivala *Wienwoche*. To je vidljivo u našem kustoskom timu (sva tri člana tima su migranti), kao i u našem organizacijskom i produkcijskom timu. Tu nema ničega posebnog. To je stvarnost grada i društva u kojima živimo. Ukoliko velike institucije to ne odražavaju u svome djelovanju, to ne znači da je to nešto posebno, razlog tome je činjenica da njihov rad ne uvažava kontekst u kojem živimo. Da odgovorim na vaše pitanje o tome kako povezujemo migrante iz različitih sredina. To je također dio našeg vlastitog zaleđa. Dolazimo iz antirasističkog pokreta, rada u zajednici i konteksta koji uključuju kulturni rad s različitim skupinama u gradu, no pritom ne postavljamo identitetska ograničenja. Uvijek smo se fokusirali na temu. Ako primjerice festival *Wienwoche* istražuje temu demokracije i njezino današnje stanje, osmislićemo projekt poput *Wahlwexel* koji propituje „tko može glasati i tko je dio današnje demokracije“ jer mnogo ljudi u Beču nema biračko pravo. Takav projekt nije projekt o migrantima, nego o samom sistemu; tako, naime, pristupamo temi migracija. Ne govorimo samo o migrantima, nego o problemu strukturnog rasizma koji isključuje. Zanima nas problem isključivanja, procesi participacije i organizacije – kako se organizirati i povezati s drugima, kako promijeniti društvene odnose. To je politički aspekt *Wienwochea*. On nije participativni projekt.

Participativan je ukoliko se pod time podrazumijeva borba za sve, za društvo u cjelini, jer mi se zalažemo za strukturne promjene. Participativan projekt koji se odnosi na *određenu skupinu* ljudi i na *određeno* vrijeme ne može donijeti strukturne promjene.

BLOK Spomenuli ste da umjetnički projekti ne čine glavni dio festivala, naprotiv, njegov su manji dio. Možete li nam reći nešto više o vašem odnosu prema umjetničkom svijetu (ili odbacivanju istog)? Nastojite li spojiti dva „razdvojena“ svijeta?

CAN GÜLCÜ... Naša poveznica s umjetničkim svijetom i njegovim institucijama (dakle, muzejima, galerijama i kazalištima) slijedi decentralizirani koncept. Stvaramo male projekte u različitim prostorima: ponekad samo koristimo prostor neke institucije, a ponekad i surađujemo s njima. Korištenjem prostora nekog kazališta koje ima specifičan politički profil ili koje je prema našem shvaćanju visoko reprezentativno, te suradnjom s

JEDNA JE MOGUĆNOST DJELOVATI SAMO U ONIM PROSTORIMA U KOJIMA SE OSJEĆATE SIGURNIMA. DRUGA JE POKUŠATI DOĆI DO DRUGAČIJE PUBLIKE I TO JE SRŽ KONCEPTA WIENWOCHE FESTIVALA.

ONE OPTION IS TO GO ONLY IN THOSE SPACES IN WHICH YOU FEEL SECURE. BUT THE OTHER IS TO TRY TO REACH THE OTHER, DIFFERENT AUDIENCE AND THAT IS THE VERY CONCEPT OF THE WIENWOCHE FESTIVAL

is utterly wrong. Still, it would be very interesting for us to hear how the *Wienwoche* acts in this field, since the city of Vienna and Austria have a long history of migration. Migrants are not a homogeneous group of people, be it in terms of class, religion, race... How do you deal with this?

CAN GÜLCÜ... The term “focused on migrants” is what is wrong in your presumption. Migration was last year the main topic and is one of the topics that always come out through the *Wienwoche*. But the point is that we do not focus on the migration as a topic “with special needs,” but as a normality of our society. Almost every second person in Vienna has a migrant background. Migration is one of the aspects that we engage in because we know that if the big institutions would deal with it, it would be *about* migration. From the beginning it was clear for us that we are not focused on migration nor on migrants, but that migrants, or people with a migrant background, are producers at the *Wienwoche*. That is visible both in the curatorial team (3 out of 3 are migrants) and in the organizational and production teams. The point is that it is nothing special. This is the reality of the city that we live in and the society that we are a part of. If the big institutions do not reflect this, it does not mean that it is special. They are the ones that are not up to date. As to how we

connect migrants of different backgrounds... again, it is part of our backgrounds. We come from the anti-racist movement, community work and contexts which include cultural work with different groups in the city, but without the identity border, to say like “you are a migrant, come and do something.” Our point was always about topics. If the topic of the *WienWoche* is democracy and the state of it today, we will produce a project such as *Wahlwexel*, which asks “who can vote, who is a part of this democracy,” because a lot of people cannot vote in Vienna. Such a project is not about migrants. It is about the system itself, and that is how we approach the topic of migration. We are not talking about migrants, we are talking about racism, structural racism that excludes people. We are talking about exclusion, processes of participation and organizing – how to organize and connect with others, to change relations in the society, that is the political aspect of the *Wienwoche*. It is not a participatory project. Or, if participatory project means

takvom institucijom otvaramo potpuno drugačiji način rada u odnosu na ono što je uvriježeno za tu instituciju, zapravo činimo intervenciju u njihovu praksu i prostor. Jednu smo takvu interenciju nedavno izveli u bečkom Etnološkom muzeju – pripremili smo dvije izložbe čija su tema bili stereotipi koje takve institucije oblikuju. U ovom specifičnom slučaju fokusirali smo se na stereotipe vezane za židovsku baštinu i kolonijalne prakse koje ta institucija i dalje proizvodi, primjerice u dijelu muzeja posvećenom Latinskoj Americi. Organizirali smo izložbu pod nazivom *Iskopavanje kolonijalnih rana (Una excavación de la Heridas Coloniales)*. Kustosica izložbe Verena Melgarejo Weinandt odlično je prikazala kako je kolonijalizam pomogao Europi u stjecanju ekonomske, političke i vojne nadmoći. Eurocentričko znanje bilo je nužno za legitimaciju kolonijalne dominacije. Sukladno tome, osnivanje etnografskih muzeja i zbirki bilo je važan dio duge povijesti kolonijalnog nasilja i izrabljivanja. Takav pristup i takvu izložbu bečki Etnografski muzej dosad nije imao.

BLOK Sve institucije imaju svoju publiku, takoreći pretplatnike. Kako ste pristupili tom aspektu njihove institucionalne politike? Naročito u pogledu onih koji su isključeni iz takvih institucija?

CAN GÜLCÜ Jedna je mogućnost djelovati samo u onim prostorima u kojima se osjećate sigurnima. Druga je pokušati doći do drugačije publike i to je srž koncepta *Wienwoche* festivala. U rujnu 2015. godine predstavili smo dva projekta u jednom otmjenom bečkom kazalištu. Jedan je multimedijalni performans, djelo austrijskog pionira elektronske glazbe, koji je u suradnji sa skupinom mladih ljudi adaptirao tekst spisateljice Elfriede Jelinek. Drugi je projekt dokumentarni film *Auf nach Europa (Put prema Europi)* u kojem njegov autor, nekadašnji izbjeglica Mohamed Mouaz, opisuje svoje putovanje od Istanbula do Beča. Ta smo dva rada povezali. Glazbeno kazalište ima svoju tradicionalnu publiku, ljude koji se dotjeruju za izlazak u kazalište: građanski srednji sloj. Radi se o bijeloj, tradicionalno kulturnjačkoj publici, zato smo i odabrali otmjeno kazalište, a ne aktivistički prostor, dakle prostor u kojem se srednja klasa osjeća ugodno. Time smo toj publici, koja vjerojatno nije odviše upoznata s temom borbe protiv rasizma, pružili mogućnost vidjeti dokumentarni film i razgovarati s aktivistima i autorom filma. Takva strategija, strategija povezivanja različitih publika srž je koncepta *Wienwoche* festivala. Nedavno smo imali *The Black Her* Stories Project*, kao prvi queer, feministički festival crnačkog filma u Beču.

everything for everyone, then yes, but it is a structural change we go for. But if it means *something for some people for a certain period*, then it is not structural, but representational.

BLOK You mentioned that artistic works are not the main part of the festival, quite the contrary; they are just a small part. Can you elaborate on your relation (or rejection) to the art world? Do you seek to blend the two “divided” worlds?

CAN GÜLCÜ The connection to that world, to the institutions of the art world, by which I mean the museums, galleries, theatres, is following the decentralized concept. We are producing small-scale projects in different spaces: sometimes we use the space of an institution or we collaborate with such institutions. If we have a theatre piece in the theatre space that works in very special way politically, or in our understanding highly representationally, if we do something with them that is completely different from what they would do, this is intervention in their practice or in their space. For example, we recently made an intervention in The Museum of Ethnology in Vienna, where we held two exhibitions focusing on stereotypes that such institutions produce. In this case, we focused on the stereotypes regarding Jewish heritage and the colonial practices that this

institution still produces, for example in the part of the Museum dedicated to Latin America. Actually we have organized a pretty classical exhibition called *Una excavación de las Heridas Coloniales* (An excavation of the colonial wounds) curated by Verena Melgarejo Weinandt, who made it visible how colonialism has helped Europe to reach its economic, political and military supremacy. The generation of Eurocentric knowledge was necessary to legitimize colonial dominance. Accordingly, the process of establishing ethnographic museums and collections has been an important part of the long history of colonial violence and exploitation. They did not have an approach such as this in their own institution before.

BLOK The institutions have their audiences (subscribers so to say), how do you treat this aspect of their institutional politics? And especially, in regard to those excluded from this type of institutions?

CAN GÜLCÜ One option is to go only in those spaces in which you feel secure. But the other is to try to reach the other, different audience and that is the very concept of the *Wienwoche* festival. In September 2015 we held an event presenting two projects in a very posh Viennese theater in the second district. One of

Naravno, povremeno neki veliki filmski festival uključi i takav žanr u svoj program, no mi smo htjeli kolektivu *Black Women* Space* osigurati prostor i sredstva kako bi cijeli program mogle same provesti. To je cilj *Wienwochea*, stvoriti zajednički prostor, povezivati ljude koji inače ne bi mogli lako doći u kontakt jedni s drugima, pa ni u potencijalan izravni konflikt.

BLOK Novi društveni pokreti koje povezujete u festivalom *Wienwoche* uglavnom se baziraju na identitetskoj politici koja je ukazala na zanemarene oblike političke subjektivizacije, no koja je iz vida ispustila fundamentalni klasni odnos u društvu: odnos kapitalista i radnika. Spomenuli ste važnost „mijenjanja klasnih odnosa“ i „strukturnih promjena“, što nas vraća na sistemsku kritiku. Kakav je vaš odnos prema identitetskoj politici i njezinim učincima i (ne)mogućnostima?

CAN GÜLCÜ „Fundamentalni klasni odnos“ mnogo je složeniji pojam od dualnosti kapitalist-radnik. Uz to, ekonomija se uvelike promijenila u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća. Identitetska politika nije postala važnija zato što ljude više ne zanimaju klasni odnosi, nego zato što je upravo identitet glavni aspekt oblikovanja tih odnosa. Navest ću vrlo jednostavan primjer: stanovnici Austrije koji nemaju austrijsko državljanstvo nemaju jednaka prava kao Austrijanci. Nemaju jednaka prava po pitanju

obrazovanja, političke participacije, zdravstvene skrbi, zaposlenja ili stanovanja – čak i ako pripadaju istoj klasi. Kako postaviti pitanje društvene nejednakosti, a da se pritom također ne osvrnemo na problem rasizma ili rodne neravnopravnosti u društvu? Znači li to da s feminizmom i rodnom ravnopravnošću trebamo pričekati, nakon revolucije? Novi se društveni pokreti ne zasnivaju na identitetskoj politici, nego su svjesni da su klasni odnosi puno složeniji od jednostavnih podjela na uobičajene klasne kategorije.

S engleskog na hrvatski prevela: Ivana Bertić

the projects was a music theater piece, of an Austrian pioneer of electronic music who adopted a text by Elfriede Jelinek and worked on it with a group of young people. The second one was a documentary film *Auf nach Europa* (Off to Europe) made by Mohamed Mouaz, a former refugee, who made a road movie about his journey from Istanbul to Vienna. We have brought this two works together in program. The musical theatre has its own audience: people who dress up when going to the theatre, a somewhat bourgeois middle class. So, we had a white, traditional cultural audience and for that reason we have chosen a space that is accessible for them; we did not go to the usual activist places, we chose a high-class space that is comfortable for the bourgeoisie. Such a strategy opened up the possibility for these people, who are probably not much connected to the issue of political anti-racism, to see the film and to talk with the activists and the filmmaker after the screening. This strategy of connecting different audiences is the core concept of the *Wienwoche* festival. Recently we also had *The Black Her* Stories* project which was the first queer, feminist, black film festival in Vienna. Of course, it happens from time to time that one of the big film festivals covers such genres, but our point was to give space and resources to *The Black Women* Space*

organization to do this all by themselves. And this is all the *Wienwoche* is about, to create shared spaces and to connect people who usually would not come together and also would not come in potential direct conflict.

BLOK These new social movements, which you bring together in the space created by the *Wienwoche* are mostly based on identity politics, which has brought into light unattended ways of political subjectivation, but is also missing a fundamental class relation in the society (capitalist – worker). You have mentioned, as important, “changing relations in the society,” “structural changes,” which brings us back to systemic critique. What’s your position towards identity politics in general and its effects and (im)possibilities?

CAN GÜLCÜ Well, the point is that the “fundamental class relation” is much more complex than the duality of capitalist and worker as the organization of the society, and beyond that the economy has changed massively in the recent decades. Identity politics has not become more important because people are not interested in class relations and struggle anymore, but because the identity is the main aspect in forming class relations. For

instance, Austrians and Non-Austrians do not have the same legal rights; they do not have the same access to education, political participation, health-care, jobs or accommodation – even if they are of the very same class background. So, how can we raise the issue of class without raising the issue of racism or of gender inequality? Does that mean that we hold with feminism and gender equality after the revolution? The new social movements are not based on identity politics, but they are aware of the fact that class relations are interconnected with much more than simple divisions in classical class categories.