

Risk Change



Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art

BETWEEN MOBILITY CONTROL

AND
SOCIAL

TRANS
FORMA
TION

ART/ INTERDIS CIPLINARY

PROJECT

RISK
CHANGE





Between Mobility Control and Social Transformation — Art/Interdisciplinary Project Risk Change

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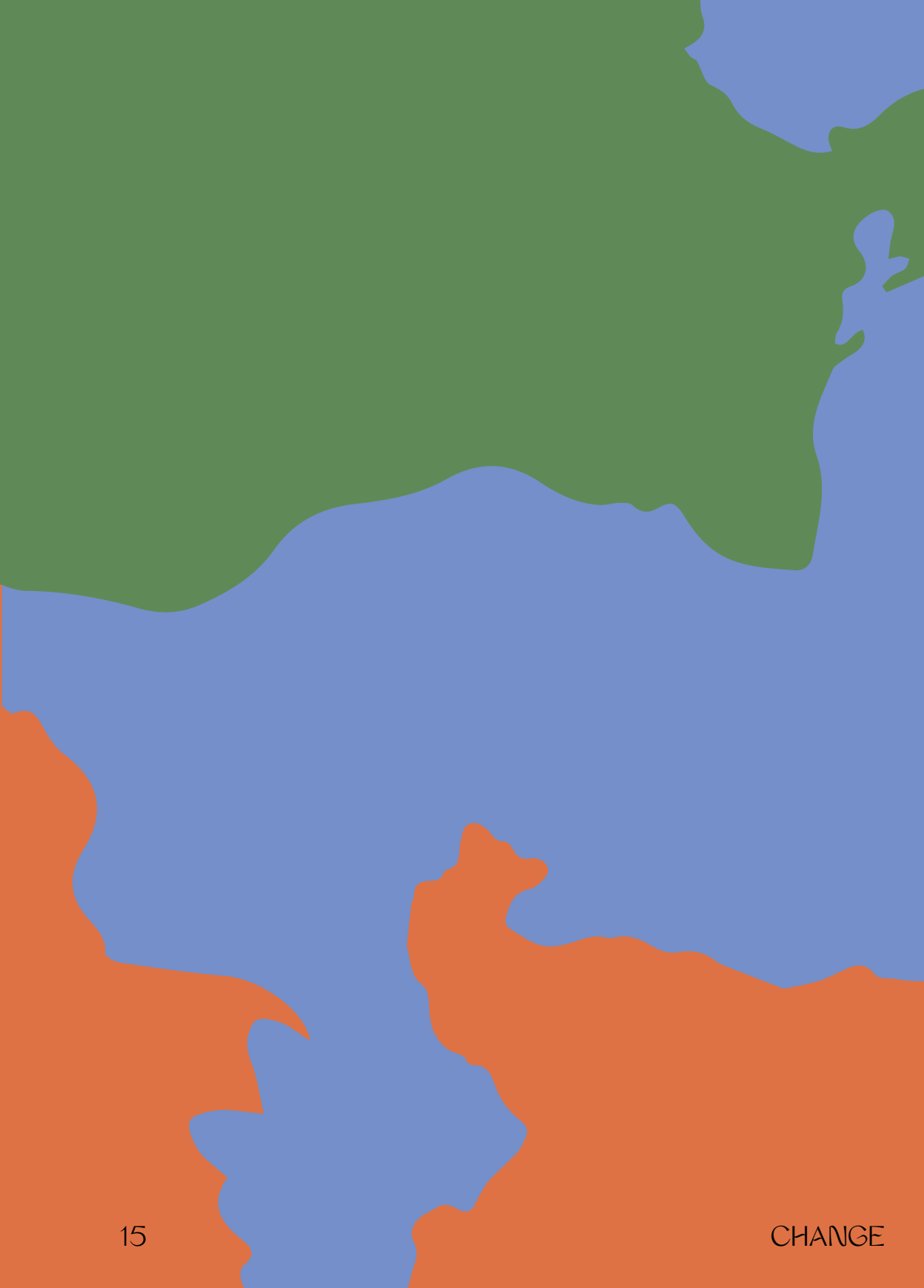
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MIGRAT
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A NATURAL LAW:

EVERY
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MOVES,

EVERY
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MIGRATES

The book in front of you was created as the epilogue of Risk Change, the project that over the past four years explored the topic of migrations and movement control. Following the motto of the project, "Migrations are a natural law. Everything moves, everybody migrates" it aims to spark discussions about (im)possibilities of today's mobility. It investigates the extremes of modern society: mobility, multiculturalism and cooperation on the one hand, and exile, border control and exclusion on the other.

This book was created on an intersection of anthropology, social psychology, art and curatorial practices. It gathered theorists and practitioners of different profiles, mainly the protagonists of previous Risk Change exhibitions and symposiums. Providing fresh commentaries on social and migrant politics, cultural practices and migration processes, it encourages an exchange of experiences and perspectives with the audience and the public. Compiled of different texts, from case studies and ethnographic and anthropological field reports to curatorial contributions and historical and philosophical essays, it seeks to prove that migrations are a universal principle.

The content of the book covers the topics of Risk Change exhibitions, from the issue of temporary migrations ("Between There and There: the Anatomy of Temporary Migrations", 2016), forced migrations and people's troubles in gaining foothold in the times of fragile security ("Black Disguises", 2017), escape as a way of obstructing the control of movement ("Escape", 2018), and the issue of forming judgements about the foreigner and the Other ("We're Not Like Them", 2019). The emphasis is placed on the risks that exist in restricted social circumstances, where struggles for survival and protection of personal life are accompanied with pains of adaptation and fruitless attempts at togetherness. "Between Movement Control and Social Changes – Art/Interdisciplinary Project Risk Change" combines the elements of a cultural study on (in)hospitality of modern Europe stereotypes and an artistic satire on social landscape built on myths of superiority,

imperial history and an obsession with control and purity that arises from the fear of the Other and the unknown.

Preoccupied with local experience and extensive political destabilization, we were writing this book on the intersection of official history and forgotten stories, which are scattered somewhere between the abandoned model of social state and its globalized version that offers poor legal guarantees. With photo documentation of Risk Change project (pictures of the exhibited artworks and documentary materials), the book covers the topics of migrations, labor and economy. It deals with the issue of borders and their reinforcement – in territorial, administrative and legal sense – which is particularly expressed in the first chapter “Foreigner, Refugee, Citizen, Tourist – Europe as a Space of Inhospitality”. The writings of Željko Senković, Ksenija Orelj & Sabina Salamon, Cj Stephens, Marijana Hameršak & Iva Pleše reflect on the ‘me vs. others’ division and analyze the strained relationships to the Other, which manifest through strict control system, exclusion and rejection. The contributions engage in a study of a foreigner, a refugee – a (non)citizen – in the era characterized by a shift towards the right-wing politics and the abandonment of the European liberal ideals in favor of political violence and pragmatism.

The second chapter, “Along the Roads of Multiculturalism Towards Spatial Detachment – Claustrophobia of Modern Cities” begins with a local research conducted as part of Risk Change project. Along with the contributions by Barbara Matejčić and Drago Župarić Iljić, it features the texts by Irena Bekić & Duga Mavrinac and Igor Petričević. By means of exploration and analysis of the contemporary art practices, these writings reflect on the present issues of multiculturalism, which, in contrast to the assimilation model, should represent acknowledgement and preservation of cultural diversity. From an empirical and field work perspective, the texts also examine the current treatment of diversity and differences, notions that stand in opposition to the privileged (ethnical and national) integrity. Finally, they describe

the usual traps in recognition of the Other, disguised in administrative, legal, social, cultural and psychological phraseology.

The closing chapter of the book is called “Do the Balkans Belong to Europe? – the Issue of Political and Social Integration on Europe’s Margins”. The texts of Dragan Markovina, Manuela Bojadžijev and Sabina Salamon speak about the experience from the borders of the Balkan and the Mediterranean world, pervaded with nationalist divisions that camouflage the real economic situation. By posing the question “what has happened with Europe without borders?”¹, they investigate the alternatives to the growing xenophobia and social discrimination. Faced with defeat by the idea of supranational community and surrounded with multicultural flags that often serve only a cosmetic role, there is not much to do, except ponder the possibility of a united front which, instead of engaging in cultural narratives, would affirm universal civil rights, along with social and economic rights. Art practices, the key medium of Risk Change project, pursue this goal. They abandon the official ways of recording history and, instead of presenting the deeply rooted ‘objective’ truths, they choose compassion and solidarity as the only valuable catalysts of change and the only means of escaping the claustrophobia of the present era sociability. Escape, as a gesture of movement and an act of survival, arises from a lack of tolerance toward the current state of affairs, but it also emerges as a privilege that enables us to run away in the first place. The harsher the measures of control, the more visible the escape will be.

1 From the text of Dragan Markovina:
“Mediterranean and the Balkans at
the Gate of Fortress Europe”





FOR
EIGNER,

REFUGEE,

CITIZEN, TOURIST

—

EUROPE

AS A
SPACE
OF

INHOSPI
TALITY

Željko Senković

Migrations, the Question of Hospitality and the Politics of Friendship

The modern age, contrary to popular opinion, is the age of impossibility. The belated politics of identity, guided by the reawakened idealization of nations and the homeland collide with globalism guided by the neoliberal idea of rational corporate management. On the actual horizons, these two prevailing directions produce primarily an atmosphere of indifference and paradox, because the romantic consciousness is shown to be futile and premodern in the face of the logic of capital. An individual, who in his (post)modern disorientation went a step further than the twenty-first century 'mass man,' because masses and massive depersonalization within ourselves is not even questionable, but is substituted by the vacuity of escapist experiences and entertainment, accepts new servile deifications. One of which is shown in the acceptance of the state as an opinion maker and an instance with a delegated role of the protection and supervision of freedom and the Other. Therefore, if we can even talk today about a distinct political orientation as an alternative to the neoliberal ideology of globalization, then it comes in the form of new nationalistic awakenings that are helped the world over by a broad spectrum of ideological incentives, from guardians of tradition to religious torchbearers. Regardless of whether we talk about Hungary or Russia, such ideologemes represent a retrograde alternative, actually a false alternative, because just like the neoliberal discourse they impoverish and reduce the space of freedom. In such ideologemes, man is primarily an employer or a slave to another man, or he devolved into a proper or desirable Hungarian, Russian, Croatian, who knows and denounces the Other, and assumes correct coordinates of nations or groups, whatever the case may be.

What the future brings will not be reducible to present political terms, because former political paradigms are changing. Large migratory waves from the Middle East and Africa will question ethical horizons of responsibility towards the Other, which constitute the European humanist spirit.

A CENTURY OF REFUGEEISM

"One of Hannah Arendt's basic postulates about the future world and the decline of sovereignty of nation-states explicitly warns that the 21st century is going to be a time of refugeeism. This postulate simultaneously points to three interrelated complexes of the end of modern political ideas:

1. the end of nation-state;
2. the end of the European paradigm of national sovereignty and
3. the end of the rights of man in the sense of the universal citizenry in the cosmopolitan order of the rule of reason in history.

Instead of the cosmopolitan citizen, as envisaged by Kant in the idea of eternal peace, the subject of the new order became that 'good European' that Nietzsche ironically took as an example of the European quagmire of values. Specifically, it is the paranoid fear of the Other. Which occurred precisely when Christianity was replaced by the vulgar ideology of totalitarian communism in the 20th century" (Paić, 2017: 169).

Today, it is often difficult to differentiate between refugeeism, statelessness and migration, even though refugeeism can specifically be determined as the movement of people caused by war or political exile, i.e. fear from it. In order to properly orient ourselves in this age of large migratory movements, in terms of the essence of our contemporaneity, we should compare the horizon of current problems with 20th century events.

As a refugee from Nazi Germany, Hannah Arendt published the text "We refugees" in the United States of America in 1943. The text is suggestive and paradigmatic as an insight into timeless aspects of the refugee, i.e. the one who is for Europe today both a danger and a harbinger of the coming, uncertain time. Since comparison is the best criticism, according to Deleuze, let us consider what Arendt says (Arendt, 2017) about uncertainties and hopes of the refugee. Describing the life of Jewish refugees, she states that among them suicide became more frequent and that Jewish attempts to become accepted in the world is paradoxical: after being exiled from Germany, in France they agreed to become 'Jaeckes,' they actually tried to become French and accepted being kept in France as justified. A strange sense of belonging - not-belonging to certain classes and nations was happening all over the world, and their identity became fluid and difficult to establish.

"Man is a social animal and life is not easy for him when social ties are cut off. Moral standards are much easier kept in the texture of a society. Very few individuals have the strength to conserve their own integrity if their social, political and legal status is completely confused. Lacking the courage to fight for a change in our social and legal status, we have decided instead, so many of us, to try a change of identity. And this curious behaviour makes matters much worse. The confusion in which we live is partly our own work" (Arendt, 2017: 125).

However, a change of identity also reveals difficulties and the hopelessness of existence, but also psychotic aspects of rejecting the Jewish identity, since the Jews were obsessed with a longing for affirmative and desirable assimilation. The real problem of Arendtian diagnosis, which stems from the Jewish wandering destiny,

can be found in the nature of the world that does not accept human beings for themselves, in which discrimination became a powerful social weapon used to dispose of people without shedding blood. We are dependent on the status that we are willing to pay a high price for. In that sense, her words remain prophetic even today:

“Refugees driven from country to country represent the vanguard of their peoples, if they keep their identity. For the first time Jewish history is not separate but tied up with that of all other nations. The comity of European peoples went to pieces when, and because, it allowed its weakest member to be excluded and persecuted” (Arendt, 2017:128).

CRISIS OF THE EUROPEAN IDEA AND INADEQUACY OF THE NATION-STATE

The idea of peace is inscribed in the origin and concept of the European idea, it is the pathos from which we should observe contemporary discussions about the crisis of the old continent. It is precisely in the idea of peace, simultaneously the most concrete and the most abstract social principle, a kind of materialization of spirituality, where we should read the immense problem and challenge brought about by the suffering and despair of refugee waves. If there is no adequate response, i.e. if crises are not nipped in the bud, globally and peacefully, the European idea will wane, much faster than from the consequences of the neoliberal machinery that grinds and trivializes classical values. Here, the realpolitik question about the primary responsibilities of countries that caused the Syrian catastrophe, such as, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, United States, does not help. Their geopolitical strategy is a separate aspect of interests, hypocrisy and violence; the European political way should not disintegrate into political violence and focusing on its own impermeable borders, because that is the way to deepen the catastrophe. The peacekeeping politics will surely have to be the politics of preventing the present deranged arms race, to which the Republic of Croatia is also a part. But, as Shakespeare said in “Macbeth” – life is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury. It is therefore difficult to expect a sudden and complete reversal in today’s dark times, when instead of reasoning we use ideological labels and spread the atmosphere of indifference. Tribal awareness and fevered nationalistic exclamations do not permit finding a neutral referential point, and relocation to a space where the true subject is mankind. What is required is a supranational institution, a reformed and truly strong UN or a new international formation, built with the consensus of the largest states in the world, that would establish and widen the areas protected from violence, hunger

and disease. The fact that we do not have such a truly functional organization in the world today, shows the necessary direction for activity and continued connection of contemporary politics with the concept of the state (Sloterdijk, 2017:195).

According to Sloterdijk, although we increasingly live in an era of culturally homogenous nation-states, the state continues to be the holder of essential principles of political civilization. However, he would also claim, even though he is in favour of increased monitoring of German and European borders, that on a global level we lack an effective central agency that could stop fatal processes. But, an appropriate action does not follow from this insight, and on all levels, egoism prevails as a reactive force of the unconscious human.

“Here the unfortunate nation-state again enters the fray. It is simultaneously necessary and inadequate. All of this today is not more but less than the sum of its parts. Consequently, after the activity of parts what develops is paralysis not synergy” (Sloterdijk, 2017:196).

Unfortunately, some aspects of Sloterdijk’s debate about the refugee crisis show him to be an opponent of a pluralistic society, because he claims that refugees are something menacingly foreign. It is discernible that even a thinker of such calibre can easily slide into becoming a mediator of ‘popular opinion.’ However, although I think that such debates easily abdicate from reality, the point is not in the deficit of reality but in the ‘surplus of reality,’ i.e. acceptance of the quantitative-ideological-identity calculation and miscalculation of the ‘refugee wave,’ with the abandonment of the humanist moment. Mankind could finally attain itself (Friedrich Nietzsche), only if it dared to try that which appears so difficult, far, even impossible, i.e. overcoming current political categories and relationships that go around in circles of the closed realpolitik hatred. Therefore, if the only possible solution to migration problems is stopping wars, then the new international community can and should do that. Phobic abdications to belated identity politics will bring nothing good. In that sense, the European Union should resolutely commit to historic action, because of possible millions of migrants and refugees and because of immeasurable consequences of climate change.

Since the era in which many powerful European countries committed shameful and violent acts of colonisation is over, the action today should happen in the framework of finding a different activity for life, one that we will gain by changing our way of life. The consumerist and egoistic mentality devastated the world. Since crisis is both a danger and an opportunity (Sutlić, 1972), the only way out is in the radical change of our way of life and finding compatibility in

terms of achieving a cosmopolitan, supranational instance, that would bring to life the idea of peace. European philosophical tradition, from Stoicism to Kant, should encourage dialogue with eastern pacifist ethical discourses, in order to get away from current political projects of hatred and fear of the Other. Mankind can be born again and continue only in the universal, otherwise it will implode in irrational particularities.

“Let’s draw on the metaphor of the Titanic: enlightened people see the prow heading straight for the iceberg, know the shipwreck is inevitable, grab the lifeboats, and ask the orchestra to play lullabies so that they can make a clean getaway before the alarm alerts the other classes” (Latour, 2017:210).

COLD HUMAN PERIOD AND THE POLITICS OF WALLS

Whether the insider elites are cynical of simply egoistic, their privileged insights and capture of the masses in cultural conflicts, are indicators of one of the basic determinants of contemporaneity, escapism. We live trying to escape responsibility and tacitly accept helplessness, while general apathy is on the rise. However, the migrant and ecological crisis will become increasingly connected, so an audacity to attempt and achieve world peace is urgent. Consumerist society and the revival of tribal awareness that is sliding backwards, are a strange mixture of our times. Ethnic, religious and tribal identities are becoming stronger. Their great contradiction, but also compatibility represents a serious warning to change direction. When nations want to close themselves into ethnic categories instead of benefitting mankind, they deceptively and illusorily forget that the kind of dome capable of protecting a wealthy and isolated nation does not exist. Therefore, any form of resistance and rebellion is connected to the internationalization of the problem, in order for the Chinaman, the Russian, Turk, Slovak and Croat to become people, by distancing themselves from the identity politics of previous (non)values. A new cold war is being mentioned, but it seems to me more appropriate to say that an era of cold human relationships set in, a time of general apathy, an era when people no longer dream of a better and more just world because they are lulled into escapist nonsense.

A true solution to the migration problem could correctly be designated if we first ask ourselves about the real assistance and possibilities of European states. Ethically speaking, the one who recognizes those who are unloved shows that he loves life and has faith in the sense of tomorrow. Should that vanish, xenophobia and other hatreds would appear. I am best realized in relation to You, We are developing well in world-making politics if They are not a menacing

strangeness, but a politics where cultures are mutually civilizing. (Sloterdijk, 2013) Mankind requires minimal compatibility related to perspectives for the future, that cannot exist without solidarity and new international community. Therefore, today's escape from responsibility is unacceptable, it concerns both states and every individual who constantly constitutes the interrelationship You-I. People are not islands, and refugees, of yesterday-today-tomorrow, only demonstrate the modern need for solidarity, that it is precisely where the true topos of humanity is found, and not in the 'market competition.' Specifically, nothing is more important than mitigating suffering. All logocentrism and humanity of the European and Western tradition pales in comparison to an abdication in the face of this task.

A sense of panic caused by large migratory movements is understandable, but it is always somewhat stronger than the discomfort the Danish society feels when confronted with a large number of people from Eritrea or Syria. Of course, the possibilities of integration are unstable and conditioned. It is therefore always better to solve a large crisis at its roots, respecting cultural distinctions. However, phobia of strangers is in many ways a reaction of the reptilian brain, that instinctively separates ours from theirs. In order for the community to consolidate, we do not require physical walls for the primary separation in the original sense. The original, tribal community endogenously reproduces itself with the help of cohesive energies that enable the group to create an existential space and living forms. It has its own centripetal force that encloses and protects it, while an integration into its space is gained by birth or ritual admission. In that sense, starting from that community to a series of other developed groups, each of them had its own protective enclosure where individuals found shelter, from the biological to the cultural sphere. The point of modern civilization should be that different communities/cultures touch so that solidarity as a principle inside a community spreads to other communities i.e. to mankind. Because what can be done today with the fact of unconditional priority of relationships within a community before connections with the surrounding world? Such exclusivity (originally tribal, (quasi)religious, national) aspires to sheltering away inside walls/borders. This is the politics of walls that exists since primitive societies until today. However, the isolationism of our and enclosed space, does not speak the language that is logos. Although the production of our protected space cannot and will not be overcome until people exist, we are here seeking to end human history as the history of walls. This search is also a path to liberate the Other from evil-doing and an inability to live a dignified human life. In Eritrea and Syria, we need to free space for these suf-

fering and humiliated people to live. The only way to achieve that goal is to establish peace and a common global ethos.

However, since peace today still resembles an 'illusion of love' (Krleža) or a vision in a world that unlearned to desire goodness and justice, nevertheless mankind has to relearn to dream and earn ideals, in order to be able to earn themselves at all. World peace is an unfulfilled dream that would immediately create many paths of healing and remedy misery and suffering. It is therefore an urgent task for all conscious individuals and groups to resist the beating of military drums, to resist militarization and injustice of the only logic of today, that of capital. A combined militaristic and neoliberal propaganda opposes a true reversal. We find ourselves in a one-way street and the only chance we have is to change direction.

The neoliberal societies of Europe and the West, but also many other meridians of the hybrid-political globe, are unable to find an appropriate response to the problem of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and an influx of foreigners in general, because a binary logic prevails as a symptom of a long history that is today reduced to the 'internet age.' In any case, since the collapse of great ideological movements of the 20th century, a period of resignation, cynicism and an end of universal morality prevailed. Therefore, every personal and community-based attempt at a reversal, that tries to honestly consider and feel the suffering of fellow men, is aimed at thinkers who were pondering the meaning of hospitality. They are primarily: Immanuel Kant, Emmanuel Levinas, and the latter Jacques Derrida. What we should expect from philosophy is to transcend restrictive alternatives and immanent openness. Modern times with its techno-cybernetic absolute power suggests that there is no alternative to capitalism, the Internet, the Illusion of material progress. However, we have to be able to conceive of a different orientation, beyond complacency of a high consumerist lifestyle and the resulting nihilism. *Tertium datur.*

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO MAN AND THE LIVING

To think differently would mean to consider true openness, which is achievable in the human realm only if solidarity prevails as a principle of the global community.

"Where we lack primeval land as a fixed abode of political citizens within city-states, it is where the space of the political is constantly compressing and opening. And man is not determined metaphysically as a *zoon politikon*, but from his wandering destiny on this planet without a safe haven. Constantly moving like a nomad in search of a new home and country, his life is led as an eternal transformation of his being [...] Indeed not by accident, the greatest phi-

losophers of the ethical-political reversal in the age of globalism, cosmopolitanism, refugeeism of nations, the end of sovereignty of nation-states, confrontation with the autoimmune system of political entropy of information capitalism, are characterized by an attempt to redirect the western metaphysics from the space of rootedness in the time of messianic advent. Franz Kafka calls this time in his *Diaries* the search for a 'third country'". (Paić, 2015:7)

The search for a New and Different beginning is the consequence of a different understanding of the human being. After an epoch of prevailing logocentric tradition and the need to think transgressively, through otherness and openness of freedom. Namely, a person is freely self-established in honesty, through harmony with the world within and without. Therefore, the sufferer who is heinously and inhumanely exiled in search for a new home, in a foreign and unknown land, is our brother and the harbinger of a possible future. Novalis called this pathos and terrifying empathy, but also a primordial possibility of freedom and danger, *die Unheimlichkeit*. Faced with an existential abyss we find security only in the Other (Levinas). That Other is the recognized humanity, and that Other, which is necessary today, is the new ethical-political beginning that needs to be established globally, on the ruins of western ideals. Classical politics led to the crisis today, therefore man and every living thing should be approached differently, by respecting the dignity of the human and natural place in nature. Without harmony in the relationship logos-alogos life becomes meaningless. In the time of damaged primal harmony and during statelessness, we look for new sources that we find in the debris of history. By reinterpreting history (Foucault-Agamben) we filter and select, we opt for the salutary. Once tested, for example, the stoic understanding of life, but also every other training-ascetic life, would today be new and different. Therefore, future should be found in the timelessness of important past traditions. Thus, the new ethics-politics could be tested only as a token of responsibility for that which has truly not yet existed, except in traces, but is possible and achievable as a source and a chance for a good life stemming from the search for Goodness as such. The fact that we are primarily motivated by the suffering of the Other is a sign of urgency and desperation of the epoch, and a demand for reversal is also an understanding of life as the space and time of crisis and possibility. When the overwhelmingly banal and senseless absolute power of the economic paradigm fades away, the production of goods, truth and humanity will acquire different possibilities.

That a different order on the value horizon is possible, is here demonstrated through Emmanuel Levinas' metaphysical reversal, who considers ethical responsibility of man toward the Other as the key metaphysical question. The ethical is preparing us for the arrival of the Other in his absolute otherness, respect and acceptance. My vulnerability and his is opened through the Other, through the experience of suffering we transcend classical determinations of the primacy of the rational in ourselves, while empathy for life itself, existence, is intensified. This in itself invites hospitality:

"The metaphysical event of transcendence – the welcome of the Other, hospitality – Desire and language – is not accomplished in love. But the transcendence of discourse is tied to love. We shall show how, through love, transcendence goes at the same time further and less far than language." (Levinas, 1969:254)

According to Levinas, my existence is confirmed by my responsibility for the Other. What is that, therefore, but an ultimately demanding step from Heideggerian *Sorge* to Arendtian dispositive *Liebe*, as the horizon affirming the world's secularism. We affirm the world by accepting that which for Levinas is insurmountable: asymmetrical relationships. Therefore, each act of hospitality is exceptional, so different from today's mentality of expected reciprocity and market calculation. They are coming, migrants, in large numbers, what is going to happen to us, to me? Reasons why we shamelessly ask these questions are that we forget the Levinas' moment of responsibility: here and now, human face reflects suffering and need. Therefore, his construct of 'ethics as the first philosophy' in itself contains nothing of the reversal of classical Aristotelian scheme, according to which the ontological question is basic, but it is an invitation to an act of goodness, which is not, as Hannah Arendt (Arendt, 1991) claims, of this world. But everything rests precisely on that:

"What is philosophy but a homesickness and a wish to return home, even if it is all but a final illusion. Novalis, therefore, says: Philosophy is properly homesickness, the wish to be everywhere at home. To be everywhere at home? It is the wish that opens the door to what is coming. In the uncertainty and unexpectedness of the event that is completely different than this indifference in the persistent course of the same, occurs history after its end. Not much time remains. It should be lived with dignity sacrificing security for the 'salvation of the soul'. Europe is neither a matter of reason nor of heart. It is the matter of the Novalis homesickness and the wish to be everywhere at home. Not alone, but together with the Other as one's 'friend'". (Paić, 2015:105)

Such a disposition, beyond the purported unreality, is in Levinas' sense the horizon of reconciliation of the political and the religious, without futile thematization of the old problem of the relationship between faith and reason. The only important question is the relationship between faith and act, their convergence and reciprocity. Therefore, this kind of philosophy demands justice and limitless responsibility, which is also a postulation of love as the metaphysical event that transcends (non)values of this world. Today's world needs unconditional postulates. For Levinas, love and life are established in the sacred space, but instead of God he talks about freedom and justice, i.e. the audacity to not consider a man primarily as an *animal rationale*, but a needy *animal sympateticum*.

Similar to Levinas, the latter Derrida, reckons with the metaphysics of rationality, the rule of reason in the modern age and politically absolutist demands. For him, there is a seed of totalitarianism of Sameness (Derrida, 1978:91) in metaphysics, and he turns towards deconstruction as the new interpretation of tradition, a disintegrative construction, in order to find a new direction. Here I would like to point out the insistence on paradox as an important moment among key moments of life in general. This paradox can be seen in Derrida's term 'the politics of friendship,' as something fragile, contingent and insecure, but he actually subtly persists on going beyond Aristotle's phrase: "Oh my friends, there are no friends." This legendary phrase, attributed to Aristotle, implies asymmetry (it is better to love than to be loved), complicates the question of equality and various situations, and claims that there is no friendship and trust without accepting temporality and contingency. Absolute trust is absolute security, and in the absence of that, the Aristotelian discourse prefers the concrete and situational, we should discover and examine. Similar to the determination of virtue as the golden mean, at issue is the consideration of boundaries and possibilities of friendship. In that sense, this phrase is an extraordinary act of admitting ethical and political difficulties, an act of freedom that should be interpreted transgressively, if community is supposed to exist. It is difficult to have a true friend when we outgrow youthful naiveté. Analogous to that, it is difficult to achieve goodness and love in the political space, but that is the only issue: the spheres of meaning that would transcend biologized versions of pseudo-politics (neoliberalism) and tyrannical non-politics (totalitarianism).

HOSPITALITY AS RESISTANCE TO MILITARIZATION

It is not true that the current global crisis is unsolvable. All important problems (ecological, economic, migratory) are solvable

with different dispositions, which include resistance to militarization and the prevailing economic-ideological paradigm. It is probably the case that (Agamben, 2017) instead of insisting on conflicts we should consider an urgently needed “exit strategy.” Why does this not happen, is a matter of certain anthropological-cultural constants that confine people to limited egocentric, hedonistic and escapist modes. In such a situation, migrants are a danger we need protection from. Migration problems could and should be resolved, by solving the root of the problem that furiously produces injustice and wars.

As globalization connects it also fragments, divides and deepens economic and other differences between people, and it is particularly striking in terms of the scale of poverty. Extreme poverty, from Asia and Africa to Latin America, still reeks of enormous suffering from colonisation that certainly caused many centuries of hardship in particular regions, and was foundational for sudden enrichment of the privileged social classes, as well as entire countries. Throughout history large migrations were often the consequence of violent events. From 1843 to 1933, around 30 million men and women were taken from the Indian subcontinent to work on British plantations in southeast Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (Cruz, 2015:103).

In the 20th century, the most catastrophic conflicts that resulted in migrations were world wars, the Pakistan conflict, wars in Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan. Of course, there is also the parallel story of great migrations that were animated by the need and desire for a better life and work, and the scale of such migrations is most imposing in Asia. Besides the real problems of capacity in destination places to absorb a large number of people, research reveals that it was always accompanied by an action of solidarity by the state and religious institutions who provided shelter and assistance. No matter how great the chasm between evil that was committed and kindness that often cannot fathom evil, but somehow lives a separate parallel life, our obligation is to nurture solidarity and postulate solubility of large global problems, and to diminish discourses that spread panic and indifference toward the Other. These problems were caused by people and we are the ones who can solve them.

Today, when the neoliberal corporate machine minimized and destroyed the original meaning of politics, and offered in its stead management that is governing organized society, from within and without, such techno-scientific management wants to commit a decisive act against the global refugee crisis (Derrida, 2002). Derrida recognized violence in the previous western logocentric culture, that is talking about universal human rights and freedoms on the one

hand, while it actually separates 'ours' from 'theirs.' Therefore, the point of his demand, similar to Levinas, is an act of unconditional hospitality. Crucial terms for this radical demand of acceptance of a different direction are: friendship, the rising democracy, an infinite demand for justice. Since we still have to realize that which did not exist but is possible, it is important to think differently in order to achieve a cosmopolitan formation of a different world. That which is necessary, has to be achieved: both the anti-war politics and solving extreme global poverty. However, what is required until then are Deridean 'refugee cities', being uprooted outside the centres of nation-states, as a token of the politics of friendship.

"Between 'radical idealism' of the ethics of hospitality (Welcome to 'my' humble home!) and cynical pragmatism of the politics of conditional hospitality (How many are you? How long do you plan to stay? Who is going to pay for all this?) there is the in-between space. The realm of politics is great when it can only have cosmopolitan intent and be all-too-human as its ultimate goal, without any other purpose except to radically change this unsustainable condition of the false universality of rights. If all of it disintegrates into hypocrisy and cynicism of the European 'collapse' of all values, it is perhaps time for the last ethical-political reversal. The question of strangers, refugees and asylum seekers is a condition of a possible true and new, but this time plural, 'politics of friendship'". (Paić, 2015:82)

We should do everything to find the 'third country,' of which Kafka said that 'it does not exist for a man.' However, since countries are not inhabited by a person but people (Arendt, 1991), such countries as spaces of freedom and openness can be born from the sense of communion, if the future is still even being seriously contemplated.

* The paper was first published in: "Destiny of open borders: proceedings from the scientific conference Globalisation and regional identity 2018," Šundalić, Antun; Zmaić, Krunoslav; Sudarić, Tihana; Pavić, Željko; Janković, Dejan; Dremel, Anita; Krivokapić, Nataša (eds.), Osijek. Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek, Faculty of Agriculture in Osijek, Faculty of Agriculture in Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Montenegro, 2018. 247-264.

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Ksenija Orefj & Sabina Salamon

It Would Actually Be Crazy to Stay Here* — Risk Change Exhibitions

“We come among them as members of a superior race, and servants of a Government that desires to elevate the more degraded portions of the human family...to become the harbingers of peace to a hitherto distracted and trodden-down race.”¹ DAVID LIVINGSTONE, a missionary and explorer to Africa, in his instructions about the expedition on the Zambezi River, 1858.

Migrations and movements, integral part of human history, have intensified over the past hundred years so greatly that we may begin to describe Europe as a migrant continent. Many of the complex migration flows that have permeated this part of the world are caused by wars, politics and supranational economy, as is the case in the present migration crisis. In the circumstances marked by strict control of state borders and negative perception of migrants, the advocacy of multiculturalism seems to be retreating before the monocultural notion of identity, falling back in the direction of ethnical categorizations that seem to stretch the distance between 'us' and 'them' even more. A situation from 2017 might serve as a micro reflection of the situation: not long after the Risk Change jumbo poster was placed on the Museum's façade, its motto "Everything moves, everyone migrates" was sprayed over with nasty comments. Let us also mention

1 Dejan Sretenović, *Crno telo, bele maske / Afrika* (Beograd: Museum of African Art, 2004), 21.

2 The research was conducted by Barbara Matejčić and Drago Župarić-Ilić, whose text can be found in this book.

3 E.g. The workshops held for the occasion of creating the Museum's fanzine "Beni", in collaboration with Tanja Blašković and Daria Morosin, and dance & choreography workshop "Migrations" with Kate Foley and students of the Primary School of Ballet and Modern Dance, Vežica, Rijeka. Risk Change programs held so far: <http://mmsu.hr/dogadaji/1025/>, <http://mmsu.hr/dogadaji/bijeg/>, <https://riskchangeproject.wordpress.com/>

the local research about this "port of diversity", which was carried out in the scope of the project². The interviews conducted with many of Rijeka's newcomers have shown that this city is still known for its liberal orientation and acceptance of diversity, in comparison to the rest of the country, but fails to practice multiculturalism in true sense of the word. Moreover, it has recorded a significant drop in the minority population. Prompted by the local experience and the ongoing political destabilization, we have decided to place Risk Change project on the cross-section of official history and forgotten stories, which lie scattered somewhere between the abandoned model of social state and its globalized version that offers shaky legal guarantees. Since the beginning of the project in 2016, we have been organizing a yearly international exhibition, which includes different supporting programs – conferences, workshops, artist-in-residence programs, film screenings – which are mostly oriented towards the local people, especially the youth.³ Each of the exhibitions encompassed works of invited authors, as well as works selected through an open call, gathering approximately fifteen artists of different generations. The exhibitions follow specific themes, from the anatomy of temporary migrations ("Between There and There") and troubles in gaining foothold in the times of disturbed security ("Black Disguises"), escape as a way of obstructing the control of movement ("Escape"), to the issue of forming different judgments about the foreigner and the Other ("We're Not Like Them").

While “Between There and There” was presented by guest curators Irena Bekić and Duga Mavrinac, the other two episodes of Risk Change, “Escape and Black Disguises”, were organized by the curators of Rijeka’s Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art (MMSU). Both of these exhibitions focused on multimedia features from artists of different generations, as an act of resistance against dominant currents and highly specific artistic orientations. Abandoning centralized perspectives in favor of diverse artistic expressions, these exhibitions wanted to confirm migrations as a general principle and explore their real and fictional possibilities, offered outside the scope of the existing boundaries. They drifted between the excesses of modern society. They reflected on all those pursuits of better life that are continuously thwarted by bio/necropolitical measures, neocolonialism, xenophobia, banishment of migrants... Today we are faced with a modern schizophrenia, with mobility and strivings for optimism and togetherness on the one hand and border control, refugees and exclusion on the other. Border areas hence become the key points in both of the MMSU’s exhibitions. Border politics, border multiplication and diversification in the present times are manifested through constant redefinitions of border zones. Separations sometimes exist within a single city, as described in the works of Marianna Christofides and Rafael Puetter from “Black Disguises” exhibition. Puetter’s video installation “Rio de Janeiro, Illegal City” contrasts a scene of a gigantic spectacle of the Olympics with a scene depicting everyday struggle for basic human rights, such as free movement from one part of the town to another and equal access to urban zones where risks have become something normal. Marianna Christofides’s video “Dies Solis (Sundays in Nicosia)” also describes the life in a divided city, where social inequality also includes the national inequality, though with less negative outcomes. Migrant workers (who mainly come to Cyprus from Sri Lanka, the Philippines, India and Vietnam) in their Sunday gatherings form their own social space, as a catalyst of change and act of resistance against social isolation.

Some of the works from “Escape” exhibition also deal with confusion caused by redefined borders. Combining the videos of the protagonist who stubbornly pushes imaginary barrier, art duo Nika Oblak and Primož Novak have created a temporal-spatial loop, where the repetition of movements suggests there are at least several possible interpretations of the work: we can see it as a need for breaking the physical and mental boundaries, and a belief that we can overcome every barrier, or as a sign that every attempt to change something is futile. Feelings and interpretations offered by this work



Carlos Aires, "Sweet Dreams Are Made of This",
video installation, 2016, still

ranges from optimism to resignation. Elation and fatigue. In all this, the body truly is an instigator of change – it turns the arduous pushing into a comic gag that sparks optimism. Yet, this endless repetition, with plot that never thickens, reveals the fact that the attempt of escape is actually thwarted.

WHO HAS A FREE PASS?

By taking different approaches, from personalized and poetic to documentary and critical ones, "Black Disguises" and "Escape" illustrate human failures to cope with situations of disturbed safety; they depict a state of disorientation and hopelessness, but they also acknowledge people's struggles to stretch the given boundaries and make attempts for escape. Apart from the timelessness of the phenomenon of migrations, the exhibitions highlight the age-long artistic preoccupation with the fragility of human relations and the excess of insecurity and rejection evoked by this topic. They recognize the imagination and human resourcefulness in the creation of heterotopias – parallel, imaginary and concrete counter-spaces – envisaged as temporary places outside of current spatial divisions⁴.

4 Michel Foucault, „O drugim prostorima“, *Peščanik.net.*, (August 31, 2013), search the floor „Impression data“, <https://pescanik.net/o-drugim-prostorima/> (September 12, 2019)

Humans react to danger in three ways: they either freeze, escape or try to change the existing circumstances. Aleksandar Garbin is among those trying to change things, with his persistent recreation of state borders. Garbin's works play with actual geopolitical borders, extracting cartographic items and reinterpreting them as mere projections: they showcase them as inventions of colonialism which served the purposes of conquests. Garbin, preoccupied with reversal of symbols and

markings, recombines 'small' and 'big' territories. In doing so, he mocks the politization of cartographic practices and undermines their credibility. Instead of obsessing with interior and foreign demarcation lines, Garbin stresses the interdependence of 'us' and 'them'. He takes us back to the principal issue – who has a free pass?

Garbin's work, and the works of other artists shown in this exhibition, represent models of reversing the figures and criteria that are taken for granted. These artists rely on ironic contrasting and reversals of meanings in order to capture our attention and fuel suspicion against normalized values. an example of this is Carlos Aires' video installation "Sweet Dreams Are Made of This". Thematising the divisions between individuals representing specific social group, Aires calls into question the usual distance between demonstrators and the police, and at the same time he denounces the deeply rooted hierarchy of heterosexuals and those of 'questionable' sexual orientation. The video shows two disguised policemen, wearing protective riot gear, in each other's arms, dancing. The disguised pair dances to the Eurythmics' lyrics: "Some of them want to use you / Some of them want to get used by you / Some of them want to abuse you / Some of them want to be abused." Aires ridicules, but also dehumanizes power, giving it a humorous dimension. "A power that cannot ironize itself remains evil."⁵

5 Gustav R. Hocke, *Svijet kao labirint* (Zagreb: AC, 1991), 190.

Drawing from the experience of contradictory feelings that arise from the contact with the Other, from reconciliation to rivalry and abhorrence, these exhibitions want to disturb the firmly established divisions of 'ours' and 'yours', and they pursue diversification, instead of binary arrangements. "Socially, reality is seen in a standard, 'schematic' way (...) and thus loses complexity. It seems foreordained and fixed rather than a changing, ongoing process. Aesthetically, reality is seen spontaneously and dialectically – as a problematic, disjointed, ongoing process full of tensions and contradictions, some resolved, some unresolved – which opens the way to insight into it and the self-transformation and re-equilibration that come with insight."⁶

6 Donald Kuspit, *Kraj umjetnosti*, ed. Leila Topić (Zagreb: MSU, 2018), 21.

TO BE ON THE RUN (HUMAN RIGHT)

"Black Disguises" is specially interested in depicting the risks of finding one's own way in the life full of insecurities. In addition, it pinpoints the perplexing system of control in the present world and sheds light on the backdrop of legislative systems. Forced migrations, which indicate the (im)possibilities of crossing the given boundaries and breaking the ground rules, represent the key subtopics of this exhibition. It gathers the artworks that move away from

social and political statistics and delve into emotional and psychological background of migrations. Sometimes the works are allegorical, sometimes they are documentary, sometimes they have an autobiographical note and often they bring all these aspects together. Such is the work of Lana Čmajčanin. Her video installation "A Change Is Gonna Come II" depicts the sea as a common good. However, the contemplational vista of the Mediterranean is juxtaposed with a disturbing narrative spoken by a female first-person voice that directs our attention to an ominous image of the sea. The sea thus becomes the synonym for a carefully measured and controlled space, it becomes a closed area that symbolizes the final journey for many: "Everyone looks for happiness, but not every happiness is the same / And everyone will die / But not every death is the same either / Not every death is mourned." In the video, migrants are shown as people who are on the run, trying to find a safe passage and a shelter, in contrast to the depersonalized masses depicted in the media. And interesting example of how a picture of anonymous people forced into fleeing becomes a picture of an urgent and enormous problem of the present immigrant policies is shown in Laurent Van Lancker's video installation "Limbo". By alternating the sequences filmed during the current migration crisis in refugee camp in Calais (the big gate of the immigration flow coming from Africa), Lancker's work paints the picture of disorientation and hopelessness caused by social isolation and inhuman conditions of living 'on the edge of hell'. Alluding to the lines of Dante's "Divine Comedy", this work positions itself on the intersection of politics and poetry. Expressing more than just pure facts, it actualizes hell as a serious possibility in the 21st century, where contradictory phenomena such as denying people the right to fulfill their basic needs on the one hand and searching for life on another plant on the other, widens the gap between the disadvantaged and the privileged, the powerless and the powerful. One of the effects of irreconcilable differences among the classes of the global society is the restricted access to labor market, illustrated by temporary art duo of Cristiano Berti and Can Sungu. Using the pieces found in an abandoned video store in San Salvario neighborhood in Turin, the city that at the end of the 1980 hosted a large Nigerian community that migrated to Italy, the authors embroider a story that bears testimony to these people's quest for the social space that was denied to them. The fantasized stories about the Nigerian 'highlife', which form the basis of the film industry known as Nollywood, represent dreams about the possibility of prosperity, but they also describe the strong bonds with the world they left behind to seek their fortune.

Escape focused on different forms of fleeing – fleeing from danger, fleeing from threats, fleeing from reality. While the need to escape often carries a negative connotation, this exhibition takes interest in escape as a proactive act, a mechanism of survival that manifests itself in two ways at least – as a lack of tolerance toward the current state of affairs, but also as a privilege that actually enables us to flee. An act of escape is presented as an ephemeral practice based on movement, which tends to go against the Law that mainly exists as a written word and as such remains open to whimsical interpretations and unjust implementations. An example of this is the work of Polish artist based on London, Alicja Rogalska. Her video “What If as If” was created in collaboration with immigrant lawyers residing in Great Britain, who are joined by their occupation and their immigrant status. The participants speak openly and personally about legal quandaries related to migration processes, unpredictable changes in law and administrative boundaries which do not apply equally to everyone. Law and justice appear in a contradictory light. The participants are therefore trying to come up with different legal solutions for a better organized and safer society, irrespective of the existing borders. Like in other works presented in “Escape”, such as those by Manon Avram & Pierre Audouard, Nisrine Boukhari or Ibro Hasanović, this video shows a heterogeneous group trying to challenge the internal hierarchies of the European space, which clearly points to the need for redefining the relations between Europe and its many exteriors.

Both of the Risk Change exhibitions express distrust in human relations that in the height of the refugee crisis show the dominance of the figure of the citizen over that of the human.⁷ After World War 2 and the mass wave of migrations, Hannah Arendt described the paradox of human rights – those who most need protection

7 A detailed description of the issue can be found in: *Posthuman Glossary* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 440 – 442.

Alicja Rogalska, “What If as If”, video, 2017, still



often encounter the greatest obstacles in getting it.⁸

Exclusion of people from a territory and the letter of the law is one of the oldest and most disturbing stories about human race. Yet, the overwhelming need for creating social bonds outside of the territorial frames and national affiliation is equally strong, which is confirmed by Risk Change project. But since neither citizenship nor humanity are stable and fixed categories, how can we interpret and apply them then?

WE'RE NOT LIKE THEM

Following the topics of forced migrations and escape, in the final episode of the project, "We're Not Like Them", we occupy ourselves with the notion of stranger/foreigner and foreign spaces. We deal with prejudices with which we construct the picture about others, but we also address the question of how others see us. We also want to know which stereotypes about foreign spaces are still present today, and are there any new ones invented? On the intersection of contemporary art, anthropology and social psychology, we examine an unusual glossary containing the terminology of 'the other' – a neighbor, a stranger, a newcomer. The relativity of concepts of the Other and the dependence of these concepts on social and political context form the basis of the fourth exhibition of Risk Change project. "We're Not Like Them" recognizes the (black) humor note in the perception of 'us' and 'them'. The exhibition combines the aspects of a cultural study of stereotypes, a travelogue, a documentary fiction about the figure of stranger in modern Europe and an artistic satire on social landscape, with myths of superiority, colonial history, lust and obsession with purity as its main elements. Along with the documentary materials, the exhibition gathers some twenty works, varying from intimate confessions to allegorical and critical accounts, which have been created from the 1950s onwards. Instead of highlighting individual positions, "We're Not Like Them" stresses the issue of the Other as a political issue based on privileges of the elite over the (outsider) minority, depending on who is in the position to talk. "If the bey was cheapskate, he wouldn't be the bey", as the old saying goes.

Contrary to the modern proclamations about cultural diversity, in the troubled times of social changes, the perception of the Other often takes on a negative charge, which manifests in exclusion, repulsion, negation and the creation of a fictitious image of the main culprit. In economic stagnation and social insecurity, diversity and equality also begin to lose ground. In the newly formed, post-socialist countries and the western democracies alike, we see hostile attitudes towards the Other, attitudes that often exist in only

in shady simplifications of 'us vs. them'. One of the works that investigates these symptoms is Ivana Keser's jumbo poster which deals with hallucinatory phrases about "the cradles of civilization surrounded by barbarians", highlighting them as myths about superiority of nation over others. The quotation appears in different languages, perpetuating the mythical question, "Who Was First?" (who came first to a territory, who came first in cultural achievements? ...)

CARTOGRAPHY OF OTHERNESS

Cartography is no longer based on literal divisions into 'black' and 'white', 'the savage' and 'the civilized' – today it is normalized with subtler means – but, regardless of its multicultural image, it still resides on negative conceptions and underestimations of the Other. Fearing from the inevitable global changes that shatter people's identities, but also elevate those of status and national power, the Other remains qualitatively different and under surveillance. Hence we are not surprised by question, "is being Albanian a sin?" posed by artist from Kosovo Driton Hajredini, to a catholic priest during a confession ("The Sin").

With the help of the mass media, the notion of 'the other' easily becomes the instrument of political management which overestimates what is 'ours' and dehumanizes what is 'theirs'. "You shall not make for yourself a carved image", says the ancient rule. Yet, exaltation with the relationship between us and the Other is tempting, because it is unverifiable and full of lies and half-truths. Fiction that releases excess adrenaline, especially an emotionally colored fiction, is always more interesting than pure fact. In the past, myths of the Other were mostly gathered in official decrees of rulers, cartographer practice and travelogues about exotic, underdeveloped foreign lands, which is shown in the documentary materials of this exhibition (the planisphere of Pierre Desceliers, film "Statues Also Die", about the colonial history and ethnographic museums, notes about Rijeka written by foreign writers⁹). The power of today's media and their influence on the categorization of even the most distant parts of the world is equally fascinating. Moreover, culture plays the role of an accomplice in undermining of the Other, which is depicted in the works of Lana Čmajčanin and Nika Autor. In art installation "Balkangreuel", Čmajčanin reveals an elite graphic portfolio of the same name, created at the beginning of the 20th century in Vienna. A pornographic content disguised as artwork, "Balkangreuel" served as means of dehumanizing the enemy – the Balkan brute – with a female body as an unknown conquered territory. The installation by Nika Autor goes along the

9 Svein Mønneslan, *Istra i Kvarner očima stranaca* (Oslo: Syppress Vorlag, 2019)



Vangjush Vellahu, "Fragments I, Where Stories Cut Across the Land", multichannel video installation, 2015 - 2018, still

lines of exhibition "Peace, Humanity and Friendship Among Nations", held in 1966 Slovenj Gradec with the support of the UN, which gathered the artists from the Non-Aligned Movement and the West, but it reconstructs its utopian postulations about creating a better and more peaceful world by running diplomatic and cultural activities. At the same time, it shows how political categories invaded the field of art – media coverage and awards mostly went to the western authors. Half a century later, the world map looks completely different and the West is closing its door to its former 'fellow' countries.

INSTEAD OF LANGUAGE OF ASSERTION

Dealing with stereotypes about the Other, some of the works in this exhibition investigate linguistic constructions that still exist in the form of oral tradition and folklore, and at the same time present language as the basis for defining the image of oneself. Driton Selmani's installation "Two Jokes Make One Truth" uses documentary accounts, jokes and paraphrases about the Other that spark discomfort but also release negative emotional charge. Based on wordplay and absurd metaphors that reexamine national and cultural stereotypes, and using ironic humor as the essential element, it offers a way to surpass the conflict of cultures. In the space between the attractive and the repulsive, the works from "We're Not Like Them" seek to alter the known perspectives. They see auto-censorship as the main mechanism in creating stereotypical assumptions. Therefore, in contrast to traditional eulogies given in the honor of an active male traveler, warrior, conqueror, in the performative speech "Soundwords", the main role is occupied by a woman, as an explorer and programmer in World War 2.

While investigating the fears provoked by the figure of stranger, the exhibited works ridicule the defensive mechanisms that protect the desirable image of self. In some of the works, the figure of stranger/outsider is ambiguous, blurry and slippery. For example, Gildo Bavčević's video "021_123", the city of Split triptych, shows how the local people assume the position of outsiders at the height of the tourist season. They take up this position on their own accord, in order to secure themselves a better life.

In the increased mobility and the omnipresence of media and communication technologies, stereotypes – national, class, gender and other – have the potential to change. Therefore, this exhibition illustrates them not just in their extreme polarities, but also in their inversions and modifications. They seem to disintegrate in individual instances, in cases of personal experiences and situations of people getting to know one another better. In "Renkonto", Greek based artist Fotini Gouseti's shows her own wedding with her Macedonian partner, trying to surpass in this symbolic act the negative stereotypes and hostility between the neighboring countries. "Renkonto" also documents a series of collaborative artworks that mock the prejudice and expectations typical for human encounters, trying to change them by means of mixing the cultural codes and resisting the authoritarian national symbolism.

In between contrasted descriptions of 'us' and 'them' – 'advanced vs. backward', 'virtuous vs. ungodly', 'civilized vs. aggressive' – with this exhibition will try to make fun of our own desire to be bigger, louder, more successful and more beautiful than we truly are. The stranger presents himself as a figure of rumor, delusion and paranoia of his own subconsciousness, often in a tragicomic reflection. "Blue Blood" by Mirna Kutleša, starts from the mentioned term, which first appeared in the 17th century among the Spanish aristocracy. The term picturesquely described the people who were spared from toiling and being in the sun, and thus had pale skin through which blood vessels could be made out. This was what separated them from the others. Kutleša's drawing resembles the forms of roots, trees and veins and consequently indicate the obsession with noble family heritage. They contain words that associate with the term blue blood but are hidden. Still they can be read if one looks closely: royal lineage, degeneration, incest, paranoia, hemoglobin ... What we see here is an amazing human affinity to making things up, finding the pseudoscientific excuses for exclusion of the Other. This hide-and-seek game reveals itself to be the most popular one among the adults. Wrapped in rainbow colors it is nevertheless a schizoid trap – "We are not like them. In the words of an alternative lexicon of the soul: ...

While regressing towards the nether poles of the subconsciousness, with systems of thinking and belief rooted in strict polarizations we find no transitional space where black and white can co-exist, there is no dialogue that you, as a good person, can have with your bad parts. (...) I am God and you are the Devil. I will project unto you and assign to you all my imperfections, all aggressive and negative sensations in order to become perfect. May you live on as a repository of all my daemons. And don't die on me and disappear because I need you. I depend on you, if you didn't know it."¹⁰

10 Željka Matijašević, *Crna limfa / zeleno srce. Alternativni leksikon duše*, (Zagreb: Durieux, 2016), 16.

* a quotation from a workshop held as part of the creation of the Museum's fanzine Beni (ed.: Tanja Blašković, Daria Morosin, MMSU, 2018)

Cj Stephens

A Psychological Journey into Otherness

“Psychoanalysis is then experienced as a journey into the strangeness of the other and of oneself, toward an ethics of respect for the irreconcilable.” JULIA KRISTEVA

The etymology of the word, 'other' reveals so little of its hermeneutics. Deriving from Greek *allos* means other, another, and is used in the Bible (Matthew 12:13) as both other of the same kind, and another kind, a foreign or strange kind. What this definition does not address is how an idea of otherness moves from beyond its definition to the psychic space of fear, estrangement, and hierarchy. Without an origin to ground other to a particular position, alterity exists outside hegemonic discourse. This research intends to perform a psychoanalytic journey into otherness so that we may relate the implications of foreignness, strangeness, and otherness to issues surrounding migration, immigration, and refugeeism.

The questions driving this journey are: What are the ways in which a psychoanalytically charged other (as and with others) affects contemporary issues of migrations, immigration, and refugeeism? How does otherness speak back to negative rhetoric through aesthetics?

To approach these questions, I'm going to show that we do well to treat this journey in terms of two main points of entry: I posit that we must understand otherness from a psychoanalytic perspective as an entry point from within ourselves so that we may reveal how that internal psychic space interacts with external social and political spaces. I will also argue that aesthetics addresses issues of otherness understood as psychologically, phenomenologically, and hermeneutically appropriated. Aesthetic enterprises model ways of questioning how we see ourselves as and with others while emerging as experiences of tourism, escapism, and refugeeism.

WHAT ARE THE WAYS IN WHICH A PSYCHOANALYTICALLY CHARGED OTHER (AS AND WITH OTHERS) AFFECTS CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF MIGRATIONS, IMMIGRATION, AND REFUGEES?

We begin our psychoanalytic journey through the strangeness of ourselves with an overview of Freudian and Lacanian notions of the conscious (ego) and unconscious (id). The conscious mind is intentional and declares itself an 'I' yet we cannot say 'I' without recognizing a tension that exists with the unconscious mind, which resists the authority of that declared 'I'. Without intention, the unconscious mind escapes apprehension to avoid being completely exhausted by the conscious, intentional mind. There is an illusion of stability in a conscious intentional subjective 'I', the unconscious means to disrupt that illusion so that we remain open to the possibilities of a non-objectified self that cannot be explicitly determined. Freud (1989, 573) notes, "a gain in meaning is a perfectly justifiable ground for going beyond the limits of direct experience." We build

our knowledge of ourselves and the world through experience filled with so many aspects that we need to store or repress information that we can access later. Freud (1989, 574) explains, “so that the greater part of what we call conscious knowledge must, in any case, be for considerable periods of time in a state of latency, that is to say, of being psychically unconscious.” What we repress remains unconscious, yet we only know of those repressed items after a transformation or translation takes place consciously. In other words, the unconscious itself can only be conceived and accessed in the light of conscious intentionality.

Lacan extends this notion of the tension between the conscious and unconscious with a focus on desire and language. Accordingly, in Lacan’s theory, human subjectivity forms along three stages that engage the self in different modes of otherness. The mirror stage begins the process of an imaginary image of a unified self. When we separate from the mother’s body, we intuit a split subjectivity, which brings forth a desire to other the world to alleviate the othering of ourselves. This desire becomes the drive for navigating the realms of language, images, meaning, and vision. Next, the Language stage begins the process of the symbolic order, which offers language acquisition, including images, and the comprehension of its meanings. Through this mode, we learn to relate to others with language, meaning, and images. Given the distance created between language and perception, the world around us and others seem already determined. Because of this distance, this stage, as well as the mirror stage, are experienced as somewhat alienating. The third stage, the Real, is where we begin the process of accepting the alienation of the two previous stages. Not real in the actual sense, “the real is that which always lies behind the automation” (Lacan 1973, 54). This stage affects us in our conscious and unconscious by pointing to the experience of rupture between consciousness and perception. Much like language, the structure of the unconscious mind allows us to accept our divided self as incomplete in the same way we experience the distance in meanings within the structure of language.

Adding to Freud’s theory of the unconscious and Lacan’s hermeneutically extended notions of desire and language, Julia Kristeva’s involvement with strangeness draws a direct link from the psychic space within ourselves to the external spaces of social and political otherings. In “Strangers to Ourselves” we read, “How could one tolerate a foreigner if one did not know one was a stranger to oneself?” (Kristeva 1991, 182). What we gain is an essential understanding of otherness as foreignness because this process allows us to accept others as foreigners.

Foreignness is a symptom of the unconscious process, a necessary psychic utility, allowing, for instance, the 'I' to receive its 'other' as conjoined and useful. As Kristeva (1991, 170) writes, "we know that we are foreigners to ourselves, and it is with the help of that sole support that we can attempt to live with others." Kristeva strives for a different conceptualization of belonging together by identifying how otherness ties to language on an intra and inter-personal level. The localizing force of otherness evidenced and emphasized in national languages and cultures reiterates within the psychic process of otherness. Kristeva (1991, 182) explains, "It is through unraveling transference –the major dynamics of otherness, of love/hatred for the other, of the foreign component in our psyche –that, on the basis of the other, I become reconciled with my own otherness-foreignness, that I play on it and live by it." Transference is the activity of othering, a process where the other within needs an exterior other to reconcile differences. In "Elsewhere Within Here", Trinh T. Minh-ha (2010, 868) writes, "I become me via an other. Depending on who is looking, the exotic is the other, or it is I."

Moreover, Freud (1989, 195) even noted that "being foreign, belonging to an 'other,' must be explained by a mental life attributed to this other person." The implications of understanding otherness within, directly relate to how we view and behave with others. The reverse is also true: having contact with others allows us to have a better understanding of the strange and foreign within ourselves.

As a result, Kristeva (1991, 182) asks the question, "Will it allow them to put up with one another as irreducible because they are desiring, desirable, mortal, and death-bearing?" Luce Irigaray insists on this type of questioning that allows for modulation of relations with the other. Her interest in otherness embraces "a new ontology, a new ethics, and a new politics, in which the other is recognized as other and not as the same" (Irigaray 1985, 19). What she and Kristeva share, is a desire to bring light to the differences between others, both internal and external. That is ethically speaking; we have an obligation to treat ourselves and others with respect in differentiation, not sameness.

The question of otherness concerning contemporary issues of migration, immigration, and refugeeism, is entangled with complex psychic processes and depends very much on how we recognize otherness within ourselves and through others we meet. At borders between towns, states, and countries there exists migrations of many kinds. Attitudes toward strangers will have much to do with the national language that we most associate, as it embeds itself in the symbolic language of the unconscious. With migrations and refugeeism on the rise, it is essential to understand how psychic processes affect our attitude and behavior towards otherness.

HOW DOES OTHERNESS SPEAK BACK TO NEGATIVE RHETORIC THROUGH AESTHETICS?

Artistic practices emerge as foreign yet familiar experiences of otherness. Because artists explore with a free imagination, they seem to have unique access to the unconscious apparatus of the mind. Though this research does not intend to prove such a claim, we shall approach these issues as we look into an intertextual project that speaks back to negative political rhetoric towards migrations, immigrations, and refugeeism.

In his 2019 work, “Ice Cream” artist Driton Selmani offers an ordinary plastic bag. With an ironic spin, this plastic bag has a green image of a landmass outlined in black, drawn on it. Inside that landmass, there is red text that reads, “BOLI ME KURAC STO MAD-JARSKA NEMA MORE,” which translates in English as, “IT PAINS ME THAT HUNGARY HAS NO SEA.” Selmani’s green landmass of Hungary stands by itself, untouched by its neighbors, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia. Outlining this land-locked shape has the double effect of looking at once like a graphic company logo, and also like an island surrounded by water.

Psychoanalytically this piece confronts isolation within an individual country and pits it against what it lacks, a harbor. Its borders are so connected with other borders, lacking a sea is like saying it lacks the freedom of escape. The plastic bag as a container, albeit a temporary one, if it contains ice cream as the title suggests, alludes to the psychic space of the unconscious. The container holds what it later expells and is temporary and transitory yet deeply integral to an ensuing event. It also presents as empty, so again ironically, Selmani employs the symbolic order of language to reveal the contents of an event both to-come and as passed (desire). The curious tension between the rhetoric of emptiness stressed in political/national language and the temporality of a container, or what contains meaning, is antagonistic in this work.

Driton Selmani, “Two Jokes Make One Truth – Ice cream”, installation, 2019



Selmani's plastic bag advertises the isolation and othering of a particular nation by what it lacks. In this sense, this object represents what aesthetics confronts on many levels simultaneously. If we hermeneutically apply psychoanalysis to Selmani's work, we are immediately challenged by the symbolic both in image and language. The question of how we see ourselves as and with others emerges in this simple found and altered object. As well, the physical form of the plastic bag becomes part of an irreducible encounter with an everyday object. Beyond the everyday, it also points to an excess. Excess in this instance is also ironic in that it carries nothing, yet its emptiness is symbolic of the temporal linguistic void in the formation of nationality. We can see how Selmani's aesthetic enterprise models ways of questioning how we see ourselves as and with others, and how that speaks back to negative rhetoric through irony.

Another provocation towards subverting the negative rhetoric of otherness comes from a multi-media drawing from the Risk Change exhibition called, "Escape" from 2017. The artist, Roos van Haften offers, "Splendid Isolation". This greyscale drawing of an ephemeral landscape consists of a blank sky, a textural mountain range as the horizon, and in the foreground, we view a projection screen that is blank. A very dark hole in the ground looks as though the isolated figure may have just come from within. There is a greyscale chart drawn in the left corner, and two pieces of black paper collaged to just right of the center that could be the head and arm of a person swimming, the isolated figure. Attached to the wall at the base of this drawing, a hinged piece of glass reflects the light and projects it down beneath the drawing. This glass creates an ocean of light particle movements in a rectangle the same dimensions of the drawing. These formal elements add to what feels like a strange dream.

This piece disrupts the illusion of stability by emulating the experience of rupture between consciousness and perception. What one perceives in this piece are formal elements that relate on a phenomenological level. The elements of line shape and isolated moments show movements and repetitions occurring without intentionality. A metaphorical ocean of light swims on the wall and even crosses the borders created by the glass. The dream-like quality of this drawing elicits the unconscious as dreams dwell in that other-self. With intimacy and exteriority, one experiences an interior exploration of escape from a black hole that centers the drawing with its crisp edges. There are veiled pieces of a transparent paper collaged on one section of this drawing that hides nothing yet exposes a temporality. Once the escape takes place, on what ground will there be to stand? Will a system obliterate the foreigner? These questions inspire not

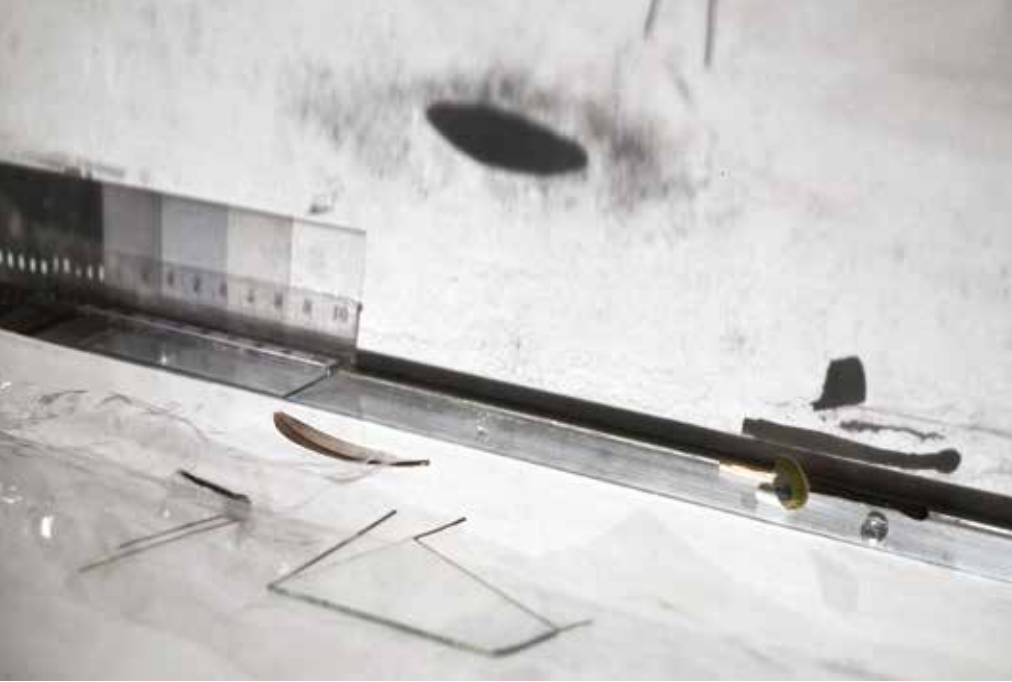
actual answers but prove the desire for more. Aesthetics creates the space for challenging oneself and the otherness that escapes from within from time to time, in hopes of finding another, a stranger to reconcile differences. As Kristeva (1991, 2) points out, "The modification in the status of foreigners that is imperative today, leads one to reflect on our ability to accept new modalities of otherness."

Understanding otherness both as an unconscious event or process within ourselves is one step towards reconciliation with 'the other'. Another step towards accepting the foreigner within is through contact with others, which brings forth a call to language. Language provides both the bridge and the gap between othernesses. Rather than merely meeting others, greeting othernesses, modification is more likely to occur through the Kristevan (Toril Moi, 1986, 37) definition of intertextuality: "a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double." Introduced into literary theory by Bakhtin, intertextuality has grown beyond the literary realm into our physical space to include all of aesthetics and technologies.

The Risk Change project illuminates intertextual approaches towards attitudes, experiences, and psychic involvement with otherness and migrations. Through a process of intertextualization, the project emulates the Kristevan view that otherness and foreignness are possibilities for change, movement, and flow. This project erases the boundaries between imagination and reality, which is an otherness, as such. From the May 2019 Risk Change blog we read, "on the intersection of contemporary art, anthropology and social psychology, we examine an unusual glossary containing the terminology of 'the other' –a neighbor, a stranger, a newcomer." With the intent to confront issues and problems of contemporaneous migrations, Risk Change is successful in its intertextual approach. The open call for participation for the exhibition, "We're Not Like Them" includes the work of thirteen contemporary artists providing intertextual evidence of othernesses in confrontation as and with each other: "Contrary to the modern proclamations about cultural diversity, in times of turbulent social changes, the perception of 'the other' often takes on a negative charge, which manifests in exclusion, repulsion, negation and the creation of a fictive image of the main culprit."¹

1 <https://riskchangeproject.wordpress.com>

Is a nation the main culprit of propagating stereotypes about foreign spaces, peoples, and migrations? Is language the main culprit? Both exist in the imaginary and symbolic realms of the unconscious, so perhaps the unintentional id is the culprit. Nations



Roos van Haften, "Splendid Isolation", installation, 2017, detail

make bonds with its people through a particular way of living a communal life that fills in the symbolic emptiness of that shared imaginary solidarity. Much like the way language symbolizes thought and meaning through acts of speaking or writing, the distance between those acts and how we perceive them results with estrangement. It is important to acquire a positive language for this feeling of strangeness as that which embodies difference. Kristeva (1991, 1) writes, "The foreigner comes in when the consciousness of my difference arises, and he disappears when we all acknowledge ourselves as foreigners, unamenable to bonds and communities."

To summarize and conclude this psychoanalytic journey into otherness, we look back toward the distance traveled. The psychic space of fear, desire, estrangement, and hierarchy exists in all of us through our conscious and unconscious tensions. We desire stability in a split-self that equally desires autonomy. The language we become most accustomed to is apt to carry the weight of those tensions on a national scale, and one must be aware to what extent that stability is an illusion. According to Lacan, there was never a stage of development in which we as subjects felt secure in the reality of the split-self, and that estranged feeling promotes a desire for more determination on the one hand and freedom through autonomy on the other.

Otherness is strange, foreign, and yet freeing, as Kristeva (1991, 117) writes, "but how can one be free without some sort of utopia,

some sort of strangeness? Let us, therefore, be of nowhere, but without forgetting that we are somewhere.” Aesthetics and intertextual practices are both positive and engaging ways to confront issues of otherness surrounding the current epoch of migration, and we can facilitate the strangers we meet by welcoming the differences that we share in otherness.

In Trinh T. Minh-ha’s experience of exile, she writes: “Journeying across generations and cultures, tale telling excels in its powers of adaptation and germination; while with exile and migration, traveling expanded in time and space becomes dizzyingly complex in its repercussive effects. Both are subject to the hazards of displacement, interaction, and translation. Both, however, have the potential to widen the horizon of one’s imagination and to shift the frontiers of reality and fantasy, or of Here and There.”²

2 Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Elsewhere Within Here* (Taylor and Francis, Kindle Edition 2010), 607

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Marijana Hameršak & Iva Pleše

Notes on Ethnographic Research in the Winter Reception and Transit Center in the Republic of Croatia

As we noted in the text on which this paper is based, “Winter Reception and Transit Center in the Republic of Croatia: An Ethnographic View of the Slavonski Brod Refugee Camp” published in 2017 in the journal *Narodna umjetnost* (54/1: 101-127), our research, conducted in the Slavonski Brod refugee camp, which opened in November 2015 on the Balkan corridor, was simultaneously characterized by methodological reductionism, but also methodological pluralism. Actually, in the context of the camp, certain ethnographic methods were reduced to their contours, but, upon taking a step away or their combination with other methods, they opened and created multiple doorways to the research field. Moreover, our research, which took place between January and April 2016, had many traits of investigative work, evident not only in techniques of the scanning of inaccessible spaces and external observation, but also in networking with those who shared our interest in the reconstruction of events in the camp. In an environment where so many things were hidden or unavailable to us for various reasons, we were forced continually to uncover basic manifestations of the world we were studying, which in some other contexts are readily available without major difficulty to researchers. This is why we could not focus our research attention on interpretations, personal views and the perspectives of others, i.e., the level that ethnography is primarily concerned with. We had to base our conclusions on insights that were partial, sparse and often mediated, as the only ones available to us in the camp environment. Still, continued fieldwork based on a diversified ethnographic methodology created, together with an openness to problematization and reconsideration, a specific perspective which, we believe, despite its limitations, opened up different points of view in relation to the dominant understanding of what had in Croatia been too easily reduced to the common denominator of the refugee crisis.

When we were writing about the camp we wondered how to avoid the normalization generated by scholarly language and apparatus, i.e. how do we, at least to some extent, preserve the gravity of what we witnessed? In this paper we leave the framework of that apparatus and rely on the form of ethnographic notes, in the present tense, fragmented, unfinished, and present some of the research methods and procedures we tested and insisted on during our research in the camp, and that we view as important for our understanding of the camp itself and what took place inside it. During our research, the camp, a place established for a transit of people, became a place of confinement and detention, which, as we tried to show, influenced our research methods in a specific way.

Access to the camp in Slavonski Brod is possible only after prior approval and multiple verifications from the Ministry of the Interior. On 7 December 2015, the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb formally requests permission from the Ministry for a group of researchers, of which we are a part, to be granted “entry, movement and research in the Reception Center in Slavonski Brod.” The application is basically approved on the same day, but it was six weeks later when the Ministry formally asked for our names, personal identification numbers and photographs for the purpose of issuance of accreditation cards.

CAMP LOCATION

The camp is located in the industrial zone, on the grounds of a former refinery, outside the main urban road networks and beyond the reach of public transport. It is surrounded by natural and man-made obstacles, a river and a fence. Even when taking into consideration the railway line – which seemed like a direct connection to its surroundings – the camp is, in fact, isolated. The railway line in the camp ends in a dead-end siding, and only trains carrying refugees under police escort travel there. In conversation with our interlocutors (interviews, spokespeople) we are told:

“People do not see the migrants at all. They are simply in passing here, they leave by train, nobody, I do not know if anybody has ever seen them, and then said: yes, I did see them. Perhaps someone saw the train with the migrants, but that is nothing special. [...] [The railway line], you could say, goes through the town, it actually goes through the town, but there is no contact with people, really. [...] so that this is, really ideal, convenient.”

Volunteers and camp employees access the camp through the central road entrance where, in the vicinity of the building used as police and camp headquarters, there is a container where accreditation cards are checked and X-ray and metal detection inspections are performed. From February 2016, when the camp becomes less of a transit site and more a place of forced confinement, arrests and *ad hoc* detentions as a consequence of profiling, the container is the place where written records of entry and exit of volunteers and employees are kept. The same procedure is employed after early March, when trains stopped arriving to the camp, and we are denied access to people kept in the detention sectors. From 18 March 2016, when the camp manager granted all organizations access to those sectors, organizations on site had to provide names of already accredited employees/volunteers, who, in addition to being registered upon entering the camp, are also registered when entering particular sectors, not only by the officials of the Ministry of the Interior, but also by the Croatian Red Cross.

AUTOMATED DIVISION OF LABOUR

Efforts to minimise contact between refugees and volunteers are evident from the camp's organizational features, primarily the fragmentation of space, divided into sectors for refugees, storage units, administrative and volunteer headquarters and the like, as well as from the strictly mapped circular route that the refugees in transit are supposed to take inside the camp. A special type of activity, and a separate group of volunteers or employees who conduct it, is envisaged for each point on the circular route: assistance with disembarking the train, inspection of items and personal information, i.e. registration, distribution of clothes, footwear and food, assistance with boarding the train, etc. Fragmentation and automatization of activities, whereby each individual dealt with one segment in the entire process, creates an impression of working on a conveyor belt. The only place envisioned for volunteers from non-governmental organizations to interact with refugees during transit is the distribution tent, however, given its function of the rapid distribution of clothes and footwear, it is not envisaged as a place for any other interaction besides that of supply and demand.



Fences, WRTC RC, Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016

CIRCULAR ROUTE

The refugees arrive to the camp by train and follow verbal instructions given via megaphone as well as verbal or nonverbal signals from the police officers and volunteers, rare signs, and circular route formed by entries, exits, fences and places where police officers stand. Refugees move through the camp in this way, imitating each other in a repeated pattern. The circular route starts when they disembark the train, continues as they pass through the registration and distribution tents with possible stoppages, for example in the tent for mothers and babies, or at a kiosk. Then it continues via the access road to the station and ends with boarding the train. There is constant police supervision, as the police direct and form the micro movements within the camp, while at some points they have a very visible role, for example at an access road to the platform, where they sometimes briefly stop people to form single or double lines as methods of crowd control.

The camp's interior is crisscrossed with many physical, visible and invisible borders that separate accessible from inaccessible areas. The accessibility of certain parts of the camp to volunteers, employees and others depends on which group they belong to and, particularly in the case of larger organizations, on the functions they perform in the organization. In January 2016, shortly before our first research visit to the camp, we hear that there are 'guarded areas' in the camp, which include areas 'from registration to the infamous sector' where refugees who are forbidden further travel, either temporarily or permanently, are being detained (profiling).

With the permission to conduct research in the camp, we are not given any instructions regarding access to certain parts of the camp, or regarding the use audio-visual equipment, etc. The volunteer field guide of the Welcome! Initiative (Inicijativa Dobrodošli!) says that its volunteers have no access to the 'pre-registration section.' However, based on the volunteering experience of one of us in the camp in November 2015, we know that, like most volunteers and employees of humanitarian and similar organizations, we are not granted access to the registration tents or inside the train. With the exception of restrictions in the field guide, and signs forbidding photography and video recording (not applied to the media and others who are periodically allowed to make recordings, accompanied by police), which over time became more numerous and explicit, we learn about other restrictions in the camp gradually, by word of mouth (interiorization of prohibitions).

In early February, as we are leaving the sector that we used to regularly visit during a chance encounter with one of the Red Cross volunteers we are given an instruction: "You may enter sector 5 only accompanied by Red Cross volunteers, and you are not allowed to enter sector 3 under any circumstances." Prohibition on accessing parts of the camp to which those who are not allowed to travel further, as a result of profiling, are continually restricted, were transmitted verbally and informally for weeks. They were officially formulated only in mid-February. In the *Notes from the Coordination Meeting of the NGO/INGO/IO in the Winter Transit Reception Center in Slavonski Brod* of 8 February 2016, it says:

"CRC [Croatian Red Cross] is allowed to enter sector 3 by the call of the Police, and no other organization can enter the sector 3. If anyone tries to enter the sector 3, he will be processed by the Police."

PROFILING

From mid-November 2015 until the corridor closed, in countries along the corridor the police implemented selection and discrimination measures, which prevented some of the refugees from travelling further west.

On an access road, ZPTC RH, Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016







Sound from the platform, WRTC RC,
Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016

AUDIO RECORDING, OVERT

Experimentation with note-taking methods that in the Croatian context might be considered somewhat alternative, and guided by our interest to reach different dimensions of the camp, we use a sound-recording device to overtly record sounds in the camp, particularly the first several minutes of the arrival and departure of the train, i.e. the beginning and end of refugee movement through the camp.

We are taking photographs of the camp from outside the fence, with no clear signs around prohibiting photography. A police officer on patrol in that area demands to see our ID cards and we are taken to see the camp manager. The police officer does not take us inside the building, but we remain standing in front of the building in his company and in front of people who happen to be there, while several higher-ranking police officers address us from the upper floor window. We delete the photographs at the request of one of them, and are dismissed with the following words:

“This is the first and last time. Do it one more time and you will lose your accreditation.”

AUDIO RECORDING, COVERT

In mid-March, in the weeks preceding the camp’s closure, while several hundred persons are still detained in the camp, one of us switches on a sound-recorder hidden in a jacket pocket and records distressing sounds: the nearly hour-long screams and shouts of a young man who is resisting the collective transfer of “single men” from one detention sector to another. Although we have previously not been faced with an explicit or implicit prohibition of sound recording inside the camp (interiorization of prohibitions), and although we have indeed been making overt voice recordings on other occasions (audio recording, overt), we did not consider overt recording to be a viable option under these circumstances, which is somewhat related to a previous research situation (taking photographs, subsequently prohibited, sanctioned).



RAPID SCANNING, OBSERVATIONAL

During a tour of the camp organized for the Minister of the Interior, we are led through the registration tent, which is not operational at that time. Given the great speed with which the Minister and his entourage go through the camp, it is impossible to get a good look inside the tent. So, rather than using the technique of longer unobstructed observation and trying to notice details from a specific research perspective, we could only apply techniques of rapid scanning of the area, which literally lasted only a few seconds, the time it took the Minister to walk through the tent.



Registration tents, WRTC RC, Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016

RAPID SCANNING, PARTICIPATORY

We are granted rare *ad hoc* permission to enter railway carriages, affording us an opportunity for rapid participatory scanning that differs from observational scanning in terms of its potential for ethnographic insight: unlike the protocolary 'visit' to the registration tent, which on that occasion is reduced to a mere stage set, our short visits to the railway carriages generate strong impressions and significantly impact our understanding of the camp and the transit of refugees. The image of the overcrowded carriage, completely blocked with people, still being 'loaded' with twice or nearly twice as many passengers than is standard in regular transport, for us becomes a visual synecdoche for the policy of dehumanized efficient transit.

EXTERNAL OBSERVATION

Sometimes, albeit rarely, entrances to some registration tents are left open during registration procedures, which makes their interiors and what is happening inside relatively available to us as external observers. It is evident from our fieldnotes how limited our insight is in that kind of research situation:

The registration tent is open (the tent flap is up) and you can see inside, but the sunlight is so strong that I cannot see very well; a police officer exited the tent, he has a mask on, there is a wheelchair inside; I can see a woman holding a child close to her and sitting in a chair in front of a desk (I cannot see the police officer on the other side of the desk who is interrogating her, because my view is obstructed), several police officers are walking around the tent, I can see a Red Cross uniform.

EXTERNAL OBSERVATION, RECORDING INCLUDED

With prior approval and escorted by a police officer, we take photographs in the camp and record the arrival and departure of the train with refugees. We try using zoom lenses to take photos of spaces that were otherwise inaccessible to us, for example, the area in front of the entrance to the registration tents, and also of persons who are detained in one sector of the camp that we had no access to. For instance, using zoom lenses from a distance we manage to photograph detained refugees as they, escorted by police, briefly leave the sector and go to a nearby kiosk inside the camp.



In a registration tent, WRTC RC,
Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016

INTERIORIZATION OF PROHIBITIONS

Although looking towards the tent and zooming in are not prohibited, in those extremely rare situations when the tent is open or when we are recording, we perceive the prohibition as if it did or could exist. Similarly, even though the orally transmitted prohibition of entering registration tents does not specify if it is related only to periods during registration or if it is otherwise forbidden to enter tents, we perceive it as constant, and the few times we did enter the tent it was exclusively under police escort or with their permission. The unwritten nature of the rules and prohibitions carries a considerable dose of uncertainty as to what is allowed, and what is not. On the other hand, it enables the transgression of certain boundaries that would have been difficult to cross, had the restrictions been written. For example, the platform for the arrivals and departures of the trains, which is separated from the rest of the camp with a fence with a clear border sign visible to everyone in the camp, is the place of minor but constant disagreements. Every so often, volunteers from certain organizations would cross that border, for instance when delivering blankets to people who were sometimes spending hours waiting for departure aboard the cold train in the middle of winter. After this practice is repeated, authorities responsible for humanitarian support in the camp issue a prohibition against approaching the platform. For a while the volunteers would abide by the rule only to go to the platform again at some point, which could be characterized as a moment of small rebellion against camp rules.

We conduct recorded interviews in the camp only with persons in official positions, generally of high rank or uniquely connected with the functioning of the camp: with employees of the police, Croatian Red Cross, army, health and other services in the camp. These interviews are meant to familiarize us with management visions of the camp, i.e. those segments of the camp that are not available to us on an experiential level. Interviews are not preceded by getting to know our interlocutors, or building a relationship with them. Therefore, the interviews themselves do not have a pronounced personal stance, that is, they do not have some of the characteristics that are commonly associated with an ethnographic interview. Given that, as far as the management of the camp is concerned, our participatory position is absent and observational insights are reduced to a minimum; we would not even call these interviews ethnographic, in the narrow sense of the term. What most clearly defines us as researchers in the camp, and what we personally see as a conformation of our role as such to the management structures, has much less ethnographic value for us in comparison to other methods that we use. In line with our interlocutors' roles in the camp, and their general status as official representatives of their institutions, their positions voiced in the interviews had a spokesperson-like quality to varying degrees. Some of them hold the official function of spokespersons, while others implicitly present themselves as spokespersons for their institutions or the entire camp, even as spokespersons for Croatia ([thank you Croatia](#)). We do not contradict our interlocutors, we avoid certain sub-questions and move on to other topics when fractures start to appear in the almost perfect depiction of the camp in Slavonski Brod and the Croatian version of refugee reception, even when we know that what had been said does not coincide with reality.

An agitated and angry reaction from a manager of one of the organizations, upon discovering that a lower-level employee of that organization spoke to the researchers, is indicative of the relationship of management structures towards the possibility of unsupervised, or unapproved transfers of information and attitudes of the people working in the camp. Just as the camp is replete with visible and invisible borders, it is replete with visible and invisible 'gatekeepers.' Just as the borders impede access to certain areas and ethnographic observation, so the gatekeepers, one way or another, explicitly or implicitly, impede access to people and free interviewing.

On the one hand, as researchers in the camp we have relatively unobstructed access to the environment of the humanitarian, and to some extent, security proletariat and precariat (volunteers, translators, police officers, etc.), but we are not allowed to document their statements in recorded form. On the other hand, the entire security and humanitarian management of the camp is largely outside our observational purview, however access to documenting the institutionally verified statements from that sector is essentially easy. Therefore, it could be said that in our case the permission to conduct research in the camp was in fact permission to enter the camp, but not to freely access all its spaces and structures.

In order to make transit as quick and efficient as possible, contact between refugees and volunteers is limited, even during the short period of several hours when the refugees pass through the camp. This kind of transit organization means that there is very little space for ethnographic research aimed at refugees' thoughts and experiences based on in-depth interviews as a basic technique of its 'collection.' In-depth interviews could have possibly been conducted with refugees in detention sectors when we are given access to them several weeks before the camp closed in April 2016. However, we do not conduct interviews even then for a series of interrelated reasons, many of which are applicable also to the period of transit: our inability to clearly present our role as researchers, the extreme disbalance of power between researchers and 'the researched,' our lack of knowledge of languages relevant for such research (Arabic, Persian, etc.), our unwillingness to devote the short amount of time we are allowed to spend in detention sectors to recording verbal accounts, and the fear of inflicting secondary trauma on the refugees and the likely devastating consequences this might have for them in their present environment. Had we, despite everything, decided to conduct in-depth interviews, we believe we would not have recorded them primarily because of the danger of exposing detained persons who might have participated in recorded interviews, and especially because of potential unauthorized insight into the interviews.

THANK YOU, CROATIA

One of our interlocutors in the camp points out:

"In every group that arrives here in the camp all you can hear is the following: Thank you, Croatia, thank you for the love, support, help, and so on. [...] Croatia, a small country with a small number of inhabitants compared to other countries, but with people who are warm and willing to help."

By contrast, rather than "Thank you, Croatia," in the camp we hear the following more than once:

"We are not animals.
Why do you treat us like that?"

In the camp we witness people being pushed, shouting, stopping people for no apparent reason or making them move faster, the separation of families or groups travelling together, forceful, sometimes confinement for several hours on the train prior to departure, overcrowding of railway carriages, not providing assistance to half-frozen people in the cold train awaiting departure, withholding information, verbal insults that are still insults regardless of the fact that persons who are insulted cannot understand them.



Arrival, WRTC RC, Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016



Departure, WRTC RC, Slavonski Brod, 1 March 2016

Large concentrations of multilingual speakers encourage not only foreign language communication but also total or partial nonverbal communication. Our pointing to someone's luggage rather than, (or with) a spoken offer of assistance in carrying things, pointing in the direction of the train, pointing to body parts in order to refer to clothing items or footwear that someone might need are only some of the examples of communication during transit; whereby the nonverbal component literally dominated over the verbal. A good indication of the great the potential for nonverbal communication is demonstrated in our conversation with an elderly man from Afghanistan. While he is waiting for a translator in front of a container in the temporary accommodation sector, behind the fence that separates us, he shares his frustration with us about the fact that he is detained in the camp, as well as his experience from his refugee journey. Our interlocutor 'tells us' – speaking in a language we do not understand, but could catch in a few words (like *Junan* for Greece, for example), using his hands to point at the fence in front of him, the camp area and the policeman guarding him, and by scrolling through photographs and video clips on his mobile phone – about the fact that he lived for a while with his family in Greece, in the apartment of a Greek doctor and his family, that he was a guest there, that he could move freely there. Contrary to that, here he is confined, not allowed to move even around the camp which itself is closed off from the outer world. His travel/refugee diary (mobile phone with photographs and video recordings, to which he eventually adds the photographs he took of us, after gesturing for permission), helps him convey, with considerable effort, what he wants to say to us despite the language barrier.

Given the radically reduced possibilities of extensive contact with refugees in transit, our communication primarily consists of short spontaneous verbal exchanges. These include many short conversations in English (at most a few minutes long), or a combination of English and nonverbal signs with some Persian and Arabic words, conducted during the brief walk to the platform or at some point along the way or on the platform itself, during which we exchange basic information about where they are travelling from and to, with whom and for how long, the procedure in the camp, their next country and stop along the way, time needed to get there, etc. We write some of these 'exchanges', such as the following, in our fieldnotes:

I am carrying a bag for mom (Iraq) (she is young) – her English is poor but enough to get by, she is holding her son by the hand, he is ill, he was running a fever last night, her husband has been in Germany since September. I ask if they saw a doctor, no, train, train (as if they told her that), I tell her she can stay here until the next train, she says – her family is with her I say – family too can stay no, no, the boy (3–4 years old) walking next to her, I come closer, he looks as if he's staring into blank space. On the way to the platform she asks me several times if I think she will be able to get to her husband? I hope so I hope so.

This difficult and chaotic verbal interaction is recorded chaotically afterwards, as a multilingual transcript of dialogue clips combining narration, direct and indirect speech. As such, rather than impeding understanding upon subsequent reading, at least to some extent it revives not only the chaos but also the gravity of the event it represents.

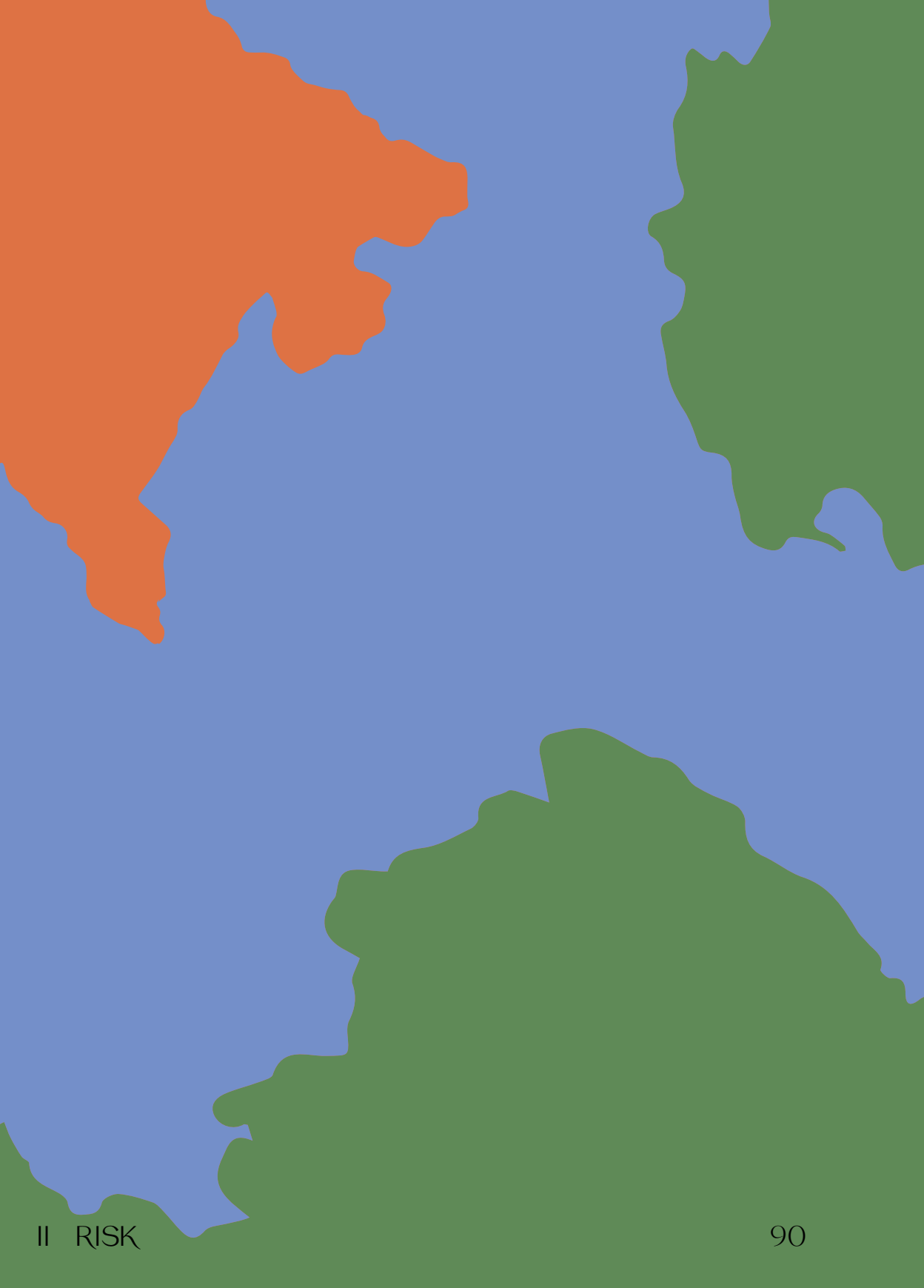
REMOTE COMMUNICATION, WITH ACTIVISTS OUTSIDE THE CAMP

We maintain contact with volunteers and activists outside the camp, some of whom we know personally, with others known only through social networks. We place particular emphasis on communication through social networks, email or mobile phone applications exclusively in the final detention phase of the camp. During that phase, one of us joins an online group established for the purpose of sharing information about the isolation and detention of persons in the Slavonski Brod camp, which includes people who had never visited that camp, but had relevant information and knowledge about other camps, legal regulations, or are in contact with persons who are currently, or had been recently detained in a camp. Of the many messages exchanged in these groups most are informative and operational in nature, however they are valuable for our understanding of the conditions of refugee camp detention.

BEZ DOMA I BEZ SLOBODE: IZBJEGLICE U HRVATSKOJ

Wall newspaper of Welcome Initiative,
9 May 2016

We are in contact with detained refugees during the detention period even when we are not physically present in the camp. This kind of communication becomes a component part of our research. In some situations, it has pronounced participatory elements, for instance, during the period when refugees are being transferred to the Centre for Asylum Seekers in Zagreb or the Detention Centre in Ježevo, i.e. period immediately before the camp closed. In an environment replete with contradictory information, the messages we exchange with persons detained in the camp who are facing the uncertainty of being transferred, are aimed at transmitting information (however partial), which was difficult to come by in the camp at that time.



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ALONG
THE
ROADS OF

MULTI
CULTURAL
ALISM

TOWARDS SPATIAL DETACH MENT

CLAUS TRO PHOBIA

OF MODERN CITIES

Barbara Matejčić & Drago Župarić-Isjić

Rijeka as a Multicultural City: Research Results from the Project Risk Change

“When in a ferocious storm, strangers are wrecked, ravaged,
broken, battered and rumbled by the sea my city’s quiet port
always awaits you, to provide shelter, a tranquil harbour.”

RADOJKA ŠVERKO, “A Song for Rijeka”

Is Rijeka a multicultural and open city, and are Rijekans tolerant and ready to welcome foreigners, minorities, migrants and refugees into their communities? Is Rijeka a city that accepts, hosts, and integrates those who decide to relocate there and stay for a short time, an extended period, or for life? As a city with a strong immigrant tradition, what kind of a place is Rijeka to live, in the eyes of not only its immigrant population, but also its returnees, those born in Rijeka who ventured out into the world, then decided to return later in life?

These are only some of the general questions we tried to answer through research conducted within the Risk Change project in late 2016 and early 2017, as part of the broader project “Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture.” For the purposes of this project, we conducted desk and field research on the topic of migration, specifically immigration, with the themes of inclusion and the integration of immigrants into Croatian society and Rijeka as the city that our interlocutors chose to live in, as well as the topic of the interaction between different social groups of native and immigrant populations in the community they now call home. What do foreigners, that is, the immigrants who moved to the city and its environs in different historical and personal stages of life with various plans about staying and integration, see as the comparative advantages of Rijeka? What drawbacks and challenges of life in Rijeka do they encounter and how they deal with them?

WHY RIJEKA?

In the first part of our research we tried to learn more about the legislative and institutional framework of immigration and integration policy and practice in the context of Croatian society and of Rijeka. In the second part, field research was conducted through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with 63 interlocutors in Rijeka, specifically, those who had moved to Rijeka for any reason from the 1940s until today, as well as natives of Rijeka who had spent parts of their life outside of Croatia but eventually returned to Rijeka. The project’s purpose was to examine and elucidate the relationship between the immigrant and local population with regards to the integration of ethnic and cultural diversity, a process related to modern processes of migration, as well as the ever-challenging and cumbersome process of integration itself. An additional research goal was to build networks and connections between all population segments and to strive for integration of all forms of diversity associated with the on-going social and cultural changes of the twenty-first century.

We achieved an adequate representative sample of research participants by selecting specifically targeted categories of interlocutors, using the principle of availability for the purpose of this

research. We contacted them through personal and intermediary contacts, using the 'snowball' method. Thus, our sample included people with different life and migration stories related to their reasons for moving to Rijeka to settle either temporarily or permanently, or those who had their reasons for returning to the city. Interviews were conducted in the form of narrative biographical storytelling, (the shortest of which lasted about half an hour and the longest more than four), which were then transcribed and analysed according to grouped themes. Interlocutors were comprised of 39 men and 24 women, two thirds of whom were in mid-life (41 years and older). It is interesting that they said they belonged to 22 nationalities in total, and spoke 18 different languages. Disproportionately represented in the sample were highly educated people, as 36 of them had university degrees, with more than half of our interlocutors being actively employed at the time the research was conducted.

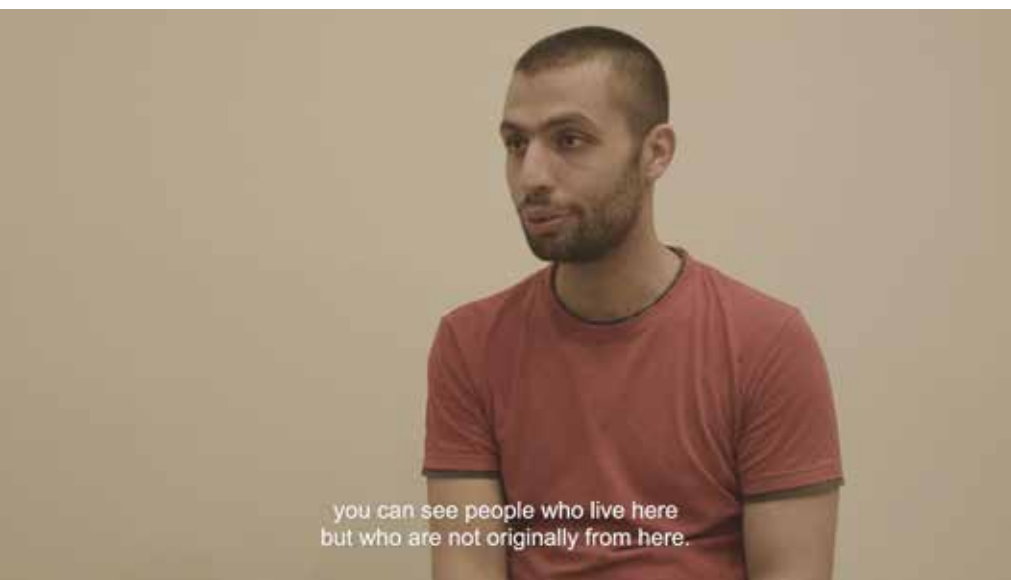
The primary reason for immigrating to Rijeka for the majority of our interlocutors (26 of them) was economic, i.e. they were labourers who had migrated to Rijeka mainly from the Former Yugoslavia, starting from the 1940s onwards to work in shipyards, tourism and the construction and hospitality industries. ("Rijeka had the highest employment rate, such as, for example, in the 3. Maj Shipyard. That's where the majority worked."). Three of our interlocutors said they were transient (seasonal or circular) workers who temporarily but frequently stayed in Rijeka for work.

Some of our male and female interlocutors (18 of them) are members of so-called migrant families who came with their parents or joined their spouses, then after having resolved their housing issues, stayed and lived together in Rijeka as permanent immigrants ("Dad's job was such that he could choose any city that he wanted to go to, but mom was very ill and was recommended a change of climate, which meant going to warmer regions. This is why we moved [...] to Rijeka."). Some of our interlocutors who are members of migrant families are also newer immigrants who recently moved to Rijeka for love, marriage to Croatian citizens or to foreigners, and who are only beginning to adapt to life in the 'city that flows'.

Six of them moved to Rijeka from abroad for education and study, for example our interlocutor from Syria who wanted to study abroad and in 1971 came to study mechanical engineering in Rijeka: "[...] a lot of students came from the Arab world. That is, from Syria, Sudan, the majority from Iraq who won scholarships, two hundred of them, they studied here, graduated from university [...], they came from Sudan [...] also because of a contract that existed between the 3. Maj Shipyard and Sudan, the shipyard was building ships for Sudan."



When I came here and saw the sea,
I said: "I'm definitely staying."



you can see people who live here
but who are not originally from here.

Mate Ugrin, Interview with Oumar Alaji, video, 17'13", 2017

Four of them came to Rijeka because of the need for protection and safety, as refugees from the wars in the 1990s or as refugees today from the Middle East, people with asylum status or with subsidiary protection. One interlocutor who fled Banja Luka as a child with her parents in 1995 at the end of the war explained why they chose Rijeka: "Well, because of work [...], many of our people went to Germany and we were thinking maybe Germany, but my father said 'Let's first see what it's like in Rijeka.' [...] That favourable position, they somehow thought they would find their way there. [...] My father found work as a dock worker as soon as he arrived, which is how he managed to rent an apartment for us."

Three were diaspora returnees, natives of Rijeka who returned as young adults. We planned but were not able to interview returnees who moved back to Rijeka in their retirement. One of our interlocutors said that she moved to Rijeka because of the comfortable Mediterranean climate, while the two others came back for “other reasons” that we were asked not to specify.

THE CITY’S HOSPITALITY AND THE QUESTION OF STAYING

As we were summarizing the results of our research we noticed that the majority of our interlocutors said they were totally ready and willing to integrate into life in the city. At the same time, one third of the interlocutors thought that despite their good will, the local and even immigrant society that had received them were actually not committed enough to helping them achieve that goal (“Rijeka is definitely not lively or open. If you have a lobby, it will be open, and if not [...], then it will not be open.”). We also found it necessary to take into consideration the moment of immigration, social and cultural affinity, and the factor of longevity in terms of those living in Rijeka. Therefore, it did not surprise us that those who feel most integrated and who express the least amount of scepticism towards the engagement of local population in assisting with integration, are those who have worked and lived in Rijeka the longest; traditionally they are the workers from the Former Yugoslavia who migrated at a time when jobs were aplenty and the immigrant workforce was desired and sought after (“Rijeka used to be Yugoslavia in miniature”). Some specifically emphasised the role of migrant networks that they availed themselves of when they first moved there, or that their relatives and friends used when they migrated to Rijeka for work: “Because Rijeka is a port city, it was somehow considered that all were welcome, that one would be able to find work here, and be accepted. A lot of our cousins, who had no connection to Rijeka, came precisely for that reason.”

Given their history of immigration, most of our interlocutors (though not all of them) are fully integrated into the labour market and broader social and cultural spheres to the degree of complete naturalization and citizenship, having entered into mixed marriages with the local population. A few of them even went to war, which they emphasize with pride and perhaps as an expression of loyalty to the country and the city where they chose to live. A case in point is an interlocutor who moved to Rijeka from Russia in 1974: “It was funny when she called me [...] to talk about those migrations [...], I completely forgot that I am an immigrant.”

Our interlocutors named three factors they felt contributed the most to their integration in Rijeka: “job opportunities,”

“openness and hospitality of people” and “their own intention to stay permanently.” Therefore, members of the older generation, who had already spent their entire career and most of their lives in Rijeka, point out the main advantages of Rijeka, for example its position, i.e. the sea and climate, and the mentality and character of local people, mostly with regards to their openness. Several spoke to that fact: “What I like the most here is the geographic position, which I think is some form of openness”; “No one is bothered by who or what you are, and you yourself are not bothered by it”; “What I love the most is that it is a city-port located by the sea”; “People here don’t know how to vote for nationalists.”

MULTICULTURALISM IN PRACTICE

In view of these parameters, it seems that Rijeka has (always) been a multicultural city with a century-old tradition of belonging to different historical and territorial units, one that is accustomed to the co-existence of various ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious communities. Likewise, the rich cultural and artistic tradition, (both official/institutional, and as seen on the streets seen during holidays and festivals) with its strong current of alternative culture stemming from its urban, maritime and industrial identity, i.e. a city of rock and punk music, made Rijeka an interesting, vivid experiment in diversity – of lifestyles, worldviews, freedom and (inter)action. However, as one of the interlocutors said: “Rijeka is actually living off of former glory, and in the meantime, realistically, nothing significantly new was done to justify the city’s continued self-proclamation to be the queen of an alternative, even left-wing scene.” Multiculturalism as an inherited condition, a given, does not necessarily also imply an active political relationship and interaction that can be called multicultural or intercultural in today’s terms. It is as though multiculturalism is an ideal and value that has to constantly be re-examined, built together and protected, and not taken for granted, resting on its own laurels. One of the interlocutors described Rijeka as a “rather homogenous environment where certain ethnicities and particular communities have, it seems to me, greater rights than in some other environments [...], but that is not enough.”

More critical reflections came from those who were perceived in Rijeka as a distinct visible minority, those who are only differentially involved in urban life, most often in the sphere of labour, while being frequently or occasionally excluded from broader social and cultural currents (“I did not have many unpleasant experiences, but people sometimes say things like ‘Your father is a Shqiptar.’”). Sometimes the solution to basic existential questions is problematic,

like the example of this interlocutor: “When life became more serious, after I got married, had a child who needed to start kindergarten, when you need something, and have to move from the ghetto [...], then you see things are not moving, you have to tear down not barriers but walls, terribly high walls. Particularly if you have to rent an apartment, they refuse to accept you. [...] To live as a tenant and be a Roma, with children, there was no chance. I could not find anything.”

However, other interlocutors, who did not necessarily belong to a minority, also encountered existential or professional barriers: “Contrary to the myth of the city that people move to, Rijeka is increasingly becoming a city from which people depart. Because of their dissatisfaction with the fact that they cannot find an existential anchor here. Simply put, what occurred here is a form of elitism... Actually, the structures closed. The permeance and possibility to work

Mate Ugrin, Interview with Daniele Romeo, video, 19' 44", 2017



in a profession you were educated for [...] demands that you sort of join a clan that will not let go of you easily. In other words, my experience of present-day Rijeka is that it is, de facto, a very closed city for newcomers, where one can only become part of the structure if you are part of certain clan stories. Prevalent here, actually, is the culture of nepotism, that is perhaps not as visible at first glance and not as explicit, as in a father hiring his own son, but interest groups will hire those who are similar to them."

PERSPECTIVE FOR A GOOD LIFE

Those who moved to Rijeka relatively recently or in the past decade, some for work or to attend university, others for love and family or often a combination of the two, are more critical of Rijeka as the city that has mostly inherited the condition of multiculturalism, that is or could supposedly be the "port of diversity." Interviews were frequently conducted in English with these interlocutors, because of their poor knowledge of Croatian. Their critical views were more frequent, especially if the interlocutors expressed more dissatisfaction with institutional blockades they encountered when coming into contact with, for example, the Croatian bureaucracy ("institutions are distrustful, inert and inhospitable"), and it is not surprising that "simplification of bureaucratic procedures" surrounding questions of status is one of the perceived factors that would facilitate integration ("they are not even capable of providing the correct information about what kind of documents I need, which of them have to be certified, which translated [...] I did not know who to turn to... Ministry of the Interior, health, retirement insurance, tax administration, nobody knows anything!"). Speaking the language of the area to which one migrates is, of course, a precondition for any integration, so the "provision of quality language courses" was recognized as one of the main requirements. One third of the interlocutors (especially "new immigrants") think that the society receiving them is not sufficiently committed to that, because there are no integration policies or programs of social inclusion and they often feel left to their own devices.

The main advantages of Rijeka they say are the sea, the climate (though they occasionally complain, at times with a dose of humour, about the famous rain), the transit position, slower rhythm, cultural and tourist offering, the carnival, the fact that the "city is more humane and civilized," "life is simpler, you can find agreement on anything, the standard is not high, but people are normal." At the same time, they see the city's stagnation as its main disadvantage, because they perceive that Rijeka is not developing its infrastructure, industry,

tourism and culture: "I dislike the fact it has been stagnating for the past 10 years. Rijeka is not progressing in any sense [...], everyone can feel a disinterest in people [...], some kind of lethargy for years. Nothing is happening, or succeeding, there are less cultural events. Simply, no significant shift is visible anywhere." Entrepreneurial prospects, also considerably impeded by the complicated administration encountered, are likewise estimated to be poorer than in other European cities. Interestingly, more recent immigrants from western and eastern European countries experience the local population as "more closed" and "more passive," with an impression that a "collective lack of self-confidence" is felt in the city. Still, some find Rijeka to be "a multicultural city [...]" because of the co-existence of different cultures, religions, lifestyles."

Therefore, according to the answers of our interlocutors, it seems that with every new program fostering cultural diversity Rijeka remembers and actively cultivates its own multiculturalism by referring to its past heritage, while at the same time actively defining it for the future. Nevertheless, there is definitely space for critical reflection alongside this revalorization of its own experience, and for more active engagement in terms of community involvement in the creation of new cultural content. Consequently, through new forms of interaction between fellow citizens, facilitated by cultural practices, this multiculturalism could be more actively developed and embraced. Only then, as the lyrics from the beginning of this text say, would Rijeka be not only a 'quiet port', a shelter for strangers, but also a true port of diversity for locals, newcomers and transients, a goals that the project Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture can aspire to.

Irena Bečić & Duga Mavrinac

Temporary Migrations: Migrant (Self) representations and Artistic Strategies of Subjectivization

At the beginning of 2017, within the framework of the exhibition “Between There and There: Anatomy of Temporary Migrations” held at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka, we assembled the works of ten artists that were created over the past two decades in response to the curators’ calls for participation, or as artistic examinations of migrant positions. These works combined different aspects of the phenomenon of temporary migration that we explored in the eponymous project, and with which we outlined the anatomy of the case. The narration was initially based on the migrants’ simultaneous use of two addresses, their invisibility in public discourse and the transformational potential of temporary migration as distinctive determinants of the said phenomenon. We later expanded on the problem by referring to social phenomena such as prevailing and intensive mobility, precarity and new forms of communication aided by technological progress, their social and cultural consequences and potential representation.

It is important to point out here that the exhibition (as well as the project) was the result of curatorial cooperation and collaboration between the fields of cultural anthropology and art. Reasons for this communion derived from the tendency of both disciplines to be critically positioned against hegemonic structures, either in the political system or the hierarchy of local communities, and their infiltration of the spaces of these invisible, subordinate and marginalized groups (cf. Bekić and Mavrinac, 2017). In our quest for close proximity and active and dynamic roles within the scope of our own activities, the discovery of new methods, postulates and metaphors for considerations of modernity occurred by overlapping and intertwining artistic

methods of appropriation and methods of cultural anthropological inquiry into possible representations. In this way we tried to point out possible spaces for negotiation within dominant structures. The subsequent exhibition created space for a potentially liminal interdisciplinary field frayed by the interferences of two professions to appear, while curatorial discourse emphasized and added support to meanings and contexts of liminality immanent to the theme, artistic positions and strategies undertaken.¹

On the basis of four works from the exhibition, we will present the phenomena described in this introduction as well as their multiple manifestations. We will consider them primarily through an anthropological perspective on the temporary migrant experience, but also through artistic strategies regarding the subjectivization of migrants whose modalities and forms will be described in more detail in the text that follows.

1 We wrote about sources of our collaboration, as well as the exhibition, on the leaflet and in the text on the exhibition in “Biti/postojati između tamo i tamo; toposi privremenih migracija” u izložbi “Između tamo i tamo; anatomija privremenih migracija,” *Život umjetnosti* 101(2): 100-113, therefore certain points of the here expressed opinions and themes coincide with aforesaid texts.

One of the basic characteristics of modern temporary migrations is the powerful intersection of personal and professional identities, personal time and work time and living and working conditions. This intersection is the result of contemporary economies in European societies that, according to Mojca Pajnik, produce the “conditioned lives” of migrants (Pajnik, 2011). The confirmation and cause of this flexibility is found in the ‘precarity’ of the workplace, a dominant term in contemporary theoretical and public discourse. Specifically, work was transformed and became increasingly immaterial, relational, affective and intellectual as opposed to the hegemony of production typical for the Fordist model (Chicchi and Leonardi, 2011). At the same time, creativity, innovation, emotion and originality create an added value required for systemic reproduction. Transformations in the labour market in the new millennium, including that of migrant labour, demand an absolute physical, emotional and personal commitment from the worker, whereupon his knowledge and life (bios) become key characteristics that constitute contemporary bio-capitalism (Fumagalli, 2011). An example of the embodiment of this transformation of the labour market is surely evidenced in the position of paid female domestic workers, who are almost always migrants. Their work consists of a series of material services such as cleaning, washing, cooking, dressing, etc. but also immaterial services such as providing emotional attention, patience, understanding, affection, etc. Italian anthropologists Grilli and Mugnaini call this type of working and related living conditions a “symbiotic life” (Grilli and Mugnaini, 2009), and the non-existent boundary between work-time and rest-time indicates an intersection and intertwining of the private and professional which inevitably leads to an interference and control of the former over the latter.

With conditioned flexibility and precarity, migrant experience and practices are totally dependent on the architecture of power in daily life, because mobility is not a resource equally available to all (Skeggs and Morley in Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:3). Therefore, who migrates, when, where and in what way depends on economic, gender, and social relationships as well as other forces, by which, in opposition to the thesis on the freedom of movement and flexibility as a choice, the typology of work and employment that is possible in the migrant context are conditioned.

This idea is clearly illustrated in the work “About Home and Being Away: Fridge Notes” by the Romanian art collective h.arta group in which the artists juxtapose personal, often emancipatory stories of female migrant workers with newspaper headlines that rep-

resent their public perception in Romania: “Romanian Woman With a Degree in Forensics Denied Overnight Stay in a Hotel in the United Kingdom Because They Thought She Was a Prostitute. ‘I Was Extremely Embarrassed.’” Thus, the artists emphasize and problematize the ubiquity of gender mainstreaming and ethnicization of work that condemns and pigeonholes Romanian women to work in the service sector.

As opposed to the above-mentioned stereotyping of work, we find a potential site of resistance in the daily practices of migrants, their imagination and communication, which also have become mobile. Specifically, the development of telecommunication systems affects the redefinition and compression of space and time in the experience of temporary migration and inspires the maintenance of transnational relationships (Vertovec, 2002:4). Mobile phones, computers and accompanying applications enable the virtual and imaginary mobility of workers because they personalize migrant networks, build new forms of social, cultural, familial, gender and generational relationships, foster the rapid exchange of information and create an imaginary parallel presence in migrant and home environments (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:5). Social capital itself, strengthened in this way, becomes one of the key elements in the activation of new strategies of survival and mobility because, as Lončar warns in the case of Croatian female migrant workers in Munich (Lončar, 2013), it is difficult to survive in migrant contexts without networking. Accordingly, social capital also embodies and reproduces economic strategies that penetrate broader social and experiential tissue, and these non-economic relationships become crucial for economic success as well (Procoli, 2004:6). Certainly, new communication technologies, social relationships and everyday migrant practices collectively redefine spatial mobility thus demanding that the body, as a key element in accepting the materiality of mobility, must be positioned in the centre of analysis. Namely, the physical body that is moving by bus or train, materially connecting ‘two addresses,’ is moving also as an affective body. It feels space and movement and constructs new emotional geographies, such as transnational parenting, maintenance of intimacy, familiarity and affection in spite of distance and so forth (Crouch and Bondi et al. in Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:14). For example, in the work of Božena Končić Badurina and Duga Mavrinac entitled “Will Do, Will Do... But, How” that we will discuss further in this text, it was written in the fictitious diary of domestic workers who cared for the elderly and infirm in Italy as follows “twice daily, in the morning and afternoon, she makes Turkish coffee. She cannot stand the taste or the smell of espresso. Which is why she takes to Italy, each time, at least half a kilo of ground

coffee for making Turkish coffee. She also carries several cartons of cigarettes.” An almost ritual act of making Turkish coffee is a site of resistance, in the sense of redefining the sensory dimension of workspace by evoking with the smell of coffee the atmosphere of home. This quote illustrates the possibilities by which we arrive at the redefinition of body and home, because proximity and connectivity can be imagined in completely new ways (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:2). In contrast, however, new forms and practices of connectivity coincide with the intrinsic rupture of the migrant condition, that Sayad calls “double absence,” a rupture that is constantly (re)opened, thereby creating altered structures of external and internal worlds, leading to a continual redefinition of one’s relationship to physical and social surroundings (Sayad, 2011). According to the Algerian sociologist, this rupture also entails a continuous feeling of guilt in those who are absent, in that each act of immigration always contains its reverse: emigration, whose justification is always open to question, for example, as a potential betrayal, abandonment or escape. Migrant and artistic representational strategies become crucial in that process, which we will discuss in the next section.

SOCIAL CONTEXT AND ARTISTIC STRATEGIES OF SUBJECTIVIZATION OF TEMPORARY MIGRANTS

Mobility, at a basic level, denotes the movement of people, goods and services locally and across the globe, is surely one of the key signifiers of the 21st century, and a dominant discourse that creates its own effects and contexts (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006). Freedom of movement within the European Union, motivated by the desire to find work in the common labour market, with the pursuit of a different lifestyle or possibilities of advancement for highly qualified workers, is in principle ensured as the fundamental right of movement of goods, services, capital and people. It is clearly an ideological and symbolic foundation of the political discourse of the European Union, which is often identified with mobility (Toplak Cirila, 2018:17). The progress and articulation of that movement, interpreted as a resource, but also as an ideological discourse and propagandist slogan, lacks the requisite underlying basic socio-economic political regulations influencing the economic, social and cultural life of member states and demands reorganization of their institutions in the process of creation of the so-called “networked society” (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:2). This stems our desire to call attention to the frequently neglected sector of contemporary migrants, more precisely, the temporary or the so-called circular migrants who activate successive and manifold migration cycles. The latter are primarily persons who find

work abroad as care givers for the elderly and the infirm, nannies, house keepers, posted workers, but also artists who, as workers in the cultural sector, according to some studies (Toplak Kristina, 2018) are exposed to increased pressure to accept the ideology of mobility as an experiential and social capital crucial in the activation and securing of economic and symbolic recognition.

We wanted to include these perspectives in the exhibition, and talk about the strategies of being and coping of temporary migrants from Croatia, Romania and Bosnia and Herzegovina in circular migration flows towards Italy, Slovenia, Spain and Germany. Conversations about these themes in the context of an exhibition inevitably include discussions of the artistic strategies that transmit them, because the channels selected in the process of subjectivization of the marginalised and whether it actually occurs, are not all the same. Namely, the point is not to convey an image or to express compassion, but to structurally change the occupying relationships. In other words, occupation of a certain space, or some other configuration, implies transformation, that is to say, a change of the existing social relational and spatial constellation, thereby opening up a space for alternative meaning.

Furthermore, we started the narrative construction of the exhibition from the assumption that the process of subjectivization of marginalized groups is a key aspect of the redefinition of society. In so doing, the provided artistic and non-artistic strategies are based on performative actions: inscribing the body into public space and an articulation of other forms of the subject's materiality, such as the grammatical person, language or voice. We used the very notion of performativity in line with authors who, like Michel Foucault or Judith Butler, appropriated it from Austin's linguistic tradition. According to them, performative actions are neither representational nor referential; in other words, there is no inherent essence or stable identity that they are supposed to express (Butler, 2000). On the contrary, they produce identity as their meaning, by which they change structural relationships and trigger the process of subjectivization. In the context of temporary migrations, inscribing/performing the migrant body in public space signified a move outside the default space of otherness, i.e. that of marginalized migrant men and women, which opened a possibility to examine and redefine previously established relationships and boundaries. This move was not only symbolic. It entails a change also in the self-perception of migrant men and women; their figure becomes publicly visible and can also be recognized as an unstable, flexible, singular and active identity. Such an identity participates in the construction and redefinition

Andreja Kulunčić, co-authors: Ibrahim Čurić, Said Mujić, Osman Pezić,
 "Bosnians Out! Workers Without Frontiers", on site project for the
 exhibition "Museum in the Street", MG MSUM Ljubljana, 2008,
 design: Dejan Dragosavac – Ruta, photo: Dejan Habicht



of the contexts in which they participate in their life and work practices. We will attempt to elaborate on the aforementioned with examples of works by Andreja Kulunčić, Veda Popovici and Božena Končić Badurina and Duga Mavrinac.

The selected works re-examine the active potentials of temporary migrants and problematize their social position in public spaces in different ways. For example, in the work "Bosnians Out! Workers without Frontiers", when Andreja Kulunčić tries to position the problematic nature of migrant work as a problem of social policies and legislation, and not only individual relationships towards foreigners, she applies the marketing strategies of advertising in urban space and uses the rhetoric of an advertisement: a first-person narrative and an imperative mood. This work was created for the exhibition "Museum in the Streets" in the Modern Gallery, Ljubljana in 2008, during the renovation of the museum building. In her response to the call for an exhibition addressing the theme of the urban margins, Andreja Kulunčić recognized that it was precisely migrant workers who can be found at the furthest edges of society. She invited three construction workers from Bosnia, Osman Pezić, Said Mujić and Ibrahim Čurić, who were working on a temporary basis on the museum building's reconstruction, and asked Museum authorities to sign a contract with them as co-authors and thus created a work about the position of migrant workers in Slovenia. The final product was a public campaign. Posters with photographs of workers and their statements

about their personal status (limited labour rights, dependence on employers for work visas, poor living conditions, separation from families and discrimination) were installed in city light boxes in the busiest locations in the centre of Ljubljana, positioning the migrant question as a political issue.

Unlike Andreja Kulunčić, who established a political dialogue in dominant public space, Veda Popovici in her work “Migrant Monument” performed an auto-poetic symbolic gesture. By installing a memorial plaque dedicated to those “who cross the border (...), travel, work, love and suffer far from home and their loved ones” at the international bus station in Bucharest, a location representing daily migrant movements, Popovici’s act empowered a self-representational narration. This is also about the subversion of public rhetoric, in that a memorial plaque is a form of public sculpture used by the hegemonic apparatus to map a particular historical and cultural construct, emphasizing its key positions, and defined supposedly by consensus. By appropriating the procedure of commemoration, including officially revealing the plaque, Popovici created a new space of public memory and common emotion, but also a space of legitimation and acceptance of the significant presence of migrant movement in Romanian daily life. In some causal alignment and political discourse that would accept the fact of emigration and migrant transition through the country, such a monument would represent a necessary commemorative gesture. Ultimately, the artist introduces confusion into our understanding of the dominant national narrative that is mediated by memorial configurations.



Veda Popovici, “Migrant’s Monument”, public intervention, Bucharest, 2014

Migrant self-perception is defined by their public image, but it will be, as we previously mentioned, altered somewhat when the migrant body is moved into visible public space. However, as the *h.arta* group clearly cautions in their work, migrant self-perception that is defined by their public image is always laden with political and symbolic violence (Foucault, 2011). From media headlines like “Romanian Minister Labelled Wives of Romanian Workers Abroad as Loose Women, and Their Children Hooligans” or “Left to Their Own Devices, Children of Romanian Migrants Find Ways to Succeed on Their Own” the moral condemnation of the female migrant labourer is clearly visible and the absence of mothers is emphasized. Her effort to ensure her family’s financial security and build transnational parenting is completely neglected and neutralized. These examples of media stereotyping of migrants, which characterize them as either victims or criminals, point to the continued homogenization of the migrant population. Ultimately, this is a political act that negates their particularity, and also reduces them to an almost amorphous, and sometimes also a potentially dangerous, mass.

The performative works of Andreja Kulunčić and Veda Popovici created in the streets are present in the Museum as documentation, which recreates the relationships established in the streets. In contrast, the collaborative work of anthropologist Duga Mavrinac and artist Božena Končić Badurina “Will Do, Will Do... But, How?!” created on the basis of the authors’ joint field research and that previously conducted by the anthropologist, is materialized as an ambient installation, devised so that one segment – a notebook, as a semi-fictitious collective diary of female narrators – is returned to the space of non-artistic daily life after it passes through the gallery. After their field research involving female domestic care workers who, burdened by ambivalent emotions because of their departure and absence, leave Croatia to go work in Italy, Končić Badurina and Mavrinac reconstructed their symbolic home and semi-fictitious diary in the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art. Thus, they juxtapose them with the legal and political act, Convention C189², and position their completely invisible and suspended personal lives in the public sphere. The Museum thus became their transit zone, a threshold area and a place of legitimization. Likewise, and no less important, the Museum is potentially transformed into a service zone, because the display included information, materials

- 2 The International Labour Organization’s (ILO) Convention C189 was adopted in June 2011, with participation of government representatives and employers, and a long-standing active participation of domestic workers themselves and their representatives. The document was the result of a long overdue need for formal recognition and evaluation of the specific nature and position of domestic workers; it clearly defines basic measures of protection of workers, protects their right to privacy and right to form a union, it clearly defines working conditions, daily and weekly rest periods, entitlement to minimum wage, etc. and finally recognizes the previously often denied workers’, and sometimes even human rights. Still, as stated by the International Labour Organization, the document was ratified and implemented by only 29 states, which is why it remains an elusive reality for those in whose name it was adopted in the first place.

and flyers with addresses that the care workers could seek out should they require assistance and protection. The diary, created after a joint field trip, is a notebook with sketches of everyday activities, living and working spaces and the practices of domestic care workers. These moving and witty notes are bursting with care, concern, thriftiness, obedience, and daily inventions as zones of resistance. Printed in large quantities, they were intended to be distributed to visitors and then circulated further, beyond the control of the authors. By discussing the issue of the commodification of care, welfare and emotional work, this artwork contextualized the contemporary phenomenon of informal paid domestic work. It also questioned the legal regulations governing this and the related absence of legal protection for female workers, pointing out that Croatia has still not ratified Convention C189.

The works analysed herein demonstrate sacrifice, insecurity, resourcefulness, adaptability, flexibility and resistance as value system strongholds that drive and maintain circular migration. So, the care worker 'notes' in her imaginary diary that "...she did not cry for here nor there. She knew she had to go. Money was needed, and she said to herself: If others can do it, so can I!" A construction worker from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who displayed the marginalization of his own life and work on a poster in Ljubljana's public space said: "I've been living in Slovenia for a long time, I changed many homes (meaning single-person household, n. I. B. and D. M.), but I have yet to find a single home worthy of a man, not an animal." The posters also show the refined apartment interiors that the workers built, juxtaposing them with images of their reduced standard of daily life. The grammar of the image refers to advertising, and the imperative sentence "Bosnians Out!" that might suggest the desired outcome. We should bear in mind that the workers themselves authored the posters, therefore we are dealing with a dual subversion: in relation to the medium and in relation to the social constellation in which they live. Auto-irony here proved to be a powerful tool of the subordinated, which by boldly penetrating dominant space, exposed its patterns. We should also add that the local authorities removed the posters immediately after they were installed, and after the Museum's insistence they put them back up. This unplanned situation revealed the possible role of an art institution as a corrective of social balance.

Finally, we should repeat that works selected in this text were created at an intersection of artistic and non-artistic aesthetics (cf. Rancière, 2009), and they opened public space to the subjectivization of migrant bodies. In an interference between art, anthropology and daily life, these works managed to occupy a heterogenous

aesthetic field, i.e. they generated it through the establishment of new relationships. Namely, by positioning the work in liminal space, which is in many ways the space of their artistic activity, the authors tried to destabilize the existing social constellation and redefine relationships therein. Explained in Rancière's terms, they favoured the "topography of the configuration of possibilities, a perception of the multiple alterations and displacements" over the idea of "historical necessity" (Rancière in Voorhies, 2017:140). According to Rancière, that position facilitates artistic inventions as well as forms of political subjectivization (Voorhies, 2017). One of the starting points in our approach to the phenomenon of temporary migration and the narrative construction of the exhibition "Between There and There: Anatomy of Temporary Migrations" was precisely this thesis. With the selected examples we drew attention to the potential of artistic and non-artistic aesthetics in redefining the position of temporary migrants as marginal and passive subjects. Lastly, these moves into public and institutional spaces of the museums and the streets were manifested as possible tools to challenge a social topography based on a dichotomy of the centre and the periphery, i.e. dominant and marginal space.

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Igor Petričević

From Transit to Settlement, Between Compassion and Xenophobia: Negotiating the New Diversity Inside and Around Hotel Porin in Zagreb

In public discussions, migration is often understood as consisting of binary oppositions such as economic migrant/refugee, native/foreigner, or the slightly more nuanced departure/(transit)/settlement. Relying on critical border studies and studies of everyday multiculturalism, this paper discusses the ambiguous space between two such oppositions. By presenting two ethnographic examples (unexpected and undecided settlement, and compassionate xenophobia) from anthropological fieldwork conducted in Zagreb between 2017 and 2019, the paper will highlight how the ambiguity of the tension between a) transit and settlement, and b) compassion and xenophobia is productive of relations, emotions and subjectivities. The aim is to demonstrate how, as a result of recent migration through the Balkans, some aspects of the new socio-cultural diversity in Croatia are being constructed and negotiated in everyday life in an attempt to answer the following question: what kind of multiculturalism is emerging in Zagreb in the last decade?

Schrover and Moloney (2013:37-41) state that multiculturalism emerged as an ideology and a policy for managing the cultural diversity that had resulted from migration to many western countries in the 1960s. The current form of migration to Croatia differs from the situation they refer to, and from previous migrations to Croatia from the countries of the former Yugoslavia. In contrast to the post-WW2 period of economic growth and the welfare states in Western Europe, Zagreb's urban dwellers negotiate the new difference at a moment when most European states with longer histories of postcolonial multiculturalism are dealing with the so-called "backlash against difference" (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010). The new diversity in Zagreb emerges in the context of heterogeneity, securitisation, economic crisis and precarity. Furthermore, Croatian experiences of nation building and exile in the 1990s play an important role. Diversity today, negotiated through different social, economic and ethical frameworks, can hardly be separated from the technologies of bordering and the related processes of racialisation on the crisis-ridden periphery of the EU. However, as De Genova and Mezzadra (2015:57-62) argue borders are not merely lines or walls; they are productive and allow passage as much as they deny them, leading to the multiplication of subject positions.

UNEXPECTED AND UNDECIDED SETTLEMENT

Croatia, as a new member-state on the fringes of EU territory at a moment when the EU is tightening its borders, aspires to enter the Schengen Area. This puts Croatia in a position to play a dual role: it must simultaneously respect the human rights of refugees

and police the external border for ‘illegal’ entry. From 2015 the statistics have been growing annually for both applications and approved asylums, with a few hundred applications approved¹, even though many still attempt to go further north. In reality, the numbers of those present in Croatia are significantly lower.

A government official stated in one public discussion in Zagreb, that “the migrants abuse the Croatian asylum system” to reach Europe and that the fact that 77 percent of them leave proves they are economic migrants. That is, it is assumed if they were ‘real’ asylum seekers, they would stay. Those that use Croatia only for transit often want better jobs further north or already have friends or relatives there. Elsewhere in Europe, people are attracted to larger migrant networks and spaces which can enable “being in your own culture”, as one Sudanese refugee told me, while explaining how the lack of these spaces in Croatia also makes it easier to integrate among Croatians. Those staying in the country for a longer time do so for various reasons, thus making it difficult to infer that their status is one of a refugee or of an economic migrant. Here are some examples of the unstable aspirational space between transit and settlement.

During my fieldwork I was volunteering (cleaning, Croatian language lessons) in Hotel Porin. It is an old hotel that was repurposed to serve as the main reception centre for asylum seekers in 2011 and is located on the edge of Novi Zagreb’s Dugave neighbourhood. There I met Farzaad, a twenty-three-year-old Afghan man. He arrived in Croatia in 2011 as an unaccompanied minor. After finishing high school, he enrolled at the university. While we are sitting in a cafe in Dugave, he said to me: “I did not have a plan to be here. I wanted to go further, but I did not have the money. I waited around three, four months to get the money, but in the meantime, I got asylum, (...) I decided to stay here”. Vahid – a thirty-eight-year-old man from Iran with a similar story – replied when asked if he wanted to stay, with a definite statement: “I am here. Here is my life, I am here”. Farzaad wants to stay in Croatia, but the aspiration to move remains open-ended. “Sometimes I think, for example, when I graduate, and everything, then get some work experience (...) and then to go out. But, then I think. When you see a situation of one country, when you know the language, you know the crew (*ekipu*)... then to go all over again from zero... you have to start in some new country, total zero. Then I will be around twenty-seven, twenty-eight... You know, then it is hard to adjust. When you are young, you get used to all sorts of situations quickly. When you’re older, maybe married by then, who knows”. Interestingly, the way he talked about the dilemma of staying

1 From 2006 until March 31st 2019, 626 people have been granted asylum and 141 have been granted subsidiary protection in Croatia. Majority of them come from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iran (MUP 2019).

or leaving Croatia at some future time (“you never know”) resonated with the dilemmas and future considerations of many young Croatians. Making a decision to stay, but without completely abandoning the idea of moving further. Similarly, Simran – a thirty-three-year-old man from Sudan – emphasized that he is “here now” but will “see how things go” in the near future. It is not “one hundred percent”, like Vahid who expressed his desire with more certainty, but it is more certain than what he thought when he first arrived. In the meantime, both of them learned the Croatian language, made close friends and found jobs in Zagreb.

Most people staying are those who did not have an original plan to settle in Croatia but decided to stay during their journey because it is relatively safe, or because they could not cross the border. Among those who want to stay are also those who were deported from Germany, Austria and other EU countries and sent back to Croatia, as it was the first EU country they reached and where the border guards took their fingerprints. As a result of the border closing, while achieving basic cultural (language), social (friendships) and economic (work) goals, they unexpectedly formed an attachment to the new place. Collyer (2007:668) points out how understanding migration as consisting of “increasingly fragmented journeys” can help undermine the dominant “(...) understanding of migration as an unproblematic transition from a place of origin to a place of destination”. Instead of assuming a linear logic, “for many migrants (...) their destination is not determined when they leave home, it may change many times during the course of the journey and, whatever it is, they may never get there”. The dynamic of staying and leaving in Croatia points to the complexity of decisions and regimes that in interaction shape or prevent mobility. Transit is thus one site where, in order to go beyond seeing migration as a frictionless motion, we can observe the “on-going dynamic between situations of settlement and those of mobility within situations of unequal power” (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013:188). As the Schengen borders become harder to cross, what was once temporary settlement can shift into permanent temporariness and potential long-term settlement.

Carling and Collins (2018:911) in their discussion on the motivating forces that generate and impede migration attempt to go beyond an exclusive reliance on either economic rationale or complete involuntary displacement. They state that migration theory needs to “account for the multiplex componentry of migration, the way it is situated in imaginative geographies, emotional valences, social relations and obligations and politics and power relations, as well as in economic imperatives and the brute realities of displacement”.

They argue that the subjectivity and identity of migrants is “always in formation rather than predetermined by place of origin and mode of arrival.” The examples above demonstrate the complexity of decisions, aspirations, emotions and temporalities underpinning the relationship between transit and settlement. It is far more ambiguous than the state’s assumption of migrants’ aspirations as closed, defined prior to the journey and unaffected by various experiences *en route*. Moreover, together with a developing sense of culture, social networks and economic opportunities, the state and its bordering practices (legislation, fingerprinting) are a significant part of those experiences. Although these young men have decided to stay in Croatia, this does not mean their journey is over. When asked about the uncertainty of the future, many answer with an assertion of the present, within which they have more space to manoeuvre. As Simran says, the “here” and the “now”.

LOCAL RESIDENTS AND COMPASSIONATE XENOPHOBIA

Whether they stay or not, the spatial (here) and the temporal (now) are enmeshed in relationships with various Croatian citizens. These relations are the building blocks in an on going process of construction of the new diversity. Media coverage, as well as sociological and anthropological research on the actual experiences of contact between the new migrants and Croatian citizens mainly express two broad outcomes: empathy (Čapo, 2015:399) and xenophobia (Gregurović et al 2016; Pozniak and Petrović, 2014; Župarić-Iljić and Gregurović, 2013:209). Empathy is usually interpreted as a result of Croatian experiences with war and exile in the 1990s. Similarly, it could be argued that the context of nation building and ethnic homogenization of the said war contributes to the rejection of strangers. However, both collective memories and the processes of making boundaries between groups are more complex, involving interplay between larger societal structures and processes and more micro-sociological and social psychological negotiations. Below I present one example of this difficulty to ‘pin down’ local reactions as either compassionate or xenophobic.

Most of the decisions or intentions to accommodate larger numbers of migrants in Croatia have resulted in placement outside of urban centres, in order to minimize contact with the local population that did, or might, resist this. Nevertheless, even in the most out-of-the-way places social co-presences, relations and interactions emerge. As put forward in the research orientation known as “everyday multiculturalism” (Wise and Velayutham, 2009) or “commonplace diversity” (Wessendorf, 2013), these everyday experiences, encounters and contestations at the very local level are important sites where many of the negotiations of difference occur (Amin, 2002).

Gordana - a woman in her forties, lives in a house two hundred meters from Hotel Porin. We met on one of my walks from the Hotel - where I volunteered during my research - to the flat I rented in Dugave for the year. When we met, I used the same muddy shortcut, the so-called "azilanti from Porin" use daily to move through the area. Taking a break from cleaning the fence, she said: "The experiences we had were really bad, I clean the mud from their shoes that they wipe on our fence every day. "They walk here 24 hours a day, I clean every day." With both hands pointed at each other, circling her forefingers, she hinted at endless repetition and resignation, describing the transitory position of Croatia in current European migratory movements and the constant circulation of new asylum seekers that come here, stay for a while, (attempt to) leave and return. This makes it difficult to create long-lasting relationships in the neighbourhood on both sides as well as impacting more everyday concerns. She wouldn't mind if a person comes from wherever and moves into the house next door. But she has complained to the Porin staff and to the municipality. After a pause, Gordana continues: "I am not xenophobic. I know these people have been through a lot..." I believe her, since I have seen and felt her visibly touched and compassionate when refugee children were passing next to us going to the school nearby. However, despite her empathy, later in our conversation she slipped into more xenophobic framings, similar to those I have heard among the less compassionate locals. For her it was the "loud and non-civilized hordes", for others it was "savages", "Mujahideens", "cattle", "garbage", "rapists and terrorists", or most commonly, that simultaneously dangerous and spectacularly exotic category of "Blacks and Arabs" now present in Croatia.

The feeling she expresses while talking about her situation is *nelagoda*, meaning a feeling of discomfort, tension and anxiety that is not easily verbalized further. It is a common affective description of the daily co-presence of local residents and migrants in the neighbourhood. For the most part, *nelagoda* seems to be due to the demographic fact that many asylum seekers in Porin are young men. It should be noted there are women and children as well, especially in recent years, but men form the majority. A few of the reasons for that are because the Balkan route is very difficult to cross and families are primarily accommodated in the reception centre in Kutina. Additionally, many of the women in Porin also spend more time in their rooms. *Nelagoda* is a need for distance, an indication that the boundary of both personal and social space has been crossed by the Other. It can be sensed, for example, when someone gets up from a bus seat after a migrant sits next to them, or avoids sitting near a

migrant, or avoids the neighbourhood altogether. A young woman who lives and works in Dugave told me: "You don't feel comfortable when there are ten Pakistanis or Algerians in a group and you sit alone at the bus stop". The most common depiction of the new diversity in Zagreb's margins is "groups of dark-skinned men". This gendered racialisation (dark-skinned men) is tied to the specific social form (groups) into which some of the new subjects amass themselves. The result is a feeling of fear or anxiety in local long-term residents.

This discourse of dark-skinned men as "rapists" has spread across Europe, but the role of gender in boundary-making is also appropriated through local histories of war. When I was buying groceries in the small market store close to the Hotel, the cashier told me: "Yes, we should help the people, I understand. There was war here, people were leaving, but among them there are many young men, so, you know, take a rifle, put it on your shoulder and go". She meant go to war, implying do as Croatian men did. Others often shared this view that young refugee men are "deserters" failing to defend their country. Categorizing them into deserters facilitates mistrust and contempt rather than compassion.

Given the heterogeneity of contemporary migration, there are other migrant groupings that are less frequently mentioned in the media. For example, school children, or individual (both dark- and light-skinned) men and women evoke different emotions and negotiate different encounters. After Gordana told me how she complained about the migrants, while I was struggling to understand her "compassionate xenophobia", she was struggling herself. "I have asked myself more than once, am I exaggerating? Am I right to complain, are these just little problems? But it is my everyday life." Her xenophobia is of course more nuanced and milder than, for example, that of a young man I overheard on bus number 220, when I was sitting nearby with my Iranian interlocutor from Porin. He said that he would kill them all as he observed us. Gordana's feeling towards the migrants is both empathy and anger, thus also guilt. Interestingly, when I talked to Gordana a few months later, she said: "It has calmed down, we haven't had any problems. So, either we got used to it or they got better".

Wessendorf (2013:410) argues that "(...) encounters in public and associational space do not necessarily enhance deeper intercultural understanding, but that the *absence* of such encounters can enhance prejudice. Especially regular encounters in social spaces (...) play an important role in the process of familiarisation with people who are different and in getting accustomed to communicating across difference." Experiences of contact between migrants and

local residents in Dugave suggest that through proximity with the stranger and the passage of time, the space between acceptance and rejection becomes more ambiguous. Such ambiguity simultaneously enables both the construction and transgression of social boundaries.

The current discussion of migration in terms of states, borders, “flows”, “routes”, numbers, and the use of various categorisations (refugee, asylum seeker, economic migrant) do not sufficiently explain the actual experience of migration and its impact on the everyday lives of the various people involved. Border regimes affect migrants’ decisions and relationships with “non-migrants” in complex ways. Experiences of multicultural interactions in everyday life become wrapped in the interplay of these border effects with local histories and negotiations, such as reactions ranging between xenophobia and compassion. To contrast these sorts of state-centric perspectives that dominate public conversations about migration, relying on a case study of Hotel Porin and surrounding spaces, this paper focused on the ground-level experiences of ordinary people. The emphasis has been on the interaction of aspirations and meaning-making processes with social structures and histories, in an attempt to reveal some of the nuances, paradoxes, and negotiations that ordinary people employ and encounter in everyday life. The debate about migration and diversity can hardly be separated from these concerns.

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DO THE BALKANS

BELONG
TO
EUROPE?

THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

INTE
GRATION

ON
EUROPE'S
MARGINS

Dragan Markovina

The Mediterranean and the Balkans at the Gate of Fortress Europe

The current moment, in which we are witnessing the rise of post-fascism precisely defined by Enzo Traverso, and consequently the final collapse of a humanist as much as an idealistic narrative of a united Europe, signifies the end of all illusions about the end of history and a world without conflict. However, it also underscores the continued existence of processes of the *longue durée* Braudel recognized as characteristic of the Mediterranean world. These processes are no longer restricted to the Mediterranean or the Balkans, which are part of the Mediterranean anyway, but extend to Western Europe, embodied by the EU, which reaffirms with each political action all prejudices about the Balkans and the Mediterranean in circulation across Western Europe for an entire century. This is best reflected in the persistent rejected admission of post-Yugoslav countries into the framework of the European Union, with the exception, and with great difficulty, of the accession of Slovenia and then Croatia as late as 2013. This rejection is still ongoing, despite the fact that those countries keep regressing in every way, because they lack, among other things, a European perspective. In this imaginarium, the Mediterranean and the Balkans become spaces of the repressed unconscious, destined to receive only crumbs through this wilfully prevented union for the Mediterranean or any role as the bulwark of Europe tasked to safeguard it. Such attitudes became evident in the 1990s, during the wars of Yugoslav succession, when the West bought the story of centuries-old violence rooted in the Balkans, so that the wars were interpreted from this perspective as something fateful and immutable. This approach was exemplified in the book popular at the time, "Balkan Ghosts" by Robert Kaplan. The tragedy lies not only in the fact that experiences of this essentially frontier world were not considered in the creation of modern Europe, but also in the naïve conviction prevalent within Europe that it is possible to stop desperate global mass movements of people looking for a decent existence with violence and borders. In other words, instead of trying to understand those who are arriving and to respect their historical and often traumatic experiences that have everything to do with the Western world, Europe is experiencing border closures, new barbed wire fences, mass hysteria and the rise of right-wing populism. Therefore, the correct question to ask today is: what happened to Europe without borders?

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

That the discovery of the New World signified a definitive turning point in world history and consequently pushed the Mediterranean world into the background is today a widely accepted fact. This process, beginning with the advent of the Early Modern Age and culminating with the actual rise of capitalism in the mid-nineteenth century and eventually transformed Great Britain and the Netherlands into great imperial powers, while the Mediterranean countries such as Spain, that had accumulated enormous wealth thanks to this discovery, in time became provinces that no longer had any real economic, social and political influence in the world, and even on the European level. This was equally true for the maritime-merchant republics (Genoa, Venice and Dubrovnik), as well as the Ottoman Empire, which had seemed invincible in the sixteenth century. David Landes wrote about consequences of this new economic reality in his excellent book “The Wealth and Poverty of Nations”. Although it was translated into Croatian in 2003, it remains largely unread. However another book was studiously read and rightly so, and became commonplace in the humanities and social sciences. It is Fernand Braudel’s capital two-tome study “The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II”, in which the author, after visiting nearly all existing Mediterranean historical archives, provided a detailed description of the Mediterranean at the end of the sixteenth century and introduced into the humanities the term ‘phenomenon of the *longue durée*’, describing it as the essential character of the Mediterranean world. Braudel’s thesis is that changes brought on by time occur in the Mediterranean only on the surface, while real life remains essentially untouched by them. Needless to say, this great French historian was correct. When we speak of the Mediterranean, and even the Balkan world as an integral part of it, we are primarily looking at two processes that alternate constantly. One is narrowly connected to trade and any other type of exchange, whether cultural or demographic and is characteristic of peaceful periods, while the other is connected to conflicts and wars, clearly much less frequent than the first, even though that is not our impression after we finish public primary and secondary school education. Generally speaking, the Mediterranean and the Balkan world’s collective experience is that of a frontier, with all of the positive and the negative features this fact brings. Therefore, current questions related to the refugee crisis, from migration caused by the desire for a better life to the relationship of Christian Europe towards Islam, have been observed for a time, and so exist in the collective memory

of the Mediterranean. The only aspect that is truly novel perhaps is the current violence against refugees, as a means of preventing their entrance into Western Europe. We will return to this in the next chapter, after we familiarize ourselves with the real discovery of the Mediterranean in the Enlightenment, and the long since popularized term 'balkanization'.

Specifically, thanks to the definitive end of large-scale conflicts between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire, a multi-decade peace was established in the Dalmatian hinterland in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its second consequence, thanks to the outcome of the War of Candia (1645 – 1669), the Morean War (1684 – 1699) and the war that ended with the Treaty of Passarowitz (1714 – 1718), was that Venetian holdings in the Dalmatian hinterland increased significantly and a border was established that today separates Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. After these wars ended, the Morlach population migrated into the vacated and expansive territory of the Venetian Republic. This happily coincided with the development of the Enlightenment, and imaginings that primordial people living in the Dalmatian hinterland were authentic Europeans uncorrupted by the achievements of Western civilization. This narrative, produced and promoted by the French encyclopaedists and aided by Alberto Fortis in his travelogue from Dalmatia, together with Robert Adam's book dedicated to Roman heritage and Diocletian's Palace, blended nicely with the Venetian Republic's efforts to establish a new myth of legitimacy about the Republic that would find its key foundation in Dalmatia, as opposed to previous insistence on the Levant. Why do I write about all this? Well, because this newly awakened interest in Dalmatia was accompanied by an increase and intensification of trade contacts between the two Adriatic coasts and the beginning of a kind of primordial cultural tourism. In other words, ordinary people participated in regular communication between the two Adriatic coasts in equal measure, as European intellectuals, which from today's perspective seems like an unimaginable legacy. Keep in mind that everything mentioned above took place before the fall of Venice and the arrival of Napoleon's administration, i.e. the establishment of the Illyrian Provinces (1806 – 1813), followed by the arrival in the Adriatic of the Russian and the British fleets and the general blockade of trade that interrupted previous relationships and therefore the economic rise of the Adriatic region; previously Dalmatia functioned as a bridge that connected the East and the West in every sense of the word. This experience was suppressed over time and today it seems that the Adriatic coasts and the entire Mediterranean region have forgotten their own past.

Relative to the economically prosperous eighteenth century, the appearance and development of nationalism as a general process in the nineteenth century shifted focus from trade and civilian life to border issues, territory, majorities, minorities and other such things and led to the maximal regression of the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan regions, from then up until the present. Indirectly it led to the development of the Western world's prejudices about this entire region, and culminated during the wars of Yugoslav succession in the 1990s, despite the fact that it was precisely Western Europe that was the scene of the bloodiest conflicts in World War I and ultimately the cradle of Nazi-fascism and everything that ideology entailed. The Balkan-Mediterranean world that we know today was fundamentally determined by wars waged during the previous two centuries, respectively: the Greek War of Independence, followed by wars for the national liberation of Balkan nations that culminated in the Balkan wars and World War I, and then World War II, especially brutal in the territories of Yugoslavia and Greece, and finally the wars of Yugoslav succession.

The story, at least in its outlines, is well-known. The decline of the Ottoman Empire, increasingly falling behind because of excessive self-containment, and the concurrent appearance of nationalism in Europe gave rise to the question of national liberation of Balkan nations, primarily Greece; this idea evoked sympathies of the Western world because of its heritage of Antiquity. These processes led to the Serbian Uprisings, then the Greek War of Independence, followed by the First Balkan War in which young nations fought against the Ottoman Empire for liberation and territory, whereas in the Second Balkan War they fought each other. All this was accompanied by the first ethnic cleansing committed before the eyes of an international public, leading the Balkans to be perceived in European imagology as an extremely negative term. The culmination of such negative relationships and related decisions came during the second Greco-Turkish War, after the end of World War I with the Greek agenda to annex the coastal part of Asia Minor, primarily Smyrna/Izmir. That conflict was followed by the creation of the Turkish national state, with its accompanying Armenian genocide, as well as its retribution against the Greek population of Constantinople. These national awakenings ended with the shameful Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, in which this newly created international community permitted something deeply inhumane and above all cynical, so-called 'humane resettlement'. As part of this project, nearly the entire Turkish population of Thessaloniki was forcibly resettled in Turkey, while Greeks from Asia

Minor and a significant number from Constantinople moved in the opposite direction. After the first Cyprus Crisis and other organized street violence in the 1950s, the population of Greeks in Istanbul dropped from several hundred thousand in the beginning of the twentieth century, to approximately 2,500 people today. Two excellent books on this topic were written by historian Mark Mazower. The first is entitled "The Balkans: A Short History", and the second, crucial for our understanding of the level of destruction that occurred is "Salonica: City of Ghosts". Specifically, this Greek city, meanwhile renamed Thessaloniki, precisely represents the paradigm by which nationalism destroyed the sensitive structure and openness of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was the second largest port city in the Ottoman Empire where, thanks to the fact that the Empire had welcomed the exiled Spanish Sephardic population, Greeks, Turks and the Jews lived in an almost ideal ratio, enriching the city. However, after the Turkish exodus and the holocaust, the city was reduced to virtually a single nationality, with a pronounced nationalist sensibility.

Thus, from the abundance of trade and exchange in the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan area in the eighteenth century, enabling continued prosperity for many people and communities, we came to antagonized and autarkic communities susceptible to ideas of blood and soil and far removed from any normal communication. The rise of nationalism destroyed not only the prosperous maritime-merchant republics such as Venice and Dubrovnik, but also greater transnational empires and ultimately the common space of commercial and cultural exchange. When we add to this the relationship between Habsburg Dalmatia and Ottoman Bosnia more familiar to us, or more precisely, the decision by the Austrian government to suspend trade between those two regions for almost twenty years after the end of the Napoleonic wars, we get a clearer picture of what David Abulafia, a remarkable historian of the Mediterranean, characterized as the 'fifth, fragmented Mediterranean' situated in the Cold War years in his book "The Great Sea: The Human History of the Mediterranean". The Yugoslav attempt, especially in the Socialist period, to integrate an important part of the space under consideration was annulled by the Cold War division of Europe, and accordingly, together with the ethnic cleansing that ensued after the conclusion of World War II, almost completely eliminated internal differences within its territory, turning the Mediterranean from a sea of propinquity, as it was logically called by Predrag Matvejević in his "Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape", to a fragmented sea, as Abulafia called it. A distant echo of those processes, the Cyprus question is relevant to this day as living testimony of the futility of everything that the rise of nationalism has led us to.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN THE BALKAN-MEDITERRANEAN REGION

As previously stated in this text, the influence of the phenomenon of the *longue durée* in the Mediterranean is such that nothing that has happened in the last few years in the Mediterranean and Balkan regions, except for the institutional rejection of true acceptance of refugees, is not unfamiliar in experience and memory. Aside from the fact that a considerable part of Europe has had either centuries-long experience of Ottoman rule or the presence of Ottomans at their borders, Western Europe had been in constant contact with the Islamic world. For a while this occurred through the Pyrenean Peninsula, then through on going trade with North African cities and piracy with corsairs, and eventually through the Dutch and the British who profited the most from Ottoman trade in the eighteenth century. However, during a substantial period in the Early Modern Age, all this contact also had a different side, in terms of negative fascination with the Islamic world. In that period, an important part of European identity grew from a combination of fascination and fear, leaving behind a neologism, detrimental for our region, of the so-called bastion of Christianity that was revived again in the 1990s. Franco Cardini, in his book "Europe and Islam" wrote about the initial closing off of Europe from contact with the Islamic world and differences in architecture and mentality between Christian Mediterranean cities enclosed with bulwarks, and open Islamic cities. Another book entitled "Die Sterbenden Europäer", by the accomplished Austrian essayist and expert in European cultures and communities Karl Markus Gauss, in part deals with the Albanian refugees who fled from Ottoman invasion into the interior of the Apennine Peninsula in the Early Modern Age, preserving their Albanian identity and historical memory. We have an almost identical story with the Molise Croats, leading us to conclude that in the Early Modern Age, as paradoxical as it sounds, Europe was often more open to encounters with the other than it is today. Ultimately, since Venice was for centuries the capital city of insular coastal Dalmatia, and of terrestrial Dalmatia in the last century, thousands of people from Dalmatia migrated to Venice in search of work; the majority of them worked in the largest industrial plant in this part of the world at the time, the Venetian Arsenal, capable of producing a completely new galley in a single day. Traces of their presence are preserved to this day in the names of many streets in the Castello district, dedicated to people from the islands of Hvar, Šolta and others, which was and continues to be written about exhaustively by historian Lovorka Čoralić in her works. The continuity of historical memory of Adriatic culture and its uniqueness was interrupted

for the first time early in the nineteenth century, and almost completely destroyed through conflicts between Italian imperialism and South Slavic national sentiment. To the degree that it survived, it is only to a certain extent in the lexicon and way of life, and rather negligible in social memory. All those of late who have been trying to revive that memory, whether it was the progenitor of that approach, Predrag Matvejević, or the Trieste journalist Paolo Rumiz who wrote the travelogue *“La Rotta per Lepanto”*, or Vladimir Mićković, an artist from Mostar and author of an incredible musical dedication to that world in the form of a recently published album entitled *“Riva degli Schiavoni”*, all published their works deeply aware of the fact that they were collecting in single locations merely fragments of the memory of the once great Adriatic-Mediterranean culture.

THE LAST MEDITERRANEAN OR THE BRUTAL NEW AGE

It is almost absolutely certain that as I write this text, groups of desperate people are trying to cross the Mediterranean illegally to reach Italian soil, and odds are they will not survive the undertaking. It is equally absolutely certain that other groups of people are attempting to do the same thing at the border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The world we live in is in many ways marked by post-fascism, the term that historian Enzo Traverso offered for lack of any alternative, in an attempt to define in new categories the current cocktail of historical revisionism, the recent closing off of Europe and intolerance of others. In my opinion, he succeeded and the term is perfectly suited as a definition of all such movements and political parties that began to spread through Europe on the wave of this type of emotion over the last few years.

The paradox and cynicism of neoliberal Europe today is perhaps best reflected in its relationship to the refugee crisis, especially when we position this in the context of time. Namely, David Abulafia starts the final chapter of his aforementioned book entitled *“The Last Mediterranean, 1950-2010”* by saying that the late twentieth century represented one of the great periods of Mediterranean migration, with migrations out of North Africa to France, from Italy to the United States, the increase in migration of Greek and Turkish communities to London as a consequence of the Cyprus Crisis, and eventually the Italian migration to Great Britain. Contemporary Europe’s cynicism is reflected in the fact that these migrations were not problematic in the least, while those of today are highly upsetting, even though the ideological background of the Union dedicated to human rights did not change. All this was also preceded by the exodus of Germans with the status of national minority in the many European

countries in which they lived, exiled to Germany because of the collective guilt they carried, and the post-war emigration of many surviving Jews to the newly formed state of Israel. However, these two processes were implemented according to a plan, as an expression of political will by a Europe that defeated fascism and had begun to reconstitute itself. We should not forget here the significant wave of refugees that spread across Europe from the war-torn region of Yugoslavia without any major problem, a time when the port of Ancona in many cases functioned as the first place that these refugees encountered life in peace since the conflicts began. The case of Ancona is particularly interesting, because this was actually the first time since the eighteenth century, when transportation connections were active on an almost daily basis, that the eastern Adriatic world established a bridge to this western Adriatic city. Besides these completely well understood migrations, we can also observe the incredible rise of the tourism industry that became the main economic sector of many Mediterranean countries, European and North African, and also in Turkey as well.

In other words, concurrent with this organized encouragement of mass travel, we also have the organized prevention of the travel of others, i.e. open discrimination, specifically against people who primarily come from Mediterranean regions. Moreover, as much as the formation of a Union for the Mediterranean by the European Union may have appeared as a unilateral attempt by French President Sarkozy, the fact remains that though it was supposed to serve as a platform for the integration of that part of the world long before the explosion of the refugee crisis, it was rendered pointless and contextually crippled to such a degree that this Union made almost no statement from the time the refugee crisis began to this day. Union for the Mediterranean thus remains something that exists only on paper, while it realistically has no influence whatsoever, and least of all as it was initially envisaged in that through it, the European Union would, in some way, be able to integrate the rest of the Mediterranean world without formal accession the EU.

Therefore, we are faced with a troublesome question, primarily as human beings, and then as Mediterraneans and Europeans, of whether and how we can help these people, and of how the memory of the Mediterranean could assist us. This text was written as a starting point from which to ponder this question.

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Manuela Bojadžijev

“The Shortest Way into the World” — Migration, Civil Rights and the EU in the States of Former Yugoslavia, a Reply after Fifteen Years

This text is based on research as part of the Transit Migration Project conducted between 2003 and 2005 with Rutvica Andrijašević and sound-artists Dont Rhine and Elliot Perkins from the Sound Art Collective “Ultra-red” in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia.¹ Our

1 This paper was published in 2007 in the book *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*, which presented the work of the Transit Migration Research Group at the Goethe University Frankfurt. We have not conducted this research only in the countries of former Yugoslavia, but also on two further groups in Turkey and Greece. <http://www.transitmigration.org/>.

2 Thanks to the financial support from the Federal Cultural Foundation it was possible to establish cooperation between scholarly research-oriented and scientific-artistic practices and thus develop innovative research designs. In this way, from the project in former Yugoslavia apart from texts emerged two albums titled “Blok 70”, based on sound ethnography. They were complemented by another one, “Blok 70: Translations”, to which sound and music artists from the entire region of former Yugoslavia contributed by their remix-versions, <http://www.ultrared.org/pso7d.html>.

aim was to investigate that time’s implementation of a European border regime at the outskirts of Europe and to do that from the migrant perspective, through the eyes of protagonists, and to methodologically focus on migrant practices. In that way, through the approach ‘autonomy of migration’, we opened a perspective on migration that enabled us to look for the view on protagonists of migration politics not only at the state level, i.e. on the part of the European Union, but to shed light on these policies through their relation to concrete migration practices in individual states and regions in the southeast of Europe.² The decision to re-publish the text for this book, although in slightly edited and significantly abbreviated form is interesting especially because the topic of transit-migration through former Yugoslavia since the “The Summer of Migration”, i.e. refugee flow from 2015 until today initiated renewed presence of flight and migration within and through the region of former Yugoslavia. It is thus important to remember a situation already fifteen years away; it was a kind of harbinger, because at that time conditions for the current situation were set and have shown significant continuity ever since.

EUROPE – IMPOSSIBLE CITIZENSHIP?

A few years after the end of the war in Yugoslavia this region has still remained a significant indicator for the process of European unification. Already during the military conflict Europe had different views on the question if Balkans belonged to Europe. The advocates of military and political interventions or NATO-bombing put forth their arguments that the displacement policy like the one that took place in this war cannot be allowed on European soil, but on the other hand it was Europe that intervened here in the name of human rights. One of the political driving forces of this progressing obscurity is the Stability Pact for South-eastern Europe, conceived for “encouragement of the EU-capacity”. Pact coordinator

3 See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* from Apr. 9th, 2006

Erhard Busek stated that the Stability Pact was actually “a training camp”.³ Our investigations into the migrant flow and conflicts regarding citizenship on the

other hand allow the assumption that this region can be understood as a training camp for the EU. Until today it reproduces its own incapability through inner borders which it generates in the Balkans by its migration policies. This research was also about the possibility and impossibility of the European citizenship concept, to which Etienne Balibar's question – Europe – Impossible Citizenship? – actually refers.⁴

4 Etienne Balibar, "Sind wir Bürger Europas?" *Politische Integration, soziale Ausgrenzung und die Zukunft des Nationalen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), 24.

WAR, STATEHOOD, MIGRATION

The war in former Yugoslavia went beyond the destruction of enemy forces. It organized the life of people completely anew, defined the borders and constituted the political geography of the region. New governments and non-governmental organizations followed it, while international and national courts of law took over a part of the reconciliation politics. A new control mechanism for production forms and mobility practices was created (see Negri, 2003).⁵ To avoid further conflicts after more than a decade of war conflicts in the region, a series of states existing until today was encouraged to leave the questions of their internal and external sovereignty open. It is often disregarded that the involvement of the EU in the so-called stabilization process of the region has side effects regarding the undermining and transformation of statehood that becomes prominent precisely because of migration and citizen rights policies with their multiple protagonists like state administrations, supra-national agencies, NGOs and migrant practices. The disputed and conflict-ridden process of stabilization and association (SAP), which was then implemented through the CARDS program (Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization) constituted the framework for different dynamics and paces among the states of the so-called Western Balkans (to which Albania was counted, but Slovenia not anymore), intended for implementation of migration policies, border controls and civil rights. The primary goal was homogenization of these policies and creation of a free-movement area after the Schengen-model of the EU. However, the project of creating a kind of mini-EU in the Balkans, which would then be integrated as a whole, was by the beginning of 2000s already substituted by a different paces policy as Croatia and Macedonia were already officially treated as pre-accession countries. We all know that in the meantime Croatia has become member of the EU, but that further association processes came to a halt, and that completely different processes, like the worldwide debt and financial crisis, in

5 See Thomas Atzert, "Der Krieg ist eine biopolitische Maschine. Ein Gespräch mit Toni Negri", *Subtropen* No. 2, (March, 2003)

the meantime caused a crisis of the European process, whose consequences still cannot be fully assessed (key word: Brexit).

In order to understand the multi-layered deregulation and re-regulation processes applied to territories and persons by the beginning of 2000s, the central key word is “Management of Population Movements” that emerged at that time. Based on four aspects, it was considered the central strategic topos for the EU was: (1) As a consequence of war, estimated one million refugees (one of the highest numbers in the world) lived in this region; (2) Four of the so-called western Balkan states belonged to the most common origin countries of asylum seekers in the EU; (3) The return of the migrants (mostly civil war refugees) from ex-Yugoslavia living in the EU (even the third generation was mentioned in the documents) should have been supported; (4) Because of the relatively weak border structures these countries, supported by people smugglers, were considered to be transit countries to the EU. The operational main goal for the future consisted in fighting off the ‘illegal migration’. That is why asylum legislation and the “Integrated Border Management”, unified in all countries, was supposed to be implemented in the entire region. Both measures constitute central mechanisms for state migration control. The control aspect found its complement in migration management: “Control alone”, says one of the MARRI papers of the Stability Pact, “will not guarantee safety for the states if it is not accompanied by measures that set free citizens’ productive resources, including migrants and returnees.” The slogan ‘freedom of movement’ started a new career and in this context it was applied to liberalization of the visa regulations within and from the region. Namely free movement was considered crucial in order to achieve the stability of the region and advance economic reforms. The implementation of the EU migration policies reached different levels in the countries of ex-Yugoslavia at that time – the nearer to EU borders, the more regulated, we could say.

WHO ARE THE MIGRANTS?

Even if this was not sufficiently noticed, a process of EU enhancement took place beyond its outer borders. This process – as formulated in one of the premises of our research project – cannot be understood without a study of different migration movements based on their social networks, which intersect these countries or emerge from there. They were a fragile basis for the implementation of EU migration and civil rights policies. Thus new ‘border landscapes’⁶ were formed in ex-Yugoslavia. Not only that the EU expanded over its outer borders, but the multidirectional migration movements pushed on the europeization of the continent.

6 Etienne Balibar, *Op. cit*

As we were able to establish during our research in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, there were different migrant groups whose history reflected political, social and economic changes that took place in Yugoslavia after 1989. They marked the permanently changed political process of migration.

The war set flight movements in motion on a large scale and organized forced migration. In Belgrade we met the so-called 'Vukovci', mostly men from Vukovar, who earned their living as day-laborers and gathered in the park, around the monument to Serbian philologist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, at the former Bulevar Revolucije, one of Belgrade's main streets. Most of them were war refugees, some came from Kosovo during the NATO bombardment. We met some who had experiences in work migration to Germany. Here they waited every day as cheap laborers to be picked up and deployed as cheap work force at construction sites or in agriculture against low wages or hourly rates. Many of them lived in more than 400 barracks and lodgings constructed for "Internally Displaced Persons". "Belgrade is a refugee camp", said one of them in an interview. Another group of day laborers came, mostly season-bound, in summer, from Rumania or Bulgaria. They belonged to a large number of persons without personal documents who were apprehended and deported by the police every year.⁷

7 See Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic et al., *Trafficking in People in Serbia*, (Belgrad: VDS and OSCE, 2004), 40.

Not all of the refugees headed for the countries for which they were destined ethnically, but fled to places where they expected protection. Some of them lived in a barrack camp on the outskirts of Ljubljana longer than ten years, with a temporary stay permit that did not enable them to work and gave them no access to social benefits or health care. Their children were allowed to attend schools and teenagers could finish their professional training, but after that they could not be employed. As a consequence, many of them risked deportation by seeking their financial existence in informal work relations. Others made other plans and moved to Germany or Austria. In 2002 the City of Ljubljana decided to discontinue the barrack camp with its about 2000 refugees and to put the EU guidelines in the area of migration politics in the sense of demands for the expansion process to realization: at the same spot they planned the construction of an asylum seekers' centre. The tenants of the barrack camp were asked to seek new accommodation or, even better, to return to the country where they came from. That was not only just a cynical demand, but a complicated undertaking, because most of them were refugees from Srebrenica.

In order to evade the new forced migration policy they organized themselves into a "Bosnian Refugee Committee" and with

the help of Slovenian groups they attained public attention. They jointly organized a festival visited by 7000 people. As part of the festival in the afternoon a football tournament took place in which teams played for the "Temporary Winner Cup". In the evening, along with bands from Slovenia and Croatia, the famous band Manu Chao took the stage. They became famous within the increasingly stronger critical globalization movement. Other actions followed that also found an echo in the public and had an impact on political discussion. Lastly they were successful in the political struggle for the unlimited stay and work permit, as well as the right to education and schooling of children. Even new housing in Ljubljana was guaranteed.

TRANSIT MIGRATION – "A HUGE CIRCUS"

Scholarly papers usually assume that the state is responsible for the entry into and stay on a particular territory. However, (not only) in Serbia this was a series of supranational and national organizations that had considerable influence on state politics, forming and determining it in different moments of the migration process. Thus the migration regime in Serbia had different protagonists. They were the interior ministry and the border police that controlled the borders and within the state territory the police that undertook ID control. They also manage the 'reception center' Padinska Skela where migrants without papers are directed. During our research there we had the rare opportunity to visit this institution. Here we could observe that a part of a regular prison was reconstructed into a detention camp for migrants who crossed the border 'illegally'. Since then migrants who crossed the border without papers or who were caught in Serbia without papers have been brought to Padinska Skela. They are supposed not to be kept there longer than thirty days. It was planned that within that period measures for their return to their countries of origin would be organized. In case that the migrants would seek asylum, they would be accommodated at the outskirts of Belgrade, in the Thousand Roses Motel. At the occasion of our visit to Padinska Skela, interviewing migrants was declared impossible since they allegedly came from China and Bangladesh and spoke no available language. In an interview with the responsible deportation camp managers we learned that they participated in the state-organized deportation of Serbian citizens from Germany. When we asked them about repatriation practices and the possibilities of migration regulation, our interview partners stated that this was just a huge circus where transit migrants were pushed around European countries. They also said that this would not change as long as the world knows such differences between the rich and the poor.

Although the camp was under authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, questions regarding the stay and status of migrants at Padinska Skela were also subject to decisions by other bodies. The Red Cross, UNHCR and IOM visited the deportation camp regularly. The Red Cross was responsible for medical care and they distributed phone cards so that migrants could be in touch with the external world. UNHCR held an office in the same building, where they interviewed the arrested persons who sought asylum. In the case of families, medical reasons or if the bespoke persons sought asylum on the basis of the Geneva Convention from 1951, they would be relocated to the reception camp Thousand Roses Motel. Until 2005 Serbia and Montenegro had no asylum law. The consequence was that migrants could not seek asylum in these countries. Thus UNHCR judged in which cases asylum could be granted for a European country or Canada. After their decision it was left to state mechanisms to grant a person the official asylum seeker status. On the basis of the Readmission Agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria, UNHCR Belgrade in that case advises that migrants who came from that direction should return to Bulgaria and seek asylum there.

Not all the migrants whom we met during our first two visits – before we were denied access under the pretext that we could interfere with the asylum procedure – at the Thousand Roses Motel were caught while crossing a border. Some of them have already lived in Belgrade for years without valid documents. In the Thousand Roses Motel we got to know persons from Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, Jordan and Somalia, who were caught on their way into the EU and the USA. Some of them travelled with a tourist visa in the beginning, others passed borders with the help of people smugglers. Thus we heard stories how professional facilitators asserted they had already brought their clients to Austria and then they disappeared. For migrants we talked to such treatment was a part of the transaction basis. It turned out that already before the beginning of the journey they had no illusions regarding fair treatment. Most migrants at the Thousand Roses Motel had previously been interned in Padinska Skela. In our interviews they drastically depicted catastrophic conditions under which in some cases they had been interned there for more than three months. At the Thousand Roses Motel they waited that their asylum application would be processed. Some of them gave up because of the completely unclear waiting period and procedure and continued their journey on their own. Unlike Serbia, where most migrants to whom we spoke did not want to live, thanks to its EU-membership Hungary was an attractive destination. Without doubt, a place like the Thousand Roses Motel was an intersection point of

communication and exchange. Thus we heard another story: if you want to reach Hungary, you must get to Austria over the border. And if the border police arrests you, you tell them you are coming from Hungary and they get you there.

“THE SHORTEST WAY INTO THE WORLD”

Another group left Yugoslavia during the war. In Belgrade we encountered Roma who fled to Germany and of whom some had lived there for more than ten years. As civil war refugees they received a so-called suspension of deportation, which they had to renew every three months. Most of them returned to Serbia through ‘voluntary deportation’, which left them about two weeks time to make necessary preparations and pack their things. ‘Voluntary return’ followed after the right to welfare benefits ceased or the work permit expired. The process was fast. In the morning the police would pick the person up and bring him or her to the airport and during that same day send him or her to Belgrade with a JAT plane. There they would be greeted by an old poster of this Yugoslav airline, which was still there at the time of our research. Its strapline promised great things: “The Shortest Way into the World”. The procedure of ‘voluntary exit’ made return to Germany possible, but only for a short stay or vacation. Once deported, they had to rely on the network of their relatives or friends. In order to financially ensure survival, some of them worked as wagers at city markets or shopping malls in Novi Beograd.

Many of our interviewees reacted with head shaking when we asked them about the existing (transit) migration in Serbia. The cooked numbers of official statistics show the unemployment rate in Serbia as higher than 30 per cent. Among younger people, who stay with their parents mostly for financial reasons, almost none had a permanent job. Work contracts were rare, most of them worked

a bit here and a bit there for a few months, earning no money in the meantime.⁸ Transit migration was not a prominent topic. During our last research stay there, in the summer of 2004, as a consequence of privatization fourteen factories were on strike. The existing regime of casualization and risk has implemented a new connection between wage labor and entrepreneurship, between the working hours and free time. A large part of work, which became apparent, has not returned to old forms of relatively secure employment relations comparable to the industrialization phase of Yugoslavia with its according political organization forms, i.e. formalization of employment relations has not been re-introduced. Apart from that, the informal work forms were not typical of a certain delineated area, but the major

8 See Boris Kanzleiter, “Etwas Besseres ist nicht in Sicht. Wo Prekarisierung Normalität ist – Linke in Belgrad”, *Fantômas*, No. 2, (2004).

part of employment relations followed this pattern. In that situation social networks and cooperation attained increasing importance for survival strategies and everyday economies. Also emigration, even if it remained just a dream of exodus, had to be counted to these survival strategies and their inherent hope for a better life.

CASUALIZATION OF WORK, CASUALIZATION OF MIGRATION

The new control, regulation and limitation of mobility can be traced back to that time's MARRI and CARDS programs, which made this casualization situation productive and manageable. At the same time they were supposed to aim at stabilization of democratic institutions and support free movement within the region. In reality EU's visa, border and migration policies resulted in considerable stratification in relation to accessibility of human rights. The enlargement process led to generation of differentiated spaces with different grades of work force mobility and different approaches to civil rights, which did not match the borders of national states.⁹

The overlapping areas began to shape Europe to a border landscape, which matches neither the Schengen Contract territory nor the outer borders of the EU. One is everywhere at the border, which passes increasingly through its inner territory and is at the same time directed at the outer border through capillary paths. The borders are getting the regulatory function not to suppress migration, but to limit the number of migrants and establish a state of permanent casualization for them.

Under these conditions the term migrant also became temporary. We started to ask ourselves if civil rights were a useful category for migration, which necessarily inherently questions the limits of the citizen rights concept. How does one, to think just of this Hannah Arendt's pertinent question, give rights to persons who don't have them? What is the situation with citizenship in Europe and at its borders?

Constant undermining of state sovereignty through governance politics of the EU made the limits of the concept of European citizenship visible and it has necessarily influenced the forms in which conflicts around citizenship develop.

But maybe precisely under the conditions of impossibility of European citizenship emerges today the premise for undermining of the institution of civil rights: through autonomous practices of citizenship, upheld since 2015 by strong support efforts for migrants in the sense of democratization of societies in the region. But it is still very uncertain who will prevail in the end and be able to determine the course of the conflict, finally deciding it in his favor.

9 See Enrica Rigo, "Citizenship at Europe's Borders: Some Reflections on the Post-colonial Condition of Europe in the Context of EU Enlargement", *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, (February, 2005), 3-22.

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Sabina Safamon

Third Is Possible — Reminiscences and Oral Tradition as Personal Baggage in the Processes of Cultural Displacement

The basic methodological substrate of Neli Ružić's artistic activity is the recreation of memories. It comes close to the model of cultural remembrance, where the preservation, storage, and symbolization impose themselves as the anchorages of identity. In most cases, the artist makes reference to political issues, whereby she treats her topics of individual and collective memory in terms of erasure, repetition, and remembrance, basing herself primarily on her own experience of ruptures and cultural displacement, which occurred thrice: with the social overturn in her homeland of Croatia (Yugoslavia), her departure in the late 1990s, and her unwilling return thirteen years later. She had to leave Mexico due to the dramatic escalation of violence and crime in the 2000s, related to drug trafficking. Detaching herself from the established truths, the artist has resorted to the immediate horizon of biographic remembrance and oral tradition. Relying on the discernment between memory and history as interpreted by Pierre Nora, she prefers memory as an everyday, living activity, which has

- 1 Pierre Nora, ed., *The Realms of Memory: Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: La republique, 1984)

completely disappeared from the modern, developed world in favour of history.¹ Thereby the negative aspect of history is that it "always stands for a problematic representation of the past" and uses the principle of rationalization (filtering and classification) in order to le-

gitimize that past. Contrary to that, the artist considers memory, as a living activity subject to change (forgetting and recalling), to be a primordial and spontaneous act, non-resistant to censorship or manipulation – in other words, a perfectly human way of processing the accumulated life. It is this kind of memory that one encounters in the work of Neli Ružić, where suppressed places and unarticulated thoughts become an inspiring material to fill the gaps that history has never registered, or perhaps it has overlooked them intentionally. Thus,

- 2 Jan Assman, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 44.

regardless of the fact that she uses the whole range of procedures in rendering cultural mnemotechnics – adherence to the landscape, songs, and handwork (embroidery) – she does not focus on the familiar and tested "fixed points in the past".² Instead, she creates her own by combining imaginary and historical spaces.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: THE PLACE OF SUPRESSED MEMORY

Landscape as a frequently occurring medium of cultural memory is thereby used in different ways, processed similarly in her videos and photographs: by overlapping stories inherited from her family (such as the one told by her father) with elements of biographic memory (landscape scenes from Mount Kozara are juxtaposed with the first war film that she saw as a child), she multiplies

the fictional dimension of the narrative built on the suggestiveness of potential, imagined outcomes of events that none of the involved persons (neither the narrator nor the author) has ever witnessed. This is a typical oral history, full of personal roles, doubts, and gaps; the father tells the story burdened by his emotional role, above all remorse and regret. Even though inconsistent, the story has factual power, same as the film that the artist recalls: "The Battle of Kozara" (1962), directed by Veljko Bulajić. In a similar way, the photograph "Two Mountains" gives way to documentary presentation and counts on the visual coincidence of content and form (the photograph and the broken glass), established on the basis of forced repetition of the mountain motif as a place of vanishing and death. Paired with the aforementioned video "Plaque (Two Mountains)", it creates a whole that reveals itself as a sort of statement in which the artist neutralizes ideological polarity, disentangles categorical judgments, and looks for a 'third way'. In this way, the overlapping of two place names that played an important role in WWII, one of them as part of individual memory (Mosor) and the other as a collective *lieu de mémoire* (Kozara), becomes a point in which the universal and general merge with the personal. The title also conceals elements of a story that touches upon erasure as one of the artist's preferred topics ever since the early 1990s. Deconstructing the title "Plaque (Two Mountains)" reveals that it refers to the memorial plaque with the name of her father's brother, Miljenko Ružić, who went missing on Mount Mosor, which is the subject of the father's confession. The plaque was removed in 1992 under unclear circumstances. The 'great erasure', which coincides with the onset of trauma and thus with the revision of history, first appeared in her work "Brush" (1994), which announced the topic in its various variants from the "Galeb Dry Cleaners" from the late 1990s to the "Strategies of Oblivion" (2005/2006), all of which focus on erasure on a personal level,

Neli Ružić, "Lengua Materna/Mother Tongue",
video installation, 2007





Neli Ružić, installation view, "Songs for the Future"
(on the right), 2013

during the artist's stay in Mexico. Neli Ružić dealt with erasure and oblivion by engaging in performative cleaning and taking the first-person role, contrary to the videos and films where she appeared as an observer and witness. Many artworks belong to this group, including the objects "Calendar Box, Clouds and Flies, Archipelago, High Tide, Snow, and Wind (Alexandria)". This does not mean that she remained

- 3 One of the main premises proposed by Maurice Halbwachs is that the selectiveness of memory is established by means of negotiation between individual and collective. Cf. *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 1992). The term "suppressed memory" was introduced by Michael Pollak in his article "Memory, Oblivion, Silence", originally published in *Revista Estudios Historicos*, (1989)

detached from her subjects, which is manifest in "Plaque (Two Mountains)", where she holds the observer's attention not only with the texture of the video image, but also with her intensely intimate relationship with the landscape, which makes the *lieu de mémoire* – Mount Kozara as a semioticized place and the stronghold of memory – evaporate into the elegiac and tactile dimension of a landscape. In her artworks called "The Hole" and "Songs for the Future", the landscape remains equally encoded, owing to (self) censorship as an outcome of the selective procedure performed by memory and suppressed remembrance.³ Thus, both artworks use an active process of hushing and silencing – particularly manifest in the artist's later work, owing to the lack of verbalization in songs with an outspokenly symbolical background. In the "Songs for the Future" each of the three figures – her friend Tanja Kolar, her father, and her son Luka – performs his or her own song as follows: "The International" as the song of the disowned, "Marijane, Marijane" from the local folklore, with references to national identity, and "Konjuh planinom", a partisan song from WWII, dedicated to a fallen mineworker from the surroundings of Tuzla, which also inspired a war film of the same name (1966), directed by Fadil Hadžić.

MOTHER TONGUE AND DECONSTRUCTION OF FEMALE IDENTITY

Mistrust towards articulating history and the dominant narratives, which is characteristic of the "Breaths", raises the issue of translatability and bridging, on territorial as well as mental or emotional level, which recurs in the work of Neli Ružić in various forms. Her preoccupation with nostalgia during the early 2000s resulted in a work called "Transferrable Borders" (2003), which consisted of four stones and some thread. "Grandparents' Bed (Cama de los abuelos/granparents' bed)" reveals her interest in cross-generational heritage, where links with the ancestors are established through the bed as a symbolical object, inscribed in tradition as a metaphor of child-bearing, marriage, and family. Using this outspokenly personal and everyday story, yet nowadays completely erased from biographic and cultural memory (in the past, beds were inherited, which is no longer the case), Neli addressed the concept of family, yet proceeded to deconstruct female identity without saying it explicitly – I am inclined to make this conclusion indirectly, having noticed her permanent interest in matrilinear history. This is indicated by artworks such as the "Reproductive System" (2001/2006) and the "Strategies of Oblivion" series (2005/2006), where thread and sewing appear as traditionally female ways of expression. In her video "Lengua materna/Mother Tongue" (2007), the artist has established a triad and a cross-generational, grandmother-mother-daughter relationship. In the work "Grandparents' Bed" she reconstructed her knowledge by entering the room (as a marked, holy place) and appropriating the bed from a distance, through the photograph, yet finding a way to come closer: by licking the photograph, she embodied the experience of appropriation and abolished the previously established distance, both temporal and physical. In this way, she intensified the subversive value of paradoxical distance. The act of licking can also

Neli Ružić, installation view, "Ministry of Memory", print on acrylic glas, 2015



be seen as an act of initiation or a critique of the logocentric Western culture, as argued, for example, by the feminist theory, where language is seen as the ideological tool of the patriarchal system of representation. This theme can be discerned in Neli Ružić's other works as well, such as the "Songs for the Future".

There are two places Neli Ružić keeps revisiting – mountains and her mother tongue – as two opposite choices between escapism and the 'founding memory' of the self.

PERSONAL FIGURES OF MEMORIES VS. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MEMORY

Let us return to the "Breaths", in which she denounced the official history and the power of great narratives by embracing the anonymity of breaths: she photographed the breaths of some fifty persons whom she felt close to (from both Croatia and Mexico), during the year of 2007. Counting on their ephemeral nature and the impossibility of identifying each particular breath, she noted down their year of birth. Thus, she subverted the official notion of archive as a place of universal and trans-temporal significance, as well as a symptom of the hypertrophy of memory that we are witnessing today.⁴ In terms of documenting life, Neli's oeuvre may be considered as a way of archiving an insurmountable quantity of data. A way of addressing both the past and the present. The background of her "Family Archive" seems to serve this purpose – to undermine, even if involuntarily, the idea of the great and the noisy.⁵ Wool pellets as her personal 'figures of remembrance', spawned by the washing machine, subverted the hierarchy.

Besides being proportional to the production of life, archives are also regressive. Imagine if we could turn on automatic archiving: every step forward would be immediately documented and frozen by taking a step backward. Archives tend to behave entropically: the faster time flies, the more we need memory and the archive grows proportionally. For Neli Ružić, archiving is a mimetic principle serving to revise and evaluate, an attempt at establishing an alternative order. Expecting that there is a 'third way' – writing out that which did not happen, for example.

Whether as an unexpected burden or an invincible human passion, an archive has become a necessity as a way of documenting past events. Otherwise people would remain without history, memory, and background. Forever young.

4 The artist photographed the breaths by using flash and instructing the persons to breath against glass in darkness, in order to avoid reflection. Pierre Nora has discussed the "hypertrophy of memory" in the abovementioned text, explaining it by the fact that memory has been left to the archives and other institutions of memory.

5 Nora, op. cit., pp. 7-8; Nora has argued that memory in modern times has been based on archiving the material remnants. The less it comes from the inside, the more it depends on external tools.



IV

RISK CHANGE

DOSSIER

Artist-in-Residence

Neli Ružić, 2016/2017

Igor Bošnjak, 2016–2019

Tomo Savić Gecan, 2017–2018

Mate Ugrin, 2017

Pavlica Bajsić Brazzoduro

& Dino Brazzoduro, 2018

Manon Avram, Fanny Avram,

Melanie Venino, 2019

Alicja Rogalska, 2019

Simon Farid, 2019

Krzysztof Gutfranski, 2020

Fotini Gouseti, 2020

Lauren Moffatt, 2020

Vangjush Vellahu, 2020

Risk Change Exhibitions

SOLO EXHIBITIONS

Neli Ružić, Shadows of the Future

MMSU, 13 / 12 / 2016 – 13 / 1 / 2017

Tomo Savić Gecan, Untitled 2017

Mali salon, 15 / 12 / 2017 – 13 / 1 / 2018

GROUP EXHIBITIONS

Between There and There:

Anatomy of Temporary Migrations

MMSU, 27 / 1 / 2017 – 18 / 3 / 2017

Black Disguises

MMSU, 14 / 12 / 2017 – 22 / 2 / 2018

Escape

MMSU, 16 / 11 / 2018 – 1 / 2 / 2019

We're Not Like Them

MMSU, 4 / 10 – 10 / 11 / 2019

Between There and There: Anatomy of Temporary Migrations

ARTISTS

Tomislav Brajnović

Danica Dakić & Sandra Sterle

Larisa David

h.arta group

Silvia Hell

Nicole Hewitt

Ana Hušman

Božena Končić Badurina

Andreja Kulunčić

Veda Popovici



CURATORS

— Irena Bekić, Duga Mavrinac

EXHIBITION DESIGN

— Škart

PRODUCTION

— IPAK – istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije & MMSU Rijeka

— In a slightly different form, with a focus on the configurations of belonging of temporary migrants, and in collaboration with curator Dušica Dražić, exhibition “Between There and There: Third Place of Belonging” was held in Out of Sight gallery in Antwerpen, from 16 May to 30 June

2019. / Artists: Tomislav Brajnović, Nicole Hewitt, Ana Hušman, Božena Končić Badurina, Tonka Maleković. / Exhibition design: Out of Sight – Dušica Dražić / Production: IPAK – istraživački projekt i autorske koncepcije & Out of Sight

ADDITIONAL PROGRAM

— 14 / 3 / 2017, guided tour by students from the Department of Cultural Studies, Rijeka Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
— 16 / 3 / 2017, guided tour with curators and artists
— 17 / 3 / 2017, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Cultural Studies, workshop by the

Centre for Peace Studies – CMS, “Migrant Work – Activist Contributions”, workshop leaders: Iva Zenzerović, Centre for Peace Studies (CMS), Julija Kranjec (CMS), Iva Ivšić (Antifascist Network/Brid), Branimir Šloser (Brid) and Duga Mavrinac (IPAK).

— 18 / 3 / 2017, round table, “Temporary Migrations – Liminality, Vulnerability and Labor”, participants: Centre for Peace Studies, Group 484, Brid, representatives of trade unions and workers, cultural anthropologist Duga Mavrinac and moderator Irena Bekić
— 18 / 3 / 2017, performance, Nicole Hewitt, “Her name is Jasna 08”







Ana Hušman, "Postcards",
three-channel video installation,
production: Studio Pangoline,
2012, still, (previous page)

NJEZINA SOBA U SONDRIJU PODSJEĆALA
JU JE NA KUŠET-KOLA U VLAKU. VRATA
BALKONA MOGLA SU SE OTVORITI
TEK KADA SE STOLICA STAVI NA
LEŽAJ I SVE ZAJEDNO POMAKNE
U STRANU.



VRLO JE BRZO
SHVATILA KOJI JE
NJEZIN ZADATAK
U OVOJ KUĆI. KAD NIJE
IMALA POSLA U KUHINJI, TREBALA JE BITI
NEVIDLJIVA, U SVOJOJ SOBI, ALI U SVAKOM
TRENU PRIPRAVNA DA SE ODAZOVE AKO
JU GOSPOĐA ZATREBA. ZATO JE STALNO
IMALA OSJEĆAJ KAO DA JE U ČEKAONICI,
KOD DOKTORA NA PRIMJER.

Chorus Montenegrini
performance at the opening





Danica Dakić & Sandra Sterle, "GO_ HOME", multimedia project, partner: CEC International Partners / Artslink, Fritzle Brown, Katherine Carl, 2001

SRDŽBA JE

NAŠE BUDA GEMORILL, NAŠE BUDUĆNOST TADA CE
LAKŠEŠT IMAJEMO KAKO TRUDIMU TRUDIMU ŽIVU

NIJEDAN KOJI EREŽI NEĆE PORUČITI MUŠKAR
NAKNUITI BIJEĆ NEĆE USPJETI

NAROD UZIMA

NAŠE BUDA GEMORILL, NAŠE BUDUĆNOST TADA CE
LAKŠEŠT IMAJEMO KAKO TRUDIMU TRUDIMU ŽIVU







Tomislav Brajnović, "Superman Overflight", print, 2016, photo: David Brajnović & Suzana Lačok; "They Will Flee to Their Native Land", installation view, 2017, (previous page)

Andreja Kulunčić, co-authors:
Ibrahim Čurić, Said Mujić, Osman
Pezić, "Bosnians Out! Workers
Without Frontiers", from the project
for the exhibition "Museum in the
Street", MG MSUM Ljubljana, 2008,
design: Dejan Dragosavac – Ruta,
photo: Dejan Habicht, detail





Silvia Hell, "A Form of History",
sculptures, Alert studio, Bucharest,
2013, photo: Catalin Burcea

h.arta group (Maria Crista, Anca Gyemant, Rodica Tache), "About home and being away. Fridge notes.", installation, 2017







Black Disguises

ARTISTS

Carlos Aires

Cristiano Berti & Can Sungu

Marianna Christofides

Aleksandar Garbin

Roos van Haaften

Laurent Van Lancker

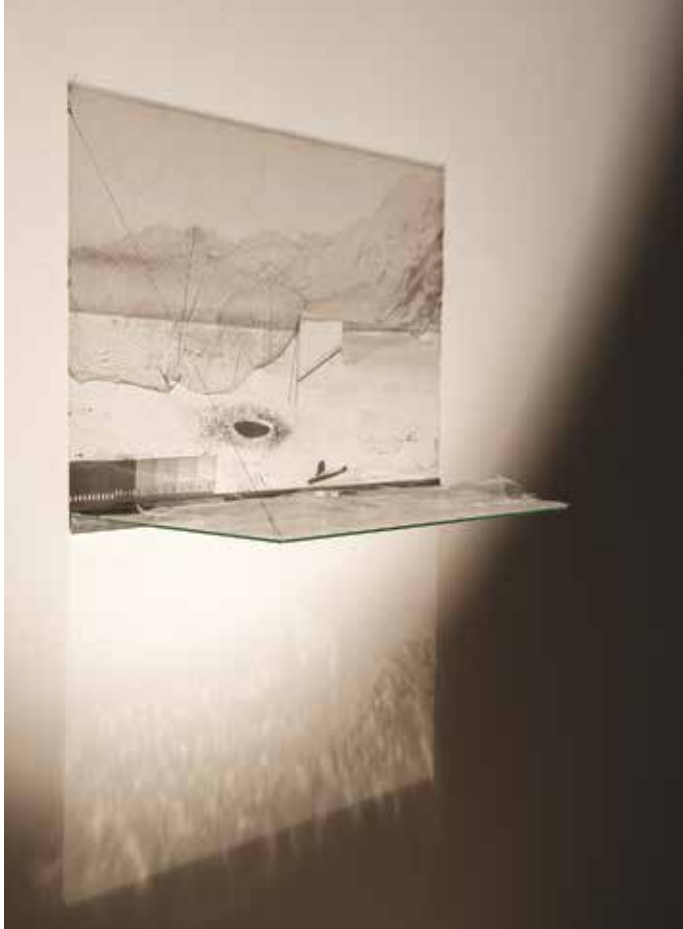
Miroslav Mikuljan

Rafael Puetter (Rafucko)

Davor Sanvincenti

Ana Sladetić

Elejan van der Velde



CURATORS

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon,
Nataša Šuković, Marina Tkalčić

JURY

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon,
Renato Stanković (Rijeka Faculty of
Humanities and Social Sciences,
Department of Cultural Studies),
Nataša Šuković, Marina Tkalčić

ADDITIONAL PROGRAM

— 20 / 2 / 2018, symposium "Lives
on the Move – Conditions in the
Altered State of Borders", participants:
Jelena Ptorić (independent journalist),

Marijana Hameršak and Iva Pleše
(Institute of Ethnology and Folklore
Research, Zagreb,), Marko Luka
Zubčić (PhD student of Philosophy
and Contemporariness at the
University of Rijeka), Renato
Stanković (Department of Cultural
Studies, Faculty of Humanities and
Social Sciences), Valentina Radoš
(Museum of Fine Arts, Osijek),
moderator: Marina Tkalčić
— 20 / 2 / 2018, dance choreography
"Migrations" by dance ensemble of
Primary School of Classic Ballet and
Modern Dance at Vežica Primary
School, Rijeka, choreographer: Kate

Foley, dancers: Jana Budiša, Katja
Butković, Lara Drljača and Jana Jakšić
— 13 / 2 / 2018, Art-kino Croatia,
film program "Immigrant Workers
in Art-kino", selected by Diana
Nenadić, HFS, films: "Jesenice-
Stuttgart", Miroslav Mikuljan, 1970,
"Journey, Imotski", Tomislav Radić,
1970, "The Party", Zoran Tadić, 1974,
"Charter Flight...", Krsto Papić, 1975,
"Pile ZgRiZg", Đorđe Jandrić, 2014,
in collaboration with Croatian Film
Association, Croatian Radiotelevision
and Zagreb film







Davor Sanvincenti, "Borders", series
of photographs and a text, 2012,
detail, (previous page)

Elejan van der Velde, "Untitled (dark
matter)", installation, 2017, detail



Rafael Puetter (Rafucko), "Rio de Janeiro, Illegal City", video installation, 2017, installation view, detail





Carlos Aires, "Sweet Dreams Are Made of This", video installation, 2016, still, (next page)







Aleksandar Garbin, "G.F.P., Russia
Belaja 1420 km", object, 1989











Choreography workshop with Kate
Foley and students of the Primary
School of Ballet and Modern Dance,
Vežica, Rijeka; videodocumentation:
Kristijan Vučković, (previous page)

Laurent Van Lancker, "Limbo",
multichannel video installation,
2018, stills

Cristiano Berti & Can Sungu,
"Highlife", installation, 2017, detail

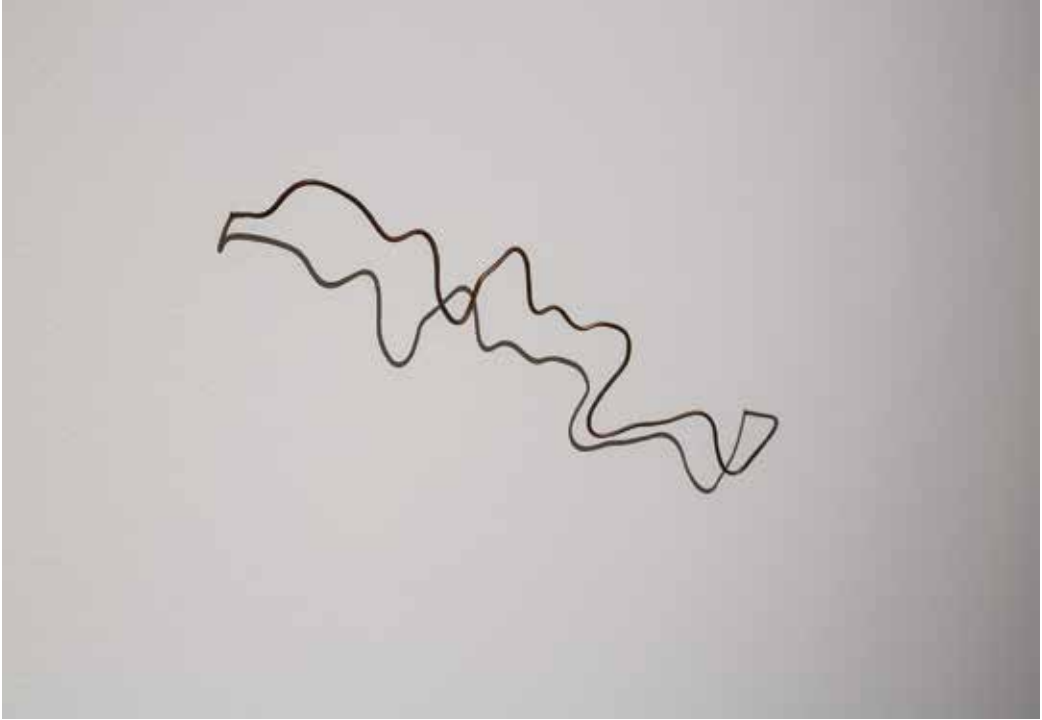




Cristiano Berti & Can Sungu,
"Highlife", installation, 2017, detail

Ana Sladetić, "Collision", video
installation, 2017





Aleksandar Garbin, "Canal grande
do Norte", object, 1997

Marianna Christofides, "dies
solis. Sundays in Nicosia", video
installation, film assistant:
Bernd Bräunlich, 2016, stills;
Installation view (next page)







Escape

ARTISTS

Manon Avram & Pierre Audouard

Pavlica Bajsić Brazzoduro & Dino Brazzoduro

Nisrine Boukhari

Lana Čmajčanin

Tomislav Čeranić

Aleksandar Garbin

Ibro Hasanović

Siniša Labrović

Lukas Marxt & Jakub Vrba

Nika Oblak & Primož Novak

Alicja Rogalska

Sara Salamon & Hrvoje Spudić

Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec

MMSU COLLECTION:

Milenko D. Gjurić

Branko Kovačević

Andrija Maurović

Artefacts from the Rijeka City Museum
and Maritime and History Museum of
the Croatian Littoral Rijeka



CURATORS

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon

JURY

— Kora Girin, Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Marina Tkalčić, Sabrina Žigo (Rijeka City Museum)

ADDITIONAL PROGRAM

— 16 / 11 / 2018, music performance "Escape", with music written especially for the exhibition, Cyborgix 4E75
 — 21 / 11 / 2018, workshop for students "Why do/don't we run?", workshop leader: Daria Morosin
 — 24 / 11 / 2018, children's workshop "A Perfect City", workshop leader: Tanja Blašković

— 29 / 11 / 2018, Art-kino Croatia, film program 'Escape', selected by Diana Nenadić, films: 'Soske', Rada Šešić, 2001, 'Arme Leute', Vlado Kristl, 1963, 'Run', Mladen Stilinović, 1973, 'Terra roza', Aldo Tardozi, 1999, 'In Whitest Solitude', Rada Šešić, 2003, in collaboration with FACTUM, Goethe-Institut, Croatian Film Association
 — 5 / 12 / 2018, symposium "Contrasts of Escape", speakers: Ana Dana Beroš, architect & researcher, and Matija Kralj, artist; Gordan Bosanac, human rights activist; Sanja Janović, psychiatrist, group analyst; Dragan Markovina, historian and writer, moderators: Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon

— 14, 15, 16 / 12 / 2018, choreography workshop "Transmutations", workshop leaders: Selma Banich and Nina Gojić, in collaboration with Prostor plus
 — International Migrant Day, 18 / 12 / 2018, OKC Palach, presentation "Land Speaking About People / Returning Home" Experiment Platform (Lara Badurina, Liberta Mišan, Sara Salamon), lecture about a research on migrations in Rijeka, as part of RISK CHANGE project, speakers: Barbara Matejčić and Drago Župarić Ilić, street kitchen and nativetronica
 — 26 / 04 / 2019, Manon & Fanny Avram, Melanie Venino, performance "A Couple of Minutes in Migrant Shoes"







Manon Avram & Pierre Aoudouard,
"Everyone Has Their Place", series
of photographs, 2016, detail,
Installation view, (previous pages)

IV RISK



Ibro Hasanović, "Note on Multitude",
documentary, 2015, still, installation
view







Lana Čmajčanin, "A Change Is
Gonna Come II", video, monologue:
Olga Dimitrijević, music & sound:
Ognjen Šavija, voice: Jelena Ilić,
voice recording: Goran Antović,
2018, stills, (previous page)





Nisrine Boukhari, "53 m² of Spatial Memory", video installation, 2016/2017, installation view, stills





Alicja Rogalska, "What If As If",
video, 2017, still, (previous page)

Lukas Marxt & Jakub Vrba, "On a
beautiful and quiet location", two-
channel video installation, 2015,
installation view

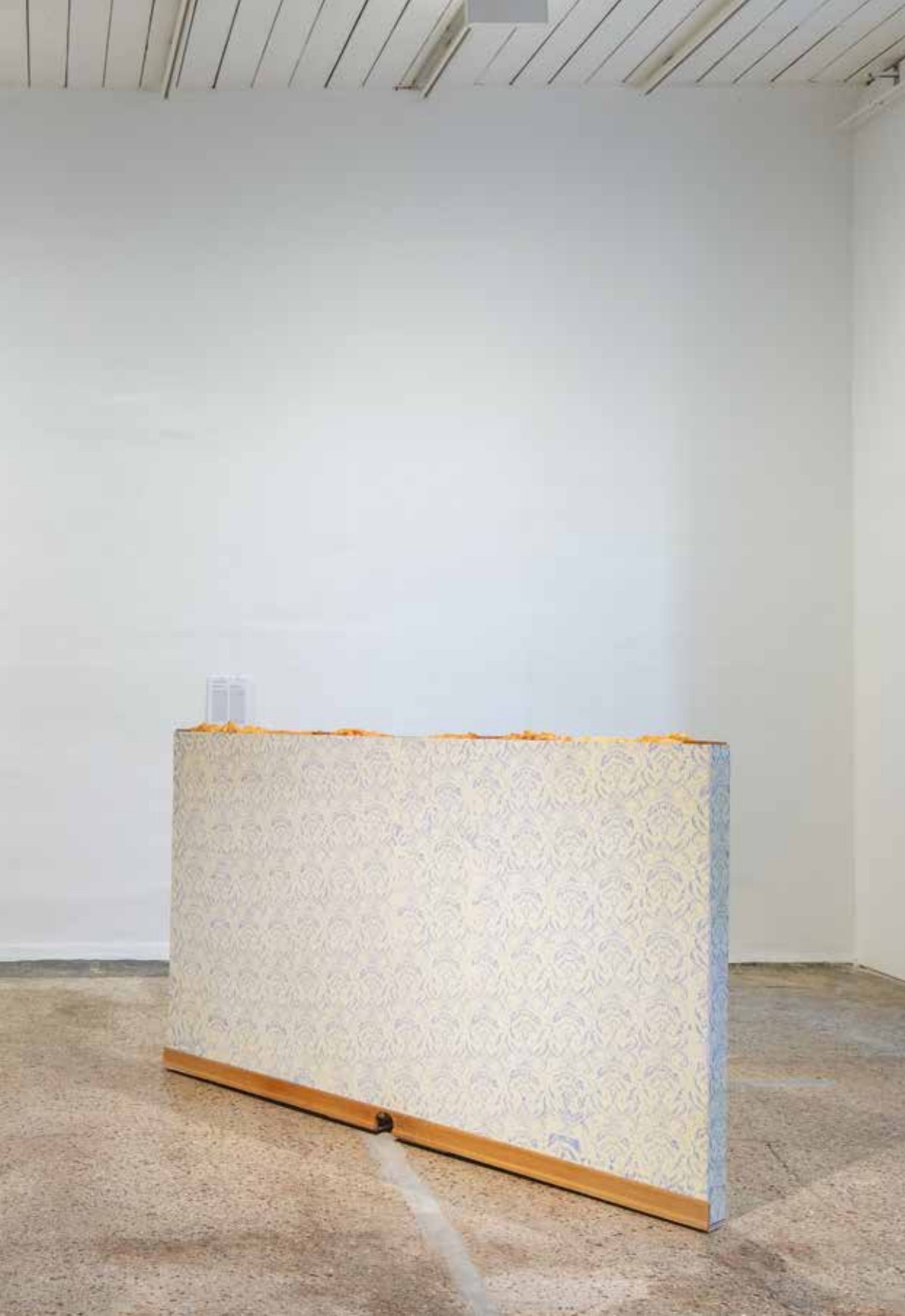




Branko Kovačević, "We were occupied,
but ...", graphics, 1945, MMSU 1991



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Installation view, Andrija Maurović,
 "Prince Radoslav (The Migration of
 Croats I)", comic strip panel, 1943,
 MMSU-2215, "Golden Island", comic
 strip panel, 1944/45, MMSU-2196
 (on the left), (previous page)

IV RISK



Aleksandar Garbin, "Sculpture for
Manola: Van Gogh's Bedroom in
Arles", installation, 2008, detail and
installation view (previous page)

Nika Oblak & Primož Oblak,
"Border Mover", kinetic video
installation, 2015





Sara Salamon & Hrvoje Spudić,
"Translations 1", installation view, 2018



Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec, "Reading stanley brown", installation view, 2015 – 2016









Plein-air (Pencil) Tomislav Čeranić 2014

Tomislav Čeranić, "Plein-air",
pencil on paper, 2014

Choreography workshop
"Transmutations" with
choreographers Selma Banić
and Nina Gojić







We're Not Like Them

ARTISTS

Brook Andrew

Nika Autor

Gildo Bavčević

Avgust Černigoj

Lana Čmajčanin

Nina Delanović & Mirna Gurdon

Olga Dimitrijević

Simon Farid

Fotini Gouseti

Driton Hajredini

Janez Janša, Janez Janša, Janez Janša

Ivana Keser

Mirna Kutleša

Chris Marker

Chris Marker & Alain Resnais

Danilo Milovanović

Driton Selmani

Vangjush Vellahu

Zvukospjevi (Nicole Hewitt,
Vida Guzmić, Ivan Slipčević)



CURATORS

— Ksenija Orelj, Marina Tkalčić

JURY

— Vana Gović (Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka), Katerina Jovanović, Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Marina Tkalčić

IN COLLABORATION WITH

— Art-kino Croatia, Centre for Peace Studies, Croatian Film Association, Rijeka City Museum, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Cultural Studies,

Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral Rijeka

SUPPORT

— Creative Europe, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, the City of Rijeka, Rijeka 2020
— The exhibition is part of “Kitchen” program by Rijeka 2020 - ECOC

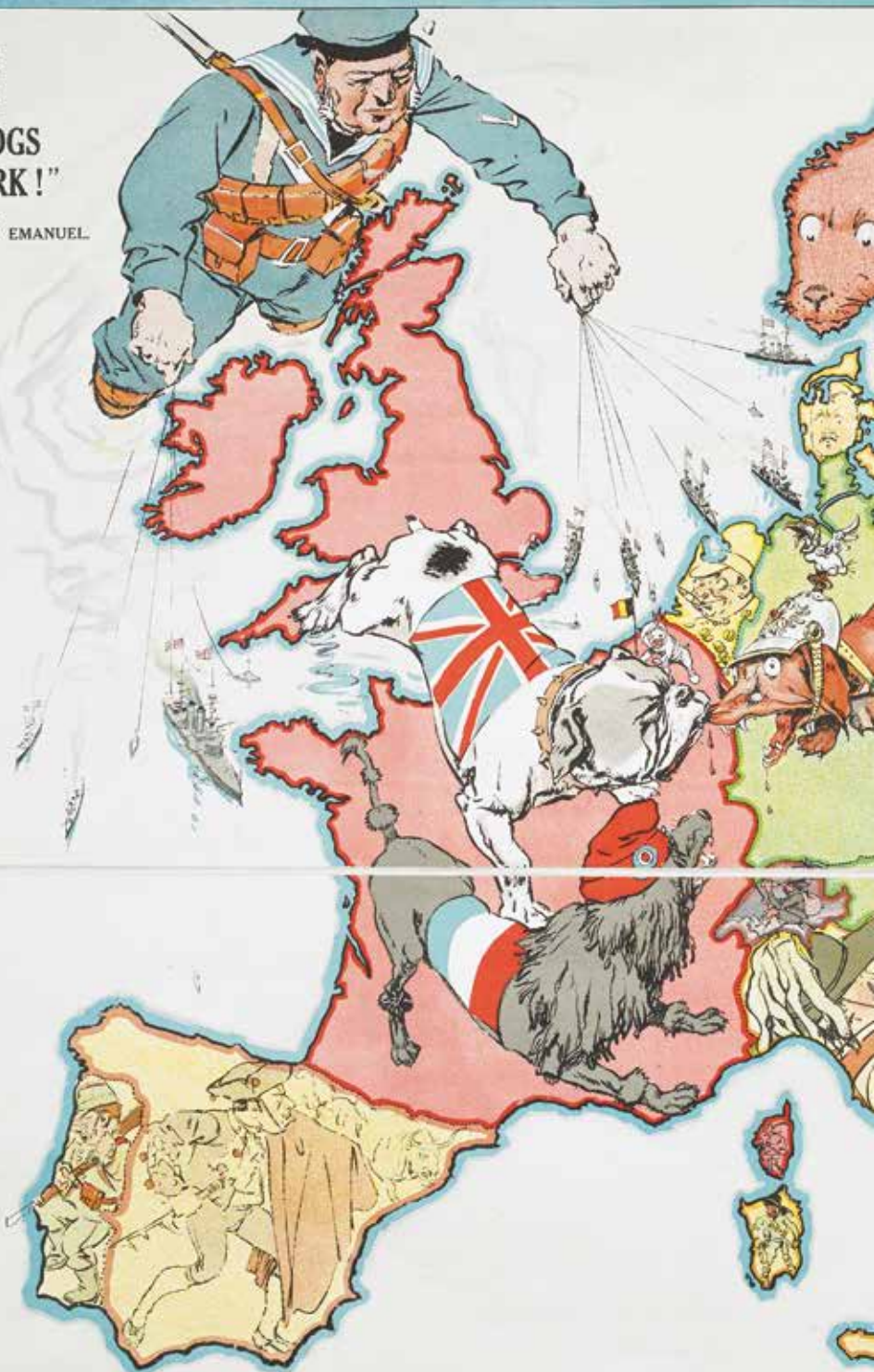
ADDITIONAL PROGRAM

— 19 / 10 / 2019, „Anti-Dodgeball”, a children’s workshop in creating imaginary geographical maps, workshop leaders: Tanja Blašković & Ivana Lučić

— 21 – 22 / 10 / 2019, workshops for 54+ generation and students, production of “Beni – JUXTAzin” fanzine, workshop leaders: Tanja Blašković & Ivana Lučić
— 7 / 11 / 2019, symposium “The Balkans Are Somewhere Else”, speakers: Tea Perinčić, (PPMHP), Ana Inić & Sandra Jukić, PhD students of Glottodidactics, Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; Eric Ušić, Cultural Studies, Željko Senković, Department of Philosophy, Osijek Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; Moderators: Ksenija Orelj and Marina Tkalčić

"HARK! HARK! THE DOGS DO BARK!"

WITH NOTE
BY WALTER EMANUEL.



Designed and Printed by Johnson, Pridde & Co., Ltd., London, S.E.

The Dogs of War are loose in Europe, and a nice noise they are making! It was started by a Dachshund that is thought to have gone mad—though there was so much method in his madness that this is doubtful. [Starts for the moment. The German for Dog is Hund. The English for German is Hun. Dachshund means badger-dog—and he is sometimes more badgered than he likes.] Mated with the Bulldog, for better or for worse, was an Austrian Mongrel. By the five unwritten law of Goddome big dogs never attack little ones. There are, however, scallywags in every community, and, acted on by the Dachshund for private ends, the Mongrel started bullying a little Serbian. And then the fat was in the fire, for the little Serbian had a great big friend in the form of a Russian Bear, and he stood up for his pal. And that was what the Dachshund wanted. He hoped that a big row would ensue, and in the confusion he intended to steal a bone or two that he had had his eye

on for some time. He got what he wanted—and a little more. For the Russian Bear had friends, too. There was a very game little Belgian Griffon, and there was a great big French Poodle, a smart dandified fellow, and there was a Bulling. Rather a sleepy chap this last one, and the Dachshund despised him because he was not always yapping and snoring. But the Bulldog has a habit of sleeping with one eye open, and, when he is roused, he grips and won't let go.

The Dachshund started by attacking the Belgian Griffon, as being the smallest, and mauled the poor creature cruelly, but was quite unable to kill her. And he was mistaken as to the others. He found that the dandified Poodle could fight, and that the Bulldog had not lost the knack of not letting go, and that Russia, after all, was a Russian, and soon the Bear idea made the Dachshund tremble. And even the little Serbian gave the Austrian Mongrel some nasty bites, and so did a neighbour of his named Monty.



Published by G. W. Saxon & Co., Ltd., 137, Strand, W.C.

The Dachshund now began to look round for friends, but they were scarce. He had relied on an Italian Greyhound, a thoughtless, Italy, dissembled her love in the strongest way, and asserted that which she could not afford just now. All the same Italy loaded her with what it may go off and whom it may hit—for accidents to best regulated families. The Dachshund, to his annoyance, found that that was a dog of Constantinople. The Dogs of Constantinople were quite well known for being fond of offal.

Meanwhile the rest of the European Happy Family looked on, how the row will spread? There's the Greek with his knife, ready Turkey; there are the Balkans determined not to be baited or

stomped strongly named Italia, but War was a luxury her gin, and who will happen in the only one friend, and who shall say to take a slice of their own little ambitions; there's the Spanish lord of Bull fighting so long as he is not a John Bull; there's the Portuguese, just spooling for a scrap; there's the Swiss suffering from cold feet; there's the Dutchman, who keeps smiling with difficulty—will some nice meaty bones may come his way, and in any event he may be pulled upon to play the game and not to be a Double Dutchman. [A footnote says: "For comment—Holland used to be known as a low lying country, but this title has now been flung to Germany." And, up North, the Norwegian, the Swede, and the great Dane all have their eyes well skinned. All this, and more, may be seen depicted above. Search well and you may find many things. But not Peace. Peace has gone to the Dogs for the present—until a satisfactory muzzin has been found for that Dachshund. Meanwhile the Dachshund's heart bleeds for Belgium—and his nose for Great Britain.

Johnson, Riddle & Co., "Hark! Hark! the
Dogs do Bark!", print, London, 1914,
courtesy of: British Library, London,
(previous page)

Chris Marker, ZOO PIECE, film,
1990, courtesy of: Films du Jeudi





Plants are rising inside of the houses and you feel that those places were alive 45 years ago.



And after that Abkhazian security started to be more cruel to people who tried to cross the border, mostly too young

Vangjush Vellahu, "Fragments I, Where Stories Cut Across the Land", multichannel video installation, 2015 – 2018, stills & installation view (next page)







Is it a SIN
that I have been born as
albanian in Kosova?

Driton Hajredini, "Sin", video, 2004

Lana Čmajčanin, "Balkangreuel
(Balkan Cruelty)", installation,
2019, detail



Fotini Gouseti, "Renkonto",
installation, 2014, still, photograph







Janez Janša, Janez Janša, Janez
Janša, "I Love Germany", 2013,
photograph, photo: Asja Hrvatin

Mirna Kutleša, "Blue Blood",
installation, 2019, detail (next page)



Wasser

Postkarte

Wasser

Sanatorium

Hotel

Stadt

Landsee

deformasi

kurva zana

deformasi

habitus

sanitasi

Danilo Milovanović, "The Snail Project", video, drawings, 2018, detail

Gildo Bavčević, "021_123", 3-channel
installation, 2017, stills





When The Ott
They Came With





Romans Came,
Out Their Wives

A green banner is displayed against a white wall. On the left side of the banner is a dark silhouette of a person in a dynamic, possibly dancing or falling pose. The text 'Romans Came, Out Their Wives' is printed in a yellow, serif font across the middle of the banner, partially overlapping the silhouette. The banner is held up by a thin wire or string at the top right corner.

Driton Selmani, "Two Jokes Make
One Truth – When They Came",
installation, 2019, (previous page)





Nika Autor, "Newsreel 62 – Family and Worker", installation made in collaboration with Newsreel Front (Andreja Hribernik, Andrej Šprah, Nace Zavrl), 2019, with works from the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Koroška (KGLU), film stils



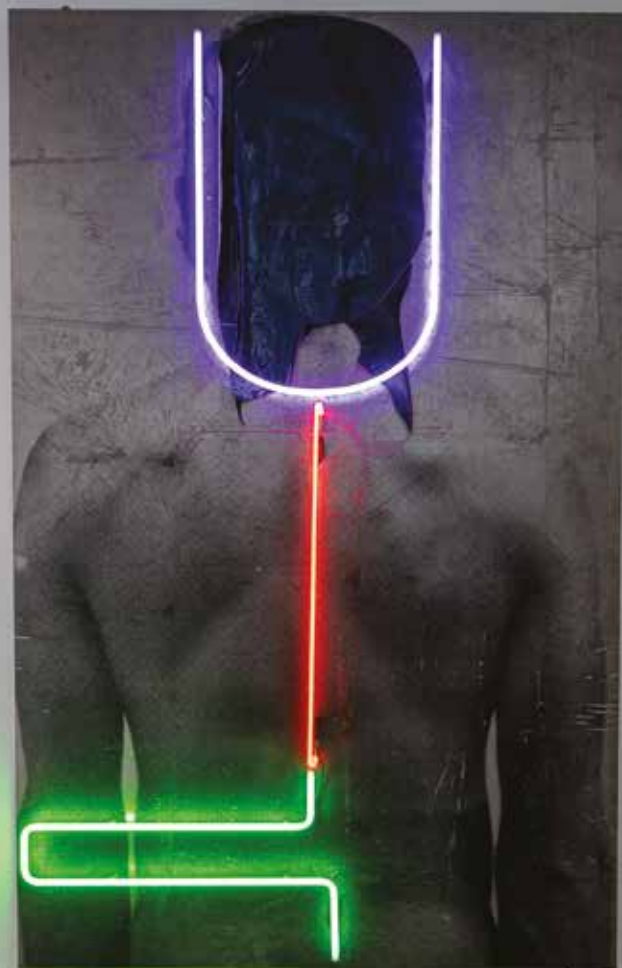
Avgust Černigoj, "Exotica",
graphics, 1954, MMSU 396

Brook Andrew, "The Shepherd",
mixed media, 2016, courtesy of:
Galerie Nathalie Obadia, Paris









Brook Andrew, "Back of Man II",
mixed media, 2016, courtesy of:
Galerie Nathalie Obadia, Paris



RISKIRA1



IZMEĐU
KONTROLE
KRETANJA I
DRUŠTVENIH
PROMJENA
UMJETNIČKO

-INTER DISCIPLINARNI PROJEKT

RISKIRAJ PROMJENU

Između kontrole kretanja i društvenih promjena — umjetničko-interdisciplinarni projekt Riskiraj promjenu

Uvod
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sve se kreće, svi migriraju
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Europa kao prostor negostoljubivosti

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Ksenija Orelj & Sabina Salamon
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Cj Stephens
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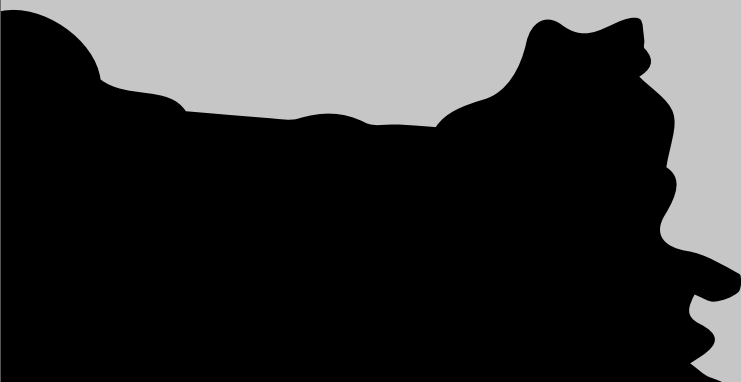
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PROMJENŮ

MIGRACIJE

SU
PRIRODNI
ZAKON:

SVE SE
KREĆE,

SVI

MIGRIRAJU

Knjiga pred vama nastala je kao epilog četverogodišnjeg projekta Riskiraj promjenu na temu migracija i kontrole kretanja. Naslanjajući se na moto projekta: „Migracije su prirodni zakon. Sve se kreće, svi migriraju“, nastoji potaknuti širu raspravu o (ne)mogućnostima današnje pokretljivosti. Tematizira krajnosti suvremene društvenosti. S jedne strane – mobilnost, multikulturalnost i suradnja; s druge – kontrola granica, izbjeglištvo, isključivanje. Čitanka je oblikovana na razmeđu antropologije, socijalne psihologije, umjetničkih i kustoskih praksi. Okuplja teoretičare i praktičare različitih profila, mahom sudionika izložbi i simpozija održanih u sklopu projekta. Kroz aktualne osvrtne na odnose socijalnih i migrantskih politika, kulturnih praksi i migracijskih procesa, čitanka potiče razmjenu iskustava i perspektiva sa širokom publikom. Bazirana na raznovrsnim tekstovima, od studija slučaja, etnografsko-antropoloških izvještaja s terena i kustoskih priloga do eseja povijesnog ili filozofskog pristupa, čitanka nastoji potvrditi migracije kao općevažeće načelo, istražujući njihove stvarne i fikijske mogućnosti izvan dohvata zadanih granica. Vezuje se uz tematske koncepcije održanih izložbi, od anatomije privremenih migracija („Između tamo i tamo: Anatomija privremenih migracija“, 2016.), problema prisilnih migracija i nesnalaženja u vremenu poremećene sigurnosti („Crne krabulje“, 2017.), bijega kao pokušaja opstruiranja kontrole kretanja („Bijeg“, 2018.), do pitanja o oblikovanju predodžbi o strancu i drugom („Mi nismo kao oni“, 2019.). U fokusu su rizici promjena koji nastupaju u ograničavajućim izvanjskim okolnostima gdje ciljeve samoodržanja i zaštite vlastite intime prate iscrpljujući naponi prilagodbe i ostvarenja zajedništva. „Između kontrole kretanja i društvenih promjena – umjetničko-interdisciplinarni projekt Riskiraj promjenu“ kreće se

između kulturalne studije o (ne)gostoljubivosti današnje Europe i umjetničke satire društvenog krajolika u kojoj se kao glavne sastavnice javljaju mit o superiornosti, imperijalna povijest, obuzetost čistoćom i kontrolom, a sve kao reakcija na strah pred drugim i nepoznatim.

Zaokupljena lokalnim iskustvom, kao i širim procesima političke destabilizacije, čitanka nastaje na sjecištima službene povijesti i preskočenih pripovijesti, rasutih između napuštenog modela socijalne države i njezine globalizirane izvedenice s rasklimanim pravnim garancijama. Uz fotodokumentaciju projekta Riskiraj promjenu (sa slikovnim prilogima umjetničkih radova i kulturno-povijesnog materijala), čitanka obuhvaća migracijsku, radnu i ekonomsku problematiku. Bavi se pitanjem granica i njihove umnoženosti – u teritorijalnom i administrativno-pravnom smislu – što je osobito izraženo u prvom poglavlju „Stranac, izbjeglica, građanin, turist – Europa kao prostor negostoljubivosti“. Tekstovi Željka Senkovića, Ksenije Orelj & Sabine Salamon, Cj Stephens, Marijane Hameršak & Ive Pleše osvrću se na razdiobu 'ja – drugi', analizirajući zaoštrene odnose spram drugog koji se manifestiraju kroz pojačane sustave kontrole, isključivanja i odbacivanja. Prilozi se bave figurom stranca, izbjeglice – (ne)građanina – u razdoblju obilježenom desnim pomakom i obratom europskih liberalnih ideala prema političkom nasilju i bezobzirnom pragmatizmu, koji se očituju u sprezi migracijskih procesa i kapitala.

Drugo poglavlje naslovljeno „Stranputicama multikulturalnosti do prostornog odvajanja – klaustrofobija suvremenih gradova“, započinje lokalnim istraživanjem provedenim u sklopu projekta Riskiraj promjenu, a uz prilog Barbare Matejčić & Drage Župarića Iljića, donosi i tekstove Irene Bekić & Duge Mavrinac te Igora Petričevića. Kroz istraživačke studije i analizu suvremenih umjetničkih praksi, tekstovi u ovom poglavlju obaziru se na probleme multikulturalnosti u svakodnevicu koji bi, u suprotnosti s modelom asimilacije, trebao predstavljati priznanje i održavanje kulturnih raznolikosti. Iz perspektive terenskog rada i empirije spomenuti tekstovi sagledavaju aktualno stanje u tretiranju raznolikosti i različitosti, suprotnoj povlaštenom (etničkom i nacionalnom) integritetu. Opisuju svakodnevne zamke u priznavanju drugog, zakrbuljene u administrativno-pravnu, socijalnu, kulturalnu i psihološku frazeologiju.

Zaključno je poglavlje čitanke „Pripada li Balkan Europi? – pitanje političke i socijalne integracije na rubovima Europe“. Tekstovi Dragana Markovine, Manuele Bojadžijev i Sabine Salamon odražavaju pogranična iskustva balkanskog i mediteranskog svijeta označenog širim nacionalističkim podjelama čija je ekonomska pozadina često prikrivena. Sugerirajući pitanje „Što se dogodilo s Europom bez granica?“¹, istražuju alternative rastućoj ksenofobiji i socijalnoj diskriminaciji. Pred porazom ideje stvaranja nadnacionalne zajednice i često tek dekorativnog barjaka multikulturalnosti preostaje zamišljanje nad mogućnostima ujedinjenog fronta koji bi umjesto kulturalnih, afirmirao univerzalna građanska prava, uz bok socijalnim i ekonomskim pravima. Tome u prilog idu i umjetničke prakse, ključni medij projekta, koje se odmiču od službenih načina registriranja povijesti i umjesto uvriježenih 'objektivnih' istina favoriziraju suosjećanje i solidarne akcije kao mjerodavne katalizatore promjene i bijega iz klaustrofobije današnje društvenosti. Bijeg kao gesta kretanja i čin samoodržanja manifestira se kao posljedica pomanjkanja tolerancije prema trenutnom stanju, ali i povlastica da se u bijeg može upustiti. Postaje li bijeg uslijed pojačane kontrole sve vidljiviji?

1. Iz teksta Dragana Markovine: „Mediteran i Balkan pred vratima tvrđave Europe“

I

STRANAC,
IZBJEGLICA,

GRAĐANIN,
TURIST

EUROPA
KAO
PROSTOR
NEGOSTO
LJUBIVOSTI

Migracije, pitanje hospitaliteta i politike prijateljstva

Suvremeno doba, za razliku od uobičajenog mnijenja, jest doba nemogućnosti. Zakašnjele politike identiteta, vođene novoprobudjenim idealiziranjem naroda i domovine sudaraju se s globalizmom kojeg vodi neoliberalistička ideja racionalnog korporativnog upravljanja. Te dvije prevladavajuće smjernice u konkretnim obzorima prvenstveno proizvode ozračje ravnodušnosti i paradoksa, jer se romantička svijest pokazuje jalovom i predmodernom u srazu s logikom kapitala. Pojedinaac, koji je u (post)modernoj dezorijentiranosti otišao i korak dalje od dvadesetstoljetnog 'čovjeka mase', jer mu masa i masovnost obezličena u nama samima nije niti upitna, nego se supstituira u ispraznost eskapističkih doživljaja i zabavnih ugođaja, pristaje na nova služnička obogotvorenja. Jedno od njih pokazuje se u prihvatanju države kao osmišljavatelja i instance kojoj je delegirana uloga zaštite i nadzora nad slobodom i Drugima. Stoga, ukoliko se danas uopće može govoriti o profiliranom političkom smjerokazu kao alternativni neoliberalnoj ideologiji globalizacije, onda je riječ o novim nacionalističkim buđenjima, kojima diljem planeta pomaže širok spektar ideologijskih poticaja, od čuvara tradicije do religioznih svjetlonoša. Svejedno je li riječ o mađarskom ili ruskom prostoru, ideologemi te vrste su neka retrogradna alternativa, zapravo

lažna alternativa, jer kao i neoliberalni diskurs osiromašujuju i reduciraju prostor slobode. U takvim ideologemima, čovjek je čovjeku prvenstveno poslodavac ili rob, ili je pak devoluirao u valjanog ili poželjnog Mađara, Rusa, Hrvata, koji zna i pokazuje Druge, pretpostavljajući ispravne koordinate naroda ili skupina, o kojima je već riječ.

Ono što u budućnosti slijedi neće biti svodivo na dosadašnje političke pojmove, jer se mijenjaju prijašnje političke paradigme. Veliki migrantski valovi s Bliskog Istoka i Afrike propitivat će etičke horizonte odgovornosti spram Drugih, konstitutivne za europski humanistički duh.

STOLJEĆE IZBJEGLIŠTVA

"Jedna od temeljnih postavki Hannah Arendt o budućem svijetu raspada suverenosti nacija-država upozorava izričito da će 21. stoljeće biti dobom izbjeglištva. Postavka istodobno upućuje na tri međusobno povezana sklopa kraja modernih političkih ideja:

1. kraj nacije-države; 2. kraj europske paradigme suverenosti naroda i 3. kraj prava čovjeka u značenju univerzalnoga građanstva kozmopolitskoga poretka vladavine uma u povijesti.

Umjesto kozmopolitskoga građanina, kako ga je još zamislio Kant u ideji vječnoga mira, subjekt europskog novoga poretka je postao onaj 'dobar Europljanin' kojeg Nietzsche ironično uzima za primjer europske kaljuže vrijednosti. Naime, riječ je o paranoičnome strahu od Drugoga. A to se zbiva upravo tamo gdje je u 20. stoljeću kršćanstvo bilo nadomješteno vulgarnom ideologijom totalitarnoga komunizma." (Paić. 2017: 169)

Danas je često teško razlikovati između izbjeglištva, apatridstva i migrantstva, premda se izbjeglištvo može specifično odrediti kao kretanje stanovništva uzrokovano ratnim ili političkim progonom, odnosno strahom od njega. Da bismo se u ovom dobu velikih migracijskih kretanja na pravi način orijentirali u vezi biti naše suvremenosti, treba usporediti horizont današnjih problema i događaja iz 20. stoljeća.

Hannah Arendt, kao izbjeglica iz nacističke Njemačke, u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama 1943. godine objavljuje tekst „Mi izbjeglice (We refugees)”. Tekst je sugestibilan i paradigmatičan za pogled u svezremene aspekte izbjeglice, tj. onoga tko je za Europu danas ujedno i opasnost i vjesnik nadolazećeg, neizvjesnog doba. Budući da je komparacija najbolja kritika, kako je rekao Deleuze, razmotrimo što Arendt kaže (Arendt, 2017) o neizvjesnostima i nadama izbjeglice. Govoreći o životu Židova izbjeglica, ona konstatira da je samoubojstvo među njima postalo puno češće i kako je paradoksalno nastojanje Židova

da (p)ostanu prihvaćeni u svijetu: kada su proglašeni iz Njemačke te u Francuskoj pristali postati 'Švabe', trudili su se zapravo biti Francuzima i prihvatili zatvaranje u Francuskoj kao opravdano. Diljem svijeta događalo se čudno pripadanje-nepripadanje pojedinim klasama i narodima, identitet im je postao fluidan i teško ustanovljiv.

"Čovjek je društveno biće i njemu život nije lak kad se presjeku društvene spona. Moralna pravila mnogo je lakše poštivati u društvenoj strukturi. Vrlo malo pojedinaca ima snage da zadrži dostojanstvo ako je njihov društveni, politički i pravni status nejasan. Bez hrabrosti da se borimo i promijenimo društveni i pravni status, mnogi od nas odlučili su promijeniti identitet. A ovo čudno ponašanje samo je pogoršalo stanje. I mi smo odgovorni za pomutnju u kojoj živimo". (Arendt, 2017: 125)

No promjenjivost identiteta također otkriva teškoće i beznadnost egzistencije, ali i psihičke aspekte odbacivanja židovskog identiteta, budući da su Židovi bili opsjednuti željom za afirmativnom i poželjnom asimilacijom. Pravi problem arendtijanske dijagnoze, koji proizlazi iz židovske lutalačke sudbine, pronalazimo u naravi svijeta koji ne prihvaća ljudska bića po sebi, u kojem je diskriminacija postala moćnim društvenim oružjem s kojim se bez prolijevanja krvi rješavate drugih ljudi. Ovisni smo o statusu za koji smo spremni plaćati visoku cijenu. U tom smislu, i danas vrlo profetski zvuče njene riječi:

"Izbjeglice, prisiljene da mijenjaju zemlje, prethodnica su svojih naroda, ukoliko zadrže svoj identitet. Prvi put povijest Židova nije izdvojena, već je spojena s poviješću drugih naroda. Zajedništvo europskih naroda razbijeno je u trenutku kad je dopušteno, i zbog toga što je dopušteno, isključivanje i progon najslabijeg među njima." (Arendt, 2017:128)

KRIZA IDEJE EUROPE I NEDOSTATNOST NACIJE-DRŽAVE

U ideju Europe upisana je ideja mira, to je ono prvotno i osmišljavajuće, pathos s kojeg bi trebalo sagledati suvremene rasprave o krizi starog kontinenta. Upravo se iz ideje mira, ujedno najkonkretnijeg i najapstraktnijeg društvenog počela, svojevrsnog oživotvorenja duhovnosti, treba iščitati ogroman problem i izazov koji nosi patnja i očaj izbjegličkih valova. Ne bude li adekvatnog odgovora, tj. da se krize rješavaju u njihovim korijenima, globalno i mirotvorno, ideja Europe će se gasiti, puno brže nego od posljedica neoliberalnog pogona koji melje i banalizira klasične vrijednosti. Tu ne pomaže realpolitičko pitanje o primarnoj odgovornosti država koje su

uzrokovale sirijsku katastrofu, npr. Iran, Rusija, Saudijska Arabija, Sjedinjene Američke Države. Njihova geopolitička strategija je zaseban aspekt interesa, licemjerstva i nasilja; europski politički put ne smije se izroditi u političko nasilje i fokusirati na vlastite nepropusne granice, jer je to put u produbljivanje katastrofe. Mirotvorna politika bi zasigurno trebala biti politika sprečavanja sadašnjeg suludog naoružavanja, u kojem učestvuje i Republika Hrvatska. No kako reče Shakespeare u „Macbethu” – život je bajka što je pripovijeda idiot, puna buke i bijesa. Stoga je teško očekivati nagli i potpun zaokret u sadašnjim mračnim vremenima, kada umjesto mišljenja koristimo ideološke etikete i širimo ozračje ravnodušnosti. Plemenska svijest i vrućica nacionalističkih uslika ne dopuštaju traženje neutralne referentne točke, izmještanje u prostor gdje je istinski subjekt čovječanstvo. Potrebna je nadnacionalna institucija, reformirani i zaista snažni UN ili nova internacionalna formacija, sazdana od konsenzusa svih velikih svjetskih država, koja će uspostavljati i širiti područja zaštićena od nasilja, gladi i bolesti. To što u današnjem svijetu nemamo takvu zaista funkcionalnu organizaciju, pokazuje nužan smjer djelovanja i daljnju vezanost suvremene politike uz koncept države (Sloterdijk, 2017:195).

Prema Sloterdijku, premda sve više živimo u eri kulturno homogenih državnih naroda, država je i dalje nositelj neophodnih principa političke civilizacije. Doduše, i on će, iako se opredjeljuje za pojačani nadzor njemačkih i europskih granica, ustvrditi da nam na globalnom polju nedostaje učinkovita središnja agencija, koja bi mogla zaustaviti fatalne procese. Iz uvida pak ne slijedi odgovarajuća akcija, a na svim razinama kao reaktivna snaga neosvijestjenog ljudskog pobjeđu je egoizam.

"Ovdje u igru ponovno ulazi nesretna nacionalna država. Ona je u isti mah neophodna i nedostatna. Sve to danas nije više, nego manje od zbroja vlastitih dijelova. Slijedom toga, iza djelovanja dijelova ne nastaje sinergija nego paraliza." (Sloterdijk, 2017:196)

Neki aspekti Sloterdijkove debate o izbjegličkoj krizi takvi su da se on nažalost pokazuje kao protivnik pluralističkog društva, jer tvrdi da su izbjeglice ono prijetenje strano. Zamjetno je da i mislilac takvog ranga može lako otkliznuti u posredovatelja 'narodnog mišljenja'. Doduše, premda smatram da rasprave o tome lako abdiciraju od realnosti, poanta nije u manjku realnosti nego u 'višku realnosti', tj. pristajanju na kvantitativno-ideologijsko-identitetno računanje i preračunavanje 'izbjegličkog vala', uz odustajanje od humanističkog momenta. Čovječanstvo može konačno

sebe zadobivati (Friedrich Nietzsche), samo ako se odvaži na trud onoga što se čini tako teškim, dalekim, pa i nemogućim, a to je prevladavanje dosadašnjih političkih kategorija i odnosa, koje se vrte u krugu zatvorene real političke mržnje. Dakle, ukoliko je jedino moguće rješenje migracijskih problema zaustavljanje ratova, onda nova svjetska zajednica to može i treba učiniti. Fobične abdikacije u zakašnjele politike identiteta neće donijeti nikakvo dobro. U tom smislu, Europska Unija treba se odvažiti na povijesno djelovanje, kako zbog mogućih milijuna migranata i izbjeglica, tako i zbog nesagledivih posljedica klimatskih promjena.

Budući da je završeno doba u kojem su mnoge moćne europske države vršile sramotna i nasilna koloniziranja, sadašnje djelovanje treba se dogoditi u okviru traženja drugačijeg djelovanja za život, kojeg ćemo moći izboriti tako što ćemo mijenjati naš način života. Potrošački i egoistični mentalitet je opustošio svijet. Budući da je kriza opasnost i šansa (Sutlić, 1972), jedini izlaz je u radikalnoj promjeni načina života i traženju usuglašenosti oko postizanja kozmopolitske, nadnacionalne instance, koja će oživotvoriti ideju mira. Europska mislena tradicija, od stoika do Kanta, treba potaknuti dijalog sa istočnim mirotvornim etičkim diskursima, kako bi se odmaknuli od sadašnjih političkih projekata mržnje i straha od Drugih. Čovječanstvo se može iznova roditi i postaviti samo u univerzalnom, inače će implodirati u bezumnim partikularitetima.

“Da se poslužimo metaforom Titanica: prosvijećeni ljudi vide santu leda kako plovi ravno na pramac, znaju da je brodomol neminovan, prigrabe sebi čamce za spašavanje i traže od orkestra da dovoljno dugo svira uspavanke kako bi oni pod okriljem moći odmaglili prije nego što pretjerani nagib broda uzbuni ostale klase” (Latour, 2017:210).

HLADNOLJUSKO RAZDOBLJE I POLITIKA ZIDA

Bilo da su upućene elite cinične ili naprosto egoistične, njihovi povlašteni uvidi i držanje masa u sukobima kultura, pokazatelj su jedne od temeljnih odrednica suvremenosti, eskapizma. Živimo u bijegu od odgovornosti i prešutno prihvaćenoj bespomoćnosti, raste sveopća ravnodušnost. No migrantska i ekološka kriza postajat će sve povezanije, a poziv za odvažnošću nastojanja oko svjetskog mira urgentan. Potrošačko društvo i *revival* plemenske svijesti koja srlja unatrag čudna su mješavina našeg doba. Sve više jačaju etnički, religijski i plemenski identiteti. Njihovo veliko protuslovlje, ali i kompatibilnost ozbiljno upozoravaju na promjenu smjera. Kada narodi umjesto dobrobiti čovječanstva žele za-

tvaranje u etničke kategorije, oni opsjenarski i iluzorno zaboravljaju da nema te kupole u kojoj se može zaštititi bogata i izolirana nacija. Stoga je također svaki oblik otpora i pobune vezan uz internacionalizaciju problema, kako bi Kinez, Rus, Turčin, Slovak i Hrvat postali ljudima, udaljavajući se od politike identiteta dosadašnjih (ne) vrijednosti. Govori se o novom hladnoratovskom dobu, ali primjerenije mi se čini reći da je nastupila era hladnoljudskih odnosa, doba sveopće ravnodušnosti, doba ljudi koji više ne sanjaju o boljem i pravednijem svijetu jer su uljuljkani u eskapistički besmisao.

Zbiljsko rješenje problema migracije može se ispravno postaviti ako se prvenstveno upitamo o realnoj pomoći i mogućnostima europskih država. Etički govoreći, onaj tko prepoznaje nevoljene pokazuje da voli život i ima vjeru u smisao sutrašnjice. Nestane li toga, nastupaju ksenofobija i druge mržnje. Ja se najbolje ostvaruje spram Ti, Mi se dobro razvija u svjetotvornoj politici ako Vi nije stranost koja ugrožava, nego politika da se kulture međusobno civiliziraju (Sloterdijk, 2013). Čovječanstvo treba minimalnu usuglašenost u svezi perspektiva budućnosti, koje ne može bez solidarnosti i nove svjetske zajednice. Stoga je današnji bijeg od odgovornosti nedopustiv, on se tiče kako država, tako i svakog pojedinca kojeg konstantno konstituira suodnos Ti-Ja. Ljudi nisu otok, a izbjeglice, jučer-danas-sutra, samo pokazuju suvremenu potrebu solidarnosti, da je upravo u njoj, a ne u ‘tržišnoj utakmici’ pravi topos ljudskosti. Naime, ništa nije važnije od ublažavanja patnje. Sva logocentričnost i humanost europske i zapadnjačke tradicije blijedi u sučeljavanju s abdikacijom pred ovom zadaćom.

Osjećaj panike zbog velikih migracijskih pokreta je razumljiv, ali on je uvijek nešto više od nelagode kojom društvo Danske sebe razumije u suočavanju s većim brojem ljudi iz Eritreje ili Sirije. Naravno, mogućnosti integracija su pomične i uvjetovane. Stoga je uvijek bolje rješavati veliku krizu u njenim temeljima, uvažavajući kulturološke zasebitosti. Međutim, fobija od stranaca umnogome je i reakcija reptilskog sloja mozga, koji instinktivno razgraničava naše od njihovih. Za primarno razgraničenje u izvornom smislu nisu potrebni fizički zidovi, kako bi se zajednica objedinila. Prvotna, plemenska zajednica endogeno se reproducira pomoću kohezijskih energija koje joj omogućavaju da grupa stvori egzistencijski prostor i životne forme. Ona ima vlastitu centripetalnu silu koja je ograđuje i zaštićuje, a integracija u njen prostor dobiva se rođenjem ili ritualnim pripuštanjem. U tom smislu, od takve zajednice do niza drugih razvijenijih grupa, svaka ima svoj zaštitni

omotač u koji se pojedinci sklanjaju, od biološke do kulturne sfere. Smisao suvremene civilizacije trebao bi biti u tome da se različite zajednice/kulture dotiču na način da se solidarnost kao počelo unutar zajednice proširuje na ostale zajednice, tj. čovječanstvo. Jer što možemo danas s činjenicom bezuvjetnog prioriteta odnosa unutar jedne zajednice pred vezama s okolnim svijetom? Takva ekskluzivnost (izvorno plemenska, (kvazi)religijska, nacionalna) teži sklanjanju u zidove/granice. To je politika zida koja postoji od primitivnih društava sve do danas. No izolacionizam našeg i ograđenog prostora ne govori jezikom koji je logos. Premda se proizvodnja svojeg, zaštićenog mjesta ne može i neće nadići dok ima ljudi, ovdje je riječ o potrazi za okončanjem ljudske povijesti kao povijesti zidova. Ta potraga je ujedno put oslobađanja Drugih od zlosilja i nemogućnosti da žive ljudski dostojan život. U Eritreji i Siriji treba osloboditi prostor za život tih napaćenih i poniženih ljudi. Jedini put k tome je put uspostave mira i zajedničkog svjetskog *ethosa*.

Doduše, izgleda li mir i danas kao 'ljubavna iluzija' (Krleža) ili snoviđenje u svijetu koji se odučio od čežnje za dobrotom i pravdom? Čovječanstvo ipak mora iznova naučiti sanjati i zadobiti ideale, da bi uopće zadobilo sebe. Svjetski mir je nedosanjani san iz kojeg bi se odmah izrodili mnogi putovi ozdravljenja i zacjeljenja bijede i patnje. Stoga je urgentna zadaća svih osviještenih pojedinaca i skupina da se odupiru bubnjevima vojničke glazbe, usprotive militarizaciji, nepravdi jedne jedine logike današnjeg doba, logici kapitala. Militaristička i neoliberalna propaganda skupa se protive zbiljskom zaokretu. Mi smo u jednosmjernoj ulici, a jedina šansa nam je u promjeni smjera.

Neoliberalno društvo Europe, Zapada, ali i mnogih meridijana hibridno-političkog globusa, ne zna kako primjereno odgovoriti na problem migranata, azilanata, izbjeglica i uopće pridošlica stranaca, jer prevladava binarna logika kao simptom dugotrajne povijesti koja se danas reducira u 'doba mreže'. U svakom slučaju, od propasti velikih ideoloških pokreta 20. stoljeća prevladava razdoblje rezignacije, cinizma i kraj univerzalnog morala. Stoga je svaki personalni i za zajednicu utemeljujući pokušaj zaokreta, koji bi da istinski misli i čuvstvuje patnju bližnjih, upućen na promišljanje mislilaca koji su razmatrali smisao hospitaliteta. To su u prvom redu: Immanuel Kant, Emmanuel Levinas, kasni Jacques Derrida. Ono što trebamo očekivati od filozofije jest nadilaženje isključivih alternativa i imanentnu otvorenost. Današnje doba svojom tehno-kibernetičkom svesti sugerira da nema alternative kapitalizmu,

Mreži, iluziji materijalnog progressa. No mislenost mora držati mogućim i drugačiju usmjerenost, s onu stranu uljuljkanosti u visoki stil potrošačkog života i proishodećeg nihilizma. Tertium datur.

DRUGAČIJI PRISTUPI PREMA ČOVJEKU I ŽIVOME

Misliti drugačije značilo bi misliti istinsku otvorenost, koja je pak u području ljudskog ostvariva ukoliko prevlada solidarnost kao počelo globalne zajednice.

"Tamo gdje nedostaje iskonsko tlo kao fiksno boravište političkih građana unutar grad-države, tamo je prostor političkoga u neprestanom sažimanju i otvaranju. A čovjek se ne određuje metafizički kao *zoon politikon*, nego iz svoje lutalačke sudbine planetom bez sigurna pribježišta. U stalnome kretanju poput nomada u potrazi za novim domom i zemljom, njegov se život vodi kao vječita preobrazba njegova bitka [...] Doista ne slučajno, najveći filozofi etičko-političkoga obrata u doba globalne planetarnosti, kozmopolitizma, izbjeglištva naroda, kraja suverenosti nacija-država, suočenja s autoimunim sustavom političke entropije informacijskoga kapitalizma, obilježeni su nastojanjem preusmjeravanja zapadnjačke metafizike iz prostora ukorijenjenosti u vrijeme mesijanskoga došašća. Franz Kafka u 'Dnevnicima' naziva ovo potragom za 'trećom zemljom'". (Paić, 2015:7)

Potruga za Novim i Drugačijim početkom je konzekvencija drugačijeg razumijevanja čovjeka. Poslije epohe prevlasti logocentrične tradicije i potrebe da se misli transgresivno, kroz drugačijost i otvorenost slobode. Naime, čovjek je slobodno sebeuspostavljanje u istinitosti, kroz bivanje u harmoniji sa svijetom u sebi i izvan sebe. Stoga je patnik koji je čudovišno neljudski progнан u potragu za novim domom, na stranom i nepoznatom tlu, naš subrat i znamen mogućnosti budućnosti. Novalis je taj *pathos* i čuvstvovanje zastrašujuće i ujedno iskonske mogućnosti slobode i opasnosti zvao *Unheimlichkeit*. Sigurnost pred egzistencijalnim bezdanom pronalazimo jedino u Drugome (Levinas). Taj Drugi je prepoznata ljudskost, a ono Drugo, danas potrebito, jest novi etičko-politički početak kojega treba uspostaviti globalno, na ruševinama zapadnjačkih ideala. Klasična politika dovela je do današnje krize. Stoga se čovjeku i svemu živome treba pristupiti drugačije, uvažavajući dostojanstvo ljudskog i mjesto prirodnog u prirodi. Bez harmonije u odnosu logosno-alogosno život postaje besmislen. U doba narušenog iskonskog sklada i u bezavičajnosti, tragamo za novim izvorima koje pronalazimo u krhotinama povijesti. Tumačeći povijest (Foucault-Agamben) filtriramo i selek-

tiramo, optiramo za spasonosno. Jednom prokušano, primjerice stoičko razumijevanje načina života, ali i svako drugo vježbovno-asketsko življenje, bit će danas novo i drugačije. Stoga, budućnost valja pronalaziti u svestremenitosti bitnih prošlih tradicija. Tako i nova etiko-politika može biti iskušavana samo kao znamen odgovornosti za ono čega još uistinu nije bilo, osim u tragovima, ali je kao izvor i šansa dobrog života moguća i ostvariva iz potrage za Dobrom kao takvim. To što smo prvenstveno potaknuli patnjom Drugih, signum je urgentnosti i očaja epohe, a poziv na zaokret je ujedno mišljenje života kao prostora i vremena krize i mogućnosti. Kada zamre sveltadajuća banalna i besmislena sveltast ekonomske paradigme, proizvodnja dobara, istine i ljudskosti zadobit će drugačije mogućnosti.

POLITIKA PRIJATELJSTVA

Da je moguć drugačiji poredak u horizontu vrijednosti, ovdje nam se pokazuje kroz metafizički preokret Emmanuel Levinasa, koji ključnim metafizičkim pitanjem drži etičku odgovornost čovjeka spram Drugoga. Etičko nas priprema za nadolazak Drugoga u njegovoj apsolutnoj drugosti, uvažavanje i prihvaćanje. Kroz Drugog mi se otvara moja i njegova ranjivost, kroz iskustvo patnje nadilazimo klasična određenja o primarnosti racionalnog u nama, a intenzivira se su-čuvstvovanje života samoga, egzistencije. Ovo nas pak po sebi poziva na hospitalitet:

“Metafizički događaj transcendencije – dobrodošlica Drugome, gostoprimstvo – Želja i jezik – ne postiže učinak kao ljubav. No, transcendencija razgovora je vezana za ljubav. Pokazat ćemo kako u ljubavi transcendencija smjera i dalje i manje daleko od jezika.” (Levinas, 1969:254)

Prema Levinasu, moja egzistencija se potvrđuje odgovornošću prema Drugome. Što je to, dakle, nego krajnje zahtjevan iskorak iz heideggerovske Sorge u arendtijanski dispozitiv *Liebe*, kao horizont potvrđivanja svjetovnosti svijeta. Svijet potvrđujemo tako da prihvaćamo ono što je u Levinasa nenadvladivo: asimetričnost odnosa. Stoga, svaki hospitalitet jest izniman čin, tako drugačiji od današnjeg mentaliteta očekivanja uzvrata i tržišne kalkulacije. Oni dolaze, migranti, i to u velikom broju, što će biti s nama, sa mnom? Razlozi zbog kojeg postavljamo ovakva pitanja bez imalo stida je što zaboravljamo na navedeni levinasovski moment odgovornosti: ovdje i sada lice čovjeka pokazuje mi patnju i potrebu. Stoga, njegov konstrukt, etike kao ‘prve filozofije’ nema u sebi ništa s preokretanjem klasične aristotelovske sheme prema kojoj je ontološko pitanje temeljno, nego je riječ o pozivu na čin dobrote, koji nije,

kako bi ustvrdila Hannah Arendt, (Arendt, 1991.) od ovoga svijeta. Ali sve je upravo na tome:

“Što jest filozofija drugo negoli čežnja za zavičajem i težnja za njegovim povratkom, pa makar sve to bilo tek posljednjom iluzijom. Novalis, dakle, kaže: Filozofija je uistinu čežnja za zavičajem, težnja da se posvuda bude kao kod kuće. Biti posvuda kao kod kuće? Težnja je to koja otvara vrata nadolazećega. U neizvjesnosti i nenadnosti događaja posve drukčijega od ove ravnodušnosti u postojanome tijeku istoga odvija se povijest nakon njezina kraja. Nije preostalo mnogo vremena. Treba ga proživjeti dostojanstveno i žrtvovati sigurnost za *spas duše*. Europa nije pitanje ni razuma ni srca. Ona je stvar one Novelisove čežnje za zavičajem i težnja da se posvuda bude kod kuće. Ali ne sam, već u zajedništvu s Drugim kao svojim *prijateljem*”. (Pačić, 2015:105)

Takva dispozicija, s onu stranu navodne nerealnosti, u Levinasovom smislu je horizont pomirenja političkog i religijskog, bez da se uzaludno tematizira staro pitanje o odnosu vjere i razuma. Jedino bitno je pitanje o odnosu vjere i čina, o njihovoj konvergenciji i uzajamnosti. Stoga je ovakva filozofija zahtjev za pravednošću i beskrajnom odgovornošću, što je ujedno postularanje ljubavi kao metafizičkog događaja nadilaženja ovosvjetskih (ne)vrijednosti. Današnji svijet potrebuje bezuvjetne postulate. Za Levinasa ljubav i život određeni su iz područja svetoga, ali umjesto Boga riječ je o slobodi i pravednosti, tj. odvažnosti da se čovjek više ne misli kao poglavito *animal rationale* nego kao potrebiti *animal sympatheticum*.

Slično Levinasu, kasni Derrida, razračunava se s metafizikom racionalnosti, novovjekovnom vladavinom uma i političkim apsolutističkim zahtjevima. Za njega je u samoj metafiziци sjeme totalitarizma Istosti (Derrida, 1978:91), te se okreće dekonstrukciji kao novom tumačenju tradicije, razgrađujućoj izgradnji, kako bi zadobio novi smjer. Ovdje bih naglasio istrajavaње u paradoksalnosti kao bitnom momentu ključnih momenata života uopće. Ta paradoksalnost vidi se u Derridinom pojmu ‘politike prijateljstva’, kao nečemu krhkom, kontingentnom i nesigurnom, ali sve je u tome da se suptilno istrajava na prekoračenju Aristotelovog izraza: “O prijatelji moji, nema prijatelja”. Ta legendarizirana izreka, pripisana Aristotelu, implicira asimetriju (voljeti je bolje nego biti voljen), komplicira pitanje jednakosti, raznovrsnih situacija, ustvrđuje da nema prijateljstva i povjerenja bez prihvaćanja vremenitosti i kontingentnosti. Apsolutno povjerenje je apsolutna sigurnost, a u nedostatku toga aristotelovski diskurs je u preferenciji konkretnog i situacijskog,

treba pronalaziti i iskušavati. Slično kao kod odredbe vrline kao sredine, riječ je o promišljanju granice i mogućnosti prijateljstva. U tom smislu, ta izreka je izniman čin priznanja etičko-političkih poteškoća, čin slobode koju treba transgresivno tumačiti ukoliko zajednice treba biti. Teško je imati istinskog prijatelja ako nadiđete mladenački naivitet. Analogno tome, teško je ostvarivati dobrotu i ljubav u političkom području, ali jedino je riječ o tome: o sferama smisla koje će nadići biologizirane varijante pseudo-politike (neoliberalizam) i tiransku ne-politiku (totalitarizam).

GOSTOLJUBIVOST KAO OTPOR MILITARIZACIJI

Nije točno da je današnja svjetska krizna situacija nerješiva. Svi bitni problemi (ekološki, ekonomski, migracijski) rješivi su drugačijim disponiranjem koje uključuje otpor spram militarizacije i prevladavajuće ekonomsko-ideološke paradigme. Vjerojatno je riječ o tome da se (Agamben, 2017) umjesto inzistiranja na sukobima promišlja urgentno potrebna ,strategija izlaza'. Zašto se to ne događa, stvar je određenih antropološko-kulturnih konstanti koji ljude zatvaraju u ograničene egocentrične, hedonističke i eskapističke module. U tom i takvom postavu, migranti su opasnost od koje se treba zaštititi. Migrantski problem može se i treba riješiti, rješavajući korijene problema koji bjesomučno proizvodi nepravdu i ratove.

Globalizacija koja povezuje i ujedno raslojava, razdvaja i produbljuje ekonomske i druge razlike ljudi, posebno je upečatljiva s obzirom na razmjere siromaštva. Ekstremno siromaštvo, od Azije i Afrike do Latinske Amerike, još uvijek miriše na ogromnu patnju kolonizacije koja je jednom području zasigurno donijela višestoljetne patnje, a temelje za naglo bogaćenje povlaštenih društvenih slojeva, kao i država u cijelosti. Velike migracije su u povijesti često bile posljedica nasilnih događaja. Od 1843. do 1933. godine oko 30 milijuna muškaraca i žena s indijskog potkontinenta dovedeno je da radi na britanskim plantažama u jugoistočnoj Aziji, Africi, Karibima i Pacifiku (Cruz, 2015:103).

U dvadesetom stoljeću, najveći katastrofični sukobi koji potiču migracije bili su svjetski ratovi, zatim pakistanski sukobi, ratovi u Laosu, Kambodži, Afganistanu. Naravno, postojala je i paralelna priča velikih seoba koje je pokrenula potreba i želja za boljim životom i boljom zaradom, a razmjeri takvih migracija najimpozantniji su u Aziji. Pored realnih problema mogućnosti određivanja mjesta da apsorbiraju veliki broj ljudi, istraživanja otkrivaju da je uvijek slijedila i solidarna akcija zbrinjavanja i pomoći od strane državnih i religijskih institucija. Ma koliki bio jaz između zla

koje se događa i dobrote koja često ne dokučuje zlo, nego na neki način živi odijeljenim paralelnim životom, naša je obveza da njegujemo solidarnost i postuliramo rješivost velikih globalnih problema, a umanjujemo diskurse koji šire paniku i ravnodušnost spram Drugih. To su problemi koje su prouzrokovali ljudi i oni ih mogu riješiti.

Danas, kada je neoliberalni korporativni stroj minimizirao ili uništio izvorni smisao politike, a umjesto njega ponudio management koji upravlja ustrojenim društvom, na unutra i spram van, takav način tehnokratskog upravljanja želi učiniti odlučujući čin spram globalne izbjegličke krize (Derrida, 2002). Derrida je u dosadašnjoj logocentričkoj kulturi Zapada prepoznao nasilnost, koja s jedne strane govori o univerzalnim ljudskim pravima i slobodama, a realno razgraničava ,naše' i ,njihove'. Stoga je smisao njegova zahtjeva, slično Levinasovom, u činu bezuvjetnog hospitaliteta. Pojmovi koji su ključni za ovaj radikalni zahtjev prihvaćanja drugačijeg smjera su: prijateljstvo, nadolazeća demokracija, beskrajni zahtjev pravednosti. Budući da tek trebamo ozbiljiti ono čega nije bilo ali jest moguće, važno je drugačije misliti kako bi ostvarili kozmopolitsku tvorbu drugačijeg svijeta. Ono što je nužno, mora biti ostvareno: kako antiratna politika tako i rješavanje ekstremnog siromaštva u svijetu. Stoga, budući je najbolje da ne bude ratnih migranata, onda treba voditi takvu politiku. Međutim, do tada su nužni derridijanski ,gradovi izbjeglica', ta mjesta neukorijenjenosti izvan središta nacija-država, kao znamen politike prijateljstva.

„Između ,radikalnoga idealizma' etike gostoljubivosti (Dobrodošli u ,moj' skromni dom!) i ciničnoga pragmatizma politike uvjetnoga gostoprimstva (Koliko vas ima? Do kada mislite ostati? Tko će sve to platiti?) stoji prostor-između (*in-between*). Veliko je to kraljevstvo jedne politike koja može biti samo kozmopolitska po nakani i ljudska-odveć-ljudska po konačnome cilju bez ikakve druge svrhe osim radikalne promjene ovoga neodrživoga stanja lažne univerzalnosti prava. Ako se sve to raspada u licemjerju i cinizmu europskoga ,kolapsa' svih vrijednosti, vrijeme je možda za posljednji etičko-politički obrat, Pitanje stranaca, izbjeglica i azilanata uvjet je mogućnosti istinske i nove, ali ova puta u množini, *politika prijateljstva*“ (Paić, 2015:82)

Treba sve učiniti da pronademo ,treću zemlju', za koju je Kafka rekao da je za čovjeka nema. No budući da zemlju ne nastanjuje čovjek nego ljudi (Arendt, 1991), takva zemlja kao prostor slobode i otvorenosti može biti rođena iz smisla zajedništvovanja, ukoliko se o budućnosti još uopće ozbiljno misli.

* Članak je prvotno objavljen u: "Sudbina otvorenih granica: zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Globalizacija i regionalni identitet 2018", Šundalić, Antun; Zmaić, Krunoslav; Sudarić, Tihana; Pavić, Željko; Janković, Dejan; Dremel, Anita; Krivokapić, Nataša (ur.), Osijek : Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku, Poljoprivredni fakultet u Osijeku, Poljoprivredni fakultet u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta Crne Gore, 2018. 247-264.

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Ksenija Orelj & Sabina Salamon

Ostati tu zapravo je ludo* — o projektu Riskiraj promjenu

„Dolazimo k njima kao predstavnici superiorne rase i Božije sluge koji žude da prosvetle najnazadnije članove ljudske porodice... da bismo postali glasnici mira u dosad rastrojenoj rasi.”¹ DAVID LIVINGSTONE, misionar i istraživač Afrike u instrukcijama za ekspediciju na rijeku Zambezi, 1858.

Migracije i pokretljivost, sastavni dio povijesti, unazad stotinjak godina pojačani su do te mjere da možemo govoriti o Europi kao migrantskom kontinentu kojeg karakteriziraju složeni migracijski tokovi mnogi potaknuti ratovima, politikom i ekonomijom nadnacionalnih razmjera kao što je slučaj u aktualnoj migrantskoj krizi. U okolnostima u kojima se javlja snažnija kontrola granica i jačanje negativne percepcije migranata, zagovaranje multikulturalnosti povlači se pred monokulturalnim poimanjem identiteta, uglavnom u smjeru etničkog tipiziranja i povećanja razdaljina između „nas” i „njih”. Kao mikro-odraz navedene situacije možemo istaknuti postavljanje transparenta s najavom projekta Riskiraj promjenu na fasadi Muzeja 2017. Krilatica projekta „Sve se kreće, svi migriraju”, uskoro je iskrižana i popraćena negativnim komentarima. Spomenimo i lokalno istraživanje o „luci različitosti” koje smo proveli u sklopu projekta². Intervju s različitim doseljenicima u Rijeku pokazuju da je Rijeka u odnosu na Hrvatsku i dalje liberalniji grad koji prihvaća različitost, ali s premalo multikulturalnosti u praksi i s izraženim opadanjem manjinskog stanovništva. Ponukani lokalnim iskustvom, kao i aktualnim procesima političke destabilizacije, projekt Riskiraj promjenu postavljamo na sjecištima službene povijesti i izostavljenih ili

potisnutih pripovijesti, rasutih između napuštenog modela socijalne države i njezine globalizirane izvedenice s rasklimanim pravnim garancijama. Od početka projekta 2016., svake godine organiziramo međunarodnu izložbu s popratnim aktivnostima – konferencije, radionice, rezidencijalni programi, kino program – uglavnom orijentiranim na lokalne stanovnike, osobito mlade.³

Svaku izložbu baziramo na radovima pozvanih autora i onima pristiglim na javni poziv, uključujući petnaestak umjetnica i umjetnika različitih generacija. Izložbenim nizom slijedimo određenu tematsku koncepciju, od anatomije privremenih migracija („Između tamo i tamo: Anatomija privremenih migracija”), problema prinudnih migracija i nesnalaženja u vremenu poremećene sigurnosti („Crne krabulje”), bjego-va kao pokušaja opstruiranja kontrole kretanja („Bijeg”), do pitanja o oblikovanju predodžbi o strancu i drugom („Mi nismo kao oni”).

SUVREMENA SHIZOFRENOST URBANIH PROSTORA

Izuzev izložbe „Između tamo i tamo: Anatomija privremenih migracija” koju su radile pozvane kustosice Irena Bekić i Duga Mavrinac, ostale epizode pripremile su kustosice MMSU-a. Zajednička karakteristika izložbi „Bijeg” i „Crne krabulje” je inzistiranje na višemedijskim prilozima autora različitih generacija koje se opire jednom dominantnom težištu i zagovaranju određene umjetničke struje. Onkraj centralizirane perspektive, potičući raznovrsnost umjetničkih izraza, izložbe nastoje potvrditi migracije kao općevažeće načelo i istražiti njihove stvarne i fikijske mogućnosti izvan dohvata zadanih granica. Smještaju se između krajnosti suvremene društvenosti. Osvrću se na poduhvate boljeg života i na njihovo osporavanje bio/nekolonizacijskim mjerama, poput neokolonijalizma, ksenofobije, protjerivanja migranata s granica. Susrećemo suvremenu shizoidnost: s jedne strane pokretljivost i mobilnost te naponi optimizma i zajedništva, a s druge kontrola granica, izbjegništvo, isključivanje. Tako granične zone postaju ključni toposi u obje izložbene epizode. Politika granica, njihove umnoženosti i diversifikacije u suvremenom okruženju, iskazuje se kroz neprestano redefiniranje graničnih prostora u svakodnevicu. Katkad se ističe dinamika razdvajanja unutar jednog grada koja čini polazište radova Marianne Christofides i Rafaela Puettera s izložbe „Crne krabulje”. Puetterova videoinstalacija „Rio de Janeiro, ilegalni grad” sučelice prikazuje mega-spektakl olimpijskih igara i svakodnevnu borbu za osnovna građanska prava: sloboda

kretanja iz jednog kraja grada na drugi, jednaki pristup urbanim zonama, u kojoj privikavanje na rizik postaje normalno stanje društva. Podijeljeni grad tematizira i dokumentarni film Marianne Christofides „Dies solis, nedjelje u Nikoziji”, u kojem klasna nejednakost označava i nacionalnu, ali s manje negativnim ishodima. Tako radne migrantice (u Cipar dolaze uglavnom iz Šri Lanke, Indije, Filipina i Vijetnama) nedjeljnim okupljanjima stvaraju vlastiti društveni prostor, kao katalizator promjene i otpor socijalnoj izolaciji.

I pojedini radovi s izložbe „Bijeg” bave se pometnjom izazvanom izmijenjenim uvjetima granica. Kombinirajući snimke protagonista koji „glavom o zid” gura zamišljenu, nama nevidljivu barijeru, umjetnički dvojac Nika Oblak i Primož Novak u instalaciji „Pomicatelj granica” ostvaruje vremensko-prostornu petlju u kojoj se repetitivnost radnje pojavljuje kao naznaka barem nekoliko mogućih čitanja. Od potrebe za rušenjem fizičkih i mentalnih ograda i vjere da je svaka prepreka savladiva, do naznake da su pokušaji uzaludni. Spektar osjećaja i tumačenja koje rad nudi kreće se od optimizma do rezignacije. Zanos i zamora. Pritom tijelo kao pokretač promjene nije upitno – mukotrpno guranje pretvara u komični geg koji raspiruje optimizam, no beskonačno ponavljanje, koje zaobilazi klasični zaplet i rasplet, ogoljava misao da je pokušaj bijega suspendiran.

TKO UŽIVA SLOBODAN PROLAZ?

U rasponu od personaliziranih i poetskih pristupa do dokumentarnih i kritičkih, „Crne krabulje” i „Bijeg” naznačuju spektar (ne)mogućnosti snalaženja u situacijama poremećene sigurnosti i zaštite: stanje dezorijentiranosti i beznađa, ali i napore prekoračenja zadanih granica, poduhvate bijega. Pored bezvremenosti fenomena migracija, izložbe ističu dugotrajnu umjetničku preokupaciju temom lomljivosti ljudskih veza, ekscesosom nesigurnosti i odbačenosti koje ova tema izaziva. Pritom se pozivaju na imaginaciju i ljudsku snalažljivost u kreiranju heterotopija⁴ – paralelnih, imaginarnih i konkretnih protu-prostora – mišljenih kao privremeno uspostavljenih prostora izvan zatečenih prostornih podjela. Ljudskoj je naravi prirođeno da na stanje ugroze odgovara trima reakcijama: paralizom, bijegom te pokušajem promjene zatečenih uvjeta. Možemo istaknuti radove Aleksandra Garbina i njegov dugotrajni poduhvat prekranja granica. Garbinovi radovi geopolitičku zadanost granica proigravaju kao konvenciju. Kartografske fiksacije ističu kao projekciju, kolonijalnu miljenicu koja je učestalo služila kao osvajačko oruđe. Garbin,

zaokupljen zamjenom simbola i markacija, slobodno prekraja „male“ i „velike“ teritorije. Politizaciju kartografske prakse, time i njezinu vjerodostojnost izvrće naglavačke. Umjesto opsesija unutarnjim i vanjskim razgraničenjima Garbin naglašava međuovisnost između „nas“ i „njih“. Vraća nas na polazišno pitanje, kome granice pogoduju – tko uživa slobodan prolaz?

O Garbinovom, ali i ostalim radovima na izložbi, možemo govoriti kao o modelima izvrtanja veličina i kriterija koji se uzimaju zdravo za gotovo. Umjetnici se oslanjaju na ironijska kontrastiranja i obrtanja značenja, ne bi li usporili našu pažnju i izazvali sumnjičavost spram normaliziranih vrijednosti. Kao pandan možemo navesti videoinstalaciju „Sweet Dreams Are Made Of This“ Carlosa Airesa. Tematizirajući granice između pojedinaca koji predstavljaju specifične društvene skupine, Aires izaziva uobičajene razdaljine između demonstranata i policije, a ujedno preokreće uvriježenu hijerarhiju između heteroseksualaca i onih „sumnjive“ spolne orijentacije. U videu se dvojica zakrbuljenih policajaca, odjevenih u zaštitnu uniformu za savladavanje demonstracija, pojavljuju zagrljeni, u plesu. Maskirani tandem pleše tango na stihove pop benda Eurythmics: „Some of them want to use you / Some of them want to get used by you / Some of them want to abuse you / Some of them want to be abused“. Aires travestira, ali i humanizira moć, pridodaje joj humornu dimenziju. „Moć koja ne može ironizirati samu sebe ostaje zlo“.⁵

Oslanjajući se na iskustvo oprečnih osjećaja svojstvenih kontaktu s drugim, od pomirenja i zagrljaja do suparništva i zazora, izložbeni niz nastoji potaknuti remećenje ustaljenih hijerarhija između „naših“ i „vaših“. Nastaje iz poriva za razvijanjem mnoštvenosti, nasuprot binarnih grupiranja. „Društveno gledano, realnost se promatra standardnim „shematskim“ načinom (...) i tako gubi na kompleksnosti. Čini se kao da je predestinirana i uglavljena, a ne promjenjiv trajan proces. Estetski, realnost se doživljava spontano i dijalektički – kao problematičan raskliman beskrajn proces pun napetosti i kontradikcija, od kojih su neke razriješene, a neke nisu – što otvara put k uvidu u nju i autotransformaciju i ponovnu uspostavu ravnoteže, koji dolaze sa spoznajom.“⁶

POBJEĆI GLAVOM BEZ OBZIRA (PRAVO ČOVJEKA)

Rizik snalaženja u rasklimanim životnim uvjetima čini bitno polazište „Crnih krabulja“. Izložba ujedno upućuje na zakučastost današnjeg sustava kontrole, kao i pozadine zakono-

davnog sustava. Prisilne, masovne migracije u kojima se ukazuje na (ne)mogućnost prekoračenja zadanih granica, a time i promjene pretpostavljenih okvira i regula, predstavljaju ključne pod-teme izložbe. Bitna karakteristika je okupljanje radova koji odmiču od društveno-političke statistike i zalaze u emotivno-psihičku pozadinu migracija. Katkad su to alegorijski radovi, katkad dokumentarni i s autobiografskom perspektivom, nerijetko njihovi među-žanrovi, poput videa Lane Čmajčanin. „Promjena je na vidiku II“ posređuje morski horizont kao zajedničko dobro. Kontemplativnoj veduti Mediterana, supostavljen je uznemirujući narativ kojeg u prvom licu iznosi ženski glas i pažnju preokreće u zloslutnu opservaciju morskog prostora. „Naše more“ postaje sinonim za pomno premjeren i kontroliran prostor, zatvoreno more koje mnogima predstavlja posljednje putovanje. „Svi traže sreću a nije svaka sreća ista / I svi će umreti / Samo što ni svaka smrt nije ista / Neće svaka biti ožaljena.“ U videu Lane Čmajčanin migranti se oslovljavaju kao ljudi u bijegu, zatečeni potragom za sigurnim prolazom i zaklonom. S one strane depersonaliziranih masa kao što je to slučaj u velikom dijelu medijskih prikaza. Zanimljiv primjer suprotnog preokretanja anonimnosti ljudi prinuđenih na bijeg u opći i alarmantno potisnuti problem današnjih imigrantskih politika, predstavlja videoinstalacija „Limb“ Laurenta Van Lanckera. Izmjenjujući sekvence snimljene tijekom aktualne migracijske krize u migrantskom kampu u Calaisu (velika vrata imigracijskog toka pretežno iz Afrike), rad prenosi stanja dezorijentiranosti i beznađa, provociranih socijalnom izolacijom i nehumanim uvjetima života „na ivici pakla“. Na presjeku politike i poezije, preuzimajući stihove Danteove „Božanstvene komedije“, a zaobilazeći puku fotografiju, rad aktualizira pakao kao realnu mogućnost u 21. stoljeću, u kojem supostojanje oprečnosti, poput zakidanja prava na osnovne uvjete života i potraga za životom na nekoj drugoj planeti, perpetuira sudaranje obespravljenih i privilegiranih, nemoćnih i nadmoćnih. Kao posljedica nepomirljivih kontrasta klasne raslojenosti globalnog društva, izložbama se provlači tema ograničenog pristupa tržištu rada, o kojoj upečatljivo govori rad „Highlife“ privremenog umjetničkog dvojca Cristiana Bertija i Cana Sungua. Prikupljajući materijalne ostatke nigerijske video-teke iz Torinske četvrti San Salvario, gdje je krajem osamdesetih godina obitavao mnogobrojna nigerijska zajednica, autori fragmentarno grade priču koja svjedoči o njihovoj potrebi za vlastitim socijalnim prostorom za kojeg su zakinuti. Izmaštane priče nigerijskog „highlifea“ koje čine sušti-

nu Nollywood filmske industrije, svjedoče o snovima o mogućnosti blagostanja, ali i neprekinutim sponama s matičnom kulturom iz koje su trbuhom za kruhom, otišli.

Izložba „Bijeg“ usredotočila se na razne figure bijega, od bijega od opasnosti ili ugroze do bijega misli i bijega od stvarnosti. Dok potreba za bijegom često nosi negativan predznak, izložba se za bijeg zanimala kao proaktivan čin, mehanizam samoodržanja koji se manifestira u najmanju ruku dvojako – kao posljedica pomanjkanja tolerancije prema trenutnom stanju, ali i povlastica da se u bijeg možemo upustiti. Bijeg je ovdje približen kao efemerna praksa bazirana na pokretu, u dijametralnom odnosu sa Zakonom, koji ponajprije postoji kao zabilježena riječ i kao takav ostaje podložan hirovitim interpretacijama i nejednakim primjenama pisanog slova. U tom se smislu ističe video poljske umjetnice bazirane u Londonu, Alicje Rogalske „Što bi bilo kad bi bilo“ koji nastaje u suradnji s pravnicima imigrantima u Veliku Britaniju, a koje povezuje odvjetnički posao i imigrantski status. O pravnim peripetijama vezanim uz migracijske procese, hirovitim promjenama zakona i administrativnim ograničenjima koja ne vrijede jednako za sve, sudionici progovaraju iz prvog lica i osobnog iskustva. Pravo i pravda pokazuju se u kontrastnom svjetlu. Sudionici stoga zamišljaju zakonodavna rješenja koja bi doprinijela stvaranju bolje uređenog i generalno sigurnijeg društva bez obzira na trenutno zacrtane nacionalne granice. Kao i u drugim radovima s „Bijega“, npr. Manon Avram & Pierre Audouarda, Nisrine Boukhari ili Ibne Hasanovića, istaknuto je heterogeno mnoštvo u pokušaju izazivanja unutarnjih hijerarhija europskog prostora, što u isti mah ukazuje na potrebu za redefiniranjem odnosa između Europe i njezinih višestrukih „izvan“.

Obje izložbe unutar projekta podozrive su prema odnosima građanin – čovjek koji u jeku „migrantske krize“ tj. u slučajevima izbjeglištva iskazuju dominaciju figure građanina nad čovjekom.⁷ Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata i masovnog migracijskog vala, Hannah Arendt istaknula je paradoks u zaštiti ljudskih prava: jer oni koji najviše trebaju zaštitu, često imaju najviše poteškoća u pristupu njoj.⁸ Isključivanje ljudi iz teritorija i slova zakona pokazuje se kao jedna od najstarijih, najviše uznemirujućih priča o ljudima. Isto se može reći i za neumornu potrebu za stvaranjem društvenih veza izvan okvira geografske teritorijalnosti ili nacionalne pripadnosti, što potvrđuje i Risk Change projekt. Ni građanstvo, ni humanost nisu stabilne i fiksne kategorije. Kako ih razumijemo i primjenjujemo?

MI NISMO KAO ONI

Nakon teme prisilnih migracija i teme bijega, u posljednjoj izložbi projekta „Mi nismo kao oni“, zaokupljamo se imaginacijom stranca i stranih prostora. Bavimo se predodžbama kojima oblikujemo sliku drugog, pored pitanja kako drugi vide nas? Uz to, zanima nas koji su povijesni stereotipi o stranim prostorima eventualno i danas prisutni, i ima li onih novijeg datuma? Na razmeđu suvremene umjetnosti, antropologije i socijalne psihologije polazimo od neobičnog pojmovnika o susjedu, strancu, pridošlici. Relativnost predodžbi o drugom i njihova ovisnost o društveno-političkom kontekstu čine polazišta četvrte izložbe projekta. „Mi nismo kao oni“ nastoji raspoznati (crno)humornu notu u poimanju nas i njih. Izložba se kreće između kulturalne studije o stereotipima, putopisne doku-fikcije o figuri stranca u današnjoj Europi i umjetničke satire društvenog krajolika u kojoj se kao glavne sastavnice javljaju mit o superiornosti, kolonijalna povijest, opsesija čistoćom, požuda. Uz dokumentarni materijal, izložba okuplja dvadesetak radova u rasponu između osobnih pripovijesti, alegorijskih i kritičkih zapisa, a koji su nastali u rasponu od pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća pa do radova izrađenih upravo za ovu izložbu. „Mi nismo kao oni“ umjesto naglasaka na individualnim pozicijama, ističe pitanje drugog kao političko pitanje koje se zasniva na povlasticama elite spram (autsajderske) manjine, ovisno o tome tko je u poziciji subjekta koji može govoriti. „Da je beg cicija, ne bi bio beg“, rekla bi stara uzrečica.

Suprotno suvremenim proklamacijama o kulturnoj raznolikosti, u vrijeme turbulentnih društvenih promjena, doživljaj drugoga često poprima negativan naboj, vidljiv u isključivanju, osporavanju ili negiranju, uz kreiranje fiktivne slike potencijalnog krivca za sve. U uvjetima ekonomske stagnacije i socijalne nesigurnosti, proporcionalno stagnira i raznolikost koja podrazumijeva ravnopravnost. Kako u post-socijalističkim državama tako i u zapadnim demokracijama, svjedočimo zaoštrenim odnosima spram drugog koji se nerijetko manifestiraju kroz upitna pojestavljavanja mi – oni. Jedan od radova koji odražava spomenute simptome je plakat u javnom prostoru Ivane Keser koji halucinacijske frazeme o „kolijevkama civilizacije okružene barbarima“ ističe kao mit o iznimnosti određene nacije spram drugih. Navedeni se citat pojavljuje na različitim jezicima kao perpetuiranje mitskog pitanja „Tko je bio prvi?“ (Tko je stigao prvi na određeni teritorij? Tko je prvi u kulturnim dostignućima?, i sl.)

KARTOGRAFIJA DRUGOSTI

Bez obzira što se mahom ne iskazuje kroz doslovne prostorne podjele na 'crne i bijele', 'divlje i civilizirane', već se normalizira suptilnijim razinama, suvremena kartografija koja se diči svojom multikulturnom slikom i dalje počiva na negativnim predodžbama i podcjenjivanju drugog. U strahovanju od neminovnih globalnih promjena koje pridonose rasipanju fiksnih pojmova identiteta, ali i učvršćivanju onih statusno i nacionalno moćnijih, drugi ostaje kvalitativno drukčiji i pod prismotrom. I zato ne iznenađuje pitanje „je li biti Albancem grijeh?“, koje umjetnik Driton Hajredini, s Kosova postavlja prilikom ispričavanja katoličkom svećeniku (video „Grijeh“).

Uz pomoć masovnih medija, konstrukcija drugog lako postaje instrumentom političkog menadžmenta koji vlastito precjenjuje, a tuđe dehumanizira. „Ne pravi sebi lika urezana“, kaže drevni poučak. Ipak, egzaltacija odnosom između sebe i drugog primamljiva je i jer je neprovjerljiva, obilata neistinama ili poluistinama. Oslobođajući adrenalinski višak, fikcija, osobito ona emocionalno obojana, privlači više od fakta. Mitologizaciju drugog (i idealiziranu i negativnu) u prošlosti su mahom pribavljali službeni ukazi vladara, kartografske prakse ili putopisi o egzotičnim, slabije razvijenim stranim zemljama, što je na izložbi potkrepljeno dokumentarnim materijalima (planisfera Pierrea Desceliersa, film „I kipovi umiru“ o kolonijalnoj povijesti i etnografskim muzejima, isječci o Rijeci iz pera stranih pisaca⁹). Današnja moć medija i njihovog utjecaja na kategorizaciju i najudaljenijih strana svijeta podjednako je fascinantna. Štoviše, i kultura ima suučesničku ulogu u osporavanju drugog, što razotkrivaju radovi Lane Čmajčanin i Nike Autor. U instalaciji „Balkangreuel“, Čmajčanin fokusira istoimenu elitnu grafičku mapu, nastalu početkom 20. stoljeća u Beču. U likovni prikaz upakirano pornografsko štivo „Balkangreuel“ služilo je i dehumanizaciji neprijatelja, balkanskog divljaka, sa ženskim tijelom kao anonimnim osvajačkim teritorijem. Instalacija Nike Autor ide tragom izložbe „Mir, humanost i prijateljstvo među nacijama“, održane 1966. pod pokroviteljstvom UN-a u Slovenj Gradecu, a na kojoj su sudjelovali umjetnici iz Pokreta Nesvrstanih, kao i sa Zapada. Instalacija fragmentarno rekonstruira tadašnje utopijske premise o izgradnji boljeg i mirnog svijeta diplomatskim i kulturnim akcijama. Paralelno iskazuje kako su se političke kategorije prelamale u polje umjetnosti pa su tako, i medijski i nagradama, prvenstveno isticani radovi zapadnih autora. Pola stoljeća kasnije karta svijeta izgleda sasvim drugačije, sa zatvorenim vratima prema nekoj 'bratskim' zemljama.

UMJESTO JEZIKA SAMOUVJERENOSTI

Baveći se stereotipima o drugom, pojedini radovi polaze od jezičnih izraza koji žive kao dio usmene predaje i folklora, a istovremeno jezik prikazuju kao osnovu definiranja slike o sebi. Instalacija „Dvije šale čine jednu istinu“ Dritona Selmanija naslanja se na dokumentarne zapise, viceve i parafraze o drugom koji raspiruju nategu, ali i otpuštaju loše emocionalne elektricitete. Bazirana na igri riječima i apsurdnim metaforama koje propituju nacionalne i kulturalne stereotipe i služeći se ironijskim humorom kao glavnom sastavnicom, otkriva moguću putanju kojom se nadilazi konflikti susret raznih kultura. U međuprostoru privlačnog i odbojnog, radovi na izložbi „Mi nismo kao oni“ koriste se izmjenama ustaljenih vizura i perspektiva. Kao glavni mehanizam u stvaranju stereotipnih predodžbi izdvajaju autocenzuru. Tako, za razliku od tradicijskih hvalospjeva aktivnom muškom licu, istraživaču, putniku, ratniku, osvajaču, u performativnom predavanju „Zvukospjeva“, glavnu ulogu preuzima žena kao istraživačica i programerka u vremenu Drugog svjetskog rata. Dok pretresa strahove koje izaziva figura stranca, izloženi se radovi podsmjehuju obrambenim mehanizmima koji pogoduju očuvanju (poželjne) slike o sebi. Figura stranca ili autsajdera u pojedinih je slučajevima podvojena, iskazana kao mutna i skliska. Tako u videu Gilda Bavčevića, splitskom triptihu „021_123“, lokalno stanovništvo u jeku turističke sezone zadobiva poziciju autsajdera, koje takvu ulogu uglavnom preuzima samoinicijativno radi osiguranja bolje egzistencije.

Kako se uslijed veće mobilnosti, sveprisutnosti medija i komunikacijskih tehnologija, stereotipi – nacionalni, klasni, rodni i ini – potencijalno mijenjaju, i na izložbi su ocrtani ne samo u ekstremnim polaritetima već i u inverzijama i nadopunama. Padaju na individualnim primjerima, u slučaju osobnih iskustava i međusobnih upoznavanja. Instalacija „Renkonto“ Fotini Gouseti bilježi vjenčanje umjetnice Grkinje i njezinog partnera Makedonca, nastojeći na simboličan način nadići negativne stereotipe i čestu nesnošljivost između susjednih zemalja. Koristeći ritual vjenčanja kao simbolično društvenu gestu, „Renkonto“ dokumentira i niz suradničkih, umjetničkih radova koji se poigravaju s predrasudama i očekivanjima u susretu s drugim, a mijenjaju ih kroz miješanje kulturnih kodova i odupiranje autoritarnoj nacionalnoj simbolici.

Između suprotstavljenih opisa 'nas' i 'njih', napredni – zaostali, kreposni – poročni, miroljubivi – agresivni, izložbom se nastojimo nasmijati vlastitoj žudnji da budemo veći, glasniji, uspješniji,

ljepši od onoga što jesmo. Stranac se iskazuje kao figura glasina, zabluda, paranoja; vlastite podsvijesti. Često u tragikomičnom odrazu. „Plava krv“ Mirne Kutleše polazi od spomenutog pojma koji se pojavio u 17. stoljeću među španjolskom aristokracijom, a slikovito je opisivao one koji su zbog pošteđenosti od rada i boravka na suncu imali blijedu put kroz koju su se ocrtavale žile. I time se izdvajali od ostalih. Kutlešin crtež naliku je formi korijena, stabla ili žila upućujući na opsesiju plemenitim obiteljskim podrijetlom. Sadrži riječi asocijativno vezane uz pojam plava krv, a koje su skrivene. Moguće ih je pročitati tek izbliza: kraljevska loza, degeneracija, incest, paranoja, hemoglobin... Na djelu je zadivljujuća ljudska sklonost izmišljanju, pronalaženju pseudoznanstvenih izgovora za isključivanje drugog. Igra skrivača potvrđuje se kao najpopularnija igra odraslih. Šareno upakirana, a svejedno šizofrena zamka – „Mi nismo kao oni“. Kako kaže alternativni leksikon duše: „...u regresivnom hodu prema donjim polovima nesvjesnog sa sustavima mišljenja i vjerovanja koji su utemeljeni na strogim polarizacijama, nema prijelaznog prostora u kojem crno i bijelo mogu supostojati, nema dijaloga koji vi kao dobra osoba možete voditi sa svojim lošim dijelovima. (...) Ja dobri Bog, ti đavao. Kako bih ja bio savršen, svu svoju nesavršenost, sve svoje agresivne i negativne afekte projicirati ću na tebe i pripisati ti ih. Da mi dalje sretno živiš kao repozitorij mojih demona. I nemoj mi umrijeti i nestati jer te trebam. (...) Ovisim o tebi ako to nisi znao“.¹⁰

* citat s radionice u sklopu muzejskog fanzina „Beni“ (ur.: Tanja Blašković, Daria Morosin, MMSU, 2018.)

1 Dejan Sretenović, *Crno telo, bele maske / Afrika* (Beograd: Muzej afričke umetnosti, 2004), 21.

2 Istraživanje su proveli Barbara Matejčić i Drago Župarić-Iljić čiji je tekst sastavni dio ove publikacije.

3 Možemo spomenuti radionice u sklopu muzejskog fanzina „Beni“ u suradnji s Tanjom Blašković i Darijom Morosin i plesno-koreografske radionice „Migracije“ s Kate Foley i polaznicama Osnovne škole za balet i suvremeni ples, Vežica, Rijeka. Dosađajni programi Risk Change, <http://mmsu.hr/dogadaji/1025/>, <http://mmsu.hr/dogadaji/bijeg/>, <https://riskchangeproject.wordpress.com/>

4 Michel Foucault, „O drugim prostorima“, *Peščanik.net.*, (31.08.2013.), traži pod „Podatci o pojavljivanju“,

<https://pescanik.net/o-drugim-prostorima/> (12.rujna 2019.)

5 Gustav R. Hocke, *Svijet kao labirint* (Zagreb: AC, 1991), 190.

6 Donald Kuspit, *Kraj umjetnosti*, uredila Leila Topić (Zagreb: MSU, 2018), str. 21.

7 Jezgroviti prikaz tog pitanja u: *Posthuman Glossary* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), str. 440. - 442.

8 Ibid, str. 440.

9 Svein Mønneslan, *Istra i Kvarner očima stranaca* (Oslo: Syppress Vorlag, 2019)

10 Željka Matijašević, *Crna limfa / zeleno srce. Alternativni leksikon duše*, (Zagreb: Durieux, 2016), str. 16.

Psihološko putovanje u drugost

„Psihoanaliza se tada doživljava kao putovanje u čudnovatost drugog i sebe samog, prema etici koja poštuje nepomirljivo.“
JULIA KRISTEVA

Etimologija riječi ‚drugog‘ otkriva tako malo o svojoj hermeneutici. Porijeklom iz grčkog jezika, *allos* znači drugo, drugi; ova riječ koristi se u Bibliji (Matej, 12:13) i za označavanje drugog iste vrste, i za označavanje drugog različite, strane ili čudne vrste. Ono čime se ova definicija ne bavi jest način na koji ideja drugosti izlazi iz svoje definicije i ulazi u psihički prostor straha, otuđenja i hijerarhije. Bez izvorišta koje bi drugo utemeljilo u određenu poziciju, drugotnost postoji izvan hegemonijskog diskursa. Ovo istraživanje namjerava predstaviti psihoanalitičko putovanje u drugost kako bismo doveli u vezu posljedice stranosti, čudnovatosti i drugosti s problemima migracije, imigracije i izbjeglištva.

Pitanja koja pokreću ovo putovanje su: na koji način psihoanalitički nabijeno drugo (kao drugi i s drugima) utječe na suvremena pitanja migracije, imigracije i izbjeglištva? Na koji način drugost odgovara negativnoj retorici kroz estetiku?

Kako bismo pristupili tim pitanjima, pokazat ću da bi se ovo putovanje trebalo promatrati kroz dvije glavne ulazne točke: smatram da drugost moramo razumjeti iz psihoanalitičke perspektive kao polazišnu točku unutar sebe samih kako bismo mogli otkriti na koji način taj unutarnji psihički prostor komunicira s vanjskim društvenim i političkim prostorima. Također ću obrazložiti da

se estetika bavi pitanjima drugosti shvaćenim kao nešto što je psihološki, fenomenološki i hermeneutički prisvojeno. Estetski pothvati oblikuju načine na koje vidimo sebe kao druge i skupa s drugima, a javljaju se kroz iskustva turizma, eskapizma i izbjeglištva.

NA KOJI NAČIN PSIHOANALITIČKI NABIJENO DRUGO UTJEČE NA SUVREMENA PITANJA MIGRACIJE, IMIGRACIJE I IZBJEGLIŠTVA?

Naše psihoanalitičko putovanje kroz čudnovatost sebe samih započinjemo pregledom Freudovih i Lacanovih pojmova svjesnog (ego) i nesvjesnog (id). Svjesni um je namjeran i deklarira se kao ‚ja‘. Međutim, ne možemo reći ‚ja‘, a da pritom ne prepoznamo napetost koja postoji u nesvjesnom umu koji se odupire autoritetu tog deklariranog ‚ja‘. Bez namjere, nesvjesni um bježi od shvaćanja kako bi izbjegao potpuno iscrpljivanje od strane svjesnog, namjernog uma. U svjesnom namjernom subjektivnom ‚ja‘ postoji iluzija stabilnosti, a nesvjesno znači poremetiti tu iluziju kako bismo ostali otvoreni za mogućnosti neutjelovljenog sebe koje se ne može eksplicitno odrediti. Freud (1989: 573) napominje, „dobitak na značenju potpuno je opravdan temelj za prekoračenje granica neposrednog iskustva“. Znanje o sebi i svijetu gradimo kroz iskustvo prepušteno toliko različitih aspekata da je nužno pohraniti ili potisnuti neke informacije koje će biti dostupne kasnije. Freud (1989: 574) objašnjava, „tako da veći dio onog što nazivamo svjesnim znanjem ionako mora neko određeno vrijeme biti u stanju latentnosti, to jest, biti psihički nesvjesno“. Ono što potiskujemo ostaje nesvjesno, a tek nakon što se dogodi svjesna transformacija ili prijevod doznajemo za te potisnute stvari. Drugim riječima, sama nesvjesnost može se spoznati i dohvatiti tek u svjetlu svjesne namjernosti.

Lacan proširuje pojam napetosti između svjesnog i nesvjesnog fokusirajući se na žudnju i jezik. Shodno tome, u Lacanovoj teoriji, ljudska se subjektivnost formira u tri stadija koja uključuju sebe u različite načine drugosti. Stadij Zrcala započinje proces imaginarne slike o jedinstvu sebe. Kada se odvojimo od majčinog tijela, razdvajanje osjećamo subjektivno, iz čega proizlazi žudnja da svijet učinimo drugačijim kako bismo ublažili odruženje (eng. *othering*) sebe. Ta žudnja postaje poticaj za kretanje područjima jezika, slika, značenja i vizije. Nadalje, stadij Jezika započinje proces simboličkog reda, koji nudi usvajanje jezika, uključujući slike, i razumijevanje njihovih značenja. Na taj način, učimo kako uspostaviti odnos s drugima putem jezika, značenja i slika. S obzirom na udaljenost koja nastaje iz-

među jezika i percepcije, svijet oko nas i ostali se čine već određeni. Zbog te udaljenosti, ovaj stadij, kao i stadij zrcala doživljavaju se donekle otuđujućim. Treći stadij, Realni, je onaj u kojem započnemo proces prihvaćanja alijenacije iz prva dva stadija. Ne realno u pravom smislu riječi, „realno je ono što uvijek leži iza automata“ (Lacan, 1973: 54). Ovaj stadij utječe na našu svjesnost i nesvjesnost ukazujući na iskustvo rascjepa između svijesti i percepcije. Slično kao i jezik, struktura nesvjesnog uma omogućuje nam da prihvatimo svoje podijeljeno ja kao nepotpuno na isti način na koji doživljavamo odmak u značenjima unutar strukture jezika.

Nastavljajući se na Freudovu teoriju nesvjesnog i Lacanove hermeneutički proširene pojmove žudnje i jezika, čudnovatost kojom se bavi Julia Kristeva pravi izravnu poveznicu između psihičkog prostora unutar sebe samih i vanjskih prostora društvenih i političkih odnosa. U njenoj studiji „Stranci sebi samima“ („Strangers to Ourselves“) čitamo, „Kako netko može tolerirati stranca ako ne zna da je stranac samom sebi?“ (Kristeva, 1991: 182). Ono što dobivamo je temeljno razumijevanje drugosti kao stranosti jer nam taj proces omogućuje prihvaćanje drugih kao stranaca.

Stranost je simptom nesvjesnog procesa, nužna psihička korisnost koja omogućuje, na primjer, da „ja“ primi svoje „drugo“ kao nerazdvojivo i korisno. Kako piše Kristeva (1991: 170), „znamo da smo stranci sebi samima, i jedino uz pomoć te podrške možemo pokušati živjeti s drugima“. Kristeva teži drugačijoj konceptualizaciji zajedništva identificirajući na koji način je drugost povezana s jezikom na unutar i interpersonalnom nivou. Lokalizirajuća snaga drugosti koja je vidljiva i naglašena u nacionalnim jezicima i kulturama ponavlja se unutar psihičkog procesa drugosti. Kristeva (1991: 182) objašnjava: „Kroz rasplitanje prijenosa – glavne dinamike drugosti, ljubavi/mržnje prema drugom, stranom sastojku naše psihe – a na temelju drugog, ja se mirim sa svojom drugošću-stranošću, igram se njome i živim od nje“. Prijenos je aktivnost odnosa, proces u kojem unutarnje drugo treba vanjsko drugo kako bi se pomirile razlike. U knjizi „Elsewhere Within Here“, Trinh T. Minh-ha (2010: 868) piše: „Postajem ja preko drugog. Ovisno o tome tko promatra, egzotičan je drugi, ili ja“.

Štoviše, Freud (1989: 195) je čak napomenuo, „biti stranac, pripadati nekom drugom“, mora se objasniti mentalnim životom koji se pripisuje toj drugoj osobi“. Posljedice razumijevanja pounutrenjene drugosti izravno se odnose na to kako gledamo na druge i kako se prema njima ponašamo. Obratno je također istinito: kontakt s drugima

omogućava nam bolje razumijevanje onog čudnovatog i stranog u sebi samima.

Kao rezultat toga, Kristeva (1991: 182) postavlja pitanje: „Hoće li im dopustiti da se uzajamno podnose kao nesvodivi, jer su željni, poželjni, smrtni i nosioci smrti?“ Luce Irigaray inzistira na ovoj vrsti propitivanja koje omogućava modulaciju odnosa s drugim. Njezin interes za drugost obuhvaća „novu ontologiju, novu etiku i novu politiku, u kojoj je drugi prepoznat kao drugi, a ne kao isti“ (Irigaray, 1985: 19). Ono što ona i Kristeva dijele je želja da se osvijetle razlike među drugima, unutarnje i vanjske. Etički gledano; imamo obvezu ponašati se prema sebi i drugima s poštovanjem prema različitostima, a ne istosti.

Problem drugosti koji se tiče suvremenih pitanja migracije, imigracije i izbjeglištva isprepleten je s kompleksnim psihičkim procesima i umnogome ovisi o tome kako prepoznamo drugost unutar sebe i kroz druge koje srećemo. Na granicama između gradova, država i zemalja postoje različite vrste migracija. Stavovi prema strancima imat će puno veze s nacionalnim jezikom koji nas najviše povezuje, jer je ugrađen u simbolički jezik nesvjesnog. Zbog porasta migracija i izbjeglištva, ključno je razumjeti na koji način psihički procesi utječu na naš stav i ponašanje prema drugosti.

NA KOJI NAČIN DRUGOST ODGOVARA NEGATIVNOJ RETORICI KROZ ESTETIKU?

Umjetničke prakse se javljaju kao strana, a ipak poznata iskustva drugosti. Budući da umjetnici u svom istraživanju koriste slobodnu maštu, čini se da imaju jedinstven pristup nesvjesnom aparatu uma. Iako ovo istraživanje nema namjeru dokazati takvu tvrdnju, pristupit ćemo ovim pitanjima kroz intertekstualni projekt koji se referira na negativnu političku retoriku naspram migracije, imigracije i izbjeglištva.

U svom radu iz 2019. godine, „Sladoled“, umjetnik Driton Selmani nudi običnu plastičnu vrećicu. Kao svojevrsan ironični komentar, na plastičnoj vrećici se nalazi nacrtana slika zelene kopnene mase obrubljene crnom linijom. Unutar te kopnene mase je crveni tekst koji glasi, „BOLME KURAC STO MADJARSKA NEMA MORE“. Selmanijeva zelena kopnena masa Mađarske stoji sama, netaknuta svojim susjedima, Hrvatskom, Slovenijom, Austrijom, Slovačkom, Ukrajinom, Rumunjskom i Srbijom. Obrubljivanje ove kopnene zemlje ima dvostruki učinak i istovremeno izgleda kao grafički logo neke kompanije i kao otok okružen vodom.

U psihoanalitičkom smislu, ovo djelo suočava se s izolacijom unutar pojedine zemlje i suprot-

stavlja je s onim što joj nedostaje, a to je luka. Njezine granice toliko su povezane s drugim granicama, a nedostatak mora je kao da kaže da joj nedostaje sloboda bijega. Plastična vrećica kao spremnik, iako privremeni, ako sadrži sladoled kao što naslov sugerira, aludira na psihički prostor nesvjesnog. Spremnik sadrži ono što će poslije odstraniti, što je privremeno i prolazno, a duboko integralno za događaj koji slijedi. Također izgleda i prazan, pa Selmani opet ironično koristi simbolički redoslijed jezika da bi otkrio sadržaj događaja koji će tek uslijediti i onog koji je već prošao (žudnja). Značajna napetost između retorike praznine naglašene političkim/nacionalnim jezikom i privremenosti spremnika, ili onoga što sadrži smisao, u ovom je djelu antagonistička.

Selmanijeva plastična vrećica reklamira izolaciju i odruženje određene nacije zbog onog što joj nedostaje. U tom smislu, ovaj objekt predstavlja ono s čim se estetika suočava na više nivoa istovremeno. Ako na Selmanijevu djelo hermeneutički primijenimo psihoanalizu, odmah smo suočeni s izazovom simboličkog, i slike i jezika. Pitanje kako vidimo sebe kao druge i s drugim izbija iz ovog jednostavnog nađenog i izmijenjenog predmeta. Također, fizički oblik plastične vrećice postaje dio neupitnog susreta sa svakodnevnim predmetom. Osim svakodnevice, ukazuje i na eksces. Eksces je u ovom slučaju i ironičan jer ne nosi ništa, a ipak njegova praznina simbolizira vremensku lingvističku prazninu u formiranju nacionalnosti. Možemo vidjeti kako Selmanijev estetski pothvat oblikuje načine propitivanja kako vidimo sebe kao druge i sebe s drugima, i kako to odgovara negativnoj retorici kroz ironiju.

Još jedan izazov koji potkopava negativnu retoriku o drugosti predstavlja multimedijski crtež s izložbe „Bijeg“, održane 2017. godine u okviru projekta Riskiraj promjenu. Umjetnica Roos van Haften predstavlja rad „Divna izolacija“. Ovaj crtež efemernog pejzaža u nijansama sive boje sastoji se od praznog neba, teksturnog planinskog masiva kao horizonta, a u prvom planu vidimo prazno projekcijsko platno. Vrlo tamna rupa u tlu izgleda kao da je iz nje upravo izašla izolirana figura. U lijevom uglu je grafički prikaz nijansi sive boje, a dva kolažirana komada crnog papira nalaze se malo desno od centra, koji izgledaju kao glava i ruka osobe koja pliva, izolirane figure. Pričvršćen za zid na dnu ovog crteža, komad stakla na šarkama reflektira svjetlost i projicira je ispod crteža. To staklo stvara ocean pokretnih svjetlosnih čestica u pravokutniku istih dimenzija kao i crtež. Ovi formalni elementi pridonose osjećaju čudnog sna.

Ovaj rad remeti iluziju stabilnosti oponašajući iskustvo rascjepa između svijesti i percepcije. Ono što se opaža u ovom djelu su formalni elementi povezani na fenomenološkoj razini. Elementi oblika linije i izolirani momenti prikazuju pokrete i ponavljanja koji se događaju nenamjerno. Metaforički ocean svjetla pliva na zidu i čak prelazi granice koje stvara staklo. Kvaliteta ovog crteža nalik snu pobuđuje nesvjesno dok snovi obitavaju u tom drugom jastvu. Kroz intimnost i vanjstinu, doživljavamo unutarnje istraživanje bijega iz crne rupe koja centriraju crtež svojim jasnim rubovima. U jednom dijelu ovog crteža nalazi se kolaž od prikrivenih komada prozirnog papira koji ne skrivaju ništa, već razotkrivaju privremenost. Jednom kada se bijeg dogodi, na kojem ćemo tlu stajati? Hoće li sustav uništiti stranca? Ova pitanja ne potiču stvarne odgovore već dokazuju žudnju za nečim više. Estetika otvara prostor za izazivanje sebe i drugosti koja s vremena na vrijeme pobjegne iz nutrine, u nadi da će pronaći nekog drugog, stranca koji će pomiriti razlike. Kako ističe Kristeva (1991: 2): „Promjena statusa stranaca koja je danas nužna, navodi nas na razmišljanje o našoj sposobnosti da prihvatimo nove modalitete drugosti“.

Razumijevanje drugosti, kao nesvjesnog događaja ili procesa unutar nas samih predstavlja korak prema pomirenju s „drugim“. Sljedeći korak prema prihvaćanju pounutrenog stranca je kroz kontakte s drugima, što generira poziv na jezik. Jezik stvara i most i jaz između drugosti. Umjesto da se tek srećemo s drugima, i pozdravljamo drugosti, modifikacija će se vjerojatnije dogoditi kroz Kristevinu (Toril Moi, 1986:37) definiciju intertekstualnosti: „mozaik citata; bilo koji tekst je apsorpiranje i preobrazba drugog. Pojam intertekstualnosti zamjenjuje pojam intersubjektivnosti, a pjesnički se jezik čita najmanje kao dvostruk“. U književnu teoriju je intertekstualnost uveo Bakhtin, a pojam je preustrojavao literarnu sferu, ušao u naš fizički prostor i uključio kompletnu estetiku i tehnologije.

Projekt Riskiraj promjenu rasvjetljava intertekstualne pristupe stavovima, iskustvima i psihičkoj uključenosti u drugost i migracije. Kroz proces intertekstualizacije, Riskiraj promjenu odražava Kristevin stav da drugost i stranost pružaju mogućnost za promjenu, pokret i protok. Ovaj projekt briše granice između mašte i stvarnosti, što je i samo po sebi drugost. Na blogu projekta u svibnju 2019. godine, čitamo sljedeće, „na razmeđu suvremene umjetnosti, antropologije i socijalne psihologije polazimo od neobičnog pojmovnika o „drugom“ – susjedu, strancu, pridošlici.“ U namjeri da nas suoči s pitanjima i

problemima suvremenih migracija, Riskiraj promjenu uspijeva u svom intertekstualnom pristupu. Javni poziv za sudjelovanje na izložbi „Mi nismo kao oni“ uključuje dvadesetak radova suvremenih umjetnika koji pružaju intertekstualni dokaz različitih drugosti koje nailaze na konfrontacije: „Suprotno suvremenim proklamacijama o kulturnoj raznolikosti, u vrijeme turbulentnih društvenih promjena, doživljaj drugog često poprima negativni naboj, vidljiv u isključivanju, odbojnosti ili negiranju, kreiranju fiktivne slike potencijalnog krivca za sve“.¹

Je li nacija glavni krivac za propagiranje stereotipa o stranim mjestima, ljudima i migracijama? Ili je glavni krivac jezik? Oboje postoje u imaginarnim i simboličkim sferama nesvjesnog, pa je možda krivac nenamjerni id. Nacije stvaraju veze sa svojim narodom kroz poseban način zajedničkog života koji ispunjava simboličku prazninu te zajedničke imaginarne solidarnosti. Na sličan način na koji jezik simbolizira misao i značenje kroz činove govora i pisanja, udaljenost između tih činova i načina na koji ih percipiramo rezultira otuđenjem. Važno je usvojiti pozitivan jezik za taj osjećaj stranosti kao onaj koji utjelovljuje razliku. Kristeva (1991: 1) piše, „Stranac ulazi nakon buđenja svijesti o mojoj različitosti, a nestaje nakon što prihvatimo sebe kao strance, koji ne podliježu vezama i zajednicama“.

Da rezimiramo i zaključimo ovo psihoanalitičko putovanje u drugost, osvrnimo se na udaljenost koju smo prešli. Psihički prostor straha, žudnje, otuđenja i hijerarhije postoji u svima nama kroz naše svjesne i nesvjesne tenzije. Želimo stabilnost u podijeljenom jastvu koje jednako želi autonomiju. Jezik na koji smo najviše navikli u stanju je nositi teret tih tenzija na nacionalnoj razini, ali moramo biti svjesni u kolikoj je mjeri ta stabilnost iluzija. Prema Lacanu, nikada nije postojao stadij razvoja u kojem smo se kao subjekti osjećali sigurno u stvarnosti podijeljenog jastva, a taj osjećaj otuđenja potiče želju za većim određenjem s jedne strane i slobodom kroz autonomiju s druge.

Drugost je čudna, strana, a opet oslobađajuća, kako piše Kristeva (1991: 117): „ali kako netko može biti slobodan bez kakve utopije, neke vrste čudnovatosti? Budimo, dakle, niotkud, ali ne zaboravimo da smo negdje“. Estetika i intertekstualne prakse pozitivni su i zanimljivi načini suočavanja s problemima drugosti u okviru današnjeg razdoblja migracije, a strancima koje susrećemo možemo pomoći pozdravljajući različitosti koje dijelimo u drugosti.

O svom iskustvu egzila, Trinh T. Minh-ha piše: „Putujući kroz generacije i kulture, pripovi-

jedanje se odlikuje sposobnostima adaptacije i germinacije; a kroz egzil i migraciju, putovanje koje se proširilo u vremenu i prostoru postaje vrtoglavo složeno sa svojim negativnim posljedicama. Oboje, međutim, imaju potencijal da šire horizonte nečije mašte i pomiču granice stvarnosti i fantazije, ili ovog Ovdje i Tamo“.²

- 1 <https://riskchangeproject.wordpress.com>
- 2 Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Elsewhere, Within Here*. (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2010), 607.

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Bilješke uz etnografsko istraživanje u Zimskom prihvatno- tranzitnom centru Republike Hrvatske

Kao što smo to zapisale u tekstu „Winter Reception and Transit Center in the Republic of Croatia: An Ethnographic View of the Slavonski Brod Refugee Camp” objavljenom 2017. u časopisu *Narodna umjetnost* (54/1: 101-127), na kojemu temeljimo i ovaj prilog, naše je istraživanje u izbjegličkom kampu u Slavonskom Brodu, otvorenom u studenome 2015. na ruti balkanskog koridora, bilo istodobno obilježeno metodološkim redukcionizmom, ali i metodološkim pluralizmom. Pojedine su se etnografske metode u kontekstu kampa svodile, naime, na svoje konture da bi u odmaku ili nadogradnji s drugim etnografskim metodama otvarale i oblikovale mnogostruke ulaze u istraživačko polje. K tome, naše istraživanje, koje je trajalo od siječnja do travnja 2016., u znatnoj je mjeri nosilo obilježja istražiteljskog rada koja su, primjerice, vidljiva u tehnikama skeniranja nedostupnih prostora, promatranja izvana, ali i u umrežavanju s onima s kojima smo dijelile interes za rekonstrukciju događajnosti u kampu. U okružju u kojemu nam je toliko toga bilo skriveno ili zbog različitih razloga nedostupno, neprestano smo morale otkrivati pojavnu razinu svijeta koji istražujemo, a koju istraživači u nekim drugim kontekstima obično dohvaćaju prvu i bez većih poteškoća. Zbog toga svoju istraživačku pozornost nismo mogle primarno

usmjeriti na tumačenja, osobne poglede i perspektive drugih, dakle na onu razinu kojoj u pravilu teži etnografija, već smo svoje zaključke morale temeljiti na parcijalnim, raspršenim i često samo posredovanim, ali u okružju kampa gotovo jedinim mogućim uvidima. Pa ipak, neprekidan terenski rad oslonjen na diverzificirani etnografski metodološki instrumentarij oblikovao je, zajedno s otvorenošću prema problematizaciji i preispitivanju, specifičnu perspektivu koja, vjerujemo, unatoč svim ograničenjima, otvara mjesta razlike u odnosu na dominantna razumijevanja onoga što se u Hrvatskoj olako svodilo pod nazivnik izbjegličke krize.

Pišući o kampu pitale smo se i kako izbjeći normalizaciju koju generira znanstveni jezik i aparat, odnosno kako u tekstovima barem donekle zadržati težinu onoga čemu smo svjedočile. U ovom prilogu izlazimo iz okvira tog aparata i u osloncu na formu etnografskih bilješki, u prezentu, fragmentirano, nedovršeno, predstavljamo neke od istraživačkih metoda i postupaka koje smo iskušavale i na kojima smo ustrajavale tijekom istraživanja u kampu, a koje vidimo kao važne i za razumijevanje samoga kampa i onoga što se u njemu događalo. Tijekom našeg istraživanja, kamp je od mjesta primarno tranzita postao mjestom zadržavanja i detencije, što se na specifičan način, kako to nastojimo pokazati, reflektiralo i na naše istraživačke metode.

ULAZ U KAMP

Pristup kampu u Slavonskom Brodu moguć je jedino uz odobrenje i višestruku provjeru Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova. Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku iz Zagreba upućuje Ministarstvu 7. prosinca 2015. molbu da se grupi njegovih istraživača, kojoj i same pripadamo, omogućući „ulazak, kretanje i istraživanje u prihvatnom centru u Slavonskom Brodu”. Ulazak je načelno odobren isti dan, a formalno šest tjedana poslije kada iz Ministarstva radi izrade akreditacijskih iskaznica traže naša imena, osobne identifikacijske brojeve i fotografije.

PROVJERE NA ULAZU U KAMP

Volonteri i zaposlenici u kamp ulaze na središnji cestovni ulaz uz koji se, u blizini zgrade u kojoj je sjedište policije i kampa, nalazi kontejner za provjeru akreditacijskih iskaznica, s detektorom metala i rendgenom za kontrolu stvari. Od veljače 2016., otkad je kamp sve manje mjesto tranzita izbjeglica, a sve više prisilnog zadržavanja i zatvaranja, *ad hoc* detencije kao posljedice profilacije, tu se vodi i pisana evidencija o ulascima i izlascima volontera i zaposlenika, kao i nakon

početka ožujka kada u kamp više ne dolaze vlakovi, a mi nemamo pristup ljudima zatvorenim u detencijskim sektorima. Od 18. ožujka 2016., kada rukovoditelj kampa svim organizacijama odobrava pristup tim sektorima, organizacije trebaju prethodno poimenično prijaviti već akreditirane zaposlenike/volontere, a oni se osim na ulasku u kamp dodatno evidentiraju i pri ulasku u sektore, kako kod službenika Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova, tako i u kontejneru Hrvatskoga Crvenog križa.

LOKACIJA KAMPA

Kamp se nalazi u industrijskoj zoni na terenu nekadašnjega rafinerijskog postrojenja, izvan mreže glavnih gradskih putova i dohvata javnog prometa. Ograđen je prirodnim i umjetnim preprekama, rijekom i ogradom, a čak i u onome svojem aspektu u kojemu se čini da je izravno povezan s okruženjem, željezničkom prugom, zapravo je izoliran. Željeznička pruga u kampu završava slijepim kolosijekom do kojega putuju samo vlakovi s izbjeglicama u policijskoj pratnji. U razgovoru s našim sugovornicima (intervjui, glasnogovornički) možemo čuti: „Građani uopće ni ne vide migrante. Oni jednostavno prolaze tu, odlaze vlakom, nitko, ne znam da li ih je itko ikad vidio, pa rekao: e vidio sam. Možda je netko vidio vlak s migrantima, ali ono ništa posebno. [...] [Željeznička pruga] reklo bi se kroz grad ide, ona ide zapravo kroz grad al', međutim, nema doticaja uopće s ljudima, stvarno. [...] tako da je to, baš je ono idealno, zgodno.”

AUTOMATIZIRANA PODJELA RADA

Nastojanje na minimalizaciji kontakta između izbjeglica i volontera iščitava se iz organizacijskih obilježja kampa, ponajprije naglašene parcelizacije prostora, podijeljenog na sektore za izbjeglice, skladišne jedinice, upravno i volontersko sjedište i slično, kao i iz strogo zacrtane kružne putanje kojom se u kampu trebaju kretati izbjeglice u tranzitu. Za svaku od točaka na kružnoj putanji predviđena je zasebna vrsta aktivnosti i zasebna skupina volontera ili zaposlenika koji je provode: pomoć pri izlasku iz vlaka, provjera stvari i osobnih podataka, odnosno registracija, podjela odjeće i obuće, podjela hrane, pomoć pri ukrcaju u vlak i sl. Parcelizacija i automatizacija aktivnosti u kojoj se svatko bavi jednim segmentom u cjelokupnom procesu, stvara dojam rada na pokretnoj traci. Za volontere nevladinih udruga jedino mjesto koje je bilo zamišljeno kao ono na kojem se mogu susresti s izbjeglicama tijekom tranzita bio je distribucijski šator koji, međutim, zbog svoje namjene, što brže podjele odjeće i obuće, nije istodobno zamišljen kao punkt

na kojemu bi dolazilo do interakcija mimo onih ponude i potražnje.

KRUŽNA PUTANJA KRETANJA

Izbjeglice u kamp dolaze vlakom te slijedeći usmene upute s megafona i usmene ili neverbalne signale prisutnih policajaca i volontera, zatim rijetke signalizacijske znakove te ulazima, izlazi, ogradama i mjestima na kojima stoje policajci oblikujući kružnu putanju prolaze kroz kamp oponašajući jedni druge. Kružna putanja započinje izlaskom iz vlaka, nastavlja se prolaskom kroz registracijski i distribucijski šator uz eventualna zadržavanja, primjerice u šatoru za mame i bebe, ili zaustavljanja na kiosku, zatim prilaznom cestom do perona te završava ulaskom u vlak, uza stalan nadzor policije koja usmjerava i oblikuje mikrokretanje u kampu, a na pojedinim točkama ima i izrazito vidljivu ulogu kao, recimo, na pristupu peronu ili cesti koja vodi do njega gdje ponekad privremeno zaustavlja ljude ili formira redove ili dvorede primjenjujući metode upravljanja masom.

NEDOSTUPNI PROSTORI KAMPA

Kamp je iznutra ispresijecan brojnim, fizičkim i vidljivim ili nevidljivim, granicama koje odvajaju dostupne od nedostupnih prostora. Dostupnost pojedinih dijelova kampa volonterima, zaposlenicima i drugima ovisi o tome kojoj skupini pripadaju te, osobito u slučaju većih organizacija, o funkcijama koje u njoj imaju. U siječnju 2016., netom prije prvoga istraživačkog odlaska u kamp, čujemo da u kampu postoje i „čuvani dijelovi” koji obuhvaćaju prostore „od registracije do famoznog sektora” u kojem se zadržava izbjeglice kojima je privremeno ili trajno zabranjen nastavak putovanja (profilacija).

Uz dozvolu za istraživanje, u kampu ne dobivamo upute o (ne)dostupnosti pojedinih njegovih dijelova, upotrebi audiovizualne opreme i sl. U terenskom vodiču za volontere Inicijative Dobrodošli! piše da njezini volonteri nemaju pristup „pred-registracijskom dijelu”, ali slijedom volonterskog boravka jedne od nas u studenome 2015. znamo da, poput većine volontera i zaposlenika humanitarnih i srodnih organizacija, nemamo pristup ni registracijskim šatorima, niti unutrašnjosti vlaka. Uz iznimku zabrane iz terenskog vodiča, kao i znakova za zabranu fotografiranja i snimanja kamerom (koji se ne odnose na medije i druge kojima se periodično, u pratnji policije, dopušta snimanje), koji tijekom vremena bivaju sve brojniji i uočljiviji, o zabranama u kampu saznajemo postupno, usmenim putem (interiorizacija zabrana).

Početak veljače, na odlasku iz sektora u koji dotad redovito zalazimo, pri slučajnom susretu s jednim od volontera Crvenog križa dobivamo uputu: „U peti sektor možeš samo u pratnji volontera Crvenog križa, a u treći nikako.“ Zabrana odlaska u dijelove kampa u kojima se kontinuirano zadržavaju oni koji nisu prošli profilaciju, tjednima se prenosi usmeno i neformalno da bi prema sredini veljače bila formulirana službeno.

U „Bilješci sa sastanka NGO/INGO/IO u Tranzitnom prihvatnom centru u Slavanskom Brodu“ od 8. veljače 2016. čitam: „HCK ima dozvolu ulaska u sektor 3 na poziv MUP-a, sve ostale organizacije nemaju dozvolu ulaska. Ukoliko netko bez dozvole pokuša ući u sektor 3, bit će u policijskom postupanju.“

PROFILACIJA LJUDI

Selekcijske i diskriminacijske mjere koje od sredine studenoga 2015. do zatvaranja koridora primjenjuju policije zemalja duž koridora i temeljem kojih se dijelu izbjeglica onemogućuje daljnje kretanje prema zapadu.

SNIMANJE ZVUKA, NESKRIVENO

Eksperimentirajući metodama bilježenja koje bi se u hrvatskom kontekstu mogle smatrati donekle alternativnim, te vodeći se interesom za dohvaćanjem različitih razina kampa, sa snimačem zvuka otvoreno snimamo zvukove u kampu, preciznije prve minute dolaska i odlaska vlaka, odnosno početak i završetak kretanja izbjeglica kroz kamp.

SNIMANJE ZVUKA, SKRIVENO

Sredinom ožujka, u tjednima prije zatvaranja kampa, dok je u njemu zatvoreno više stotina osoba kojima samo rijetki volonteri i zaposlenici imaju pristup, mučne zvukove, gotovo jednosatne vriskove i povike mladića koji se opire kolektivnom preseljenju „muškaraca samaca“ iz jednog u drugi detencijski sektor, jedna od nas snima držeći upaljeni snimač u džepu jakne. Iako se prethodno nismo susrele s eksplicitnom pa ni implicitnom zabranom snimanja zvuka u kampu (interiorizacija zabrana) te iako, štoviše, u nekim drugim prilikama i otvoreno snimamo snimačem (snimanje zvuka, neskriveno), neskriveno snimanje zvuka u tim okolnostima ne procjenjujemo kao izvedivu opciju, a što je donekle povezano i s jednom ranijom istraživačkom situacijom (fotografiranje, naknadno zabranjeno, sankcionirano).

FOTOGRAFIRANJE, NAKNADNO ZABRANJENO, SANKCIONIRANO

Fotografiramo kamp izvana, s vanjske strane ograde na kojoj nigdje nema zabrane fotografi-

ranja. Na tome mjestu dežuran policajac nas legitimira te smo privedene rukovoditelju kampa. Policajac nas pritom ne uvodi u zgradu, nego u njegovoj pratnji i pred onima koji su se tu zatekli stojimo ispred dok nam se s prozora na katu, izmjenjujući se, obraćaju višerangirani policijski službenici. Fotografije na zahtjev jednog od njih brišemo te smo otpuštene riječima:

„Ovo vam je prvi i zadnji put. Još jednom i izgubit ćete akreditaciju.“

BRZINSKO SKENIRANJE, PROMATRAČKO

Pri obilasku kampa organiziranog za ministra unutarnjih poslova, provedeni smo i kroz registracijski šator koji u tom trenutku nije u funkciji. Zbog brzine kojom ministar zajedno s pratnjom prolazi kroz kamp, nije moguće dobro promotriti unutrašnjost šatora. Umjesto dugotrajnijeg i neometanog proučavanja kojim se iz specifičnog istraživačkog fokusa nastoje uočiti detalji, može se primijeniti samo tehnika brzinskog skeniranja prostora od doslovno nekoliko sekundi, koliko je trajao ministrov hod kroz šator.

BRZINSKO SKENIRANJE, SUDIONIČKO

Rijetki i kratki ulasci u vagone odobravaju nam se na licu mjesta i prilika su za brzinsko, izraženo sudioničko skeniranje koje se od promatračkog razlikuje i s obzirom na etnografski potencijal uvida: za razliku od protokolarnog „posjeta“ registracijskom šatoru, koji je u tom trenutku sveden samo na scenografiju, kratki ulasci u vagone generiraju jake dojmove i bitno utječu na naše razumijevanje kampa i tranzita izbjeglica. Prizor pretrpanog, potpuno neprohodnog vagona koji se „utovaruje“, a prema standardu smještaja dvostruko ili gotovo dvostruko više putnika nego u redovnom prometu, za nas postaje vizualna sinegdoha politike dehumanizirano efikasnog tranzita.

PROMATRANJE IZVANA

Katkad su prilikom registracijskih postupaka, iako rijetko, na pojedinim registracijskim šatorima otvoreni ulazi pa nam je kao promatračima izvana donekle dostupna njihova unutrašnjost, kao i ono što se u njima događa. Iz terenskih je bilješki razvidno o kakvom je stupnju parcijalnosti uvida u takvoj istraživačkoj situaciji riječ:

šator za registraciju je otvoren (krilo od vrata je dignuto) tako da se vidi unutra, ali je jako sunce tako da ne vidim baš najbolje; iz šatora izašao policajac, ima masku, unutra se vide jedna invalidska kolica; vidim ženu koja drži dijete na sebi kako sjedi na stolici ispred stola (ne

vidim policajca s druge strane stola koji je ispituje jer mi je zaklonjen), nekoliko policajaca hoda po šatoru, vidim jednu uniformu CK.

PROMATRANJE IZVANA, S UKLJUČENIM SNIMANJEM

Uz odobrenje i pratnju policijskog službenika, u kampu fotografiramo i snimamo dolazak i odlazak vlaka s izbjeglicama. Nastojimo uz pomoć dohvata *zooma* snimiti nedostupne prostore, primjerice područje ispred ulaza u registracijske šatore, ali i nama nedostupne osobe zatvorene u jednom od sektora kampa. Primjerice, s udaljenosti i uz pomoć *zooma* jednom prigodom fotografiramo zatvorene izbjeglice kada u pratnji policajaca nakratko izađu iz sektora do obližnjeg kioska unutar kampa.

INTERIORIZACIJA ZABRANA

Iako gledanje u smjeru šatora ili zumiranje nisu zabranjeni, zabranu, u onim iznimnim situacijama kada je šator otvoren ili kada snimamo, percipiramo kao da postoji ili bi mogla postojati. Isto tako, iako u usmeno prenošenoj zabrani ulaska u registracijske šatore nije specificirano odnosi li se samo na vrijeme dok traje registracija ili je u šatore zabranjeno ulaziti i inače, percipiramo je kao konstantnu, ušavši ipak u šator nekoliko puta, ali isključivo uz pratnju ili odobrenje policije. Nepisanost pravila i zabrana sa sobom nosi priličnu dozu nesigurnosti o tome što se smije, a što ne smije. S druge strane, to nam omogućuje prelaženje nekih granica koje bi se teško prelazile da su utvrđene pisanim zabranama. Primjerice, peron na koji stižu i s kojeg odlaze vlakovi, a koji je od ostalog dijela kampa odvojen ogradom kao jasnim graničnim znakom svima u kampu, mjesto je malih, ali stalnih prijepora. Svakoliko, naime, volonteri pojedinih organizacija prelaze tu granicu, primjerice, noseći deke ljudima koji usred zime u negrijanom vlaku katkad i satima čekaju na polazak. Nakon što se takav postupak ponovi, od čelnništva nadležnog za humanitarnu podršku kampa stiže zabrana prilaska peronu. Zatim je se neko vrijeme volonteri pridržavaju da bi u određenom trenutku ponovno, što bi se moglo okarakterizirati kao male trenutke pobune protiv reda kampa, izlašli na peron i opisani bi se ciklus ponavljao.

INTERVJUI, GLASNOGOVORNIČKI

Snimane intervjue u kampu vodimo samo s osobama na službenim, uglavnom hijerarhijski višim ili jedinstvenim položajima povezanim s funkcioniranjem kampa: sa zaposlenicima policije, Hrvatskoga Crvenog križa, vojske, zdrav-

stvene službe i drugih službi u kampu. Ti nam intervjui trebaju omogućiti upoznavanje s operativno-upravljačkim vizijama kampa, tj. s onim segmentima kampa koji nam nisu dostupni na iskustvenoj razini. Ovim intervjuima ne prethodi upoznavanje i izgrađivanje odnosa sa sugovornicima, a sami intervjui, donekle i s tim u vezi, uglavnom nemaju izraženiju razinu osobnog, odnosno neke od karakteristika koje se uvriježeno vezuju uz etnografski intervju. S obzirom na to da, dakle, kada je riječ o ovom, upravljačkom aspektu kampa, izostaje naša sudionička pozicija, a promatrački su uvidi svedeni na minimum, intervjue ne bismo ni nazvali uže etnografskim. Ono što nas u kampu za druge najjasnije definira kao istraživačice i što i same vidimo kao neku vrstu potvrde naše istraživačke uloge upravljačkim strukturama, za nas ima manju etnografsku vrijednost u odnosu na druge metode kojima se služimo. U skladu s ulogama koje naši sugovornici imaju u kampu, kao i s njihovim statusom uglavnom službenih predstavnika institucija, njihovi nastupi u intervjuima imaju glasnogovornička obilježja. Neki od sugovornika i službeno imaju takvu funkciju, a oni drugi implicitno se predstavljaju kao glasnogovornici svoje institucije ili čitavoga kampa, pa čak i kao glasnogovornici Hrvatske (*hvala Hrvatska/Kroacija*). Sa svojim se sugovornicima ne sukobljavamo, pojedina potpitanja izbjegavamo ili prelazimo na druge teme onda kada se počinju nazirati pukotine u gotovo savršenim slikama slavonskobrodskog kampa i hrvatske varijante prihvata izbjeglica, pa i onda kada znamo da se izrečeno ne poklapa sa stvarnim stanjem.

INTERVJUI, NEOSTVARENI, S VOLONTERIMA

Uznemirena i ljutita reakcija rukovoditelja jedne od organizacija na informaciju o tome da je jedna od nižerangiranih djelatnica te organizacije razgovarala s istraživačima upućuje na odnos upravljačkih struktura prema mogućnosti nenadziranog, odnosno službenim kanalima nedogovorenog prijenosa informacija i stavova ljudi koji u kampu djeluju. Kao što je kamp premrežen vidljivim i nevidljivim granicama, tako je premrežen i vidljivim i nevidljivim 'čuvarima ulaza'. Kao što granice priječe pristup prostorima i etnografskim promatranjima, tako čuvari ulaza, na ovaj ili na onaj način, eksplicitno ili implicitno, priječe pristup ljudima i slobodnim intervjuiranjima.

• S jedne strane, kao istraživačice u kampu imamo relativno neometan pristup okruženju humanitarnog, donekle i sigurnosnog proleterijata i prekarijata (volontera, prevoditelja, policajaca i

dr.), ali nemamo pristup dokumentiranju njihovih iskaza u snimanom obliku. S druge strane, cjelokupan sigurnosno-humanitarni menadžment kampa uvelike je izvan našega promatračkog dosega, ali je pristup dokumentiranju institucionalno ovjerenih iskaza iz tog registra u osnovi lagan. Stoga se može reći da je i u našem slučaju dozvola za istraživanje u kampu bila zapravo dozvola za ulazak u kamp, ali ne i za slobodan pristup svim njegovim prostorima i strukturama.

INTERVJUI, NEOSTVARENI, S IZBJEGLICAMA, U TRANZITU I DETENCIJI

Zbog imperativa što brže i efikasnije provedbe tranzita, kontakt između izbjeglica i volontera reduciran je i u onom kratkom razdoblju od nekoliko sati u kojem izbjeglice prolaze kroz kamp. U tako organiziranom tranzitu malo je prostora za etnografsko istraživanje koje bi bilo usmjereno na razmišljanja i iskustva izbjeglica te bi se temeljilo na dubinskim intervjuima kao osnovnoj tehnici njihova 'prikupljanja'. Dubinski su se intervjui eventualno mogli voditi s izbjeglicama u detencijskim sektorima onih nekoliko tjedana prije zatvaranja kampa kada nam je u travnju 2016. u njih omogućen ulaz. No ni tada intervjue ne vodimo zbog cijelog niza međusobno isprepletenih razloga, od kojih su mnogi primjenjivi i na razdoblje tranzita: od nemogućnosti jasnog predstavljanja istraživačke uloge i do krajnosti dovedene neravnopravnosti potencijalnog odnosa istraživača i 'istraživanih', preko našeg nepoznavanja za takvo istraživanje relevantnih jezika (arapskog, perzijskog i dr.), naše nespremnosti da dokumentiranju etnografskih iskaza posvetimo ono kratko vrijeme koje imamo na raspolaganju za boravak u detencijskim sektorima, do straha od sekundarne traumatizacije izbjeglih ljudi i njezinih izgledno devastirajućih posljedica u okružju u kojem se u tom trenutku oni nalaze. Da smo se unatoč svemu ipak odlučile za dubinske intervjue, vjerujemo da ih ne bismo snimale ponajprije zbog opasnosti od izlaganja zatvorenih osoba samim sudjelovanjem u snimanim intervjuima, a posebice eventualnim neautoriziranim uvidima u njihove sadržaje.

HVALA HRVATSKA

Jedan od naših sugovornika u kampu ističe: „U svakoj skupini koja dođe ovdje u kamp čuju se samo riječi: hvala Krocija, hvala vam za ljubav, za podršku, za pomoć i tako dalje. [...] Jedna Hrvatska, mala zemlja sa malim brojem ljudi naspram bilo koje druge zemlje, ali gdje su ljudi topli i koji hoće pomoć.”

Nasuprot tome, u kampu umjesto „hvala Krocija“, više puta čujemo: „We are not animals. Why do you treat us like that?”

- U kampu svjedočimo guranju, vikanju, bezrazložnom zaustavljanju ili tjeranju naprijed, odvajanju obitelji ili razdvajanju grupe koja zajedno putuje, prisilnom, katkad i višesatnom zadržavanju u vlaku prije njegova polaska, natrpavanju vagona, nepružanju pomoći promrzlim osobama u negrijanom vlaku koji čeka na polazak, uskraćivanju informacija, verbalnim uvredama koje ostaju uvredama iako ih onaj kome su upućene ne može razumjeti.

KOMUNIKACIJSKE RAZMJENE, NEVERBALNO- VERBALNE, S IZBJEGLICAMA, U TRANZITU

Koncentracija velikog broja govornika različitih jezika potiče ne samo na inojezičnu nego i na potpuno ili pretežno neverbalnu komunikaciju. Naše pokazivanje na nečiju prtljagu, umjesto ili uz izgovorenu ponudu za pomoć u nošenju stvari, pokazivanje u smjeru u kojem treba nastaviti put do vlaka, pokazivanje dijelova tijela kako bi se uputilo na dio odjeće ili na obuću koja je nekome potrebna, tek su neki primjeri komunikacije tijekom tranzita u kojoj je neverbalno, po ulozi u sporazumijevanju, dominiralo nad verbalnim. Koliko su velike mogućnosti neverbalne komunikacije dobro pokazuje naš razgovor sa starijim čovjekom iz Afganistana. Dok iza ograde koja nas razdvaja čeka prevoditelj ispred kontejnera u sektoru za privremeni smještaj, dijeli s nama svoju frustraciju time što je zatvoren u kampu, kao i dio svog iskustva na izbjegličkom putovanju. Naš nam sugovornik 'priča' – govoreći nama nerazumljivim jezikom, iako s pokojom uhvatljivom riječi (kao *Junan* za Grčku), pokazujući rukama i pogledom ogradu ispred sebe i okolni prostor kampa, policajca koji ga čuva te listajući na svome mobitelu fotografije i videoisječke – o tome da je u Grčkoj neko vrijeme zajedno s obitelji živio u stanu grčkog liječnika i njegove obitelji, da je ondje bio ugošćen, da se slobodno kretao, a da je ovdje zatvoren i da se ne može kretati čak ni po kampu ionako ograđenom od vanjskog svijeta. U svoj putni (izbjeglički) dnevnik (mobitel s fotografskim i videozapisima), koji mu pomaže da nam, unatoč jezičnoj barijeri, i uz velik trud, prenese ono što želi, na kraju pridodaje i naše fotografije koje, uz molbu gestom, snima.

KOMUNIKACIJSKE RAZMJENE, VERBALNO- NEVERBALNE, S IZBJEGLICAMA, U TRANZITU

S obzirom na radikalno reducirane mogućnosti duljeg kontakta s izbjeglicama u tranzitu, u našoj komunikaciji prevladavaju kraće i spontane

komunikacijske razmjene. Riječ je o brojnim kratkim ili nešto duljim, iako samo višeminutnim razgovorima, na engleskom jeziku ili u kombinaciji engleskog i neverbalnih znakova, s nekoliko perzijskih ili arapskih riječi, koji se vode na kratkom putu do perona, na nekoj od točaka na tom putu ili na samome peronu, a u kojima se izmjenjuju osnovne informacije o tome odakle i kamo netko putuje, s kime, koliko je dugo na putu te o proceduri u kampu, sljedećoj zemlji i stanici na putu, vremenu koje je potrebno da vlak do nje stigne i sl. Neke od tih ‚razmjena‘, poput sljedeće, zapisujemo u naše terenske bilježnice: nosim torbu mami (Irak) (mlada je) – loše govori engleski ali može se sporazumjeti, za ruku drži sina, bolestan je, noćas imao visoku temperaturu, muž joj je u Njem. od 9. mj. pitam je jesu li bili kod doktora, ne train, train (kao da su joj tako govorili) kažem joj da može ostati ovdje do sljedećeg vlaka, ona kaže – family je s njom ja kažem – i family može ostati ne ne dječak (3-4 g.) hoda pored nje, približim mu se, kao da gleda u prazno. na putu do perona me nekoliko puta pita mislim li da će ona doći do muža? I hope so I hope so.

Ovu tešku i kaotičnu verbalnu interakciju, kaotično i bilježimo, kao naknadnu višejezičnu transkripciju dijaloških isječaka u kombinaciji narativiziranja i upravnog i neupravnog govora. Umjesto da kao takva u naknadnim čitanjima prijeći razumijevanje, ona barem djelomično obnavlja ne samo kaotičnost nego i težinu događaja koji predstavlja.

KOMUNIKACIJSKE RAZMJENE, VERBALNO-NEVERBALNE, S IZBJEGLICAMA, U DETENCIJI

Kada nam se, kao i drugima u kampu, na nekoliko sati dnevno u detencijskom razdoblju odobrava pristup detencijskim sektorima, naši se komunikacijski obrasci s izbjeglicama mijenjaju: komuniciramo s bitno užim krugom sugovornika u odnosu na razdoblje tranzita, a sama komunikacija s obzirom na sadržaj i medije postaje kompleksnija. Isprva obuhvaća kratke i na informativnu razinu svedene razgovore o opcijama za izlazak iz kampa, a poslije primarno razgovore o ‚svakodnevним temama‘. Ti se razgovori odvijaju s nogu, na šljunkom posutom platou ispred šatora i kontejnera, ali iznimno i ‚u gostima‘, kada smo pozvane na razgovor u neki od kontejnera ili je za nas napravljeno mjesto na nekoj od klupa u sektoru. Iako su i tada uglavnom fragmentirani, temeljeni na specifičnim, isprepletenim verbalnim i neverbalnim razmjenama, višejezični i inojezični, naši razgovori u pravilu nisu jednokratni. Nekoliko izmijenjenih riječi pri jednom ulasku u sektor u pravilu se nadograđuje u sljedećem, a

sugovornik ili grupa sugovornika vode drugim sugovornicima te se uspostavljaju poznanstva koja će trajati i nakon zatvaranja kampa.

KOMUNIKACIJA NA DALJINU, S VOLONTERIMA U KAMPU

U kampu smo uključene u komunikacijske *on-line* platforme, pa tako i grupnu komunikaciju preko mobilnih aplikacija kojom se razmjenjuju uglavnom operativne informacije. Te pretežno vrlo kratke komunikacijske razmjene tek naknadno za nas postaju istraživački relevantne, ponajprije vezano uz kronologiju zbivanja i bivanja na terenu. U vlastite bilješke prenosimo samo rijetke od njih, primjerice: „policajac je udario jednog starijeg čovjeka, o tome je izviješteno na what's upu.“

KOMUNIKACIJA NA DALJINU, S AKTIVISTIMA IZVAN KAMPA

Održavamo veze i s volonterima i aktivistima izvan kampa od kojih neke poznajemo i osobno, a neke samo preko društvenih mreža. Na komunikaciju preko društvenih mreža, elektroničke pošte ili telefonskih aplikacija posebno se orijentiramo u završnoj, isključivo detencijskoj fazi kampa. U toj fazi jedna od nas pridružuje se i *on-line* grupi osnovanoj upravo za razmjenu informacija o izolaciji i zatvaranju ljudi u kampu u Slavonskom Brodu, u kojoj sudjeluju i osobe koje nikada nisu bile u slavonskobrodskom kampu, ali raspolažu relevantnim informacijama i znanjima o drugim kampovima, zakonskoj regulativi ili su u kontaktu s osobama zatvorenima ili donedavno zatvorenicima u kampu. Među brojnim porukama što se u toj grupi razmjenjuju prevladavaju one informativne i operativne naravi koje imaju svoju vrijednost za razumijevanje uvjeta zatvaranja izbjeglica u kampu.

KOMUNIKACIJA NA DALJINU, S IZBJEGLICAMA, U DETENCIJI

Sa zatvorenim izbjeglicama u detencijskom smo razdoblju u kontaktu i onda kada nismo fizički prisutne u kampu. Ta komunikacija postaje sastavnim dijelom istraživanja. U pojedinim situacijama ima izražene elemente sudioničkog kao, recimo, u vrijeme premještanja izbjeglica u Prihvatilište za tražitelje azila u Zagrebu ili u Prihvatni centar za strance u Ježevu, odnosno u detenciju, neposredno prije zatvaranja kampa. U okružju kontradiktornih informacija, poruke koje izmjenjujemo s osobama zatvorenima u kampu i suočenima s neizvjesnošću preseljenja usmjerene su na posredovanje informacija (koliko god parcijalnih) do kojih se u tom trenutku teško dolazi u samom kampu.

II

STRANPŮ
TICAMA

MULTIKŮLTŮ
RALIZMA

DO

PROSTORNOG
ODVAJANJA

—

KLAUSTRO
FOBIJA

SUVREMENIH
GRADOVA

Rijeka kao multikulturni grad — Rezultati istraživanja projekta Riskiraj promjenu

„Kad more strance u strašno
olujni kida, ruši, lomi, tuče i
grmi tiha luka moga grada
tebe uvijek čeka, da ti zaklon
pruži, tihi luku.“ RADOJKA
ŠVERKO, *Pjesma Rijeci*

Je li Rijeka multikulturna i otvoren grad, a Riječani tolerantni i spremni na dobrodošlicu stranaca, manjina, migranata i izbjeglica u svoju zajednicu? Je li Rijeka grad koji prihvaća, ugošćuje, integrira one koji tu odluče doći i ostati kraće ili duže vrijeme ili za cijeli život? Kao grad jake doseljeničke tradicije, kakvo je mjesto za život Rijeka u očima svojih doseljenika, ali i povratnika, onih koji su se rodili u Rijeci, iz nje se otisnuli u svijet pa se u starijoj dobi odlučili na povratak u nju?

To su tek neka od općih pitanja na koja smo pokušali dobiti odgovore u istraživanju vezanom uz projekt Riskiraj promjenu, koje je provedeno krajem 2016. i početkom 2017. u sklopu šireg projekta Rijeka 2020 – Europska prijestolnica kulture. Za projekt je provedeno desk-istraživanje i terensko istraživanje na temu migracije, konkretnije useljavanja, na temu inkluzije i integracije doseljenika u hrvatsko društvo i Rijeku kao grad koji su sugovornici odabrali kao mjesto življenja te na temu refleksije o interakciji raznih društvenih skupina domicilne i useljeničke populacije u Rijeci kao lokalnoj zajednici koju nazivaju domom. Što stranci, novi imigranti koji su doselili u grad i okolicu, u različitim povijesnim i osobnim životnim fazama i s različitim planovima za ostanak i potencijalom za integraciju, vide kao komparativne prednosti Rijeke? Koje mane i izazove života u Rijeci uočavaju i kako se nose s njima?

ZAŠTO RIJEKA?

Prvim dijelom istraživanja nastojali smo doznati više o zakonodavno-pravnom i institucionalnom okviru useljeničke i integracijske politike i prakse u kontekstu hrvatskoga društva i Grada Rijeke. Drugi dio, terensko istraživanje obavljeno je metodom upitnika i polustrukturiranog intervjua sa 63 sugovornika u gradu Rijeci, i to onih koji su iz bilo kojega razloga doselili u Rijeku od 1940-ih godina do danas, kao i rođenih Riječana koji su određeni dio životnog vijeka boravili izvan Hrvatske, a na koncu su se vratili u Rijeku. Svrha je projekta bila istražiti i pojasniti povezanost između useljenika i domaćeg stanovništva u procesu integracije etničke i kulturne raznolikosti povezane sa suvremenim procesima migracija, kao i s uvijek izazovnim i bremenitim procesom integracije. Dodatni je cilj istraživanja bio izgradnja mreža i povezanosti svih dijelova populacije, stremeći integraciji svih oblika raznolikosti povezanih s konstantnom društvenom i kulturnom mijenom u 21. stoljeću.

Uzorak je sudionika istraživanja bio prigodan i do njega smo došli biranjem ciljano osmišljenih kategorija sugovornika te načelom dostupnosti i s obzirom na svrhu istraživanja. Javili smo im se preko osobnih ili posredovano ostvarenih kontakata, uz primjenu metode „snježne grude“. Tako je naš uzorak obuhvaćao osobe s različitim životnim i migrantskim pričama o dolasku u Rijeku, kao grad privremenog ili trajnog boravka, ili povratka u nju. Intervjui su vođeni u obliku narativnih biografskih kazivanja, od kojih je najkraći trajao oko pola sata, a najduži više od četiri sata, potom su transkribirani i analizirani prema grupiranim temama. Sugovornici su nam bili 39 muškaraca i 24 žene, dvije trećine njih u starijoj životnoj dobi (stariji od 41 godinu). Zanimljivost je i to da su iskazali kako pripadaju u ukupno 22 nacionalnosti, a 18 jezika navode materinskima. Visokoobrazovani su bili nerazmjerno zastupljeniji u uzorku jer njih 36 ima fakultetsku diplomu, a više od polovice sugovornika bilo je aktivno zaposleno u vrijeme provođenja istraživanja.

Prema primarnim razlozima useljavanja u Rijeku najveći dio sugovornika, njih 26, čine tzv. ekonomski, tj. radni migranti koji su u Rijeku doseljavali od 1940-ih naovamo, ponajviše iz bivših jugoslavenskih republika kao radnici u brodogradilištima i u graditeljstvu, u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu (“Posla je bilo najviše u Rijeci, primjerice, u 3. maju. (...) Tamo su svi većinom radili.”). Troje sugovornika su se izjasnili kao privremeni (sezonski ili cirkularni) radnici koji zbog posla privremeno, ali učestalo, borave i rade u Rijeci.

Dio naših sugovornika i sugovornica, njih 18, pripada tzv. obiteljskim migrantima koji su dolazili s roditeljima ili pridružiti se svojim sugovornicima i suprugama te su, riješivši stambeno pitanje, svi zajedno, kao vrsta trajne imigracije, ostajali živjeti u Rijeci („Tata je imao takvu službu da je mogao dobiti grad u koji želi ići, a majka je bila jako bolesna i bilo joj je savjetovano da promijeni klimu, znači da odemo u toplije krajeve. Zbog toga smo se doselili [...] u Rijeku.“). Dio sugovornika kao obiteljskih migranata pripada i novim useljenicima koji su se zbog ljubavi i braka s hrvatskim državljanima ili sa strancima nedavno doselili u Rijeku te se tek privikavaju na život u „gradu koji teče“.

Šestero ih se u Rijeku doselilo iz inozemstva zbog školovanja i studiranja, kao primjerice, sugovornik iz Sirije koji je htio studirati u inozemstvu u 1971. je došao na studij strojarstva u Rijeku: „(...) došlo je puno studenata iz arapskog svijeta. Znači, iz Sirije, iz Sudana, većina iz Iraka, stipendisti su bili, po dvjesto njih došlo, tu su studirali, završili studije (...), a iz Sudana su došli (...) i zbog toga što je bio ugovor između 3. maja i Sudana, 3. maj je gradio brodove za Sudan“.

Četvero je u Rijeku došlo zbog potrebe za zaštitom i sigurnošću, kao izbjeglice iz ratova 1990-ih ili kao današnje izbjeglice s Bliskog istoka, osobe sa statusom azila ili supsidijarne zaštite pa tako sugovornica koja je kao dijete s roditeljima izbjegla iz Banja Luke 1995., na samome kraju rata, pojašnjava zašto je odabir pao na Rijeku: „Pa zbog posla (...), dosta naših je otišlo u Njemačku i onda smo mi mislili možda u Njemačku, ali moj tata je rekao „Ajmo prvo vidjeti kako je u Rijeci“. (...) Taj povoljni položaj, nekako su smatrali da će se tu snaći. (...) Tata je našao posao kao lučki radnik čim je došao i samim time je uspio stan iznajmiti za nas“.

Troje su povratnici iz dijaspe, rodom Riječani, mlađe dobi. Jedna je sugovornica kazala da je u Rijeku došla zbog ugone povezane s mediteranskom klimom, a dvoje zbog „ostalih razloga“, ali smo zamoljeni da ih ne navodimo.

GOSTOPRIMSTVO GRADA I PITANJE OSTANKA

Sažimajući rezultate istraživanja uočili smo kako najveći dio sugovornika izražava da su bili ili jesu prilično ili posve spremni i voljni integrirati se u život grada. Istodobno, trećina sugovornika smatra kako se unatoč toj volji društvo useljavanja i primitka ne angažira dovoljno da bi im pomoglo to i ostvariti („Rijeka definitivno nije živa niti otvorena. Ako imaš lobi, bit će otvorena, a ako nemaš (...), onda neće biti otvorena.“). U obzir treba uzeti i vrijeme useljavanja, socijalnu i

kulturnu bliskost te faktor dugovječnosti boravka u Rijeci. Stoga nije čudno što se najviše integriranim te onima koji najmanje izražavaju skepsu prema angažiranosti domicilnog društva oko pomoći u integraciji osjećaju upravo oni s najdužim „stažom“ rada i života u Rijeci, tradicionalno radnici doseljeni iz bivših jugoslavenskih republika u doba kada je ponude poslova bilo i imigrantska je radna snaga bila poželjna i tražena („Rijeka je bila Jugoslavija u malome.“). Neki su istaknuli upravo ulogu migrantskih mreža kojima su se i sami ispomagali u prvotnom dolasku njih samih ili njihove rodbine i prijatelja pri doseljavanju u Rijeku zbog posla: „Zato što je Rijeka lučki grad nekako se smatralo da su tu svi dobrodošli, da ćeš tu pronaći posao, da ćeš biti prihvaćen. Dosta naših rođaka, koji nisu povezani s Rijekom, baš zbog toga su došli“.

S obzirom na povijest doseljavanja sugovornici su danas posve integrirani u sferu tržišta rada i u šire društvene i kulturne tokove (iako ne svi), sve do potpune naturalizacije preko ostvarenih državljanstava, miješanih brakova s lokalnom populacijom i nerijetko s ratnim stažem koji neki od njih s ponosom ističu, možda kao izraz lojalnosti državi i gradu koji su odabrali. U prilog tome govori citat sugovornice koja se u Rijeku doselila 1974. iz Rusije: „Bilo je smiješno kad me zvala (...) na temu tih migracija (...), posve sam zaboravila da sam imigrantica“.

Kao tri najviše vrednovana čimbenika koja pridonose integraciji u Rijeci, sugovornici su naveli „priliku za zaposlenje“, „otvorenost i gostoprimstvo ljudi“ te „vlastitu namjeru trajnog ostanaka“. A pripadnici starije generacije, koji su već čitav radni i životni vijek proživjeli u Rijeci, kao glavne prednosti grada ističu položaj, tj. more i klimu, mentalitet i karakter ljudi, ponajviše u smislu otvorenosti. Mnogi navodi govore o tome: „Meni se ovdje najviše sviđa geografski položaj, čak mislim da je to neka otvorenost.“ „Nikome ne smeta tko si ni što si, ni ti sam ne gledaš to.“ „Najviše volim to da je na moru i da je to grad-luka.“ „Ovdje ljudi ne umeju da glasuju za nacionaliste“.

MULTIKULTURALNOST U PRAKSI

Gledajući ove parametre čini se da Rijeka jest (oduvijek) multikulturalan grad koji ima dugu stoljetnu tradiciju pripadanja raznim povijesno-teritorijalnim jedinicama i koji zna za suživot raznih etničkih, kulturnih, jezičnih i vjerskih zajednica. Također, bogata kulturna i umjetnička tradicija, i ona oficijelna, institucionalna, i ona ulična, praznična, festivalska, uz jaku struju alternativnih kulturnih obrisa proizišlih iz urbanog, lučkog i industrijskog identiteta, grada rocka i

punka, činila je Rijeku zanimljivim, vividnim eksperimentom različitosti – životnih stilova, svjetonazora, slobode i (inter)akcije. No kako reče jedan sugovornik: „Zapravo Rijeka živi na staroj slavi, a u međuvremenu se, realno, ništa značajno novo nije napravilo što bi opravdalo da grad i dalje sebe proglašava nekakvom kraljicom alternativne, pa i lijeve scene“. Multikulturalnost kao naslijeđeno stanje, datost, ne implicira nužno i aktivnu politiku, odnos i interakciju koja bi se zvala multikulturalističkom ili interkulturalističkom, a koja bi vrijedila i danas. Kao da je multikulturalnost ideal i vrijednost koja se uvijek iznova mora propitivati, zajednički graditi i čuvati, a ne uzeti zdravo za gotovo, jašući na staroj slavi. Jedan sugovornik za Rijeku kaže da je „dosta homogena sredina u kojoj određeni etnikumi i određene zajednice imaju, čini mi se, veća prava nego u nekim drugim sredinama (...), ali to nije dovoljno“.

Nešto više kritičkih refleksija dolazi od onih koji su u Rijeci percipirani kao određena vidljiva manjina za koju vrijedi da su u život grada tek diferencijalno uključeni, najčešće u sferi rada, ali su iz širih društvenih i kulturnih tokova počesto ili povremeno isključeni („Nisam imao puno neugodnih iskustava, ali ljudi ponekad kažu nešto kao „Tvoj otac je Šiptar““). Katkad je rješenje bazičnih egzistencijalnih pitanja problematična točka, kao u primjeru ovog sugovornika: „Kada sam se ozbiljno počeo baviti životom, kada sam se oženio, dobio dijete, kada je krenulo u vrtić, kada tražite nešto, kada se želite maknuti iz geta (...), onda vidite da to ne ide, da morate ne razbijati barijere, nego zidove, i to užasno visoke zidove. Pogotovo ako trebate stan unajmiti, tada vas ne žele primiti. (...) Živjeti kao podstanar i biti Rom, još s djecom, to nema šanse. To nikako nisam mogao naći“.

No na egzistencijalne ili profesionalne barijere nailaze i drugi sugovornici, koji ne pripadaju nužno manjinama: „Rijeka suprotno onom mitu o gradu u koji ljudi dolaze, sve više i više postaje grad iz kojeg ljudi odlaze. Zbog toga što su nezadovoljni činjenicom da se ovdje ne mogu egzistencijalno usidriti. Naprosto, ovdje se dogodila jedna vrsta elitizacije... Zapravo su se strukture zatvorile. Prohodnost i mogućnost da radiš nekakav posao za koji si se školovao (...) zahtijeva jednu vrstu pristupanja klanu, koji te neće tako lako pustiti. Drugim riječima, moje je iskustvo sadašnje Rijeke da je ona, *de facto*, jedan vrlo zatvoren grad za došljake, gdje ti možeš ući u strukture samo ako si dio određenih klanovskih priča. Ovdje vlada jedna, zapravo, nepotistička kultura, koja možda nije toliko vidljiva na prvi pogled i koja nije eksplicitna, tipa otac će zaposliti sina, ali će interesne skupine zaposliti sebi slične“.

PERSPEKTIVA ZA DOBAR ŽIVOT

Prema Rijeci kao gradu koji uglavnom baštini stanje multikulturalnosti, te kao gradu koji jest ili bi mogao (trebao?) biti „luka različitosti“ malo su kritičniji oni koji su se doselili u Rijeku razmjerno nedavno u ovom ili prošlom desetljeću, neki zbog posla, neki zbog ljubavi i obitelji, često i zbog kombinacije tih dvaju razloga, poneki radi studiranja. S tim sugovornicima intervjui su se nerijetko vodili na engleskom jeziku zbog slabijeg znanja hrvatskoga jezika. Njihovi su kritičniji pogledi bili češći, bilo da su sugovornici više izražavali nezadovoljstvo s nekim institucionalnim blokadama s kojima su se susreli u doticaju, primjerice, s hrvatskom birokracijom („institucije su nepovjerljive, inertne i negostoljubive“) te ne začuđuje da je „pojednostavljenje birokratskih procedura“ u rješavanju statusnih pitanja jedan od percipiranih faktora koji bi olakšao integraciju („ne znaju ti dati prave informacije u vezi toga što točno od dokumentacije, što meni sve treba, što trebam ovjerit, što treba prevesti. (...) Nisam znala kamo se okrenuti... MUP, zdravstveno, mirovinsko, pa porezna, ne znaš ‘ko pije, ‘ko plaća!’“). Ono što je, dakako, preduvjet bilo koje integracije jest poznavanje jezika sredine u koju se useljava pa je „osiguranje kvalitetnog tečaja jezika“ prepoznato kao jedna od glavnih potreba. Trećina sugovornika (posebno „novih useljenika“) smatra da se društvo primitka u tome nedovoljno angažira jer nema integracijskih politika ni programa društvene inkluzije pa se nerijetko osjećaju prepušteni samima sebi.

Oni glavnim prednostima Rijeke vide more, klimu (iako i na klimu sporadično imaju zamjerke zbog poznate riječke kiše, no to izražavaju u pokatkad šaljivom tonu), prometni položaj, usporetni ritam života, kulturnu i turističku ponudu, karneval, to da je „grad humaniji i civiliziraniji“, „život je jednostavniji, možeš se dogovoriti o svemu, standard nije visok, ali ljudi su normalni“. Istodobno glavnim nedostacima smatraju stagnaciju grada jer opažaju da se Rijeka ne razvija infrastrukturno, industrijski, turistički i kulturno: „Ne sviđa mi se što je stagnacija već zadnjih 10 godina. Rijeka ne napreduje ni u kom smislu (...), svi osjećaju neku nezainteresiranost ljudi (...), kao neka učmalost već godinama. Ne događa se ništa, ne uspijeva, kulturnih događanja sve je manje. Jednostavno, nigdje se ne vidi neki veći pomak“. Također, perspektive za poduzetništvo procjenjuju slabijima u odnosu na druge europske gradove, pri čemu znatno odmaže i komplicirana administracija s kojom se susreću. Zanimljivo je da skorašnji useljenici iz zapadnih i istočnih europskih zemalja doživljavaju domaće

stanovništvo kao „zatvorenije“ i „pasivnije“, uz dojam kako se u gradu osjeća „kolektivni nedostatak samopouzdanja“. Ipak, poneki Rijeku doživljavaju multikulturnim gradom „(...) jer tu koegzistiraju različite kulture, religije, životni stilovi“.

Stoga se čini, sudeći prema odgovorima naših sugovornika, kako se Rijeka svakim novim programom koji njeguje kulturnu različitost prisjeća i aktivno njeguje vlastitu multikulturnost, pozivajući se na nasljeđe iz prošlosti, ali i aktivno se određujući prema budućnosti. Ipak, prostora za kritičku refleksiju i revalorizaciju vlastita iskustva te još aktivniji angažman za uključivanje zajednice u stvaranje novih kulturnih sadržaja zasigurno ima. Posljedično bi se novim oblicima interakcije sugrađana, facilitiranim kulturnim praksama, ta multikulturnost još više prigrllila i aktivno razvijala. Onda bi, kao u početnim stihovima, Rijeka bila ne samo „tiha luka“, zaklon za strance, nego uistinu luka različitosti domaćih, novopridošlih i usputnih, što jest jedan od ciljeva kojemu projekt Rijeka 2020 – Europska prijestolnica kulture može stremiti.

Irena Bekić & Duga Mavrinac

Privremene migracije: migrantske (samo) reprezentacije i umjetničke strategije subjektivizacije

Početkom 2017. u okviru izložbe „Između tamo i tamo: anatomija privremenih migracija“ održane u Muzeju moderne i suvremene umjetnosti u Rijeci okupile smo radove desetero umjetnika koji su, kao odgovori na kustoske pozive ili umjetnička propitivanja migrantskih pozicija, nastali u protekla dva desetljeća. Ovim radovima zahvatile smo različite aspekte fenomena privremenih migracija što smo ga u istoimenom projektu istraživale, čime smo ocrtale svojevrstu anatomiju slučaja. Naraciju smo početno uspostavile na migrantskoj istovremenoj pripadnosti dvjema adresama, nevidljivosti u javnom diskursu i transformirajućem potencijalu privremenih migracija kao distinktivnim odrednicama spomenutog fenomena. U kasnijim smo razradama problem dopunile tangirajući društvene fenomene poput rasprostranjene i intenzivne mobilnosti, prekarosti te novih oblika komunikacije potpomognutih tehnološkim napretkom, kao i njihovih društvenih i kulturnih posljedica i mogućnosti reprezentacije.

Važno je ovdje naglasiti da je izložba, kao i projekt, bila rezultat kustoske suradnje i kolaboracije kulturne antropologije i umjetnosti. Razlozi tom zajedništvu proizašli su iz težnje obiju disciplina da se kritički pozicioniraju naspram hegemonijskih struktura, bio to politički poredak ili

hijerarhija lokalne zajednice, prodirući u prostore nevidljivih, podređenih i marginaliziranih skupina (usp. Bekić i Mavrinac, 2017). Traženjem bliskosti u aktivnim i dinamičnim ulogama unutar vlastitih djelovanja, pronalaženjem novih metoda, postavki i metafora promišljanja o suvremenosti, a zatim preklapanjem i preplitanjem umjetničkih metoda aproprijacije i metoda kulturno antropološkog propitivanja mogućih reprezentacija, pokušale smo ukazati na moguće prostore pregovaranja unutar dominantnih struktura. Nastala izložba kreirala je prostor potencijalnog liminalnog disciplinarnog polja iskrzanog interferencijama dviju struka, dok je takav kustoski diskurs naglasio i dodatno podržao značenja i sadržaje liminalnosti imanentnih temi, umjetničkim pozicijama i korištenim strategijama.¹

Na temelju četiriju radova s izložbe prikazat ćemo uvodno naznačene fenomene i njihove manifestacije. Sagledat ćemo ih kroz antropološku vizuru prvenstveno privremenog migrantskog iskustva, ali i kroz umjetničke strategije subjektivizacije migranata čiji će se modaliteti i oblici detaljnije opisati u tekstu koji slijedi.

UVJETOVANA FLEKSIBILNOST I MJESTA OTPORA

Jedna od temeljnih značajki suvremenih privremenih migracija snažna je premreženost osobnog i radnog identiteta, privatnog i radnog vremena te životnih i radnih uvjeta. Ta je premreženost rezultat djelovanja suvremenih ekonomija europskih društava koje, prema Mojci Pajnik, proizvode „uvjetovane živote“ migranata (engl. *conditioned lives*) (Pajnik, 2011.) čiji zakonski status, poslovna nesigurnost na tržištu rada te nesigurni radni odnosi proizvode prisilnu fleksibilnost u službi globalnog kapitala (Campani i Pajnik, 2011.). Potvrdu i uzrok navedene fleksibilnosti nalazimo u prekarnosti radnog mjesta, pojmu koji je zavladao teorijskim i javnim diskursom. Točnije, rad se transformirao pa postaje sve više nematerijalan, relacijski, afektivan i intelektualan nasuprot hegemoniji proizvodnje tipičnoj za fordistički model (Chicchi i Leonardi, 2011.). Pritom kreativnost, inovacija, emocija te originalnost tvore dodanu vrijednost nužnu za reprodukciju sistema. U novom tisućljeću transformacije na tržištu rada, pa tako i migrantskog, zahtijevaju cjelokupni fizički, emotivni i karakterni zalog radnika u kojemu njegovo znanje i život (bios) postaju ključne odlike koje tvore suvremeni bio-kapitalistički sustav (Fumagalli, 2011.). Primjer utjelovljenja takve transformacije tržišta rada zasigurno je pozicija plaćenih radnica u kućanstvu, gotovo uvijek migrantica. Njihov se rad sastoji od čitavog niza materijalnih usluga kao

što su čišćenje, pranje, kuhanje, presvlačenje itd., ali i onih nematerijalnih poput pružanja pažnje, strpljenja, razumijevanja, nježnosti itd. Takve uvjete rada i života talijanski antropolozi Grilli i Mugnaini nazivaju „životom u simbiozi“ (Grilli i Mugnaini, 2009.), a nepostojeća granica između vremena rada i vremena odmora označava umrežavanje i ispreplitanje privatnog i poslovnog što neminovno dovodi do upliva i kontrole prvog nad drugim.

Uz uvjetovanu fleksibilnost i prekarnost, migrantsko iskustvo i prakse u potpunosti ovise o arhitekturi moći u svakodnevnicu, jer mobilnost nije resurs jednako dostupan svima (Skeggs i Morley u Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006:3). Stoga, tko, kada, gdje i na koji način migrira ovisi o odnosu ekonomskih, rodni, socijalnih i drugih snaga te time, protivno tezi o slobodi kretanja i fleksibilnosti kao izboru, uvjetuje tipologiju rada i zaposlenja koja je moguća u migrantskom kontekstu.

Ovo je zorno ilustrirano u radu „Poruke na vratima frižidera“ rumunjskog ženskog kolektiva h.arta group, u kojemu autorice suprotstavljaju osobne, često emancipirajuće priče migrantskih radnica s novinskim naslovima koji u domovini reprezentiraju javnu sliku o njima: „Rumunjski s diplomom iz forenzike odbili noćenje u hotelu u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu jer su mislili da se bavi prostitucijom. „Bilo mi je iznimno neugodno“. Time autorice naglašavaju i problematiziraju i sveprisutno orodnjavanje i etnicizaciju rada, koje osuđuje i ukalupljuje rumunjske radnice u poslovne uslužnog sektora.

Nasuprot navedenoj stereotipizaciji rada, potencijalno mjesto otpora nalazimo u svakodnevnom praksama migranata, njihovoj imaginarnosti i komunikaciji, koje također postaju mobilne. Naime, razvijenost telekomunikacijskih sustava utječe i na redefiniranje i komprimiranje prostora i vremena u iskustvu privremenih migracija te potiče održavanje transnacionalnih odnosa (Vertovec, 2002.:4). Mobilite, kompjuteri i popratne aplikacije omogućuju virtualnu i imaginarnu mobilnost radnika, zato što personaliziraju migrantske mreže, grade nove oblike društvenih, kulturnih, obiteljskih, rodni i generacijskih odnosa, potiču brzu razmjenu informacija te stvaraju zamišljenu paralelnu prisutnost u migrantskom i matičnom okruženju (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006.:5). Na ovaj način osnažen društveni kapital i sam postaje jedan od ključnih elemenata u aktivaciji novih strategija preživljavanja i kretanja jer, kao što upozorava Lončar u slučaju hrvatskih radnih migrantica u Münchenu, (Lončar, 2013.) bez udruživanja se teško opstaje u migrantskom kontekstu. Prema tome, društveni kapital utjelovljuje i reproducira i ekonomske strategije koje

prodiru u šire društveno i iskustveno tkivo, a neekonomski odnosi postaju ključni i za ekonomski uspjeh (Procoli, 2004.:6). Dakako, i nove tehnologije u komunikaciji, društveni odnosi i svakodnevne prakse migranata zbirno redefiniraju prostornu mobilnost te time zahtijevaju da se tijelo, kao ključni element u priznavanju materijalnosti mobilnosti, smjesti u samo središte analize. Naime, fizičko tijelo koje se kreće autobusom ili vlakom, materijalno spajajući „dvije adrese“, u pokretu je i kao afektivno tijelo. Ono osjeća mjesto i kretanje te gradi nove emocionalne geografije, poput transnacionalnog roditeljstva, održavanja intime, prisnosti i bliskosti usprkos udaljenosti i sl. (Crouch i Bondi et al. u Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006.:14). Primjerice, u radu Božene Končić Badurine i Duge Mavrinac „Čemo, čemo... ja, ma kako ćemo“, o kojemu ćemo još govoriti, u fiktivnom dnevniku njegovateljice starijih i nemoćnih na radu u Italiji zapisano je kako ona „dvaput dnevno, ujutro i popodne, kuha tursku kavu. Espresso ne podnosi, ni okus ni miris. Zato i u Italiju svaki put ponese barem pola kile mljevene kave za tursku kavu. Uzme i nekoliko kutija cigareta.“ Taj gotovo ritualni čin kuhanja turske kave mjesto je otpora u smislu redefiniranja osjetilne dimenzije prostora rada koji mirisom kave priziva atmosferu doma. Ovaj citat ilustrira mogućnosti putem kojih dolazi do redefiniranja tijela i doma, jer se blizina i povezanost mogu zamišljati na sasvim nove načine (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006.:2). Nasuprot tome, međutim, na nove oblike i prakse povezanosti naliže i intrinzična raskupnutost migrantskog stanja, koju Sayad naziva „dvostruka odsutnost“, puknuće koje se iznova (ra)stvora, gradeći pritom izmijenjene strukture vanjskog i unutarnjeg svijeta, što dovodi do kontinuiranog redefiniranja odnosa s fizičkom i društvenom okolinom (Sayad, 2011.). Prema ovom alžirskom sociologu, takvo puknuće stanja povlači za sobom i kontinuirani osjećaj krivnje odsutnih, naglašavajući da svaki čin imigracije ima i svoje naličje: emigraciju čija je opravdanost uvijek upitna, na primjer, kao potencijalna izdaja, napuštanje ili bijeg. U tom procesu postaju ključne migrantske i umjetničke reprezentacijske strategije, o čemu ćemo govoriti u narednom poglavlju.

DRUŠTVENI KONTEKST I UMJETNIČKE STRATEGIJE SUBJEKTIVIZACIJE PRIVREMENIH MIGRANATA

Mobilnost, to jest, u svojoj ogoljenoj definiciji, kretanje ljudi, dobara i usluga na globalnoj i lokalnoj razini, zasigurno je jedna od temeljnih značajki 21. stoljeća, ali i moćan diskurs koji stvara vlastite posljedice i uvjetovanja (Hannam, Sheller,

Urry, 2006.). Sloboda tog kretanja unutar Europske unije, motivirana željom za pronalaskom posla na zajedničkom tržištu rada, potragom za drugačijim životnim stilom ili mogućnostima napredovanja za visokokvalificirane radnike, načelno je osigurana kao temeljno pravo na kretanje dobara, usluga, kapitala i ljudi. To je, dakako, i ideološka i simbolička potkova političkog diskursa Unije koja se s tim pojmom često i poistovjećuje (Toplak Cirila, 2018.:17). Dinamika i artikulacija tog kretanja, tumačena kao resurs, ali i kao ideološki diskurs i propagandna krilatica bez nužnih popratnih i temeljnih socijalno-ekonomski političkih regulativa, utječe na ekonomski, društveni i kulturni život država članica te iziskuje reorganizaciju njihovih institucija u procesu stvaranja tzv. „networked society“ (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006.:2). Iz navedenoga proizlazi i naša želja za skretanjem pozornosti na često zanemarenu skupinu suvremenih migranata, točnije privremenih ili tzv. cirkularnih migranata koji aktiviraju uzastopne, višestruke i, ponekad, višekratne migracijske cikluse. Potonji su prvenstveno osobe koje nalaze posao u inozemstvu kao njegovateljice starijih i nemoćnih, dadilje, kućne pomoćnice, upućeni radnici, ali i umjetnici koji su, kao radnici u kulturnom sektoru, prema nekim istraživanjima (Toplak Kristina, 2018.) izloženi pojačanom pritisku ideologije mobilnosti kao iskustvenog i društvenog kapitala ključnog u aktivaciji i osiguranju ekonomskog i simboličkog priznanja.

Te smo rakurse željele obuhvatiti izložbom, govoreći o strategijama bivanja i snalaženja privremenih migranata iz Hrvatske, Rumunjske i Bosne i Hercegovine u cirkularnim migracijskim tokovima prema Italiji, Sloveniji, Španjolskoj i Njemačkoj. Govor o ovim temama u kontekstu izložbe nužno uključuje i govor o umjetničkim strategijama kojima se prenose, jer nije svejedno koji se kanali odabiru u procesu subjektivizacije marginaliziranih i događa li se ona doista. Naime, nije stvar u tome da se prenese slika ili izrazi suosjećanja, već u tome da se izmijene zauzeti odnosi u strukturi. Drugim riječima, zaposjedanje nekog prostora, ili neke druge konfiguracije, podrazumijeva njihovu transformaciju, odnosno promjenu postojeće socijalne relacije i prostorne konstelacije čime se otvara prostor alternativnim značenjima. Nadalje, u gradnji narativa izložbe polazimo od pretpostavke da je proces subjektivizacije marginalnih skupina ključni aspekt redefiniranja društva. Pritom se ponuđene umjetničke, kao i neumjetničke strategije grade na performativnim radnjama: na upisivanju tijela u javni prostor te na artikulaciji drugih oblika materijalnosti

subjekta, kao što su (gramatičko) lice, jezik ili glas. Sam pojam performativnosti koriste smu na tragu autora koji ga, poput Michela Foucaulta ili Judith Butler, preuzimaju iz Austinove lingvističke tradicije. Performativne radnje po njima nisu ni reprezentativne ni referencijalne; drugim riječima, ne postoji neka unutrašnja bit ili stabilni identitet koji bi one trebale izraziti (Butler, 2000.). Naprotiv, one proizvode identitet kao svoje značenje, čime mijenjaju odnose u strukturi te započinju procese subjektivizacije. U kontekstu privremenih migracija, upisivanje/izvođenje migrantskog tijela u javnom prostoru značilo je iskorak iz zadanog prostora drugosti tj. marginaliziranog migranta ili migrantice, što je otvorilo mogućnost protiputivanja i redefiniranja već uspostavljenih odnosa i granica. Takav iskorak nije samo simboličan. On povlači promjenu i u samopercepciji migranata i migrantica, a njihova figura postaje javno vidljiva te se može prepoznati i kao klizni, fleksibilni, singularni i aktivni identitet. Takav identitet sudjeluje u izgradnji i redefiniranju konteksta u kojemu svojim životnim i radnim praksama participiraju. Pokušat ćemo elaborirati navedeno na primjerima radova Andreje Kulunčić, Vede Popovici te Božene Končić Badurina i Duge Mavrinac.

Izdvojeni radovi na različite načine preispituju potencijale djelovanja privremenih migranata te problematiziraju njihov društveni položaj u javnim prostorima. Primjerice, kada u radu „Bosanci van! Radnici bez granica“, Andreja Kulunčić želi pozicionirati problem migrantskog rada kao problem socijalnih politika i legislative, a ne samo pojedinačnih odnosa spram stranaca, ona primjenjuje marketinške strategije oglašavanja u urbanom prostoru i služi se retorikom reklamnog oglasa: govor iz prvog lica i imperativni način. Riječ je o radu koji je nastao za izložbu „Muzej na cesti“ Moderne galerije u Ljubljani, 2008. za vrijeme renoviranja muzejske zgrade. Odgovarajući na pozivnu temu posvećenu gradskoj margini, Andreja Kulunčić prepoznaje da su upravo migrantski radnici oni koji se nalaze na krajnjem društvenom rubu. Poziva tri građevinska radnika iz Bosne, Osmana Pezića, Saida Mujića i Ibrahima Čurića, privremeno zaposlenih na obnavljanju muzejske zgrade da, potpisujući ugovor s Muzejom pod istim uvjetima kao i ona, zajedno naprave rad o poziciji migrantskih radnika u Sloveniji. Finalni produkt je javna kampanja. Plakate s fotografijama radnika i njihovim izjavama o vlastitom statusu, ograničenim radnim pravima, vezanosti radne vize uz poslodavca, lošim životnim uvjetima, razdvojenosti od obitelji i diskriminaciji kojoj su izloženi, postavljaju u *city light boxove*

na frekventna mjesta u središtu Ljubljane, pozicionirajući migrantsko pitanje kao političko pitanje.

Za razliku od Andreje Kulunčić, koja uspostavlja politički dijalog u dominantnom javnom prostoru, Veda Popovici radom „Spomenik migrantima“ izvodi autopoeitičnu simboličku gestu. Postavljanjem spomen-ploče posvećene onima „koji prelaze granicu (...), putuju, rade, vole i pate daleko od svojih domova i voljenih“, na međunarodni autobusni kolodvor u Bukureštu, koji predstavlja mjesto svakodnevnih migrantskih kretanja, Popovici djeluje na osnaživanje autoreprezentacijske naracije. I ovdje se radi o subverziji javne retorike. Naime, spomen ploča oblik je memorijalne javne plastike kojom hegemonijski aparat mapira određenu povijesnu i kulturnu konstrukciju, naglašavajući njezina ključna mjesta definirana tobožnjim konsenzusom. Preuzimajući postupak komemoracije, uključujući i svečano otkrivanje ploče, Popovici stvara novi prostor javnog sjećanja i zajedničke emocije, ali i prostor legitimacije i priznavanja velike prisutnosti migracijskih kretanja u rumunjskoj svakodnevnici. U nekom uzročno-posljedičnom poravnanju i političkom diskursu koji bi priznao činjenicu iseljavanja i migrantske tranzicije kroz zemlju, ovakav bi spomenik bio nužna komemoracijska gesta. U konačnici, autorica ipak unosi zabunu u iščitavanje dominantnog nacionalnog narativa kakav se posreduje memorijalnim konfiguracijama.

Samopercepcija migranata definirana je javnom slikom o njima, ali će se, kao što smo spomenule, donekle promijeniti kada se migrantsko tijelo premjesti u vidljiv javni prostor. Međutim, kako h.arta grupa zorno upozorava u svome radu, samopercepcija migranata definirana javnom slikom uvijek je opterećena političkim i simboličkim nasiljem (Foucault 2011.). Iz medijskih naslova poput „Rumunjski ministar proglasio supruge rumunjskih radnika u inozemstvu lakim ženama, a njihovu djecu huliganima“ ili „Prepuštena sebi samima, djeca rumunjskih migranata pronalaze način da sama uspiju“ jasno je vidljiva moralna osuda ženske radne migracije te se ističe fizička odsutnost majke. Njezin napor da financijski zbrine vlastitu obitelj i pritom izgradi transnacionalno roditeljstvo u potpunosti je zanemaren i neutraliziran. Navedeni primjeri medijske stereotipizacije migranata, u kojoj se oni karakteriziraju kao žrtve ili zločinci, ukazuju na kontinuiranu homogenizaciju migrantske populacije. To je u krajnjoj liniji i politički čin negacije njihovih posebnosti, ali i čin njihova svodenja na gotovo amorfno, a nekad i potencijalno opasnu, masu.

Na cesti realizirani radovi Andreje Kulunčić i Vede Popovici ulaze u Muzej kao dokumentacija, čime se odnosi uspostavljaju na cesti iznova izvode. Za razliku od toga, suradnički rad antropologinje Duge Mavrinac i umjetnice Božene Končić Badurine „Čemo, čemo... ja, ma kako čemo?!", koji je nastao na osnovi zajedničkoga terenskog istraživanja autorica i prethodnih istraživanja antropologinje, realizira se kao ambijentalna instalacija, osmišljena da se jednim svojim segmentom – bilježnicom kao polufiktivnim dnevnikom kazivačica – nakon prolaska kroz galeriju vrati u prostor neumjetničke svakodnevice. Međutim, Končić Badurina i Mavrinac, nakon terenskog istraživanja s njegovateljicama koje, opterećene ambivalentnim osjećajima zbog odlaska i vlastite odsutnosti, odlaze iz Hrvatske na rad u Italiju, rekonstruiraju njihov simboličan dom i mogući dnevnik. Na taj ih način supostavljaju pravnom političkom aktu, Konvenciji C189² te smještaju njihov posve nevidljiv i suspenzan život u zonu javnosti. Time Muzej postaje njihova prolazna zona, prostor praga i mjesto legitimacije. Isto tako, i ne manje važno, muzej se potencijalno transformira u servis zonu, jer postavlja uključuje informativne materijale i letke s informacijama o adresama na koje se njegovateljice mogu javiti za pomoć i zaštitu. Dnevnik kreiran nakon zajedničkog boravka na terenu bilježnica je koja skicira svakodnevne radnje, prostore i prakse bivanja i rada njegovateljica. Ove dirljive i duhovite crtice prenapregnute su brigom, skrbnošću, štednjom, poslušnošću i svakodnevnim invencijama kao zonama otpora. Tiskane u velikoj nakladi, namijenjene su dijeljenju posjetiteljima i drugim nekontroliranim distribucijama. Progovarajući o pitanju komodifikacije njege, skrbi i emotivnog rada, ovaj rad kontekstualizira suvremeni fenomen neformalnog plaćenog rada u kućanstvu. Time ujedno propituje i zakonodavne odredbe te s njima povezanu pravnu nezaštićenost radnica, ističući kako u Hrvatskoj Konvencija C189 i dalje ostaje neratificiran dokument.

Analizirani radovi svjedoče o požrtvornosti, nesigurnosti, snalažljivosti, prilagodljivosti, fleksibilnosti i otporu kao uporištima vrijednosnih sustava koji pokreću i održavaju cirkularnu migraciju. Tako njegovateljica u zamišljenom dnevniku „bilježi“ kako „...nije plakala ni za vamo ni za tamo. Zнала je da mora poč. Novaca je trebalo, rekla je sebi: Ako mogu druge mogu i ja!“. Građevinski radnik iz Bosne i Hercegovine izlažući na plakatu u javnom prostoru u Ljubljani vlastitu životnu i radnu marginaliziranost izjavljuje: „U Sloveniji sam dosta dugo, promijenio sam mnoge domove (misli se na samački dom, op. I. B. i D.

M.), ali još nisam naišao na jedan dom koji je dostojan čovjeka, a ne životinje“. Pritom plakati prikazuju profinjene interijere stanova na čijoj su izgradnji radnici zaposleni, suprotstavljajući ih prikazima njihove reducirane svakodnevice. Gramatika slike upućuje na reklamu, a imperativna rečenica „Bosanci van!“ mogla bi sugerirati poželjni proizvod. Valja imati na umu da su radnici sami autori plakata, stoga je posrijedi dvostruka subverzija: u odnosu na medij i u odnosu na društvenu konstelaciju u kojoj žive. Autoironija se pokazuje ovdje kao moćan alat podređenih koji je smjelim prodorom u dominantni prostor ogolio njegove uzuse. Dodajmo pritom da su gradske vlasti uklonile plakate odmah po njihovu postavljanju, da bi ih na inzistiranje Muzeja ponovno vratile. U toj neplanirano nastaloj situaciji ocrtava se moguća uloga umjetničke institucije kao korektiva društvene ravnoteže.

Ponovimo, na kraju, da su radovi koje smo u ovom tekstu izdvojile, nastali na sjecištu umjetničkih i neumjetničkih estetika (usp. Rancière, 2009.), a otvorili su javni prostor za subjektivizaciju migrantskog tijela. U interferenciji umjetnosti, antropologije i svakodnevnice, ovi radovi uspjeli su ovladati heterogenim estetskim poljem, odnosno, oni su ga generirali uspostavljajući nove odnose. Naime, smještajući rad u liminalni prostor, koji je umnogome i prostor njihovoga umjetničkog djelovanja, autorice su težile poljuljati važeću društvenu konstelaciju, redefinirajući odnose u njoj. U Rancièreovim terminima rečeno, one su ideje o „povijesnoj nužnosti“ pretpostavile „topografiju konfiguracije mogućnosti, percepciju mnogostrukih promjena i izmještanja“ (Rancièr u Voorhies, 2017:140). Takva pozicija po Rancièru omogućuje umjetničke invencije kao i forme političke subjektivizacije (Voorhies, 2017.). U izgradnji narativa izložbe „Između tamo i tamo: anatomija privremenih migracija“ upravo je navedena teza bila jedna od polazišnih točaka u pristupu fenomenu privremenih migracija. Kroz navedene primjere ukazale smo na potencijale umjetničkih i neumjetničkih estetika u redefiniranju pozicije privremenog migranta kao marginalnog i pasivnog subjekta. Na kraju, ovi iskoraci u javne i institucionalizirane prostore Muzeja i ulice pokazali su se kao mogući alati propitivanja društvene topografije temeljene na dihotomiji centra i ruba, odnosno dominantnog prostora i prostora margine.

1 O izvorištima naše suradnje, kao i o izložbi, pisale smo u deplijanu i u tekstu o izložbi u Životu umjetnosti pod naslovom „Biti/postojati između

tamo i tamo; toposi privremenih migracija u izložbi „Između tamo i tamo; anatomija privremenih migracija“, Život umjetnosti 101(2): 100-113., stoga se pojedina mjesta ovdje iznesenih razmišljanja i tema podudaraju s navedenim tekstovima.

2 Uz sudjelovanje predstavnika vlada i poslodavaca te dugogodišnje aktivne participacije samih radnica/ka u kućanstvu i njihovih predstavnika, u lipnju 2011. godine izglasana je Konvencija C189 Međunarodne organizacije rada (ILO). Dokument je rezultat prijeko potrebnog formalnog priznavanja i vrednovanja specifičnosti položaja radnica/ka u kućanstvu; jasno definira osnovne mjere zaštite zaposlenika/ca, štiti njihovo pravo na privatnost i pravo na osnivanje sindikata, jasno definira uvjete rada, dnevni i tjedni odmor, minimalna primanja i sl. te konačno priznaje dosad često uskraćivana radnička, a ponekad i ljudska prava. Ipak, kako navodi Međunarodna organizacija rada, dokument je do danas ratificiralo i primijenilo samo 29 država, zbog čega on ostaje nedostižna realnost za one u čije je ime i izglasan.

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Od tranzita do naseljavanja, između suosjećanja i ksenofobije: prilagodba novoj raznolikosti u zagrebačkom hotelu Porin i njegovoj okolini

U javnim raspravama često se smatra da migracija sadrži binarne suprotnosti kao što su ekonomski migrant/izbjeglica, starosjedilac/stranac, ili nešto preciznije odlazak/(tranzit)/naseljavanje. Oslanjajući se na kritičke granične studije i istraživanja svakodnevnog multikulturalizma, ovaj rad razmatra dvoznačan prostor između tih dviju suprotnosti. Predstavljanjem dvaju etnografskih primjera (neočekivano i neodlučeno naseljavanje, i suosjećajna ksenofobija) iz antropološkog terenskog rada provedenog u Zagrebu između 2017. i 2019. godine, rad će istaknuti na koji način dvoznačnost napetosti između a) tranzita i naseljavanja i b) suosjećanja i ksenofobije proizvodi odnose, emocije i subjektivnosti. Cilj je pokazati kako se, kao rezultat nedavnih migracija preko Balkana, stvaraju aspekti nove društveno-kulturne raznolikosti u Hrvatskoj i kako teče prilagodba na njih u svakodnevnom životu, da bi se odgovorilo na sljedeće pitanje: kakav se multikulturalizam razvio u Zagrebu u posljednjem desetljeću?

Schrover i Moloney (2013:37-41) smatraju da se multikulturalizam pojavio kao ideologija i politika za upravljanje kulturnom raznolikošću koja je nastala uslijed migracija u mnoge zapadne zemlje 1960-ih godina. Sadašnji se oblik migracije u Hrvatskoj razlikuje od onog na koji se spomenuta dva autora pozivaju, ali i od prethod-

nih migracija u Hrvatsku iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije. Za razliku od perioda ekonomskog rasta i socijalnih država nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u zapadnoj Europi, urbani žitelji Zagreba prilagođavaju se na nove različitosti u trenutku kada se većina europskih država s dužom poviješću postkolonijalnog multikulturalizma suočava s tzv. „otporom prema različitostima“ (Vertovec i Wessendorf, 2010). Nova raznolikost u Zagrebu javlja se u kontekstu heterogenosti, sekuritizacije, ekonomske krize i prekarnosti. Štoviše, hrvatsko iskustvo izgradnje nacije i izgnanstva u 1990-ima odigralo je važnu ulogu. Raznolikost danas, kojoj se prilagođavamo kroz različite društvene, ekonomske i etičke okvire, ne može se razdvojiti od tehnologija razgraničenja i srodnih procesa rasijalizacije na krizom pogođenoj periferiji Europske unije. Međutim, kako tvrde De Genova i Mezzadra (2015:57-62), granice nisu samo linije ili zidovi; one su produktivne i dozvoljavaju prolazak u jednakoj mjeri kao što ga priječe, što dovodi do umnažanja podređenih pozicija.

NEOČEKIVANO I NEODLUČENO NASELJAVANJE

U trenutku kad Europska unija učvršćuje svoje granice, Hrvatska, kao nova članica na rubu njezinoga teritorija teži ući u Schengenski prostor. Ovo Hrvatskoj nameće dvostruku ulogu: dužna je poštivati ljudska prava izbjeglica, ali istodobno i štititi vanjsku granicu od 'ilegalnih' ulazaka. Od 2015. godine raste broj zaprimljenih zahtjeva za dodjelu azila, i već ih je odobreno nekoliko stotina¹, iako mnogi još uvijek pokušavaju otići dalje na sjever pa su u stvarnosti ove brojke znatno niže.

Dužnosnik hrvatske vlade izjavio je u jednoj javnoj diskusiji u Zagrebu da „migranti zloupotrebljavaju hrvatski sustav azila“ kako bi ušli u Europu te da činjenica da 77% njih odlazi dokazuje da su oni ekonomski migranti. Ovime se, zapravo, željelo reći da su ti migranti 'pravi' tražitelji azila, ostali bi ovdje. Oni koji koriste Hrvatsku samo kao tranzit često su u potrazi za boljim poslom dalje na sjeveru ili ondje imaju prijatelje ili rodbinu. Drugdje u Europi ljude privlače veće migrantske mreže i prostori koji omogućavaju „život u svojoj kulturi“, kako mi je rekao jedan sudanski izbjeglica, objašnjavajući kako nedostatak tih prostora u Hrvatskoj ipak olakšava integraciju među Hrvate. Oni koji u zemlji borave duže vrijeme čine to iz raznih razloga, što otežava procjenu njihovog statusa kao izbjeglica ili ekonomskih migranata. Slijedi nekoliko primjera nestabilnog prostora težnje između tranzita i naseljavanja.

Tijekom terenskog rada volontirao sam (čišćenje, satovi hrvatskog jezika) u hotelu Porin. To je stari hotel koji je 2011. godine prenamijenjen

u glavni prihvatni centar za tražitelje azila, a smješten je na rubu Novog Zagreba, u Dugavama. Ondje sam upoznao Farzaada, dvadesettrogodišnjaka iz Afganistana. U Hrvatsku je došao 2011. godine kao maloljetnik bez pratnje. Nakon završene srednje škole upisao se na fakultet. Dok sjedimo u kafiću u Dugavama, govori mi: „Nisam planirao biti ovdje. Želio sam otići dalje, ali nisam imao dovoljno novca. Čekao sam oko tri, četiri mjeseca da dobijem novac, ali u međuvremenu mi je odobren azil, (...) odlučio sam ostati ovdje“. Vahid – tridesetosmogodišnjak iz Irana sa sličnom pričom – na pitanje želi li ostati odgovara nedvosmislenom izjavom: „Ovdje sam. Ovdje je moj život, tu sam“. Farzaad želi ostati u Hrvatskoj, ali težnja da ode ostaje otvorena. „Ponekad se mislim, na primjer, nakon što diplomiram i sve ostalo, steknem neko radno iskustvo (...) da onda odem. Ali se opet mislim. Nakon što upoznaš situaciju u jednoj zemlji, naučiš jezik, upoznaš ekipu... početi iznova, od nule... u nekoj novoj zemlji, totalno od nule. Tada ću imati oko dvadeset i sedam, dvadeset i osam godina... Znaš, teško se tada prilagoditi. Dok si mlad, privikneš se vrlo brzo na razne situacije. Kada si malo stariji, možda do tada i oženjen, tko zna“. Zanimljivo, način na koji je pričao o dvojbi oko ostanaka ili odlaska iz Hrvatske u neko buduće vrijeme („nikad se ne zna“) odjek je dilema i budućih promišljanja mnogih mladih Hrvata. Donio je odluku da oстане, ali nije potpuno napustio ideju o odlasku. Slično, Simran – tridesettrogodišnjak iz Sudana – naglasio je da je „sada ovdje“ ali da će „vidjeti kako će se stvari razvijati“ u bliskoj budućnosti. Nije „sto posto siguran“ kao Vahid, koji je izrazio želju s više sigurnosti, ali sigurniji je nego što je mislio kada je tek došao. U međuvremenu, obojica su naučila hrvatski, stekli bliske prijatelje i našli posao u Zagrebu.

Većina ljudi koji ostanu su oni koji se nisu isprva planirali naseliti u Hrvatsku, ali su to odlučili tijekom putovanja, jer je ovdje relativno sigurno, ili zato što nisu mogli prijeći granicu. Među onima koji žele ostati su i oni koji su deportirani iz Njemačke, Austrije i drugih EU zemalja i poslani natrag u Hrvatsku, jer je to bila prva EU zemlja u koju su došli i gdje su im granični policajci uzeli otiske prstiju. Kao posljedica zatvaranja granice, a postizanjem glavnih kulturnih (jezik), društvenih (prijateljstva) i ekonomskih (posao) ciljeva, neočekivano su se vezali za novo mjesto. Collyer (2007:668) ističe kako shvaćanje migracije koja se sastoji od „sve fragmentarnijih putovanja“ može pomoći potkopavanju dominantnog („...“) razumijevanja migracije kao jednostavne tranzicije od mjesta porijekla do odredišta“. Umjesto da pretpostavimo linearnu logiku, „za mnoge mi-

grante (...) njihovo odredište nije određeno kada napuštaju dom, ono se može promijeniti puno puta tijekom putovanja i, koje god ono bilo, možda u njega nikada neće stići“. Dinamika ostanaka i odlazaka iz Hrvatske ukazuje na kompleksnost odluka i režima čija interakcija oblikuje ili sprječava mobilnost. Tranzit je, dakle, mjesto na kojem, da bismo nadišli promatranje migracije kao neometanog kretanja, možemo promatrati „kontinuiranu dinamiku između situacija naseljavanja i kretanja u situacijama nejednake moći“ (Glick, Schiller i Salazar, 2013:188). Kako je schengenske granice sve teže prijeći, ono što je nekad bilo privremeno naseljavanje može postati stalna privremenost i potencijalno dugotrajno naseljavanje.

U svojoj raspravi o motivacijskim silama koje generiraju i sprječavaju migraciju, Carling i Collins (2018:911) pokušavaju ići korak dalje od isključivog oslanjanja ili na ekonomsko objašnjenje, ili na potpuno prisilno preseljenje. Navode da teorija migracije treba „uzeti u obzir višestruke komponente migracije, koja je njezina pozicija u imaginarnim geografijama, valencijama emocija, društvenim odnosima i obvezama i politikama i odnosima moći, kao i ekonomskim imperativima i surovom realnosti preseljenja“. Oni tvrde da se subjektivnost i identitet migranata „nastavljaju formirati te da nisu predodređeni mjestom porijekla i načinom dolaska“. Navedeni primjeri pokazuju složenost odluka, težnji, emocija i privremenosti na kojima se temelji odnos između tranzita i naseljavanja. Daleko je dvosmisleniji od državne pretpostavke da su težnje migranata zatvorene, definirane prije putovanja i netaknute raznim iskustvima na putu. Štoviše, zajedno s razvijenim osjećajem za kulturu, društvenim mrežama i ekonomskim mogućnostima, država i njezne granične prakse (zakonodavstvo, uzimanje otisaka prstiju) značajan su dio tih iskustava. Iako su ti mladići odlučili ostati u Hrvatskoj, to ne znači da je njihovo putovanje završeno. Na pitanje o neizvjesnoj budućnosti, mnogi odgovaraju potvrdom sadašnjosti, u kojoj imaju više prostora za manevar. Kao što Simran kaže, „ovdje“ i „sada“.

LOKALNO STANOVNIŠTVO I SUOSJEĆAJNA KSENOFOBIIJA

Bilo da ostanu ili ne, prostorno (ovdje) i vremenski (sada) su isprepleteni odnosima s hrvatskim građanima. Ti odnosi su građevni blokovi u kontinuiranom procesu gradnje nove raznolikosti. Medijsko praćenje, kao i sociološka i antropološka istraživanja o stvarnim iskustvima dodira između novih migranata i hrvatskih građana uglavnom izražavaju dva opća ishoda: empatiju (Čapo, 2015:399) i ksenofobiju (Gregurović

et al., 2016; Pozniak i Petrović, 2014; Župarić-Ilić i Gregurović, 2013:209). Empatija se obično tumači kao rezultat hrvatskih iskustava u Domovinskom ratu i izgnanstva u 1990-ima. Isto tako, moglo bi se reći da su kontekst izgradnje nacije i etnička homogenizacija u navedenom ratu doprinijeli odbacivanju stranaca. Međutim, i kolektivna sjećanja i procesi stvaranja granica između skupina su složeniji, i uključuju uzajamno djelovanje većih društvenih struktura i procesa te više mikrodruštvenih i društveno-psiholoških pregovora. U nastavku navodim primjer ove poteškoće da se lokalne reakcije precizno definiraju ili kao suosjećajne, ili kao ksenofobne.

Većina odluka ili namjera da se u Hrvatskoj smjesti veći broj migranata rezultirala je njihovim smještanjem izvan gradskih centara, kako bi se minimizirao kontakt s lokalnim stanovništvom koje se tome možda protivi. Ipak, čak i na najudaljenijim mjestima javljaju se društvene prisutnosti, odnosi i interakcije. Kao što je izneseno u istraživačkoj orijentaciji poznatoj kao „svakodnevna multikulturalnost“ (Wise i Velayutham, 2009) ili „uobičajena raznolikost“ (Wessendorf, 2013), ova svakodnevna iskustva, susreti i osporavanja na lokalnoj razini važna su mjesta na kojima se odvijaju mnogi pregovori o različitostima (Amin, 2002).

Gordana – žena u četrdesetim godinama, živi u kući dvjesto metara udaljenoj od hotela Porin. Upoznali smo se na jednoj od mojih šetnji iz hotela – gdje sam radio kao volonter tijekom istraživanja – do stana koji sam te godine iznajmio u Dugavama. Sreli smo se dok sam hodao istom blatnjavom prečicom koju su tzv. „azilanti iz Porina“ svakodnevno koristili za kretanje tim područjem. U pauzi od čišćenja ograde, rekla mi je: „Iskustva s njima su zaista loša, čistim blato s njihovih cipela koje svakodnevno brišu na našoj ogradi. „Oni hodaju ovdje 24 sata dnevno, a ja svakodnevno čistim“. Gestikulirajući i praveći kružne pokrete prstima, Gordana aludira na beskonačno ponavljanje i rezignaciju, opisujući tranzitni položaj Hrvatske u trenutačnom europskom migracijskom kretanju i stalan opticaj novih tražitelja azila koji dolaze ovamo, ostaju neko vrijeme, (pokušaju) otići pa se vrate. To otežava izgradnju dugotrajnih odnosa na obje strane u susjedstvu, i utječe na više svakodnevnih problema. Njoj ne bi smetalo da ljudi dođu od bilo kud i usele u susjednu kuću, ali ipak se žalila osoblju hotela Porin i općini. Nakon stanke, Gordana nastavlja: „Ja nisam ksenofobna. Znam da su ti ljudi prošli puno toga...“ Vjerujem joj, vidio sam i osjetio da je bila vidno dirnuta i suosjećajna kada su pored nas prolazila izbjeglička djeca na putu

do obližnje škole. Međutim, unatoč iskazanoj empatiji, poslije se u naš razgovor uvuklo sve više ksenofobnih izraza, sličnih onima koje sam čuo od manje samilosnih mještana. Oni su za nju bili „glasna i necivilizirana horda“, za druge su bili „divljaci“, „mudžahedini“, „stoka“, „smeće“, „silovatelji i teroristi“, ili najčešće, ona istovremeno opasna i spektakularno egzotična kategorija „crnci i Arapi“ koji se sada nalaze u Hrvatskoj.

Osjećaj koji ona izražava dok opisuje svoju situaciju je nelagoda, znači osjećaj nelagode, napetosti i tjeskobe koji nije lako bolje iskazati. To je uobičajeni afektivni opis svakodnevne koe-gzistencije lokalnih stanovnika i migranata u susjedstvu. Čini se da je najvećim dijelom nelagoda posljedica demografske činjenice da su mnogi tražitelji azila u hotelu Porin mladići. Treba napomenuti da su tamo smješteni i žene i djeca, posebice posljednjih godina, ali muškarci čine većinu. Jedan od razloga je taj što je balkanska ruta vrlo teška za prijeći pa su obitelji uglavnom smještene u prihvatnom centru u Kutini. Osim toga, žene koje se nalaze u Porinu većinu vremena provode u svojim sobama. Nelagoda je potreba za udaljenošću, znak da je „Drugi“ prešao granicu osobnog i društvenog prostora. To se može, na primjer, osjetiti kada netko ustane sa sjedala u autobusu nakon što migrant sjedne pored njih, ili izbjegava sjesti u blizini migranta, ili u potpunosti izbjegava taj dio grada. Jedna mlada žena koja živi i radi u Dugavama mi je rekla: „Ne osjećáš se ugodno dok sjediš sama na autobusnoj stanici, a pored tebe je grupa od deset Pakistana ili Alžiraca“. Najčešći opis nove raznolikosti na periferiji Zagreba je „grupa tamnoputih muškaraca“. Ova rodna rasijalizacija (tamnoputi muškarci) vezana je za određene društvene forme (skupine) u koje se neki od novih subjekata grupiraju, a to rezultira osjećajem straha ili tjeskobe kod lokalnog stanovništva.

Diskurs o tamnoputim muškarcima kao „silovateljima“ proširio se diljem Europe, ali su rodne uloge u stvaranju granica također usvojene kroz lokalne povijesti rata. Dok sam kupovao namirnice u maloj trgovini u blizini hotela, blagajnica mi je rekla: „Da, razumijem, treba pomoći ljudima. I ovdje je bio rat, ljudi su odlazili, ali među njima ima puno mladića, pa, znaš, uzmi pušku, stavi je na rame i idi“. Implicirala je neka idu u rat, kao što su to napravili hrvatski muškarci. I drugi su dijelili slično mišljenje, da su mlade izbjeglice „dezerteri“ koji nisu obranili svoju zemlju. Svrstavanje u dezertere podupire nepovjerenje i prezir, a ne suosjećanje.

S obzirom na heterogenost suvremene migracije, postoje i druge grupacije migranata koje

se rjeđe spominju u medijima. Na primjer, školska djeca, ili muškarci i žene (i tamne i svijetle puti) pojedinačno, izazivaju različite emocije i ostvaruju drukčije susrete. Nakon što mi je Gordana rekla kako se žalila na migrante, a dok sam se trudio shvatiti njezinu „suosjećajnu ksenofobiju“, i ona se sama borila. „Pitala sam se više puta, pretjerujem li? Imam li se pravo žaliti, jesu li to tek mali problemi? Ali u pitanju je moj svakodnevni život“. Naravno, njena ksenofobija je slojevitija i blaža nego, na primjer, u mladića kojeg sam našao u autobusu br. 220 dok sam sjedio blizu njega sa svojim iranskim sugovornikom iz hotela Porin. Gledajući nas, rekao je da bi ih sve pobio. Gordanin osjećaj prema migrantima mješavina je suosjećanja i ljutnje, a time i krivnje. Zanimljivo, kada sam nakon nekoliko mjeseci opet razgovarao s Gordanom, rekla mi je: „Smirilo se, nismo imali više problema. Dakle, ili smo se navikli ili su se oni popravili“.

Wessendorf (2013:410) tvrdi da „(...) susreti u javnom i društvenom prostoru neće nužno doprinijeti dubljem međukulturnom razumijevanju, ali odsustvo takvih susreta može pojačati predrasude. Redoviti susreti u društvenim prostorima (...) igraju osobito važnu ulogu u procesu upoznavanja s ljudima koji su drugačiji i privikavanja na komunikaciju s različitim.“ Iskustva kontakata između migranata i lokalnog stanovništva u Dugavama ukazuju na to da kroz neposrednu blizinu sa strancem i protokom vremena, prostor između prihvaćanja i odbacivanja postaje nejasniji. Takva višeznačnost istovremeno omogućuje izgradnju i transgresiju društvenih granica.

Današnja rasprava o migraciji na nivou država, granica, „tokova“, „ruta“, brojeva i korištenja raznih kategorija (izbjeglica, tražitelj azila, ekonomski migrant) nedovoljno objašnjava stvarni doživljaj migracije i njezin utjecaj na svakodnevni život ljudi uključenih u taj proces. Granični režimi na složene načine utječu na odluke migranata i njihove odnose s „ne-migrantima“. Iskustva multikulturnih interakcija u svakodnevnom životu uhvaćena su u međuigru tih graničnih utjecaja s lokalnim povijestima i pregovorima, pa imamo reakcije u rasponu od ksenofobije do suosjećanja. Nasuprot takvih državocentričnih perspektiva koje dominiraju javnim raspravama o migraciji, a oslanjajući se na istraživanje u hotelu Porin i okolnim prostorima, ovaj rad fokusira se na praktična iskustva običnih ljudi. Naglasak je stavljen na interakciju između težnji i procesa stvaranja značenja s društvenim strukturama i povijestima, kako bi se pokušale otkriti neke nijanse, paradoksi, i pregovori koje obični ljudi koriste i s kojima se susreću u svakodnevnom životu. Rasprava o migraciji i raznolikosti teško se može odvojiti od tih pitanja.

1 Od 2006. do 31. ožujka 2019. u Hrvatskoj je azil odobren za 626 osoba, a za 141 je priznata supsidijarna zaštita. Većina dolazi iz Sirije, Afganistana i Irana (MUP 2019.).

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III

PRIPADA LI
BALKAN

EUROPI?

PITANJE
POLITIČKE I
SOCIJALNE
INTEGRACIJE
NA
RUBOVIMA
EUROPE

Mediteran i Balkan pred vratima tvrđave Europe

Aktualni trenutak u kojem svjedočimo usponu postfašizma, kakvim ga je precizno definirao Enzo Traverso, a posljedično i konačnom raspadu koliko humanističkog toliko i idealističkog narativa o ujedinjenoj Europi, označio je kraj svih iluzija o kraju povijesti i beskonfliktnom svijetu. No, ujedno je i ukazao na daljnju egzistenciju procesa dugog trajanja, koje je još Braudel prepoznao kao karakteristične za mediteranski svijet. Ti procesi sada nisu samo ograničeni na mediteranski ili balkanski svijet, koji je ionako dio Mediterana, nego i na zapadnu Europu, oličenu u EU, koja svakom svojom političkom aktivnošću iznova afirmira sve predrasude o balkanskom i mediteranskom svijetu, koje kolaju prostorom zapadne Europe već čitavo stoljeće. To se najbolje očituje u upornom odbijanju prihvaćanja postjugoslavenskih zemalja u okvir Europske unije, s izuzetkom Slovenije i Hrvatske koja je teškom mukom ušla u EU tek 2013. godine. To odbijanje je cijelo vrijeme aktualno, unatoč činjenici da te zemlje, između ostalog i zbog nedostatka europske perspektive, odlaze u regresiju na svim poljima. U tom imaginariju Mediteran i Balkan postaju prostori potisnutog nesvjesnog, prostori kojima su namijenjene mrvice u vidu svjesno onemogućene Unije za Mediteran ili uloge nekakvog predziđa Europe koji bi je trebao konzervirati. Ovakvi

stavovi najbolje su došli do izražaja devedesetih godina, tijekom ratova za jugoslavensko nasljeđe, kada se na zapadu odlično primala priča o stoljećima ukorijenjenom nasilju na Balkanu pa su se iz te perspektive tumačili ratovi kao nešto sudbonosno i nepromjenjivo. Egzemplar ovakvog pristupa bila je tada popularna knjiga Roberta Kaplana „Balkan ghosts“. Tragedija svega navedenog nije samo u tome što nisu iskorištena iskustva tog suštinski pograničnog svijeta u konstrukciji moderne Europe, nego i u tome što unutar Europe vlada naivno uvjerenje da je očajne mase svijeta u pokretu k pristojnoj egzistenciji moguće zaustaviti nasiljem i granicama. Drugim riječima, umjesto da pokuša razumjeti ljude koji dolaze i uvaži njihova povijesna, ali i traumatska iskustva, koja itekako imaju veze sa zapadnim svijetom, u Europi je došlo do zatvaranja granica, postavljanja bodljikavih žica bez ikakvog prava razloga, masovne histerije i uspona desnog populizma. Stoga, pravo je pitanje danas: što se dogodilo s Europom bez granica?

PROSVJETITELJSKO OTKRIĆE MEDITERANSKOG SVIJETA

Da je otkriće Novog svijeta označilo definitivnu prekretnicu u svjetskoj povijesti i posljedično potisnulo mediteranski svijet u drugi plan, danas je općepoznata stvar. Taj proces, koji otpočeo s nastupom Ranog novog vijeka, a svoj vrhunac doživio s pravim usponom kapitalizma polovicom 19. stoljeća, pretvorio je u konačnici Veliku Britaniju i Nizozemsku u velike imperijalne sile, dok su mediteranske zemlje, čak i one poput Španjolske koje su se enormno obogatile zahvaljujući tom otkriću, s vremenom postale provincija bez ikakvog realnog ekonomskog, društvenog i političkog utjecaja na svjetskom nivou, pa čak i na europskom. To je jednako vrijedilo za pomorsko-trgovačke republike (Genovu, Veneciju i Dubrovnik), kao i za Osmansko Carstvo koje se činilo nepobjedivim u 16. stoljeću. O posljedicama nove ekonomske stvarnosti odlično je u svojoj knjizi „Bogatstvo i siromaštvo naroda“, pisao David Landes, no ona je, iako u Hrvatskoj prevedena 2003. godine, ostala temeljito nepročitana. No, zato je jedna druga knjiga, s pravom ozbiljno pročitana i postala je opće mjesto humanistike i društvenih znanosti. Riječ je o kapitalnoj dvotomnoj studiji Fernanda Braudela „Sredozemlje i sredozemni svijet u doba Filipa II.“, u kojoj autor, nakon što je obišao gotovo sve mediteranske povijesne arhive, ispisuje detaljnu sliku Mediterana s konca 16. stoljeća i kao termin u humanistici uvodi „fenomen dugog trajanja“, označivši ga kao temeljno obilježje mediteran-

skog svijeta. Braudelova teza je da se promjene koje vrijeme donosi na Mediteranu događaju isključivo površinski, dok zapravo istinski život ostaje suštinski netaknut promjenama. Izlišno je i napominjati kako je ovaj veliki francuski povjesničar bio u pravu. Kada govorimo o mediteranskom, pa i balkanskom svijetu, kao njegovom integralnom dijelu, primarno u vidu imamo dva procesa koja se konstantno izmjenjuju. Jedan je usko vezan uz trgovinu i svaku vrstu razmjene, bilo kulturne ili demografske, te karakterizira mirna razdoblja, dok je drugi vezan uz sukobe i ratove, koji su, jasno, bili puno rjeđi od ovih prvih, iako to nije dojam koji nosimo nakon što prođemo javno osnovnoškolsko i srednjoškolsko obrazovanje. Općenito govoreći, kolektivno iskustvo mediteranskog i balkanskog svijeta je iskustvo granice, sa svim dobrim i lošim stvarima koje ta činjenica nosi. Stoga su sva aktualna pitanja u vezi izbjegličke krize, od migracija vezane uz želju za boljim životom, pa do odnosa kršćanske Europe prema islamu, nešto što je već odavno viđeno i postoji u memoriji Mediterana. Jedino što predstavlja istinsku novost u tom odnosu je nasilje prema izbjeglicama, motivirano nastojanjem da im se onemogući dolazak u zapadnu Europu. Ovome ćemo se vratiti u sljedećem poglavlju, nakon što se upoznamo s istinskim otkrićem Mediterana u prosvjetiteljstvu te odavno populariziranim pojmom balkanizacije.

Naime, zahvaljujući definitivnom okončanju većih ratnih sukoba između Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva u prvoj polovici 18. stoljeća uspostavljen je višedesetljetni mir u zaleđu Dalmacije, a njegova druga posljedica je da je zahvaljujući ishodima Kandijskog (1645. – 1669.), Morejskog rata (1684. – 1699.) i rata koji je završio mirom u Požarevcu (1714. – 1718.), značajno proširen mletački posjed u zaleđu Dalmacije i uspostavljena je granica koja i danas čini granicu Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Po okončanju tih ratova, na golemi ispražnjeni teritorij Mletačka Republika doselila je morlačko stanovništvo, što se zgodno poklopilo s razvojem prosvjetiteljstva i imaginacije o iskonskim ljudima koji žive u zaleđu Dalmacije, kao autentični Europljani, neiskvareni dosezima zapadne civilizacije. Ovaj narativ, proizveden i promoviran od strane francuskih enciklopedista te potpomognut od strane Alberta Fortisa, točnije njegovog putopisa iz Dalmacije, zajedno s knjigom Roberta Adama posvećenom rimskom nasljeđu i Dioklecijanovoj palači, odlično se uklopio u nastojanja Mletačke Republike da utemelji novi legitimacijski mit Republike koja će svoje ključno utemeljenje naći u Dalmaciji, za razliku od prijašnjeg inzistiranja na

Levantu. Zašto sve ovo pišem? Pa zato što je taj novoprobudeni interes za Dalmaciju bio praćen sve intenzivnijim trgovačkim dodirima dviju jadranskih obala i svojevrsnim prapočecima kulturnog turizma. Drugim riječima, u redovnoj komunikaciji među jadranskim obalama sudjelovao je običan svijet, jednako kao i europski intelektualci, što se iz današnje perspektive čini kao nezamislivo nasljeđe. Imajući u vidu sve navedeno, sve do pada Venecije i dolaska Napoleonove uprave, odnosno formiranja Ilirskih provincija (1806. – 1813.), nakon čega su u Jadran uplovile ruska i britanska flota te općom blokadom trgovine prekinule, kako veze, tako i gospodarski uspon jadranskog prostora, Dalmacija je funkcionirala kao most koji je spajao istok i zapad u svakom smislu. To iskustvo je s vremenom potisnuto i danas jadranske obale i čitav mediteranski prostor kao da su zaboravili vlastitu prošlost.

NACIONALIZAM KAO FAKTOR PARCELIZACIJE PROSTORA

Za razliku od gospodarski prosperitetnog 18. stoljeća, pojava i snažan razvoj načina nacionalizma kao općeg procesa u 19. stoljeću, prebacio je fokus s trgovine i civilnog života na pitanje granica, teritorija, većine i manjine i svih sličnih stvari koje su maksimalno unazadile istočni Mediteran i balkanski prostor, sve od tada pa do danas. To je posredno dovelo do predrasuda zapadnog svijeta prema čitavom tom prostoru, koje su vrhunac doživjele za vrijeme ratova za jugoslavensko nasljeđe devedesetih, a sve to unatoč činjenici da je upravo zapadna Europa bila poprište najkrvavijih sukoba u Prvom svjetskom ratu, a u konačnici i kolijevka naci-fašizma i svega što je ta ideologija donijela sa sobom. Balkansko-mediteranski svijet kakvog danas poznajemo temeljno je određen ratovima koji su se odvijali tijekom posljednja dva stoljeća, i to redom: Grčkim ratom za nezavisnost, potom ratovima za nacionalna oslobođenja balkanskih naroda koja su vrhunac doživjela u Balkanskim ratovima i Prvom svjetskom ratu, Drugim svjetskim ratom, koji je bio posebno brutalan na prostoru Jugoslavije i Grčke, te na koncu ratovima za jugoslavensko nasljeđe.

Priča je, barem u osnovnim crtama, općepoznata. Slabljenjem Osmanskog Carstva, koje je i inače počelo sve više zaostajati, zbog sve veće zatvorenosti unutar sebe i pojavom ideje nacionalizma na europskoj razini, počelo se postavljati pitanje nacionalnog oslobođenja balkanskih naroda, u prvom redu Grčke, koja je zbog antičkog nasljeđa uživala simpatije zapadnog svijeta. Ti su procesi doveli do srpskih ustanaka, pa rata za nezavisnost Grčke, zatim do Prvog

balkanskog rata u kojem su se mlade nacije borile za oslobođenje i teritorij protiv Osmanskog Carstva, a u Drugom balkanskom ratu međusobno. Sve to bilo je praćeno prvim etničkim čišćenjima pred očima međunarodne javnosti, uslijed čega je Balkan počeo biti percipiran u imagologiji Europe kao izrazito negativan pojam, da bi vrhunac takvih negativnih odnosa i odluka došao s drugim grčko-turskim ratom, koji je počeo po okončanju Prvog svjetskog rata, s grčkom idejom da pripoji obalni dio Male Azije, ponajprije Smirnu/Izmir Grčkoj. Kako je sve skupa bilo praćeno i procesom stvaranja turske nacionalne države, uz popratni genocid nad Armencima, kao i uz odmazdu prema grčkoj populaciji Carigrada, sva ta nacionalna buđenja okončana su sramnim sporazumom iz Lausanne iz 1923., u kojem je tek stvorena međunarodna zajednica dopustila nešto duboko antihumano i prije svega cinično, a to je tzv. humano preseljenje. U sklopu tog projekta, gotovo čitava turska populacija Soluna praktično je nasilno preseljena u Tursku, a u suprotnom smjeru otišli su maloazijski Grci i dobar dio carigradskih. Nakon prve ciparske krize i još jednog organiziranog uličnog nasilja iz pedesetih godina, populacija carigradskih Grka spala je s nekoliko stotina tisuća s početka 20. stoljeća, na tek oko 2 500 ljudi danas. O svemu ovome dvije odlične knjige napisao je povjesničar Mark Mazower. Prva je „Balkan: kratka povijest“, a druga, koja je kapitalna za razumijevanje razine destrukcije, je „Solun: grad duhova“. Naime, upravo taj grčki grad, koji je u međuvremenu promijenio ime u Thessaloniki, predstavlja paradigmu kojom je nacionalizam uništio osjetljivu strukturu i otvorenost istočnog Mediterana. Taj se grad, koji je bio druga luka Osmanskog Carstva i u kojem su zahvaljujući činjenici da je Carstvo s dobrodošlicom primilo prognane španjolske Sefarde, gotovo u idealnom omjeru živjeli Grci, Turci i Židovi, čineći grad bogatim, nakon egzodusa Turaka i holokausta pretvorio skoro u jednonacionalni grad s izrazitim nacionalističkim senzibilitetom.

Tako smo od bogate trgovačke razmjene na istočnomediteransko-balkanskom prostoru u 18. stoljeću, koja je mnogim ljudima i zajednicama omogućila kontinuiran prosperitet, došli do antagoniziranih i autarkičnih zajednica podložnih ideji krvi i tla te daleko od bilo kakve normalne komunikacije. Uspom nacionalizma nije stoga samo dokinuo prosperitetne pomorsko-trgovačke republike, poput Venecije i Dubrovnika, nego i velike transnacionalne carevine i u konačnici jedinstveni prostor trgovačko-kulturne razmjene. Kad tome pridodamo i nama bliži slučaj odnosa habsburške Dalmacije i osmanske Bosne, točnije

odluku austrijskih vlasti da na gotovo dvadeset godina po okončanju Napoleonovih ratova suspendira trgovačku razmjenu između tih dviju regija, dobit ćemo jasnu sliku onoga što je izvrstan povjesničar Mediterana, David Abulafia u knjizi „The Great Sea: The Human History of the Mediterranean“, okarakterizirao kao „peti, fragmentirani Mediteran“, smjestivši ga u hladnoratovske godine. Jugoslavenski pokušaj, posebno onaj iz socijalističkog razdoblja, koji je umnogome integrirao značajan dio promatranog prostora, bio je anuliran hladnoratovskom podjelom Europe, koja je na taj način, uz etnička čišćenja koja su uslijedila po okončanju Drugog svjetskog rata, gotovo u potpunosti eliminirala različitosti na svom prostoru, pretvorivši Mediteran od mora bliskosti, kakvim ga je logično nazvao Predrag Matvejević u „Mediteranskom brevijaru“, u more fragmentiranosti, kakvim ga je prozvao Abulafia. Ciparsko pitanje koje je kao daleki odjek tih procesa aktualno i danas, živo svjedoči o besmislenosti svega do čega je uspon nacionalizama doveo.

POVIJESNI KONTINUITETI I DISKONTINUITETI NA BALKANSKO-MEDITERANSKOM PROSTORU

Kao što sam već ranije u tekstu naveo, fenomen dugog trajanja na Mediteranu utjecao je na to da ništa od onoga što se posljednjih godina događa na mediteranskom i balkanskom prostoru, izuzev institucionalnog odbijanja da se izbjeglice istinski prihvate, nije nepoznato u iskustvu i pamćenju. Pored toga što je dobar dio Europe imao, bilo višestoljetno iskustvo osmanske uprave, bilo prisutnost Osmanlija na granicama, zapadna Europa je također bila u stalnom kontaktu s islamskim svijetom. Jedno vrijeme preko Piri-nejskog poluotoka, a potom kroz stalne trgovačke ili piratske kontakte sa sjevernoafričkim gusarima i gradovima te na koncu kroz činjenicu da su zapravo Nizozemci i Britanci najviše profitirali od osmanske trgovine u 18. stoljeću. No, svi ti kontakti imali su i drugu stranu koja se odnosila na negativnu fascinaciju islamskim svijetom u dobrom dijelu ranog novog vijeka. Iz te kombinacije fascinacije i straha izniknuo je i značajan dio europskog identiteta tog doba, iz čega je ostala i za naše prostore pogubna kovanica tzv. predziđa kršćanstva, koja je oživljena devedesetih godina. O prvotnom zatvaranju Europe u sebe pred susretom s islamskim svijetom i arhitektonskim te mentalitetnim razlikama između bedemi-ma opasanih kršćanskih mediteranskih gradova i otvorenih islamskih gradova, pisao je Franco Cardini u knjizi „Europa i islam“. Jedna pak druga knjiga, vrsnog austrijskog esejista i poznavatelja

europskih kultura i zajednica, Karl Markusa Gausa, „Europljani u izumiranju“, dijelom se bavila albanskim izbjeglicama pred osmanskim najездом koje su u ranom novom vijeku izbjegle u unutrašnjost Apeninskog poluotoka, zadržavši albanski identitet i povijesno pamćenje. Gotovo identičnu priču imamo s moliškim Hrvatima, uslijed čega možemo zaključiti kako je u ranom novom vijeku, koliko god to paradoksalno zvučalo, Europa često bila otvoreniya za susrete s drukčijima nego što je to danas. U konačnici, s obzirom na to da je Venecija stoljećima bila glavni grad obalne i otočne Dalmacije, a u posljednjem stoljeću i kopnene, tisuće ljudi s dalmatinskog prostora preselilo se u Veneciju u potragu za poslom, pri čemu ih je najveći broj radio u tada najvećem industrijskom pogonu ovog dijela svijeta, mletačkom Arsenalu, koji je u jednom danu mogao proizvesti kompletno novu galiju. Tragovi prisutnosti tih ljudi sačuvani su do danas u imenima mnogih ulica u sestieru Castello, posvećenim Hvaranima, Šoltanima i ostalima, o čemu je iscrpno pisala i piše povjesničarka Lovorka Čoralić u svojim radovima. Kontinuitet povijesnog pamćenja jedinstvene jadranske kulture je početkom 19. stoljeća prvi put prekinut, da bi kroz sukobe talijanskog imperijalizma i južnoslavenskog nacionalnog sentimenta bio gotovo u potpunosti destruiran. Do te mjere da je donekle preživio u leksiku i načinu života, a vrlo zanemarivo u memoriji društava. Svi oni koji u posljednje vrijeme pokušavaju oživjeti tu memoriju, bilo da je riječ o rodonačelniku tog pristupa, Predragu Matvejeviću, ili trščanskom novinaru Paolu Rumizu koji je napisao putopisnu knjigu „Ođavde do Lepanta“, pa sve do Vladimira Mićkovića, mostarskog umjetnika i autora nevjerovatne glazbene posvete tom svijetu u vidu nedavno objavljenog albuma pod nazivom „Riva degli Schiavoni“, objavili su svoja djela duboko svjesni da na jednom mjestu skupljaju tek ostatke memorije nekoć velike jadransko-mediteranske kulture.

POSLEDNJI MEDITERAN ILI BRUTALNO NOVO DOBA

Gotovo je sasvim sigurno da u momentu dok pišem ovaj tekst grupa očajnih ljudi pokušava ilegalno prepliviti Mediteran i doći na talijansko tlo, s velikim izgledima da neće preživjeti taj poduhvat. Jednako kao što je posve sigurno da istu stvar pokušava neka drugi grupa ljudi na granici između Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske. Svijet u kojem živimo umnogome je obilježen postfašizmom, što je termin koji je u nedostatku boljega ponudio povjesničar Enzo Traverso, pokušavajući aktualni koktel povijesnog revizionizma,

novog zatvaranja Europe u sebe, netrpeljivosti prema drugima i drukčijima definirati unutar novih kategorija. Mislim da je u tome uspio i da termin savršeno odgovara kao definicija svih takvih pokreta i političkih stranaka koje su na valu tog tipa osjećaja počele širiti Europom posljednjih godina.

Paradoks i cinizam neoliberalne Europe danas možda se najbolje ogleda u odnosu prema izbjegličkoj krizi, posebno kad je smjestimo u kontekst vremena. Naime, David Abulafia u spomenutoj knjizi svoje posljednje poglavlje, naslovljeno kao „Posljednji Mediteran, 1950.-2010.“, započinje rečenicom da kasno 20. stoljeće predstavlja jedno od razdoblja velikih migracija mediteranskog svijeta, i to zbog sjevernoafričke migracije u Francusku, talijanske u SAD, ali i sve brojnije migracije grčke i turske zajednice u London, kao posljedica Ciparske krize te na koncu i talijanske migracije u Veliku Britaniju. Cinizam suvremene Europe ogleda se u tome što im ove migracije nisu ni najmanje smetale, dočim je današnje uznemiruju, iako se ideološka pozadina Unije posvećene ljudskim pravima nije promijenila. Svemu tome su naravno prethodili egzodus Nijemaca, koji su bili u statusu nacionalnih manjina u brojnim europskim zemljama odakle su zbog kolektivne krivnje koju su ponijeli protjerani u Njemačku, te postratna emigracija mnogih preživjelih Židova u novoformirani Izrael. Međutim, ova dva procesa bila su planski provedena kao izraz političke volje Europe koja je porazila fašizam i počela se rekonstituirati. Ovdje ne treba zaboraviti ni značajan izbjeglički val koji se iz ratom zahvaćenog jugoslavenskog prostora razlio po čitavoj Europi, bez ikakvih većih problema, pri čemu je luka u Anconi u mnogim takvim slučajevima funkcionirala kao prvo mjesto susreta izbjeglica sa životom u miru. Ovo s Anconom je posebno zanimljiv slučaj, budući da je realno prvi put nakon 18. stoljeća kada su te veze bile gotovo svakodnevne, istočnojadranski svijet uspostavio most prema ovom zapadnojadranskom gradu. Pored ovih posve normalno shvaćenih migracija, imamo i činjenicu nevjerovatnog porasta turističke industrije, koja je postala glavna gospodarska grana mnogih mediteranskih zemalja, kako europskih, tako i sjevernoafričkih, ali i Turske.

Drugim riječima, istovremeno s organiziranim poticanjem masovnih putovanja, imamo organizirano onemogućavanje putovanja nekih drugih ljudi, odnosno otvorenu diskriminaciju, i to mahom ljudi koji upravo dolaze s mediteranskih prostora. Štoviše, koliko god se to možda i mogao činiti kao jednostrani pokušaj francuskog predsjednika Sarkozyja, ostaje činjenica da je

formiranje Unije za Mediteran od strane Europske unije, koja je trebala poslužiti kao platforma za integraciju tog svijeta, znatno prije eksplozije izbjegličke krize, u tolikoj mjeri obesmišljeno i sadržajno osakaćeno, da se ta Unija gotovo uopće nije oglasila otkad je izbjeglička kriza započela. Unija za Mediteran je tako ostala nešto što egzistira tek na papiru, dok realno nema nikakav utjecaj, a ponajmanje onaj kakav je bio zamišljen izvorno, da putem nje Europska unija na neki način integrira ostatak mediteranskog svijeta, bez da on formalno uđe u EU.

Stojimo tako, prije svega kao ljudi, a potom i kao Mediteranci i Europljani, pred zabrinjavajućim pitanjem, možemo li i kako tim ljudima pomoći i na koji nam način memorija Mediterana može u tome pomoći? Ovaj tekst napisao sam kao polaznu točku za razmišljanje o tim pitanjima.

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Manuela Bojadžijev

„Najkraći put u svijet” — migracije, građanska prava i Europska unija u državama bivše Jugoslavije, replika nakon petnaest godina

Ovaj se tekst temelji na istraživanjima koja sam provela u okviru projekta Tranzitne migracije između 2003. i 2005. zajedno s Rutvicom Andrijašević te *sound art* umjetnicima Dontom Rhincom i Elliotom Perkinsom iz *sound art* kolektiva *Ultra-red* u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji.¹ Cilj nam je bio istražiti ondašnju primjenu europskoga graničnog režima na rubovima Europe i to učiniti iz očista samih migranata, tj. metodološki staviti u fokus migrantske prakse. Tako smo – koristeći se pristupom ‘autonomije migracija’ – otvorili pogled na migracije koji nam je omogućio ne samo da obuhvatimo aktere migracijske politike na državnoj razini, tj. razini Europske unije, nego smo njihovu politiku uspjeli dovesti u odnos s konkretnim praksama migranata u zemljama i regijama jugoistočne Europe.² Odluka da se tekst za ovu knjigu objavi u ponešto prerađenom i jako skraćenom obliku zanimljiva je posebno stoga što je tema tranzitnih migracija kroz bivšu Jugoslaviju od ‘ljeta migracija’, tj. kretanja izbjeglica od 2015. do danas, ponovno probudila temu izbjeglištva i migracija u regiji i kroz regiju bivše Jugoslavije. Treba se dakle prisjetiti situacije od koje je doduše prošlo petnaestak godina, ali koja je bila neka vrsta prethodnice jer su u tom trenutku uspostavljeni preduvjeti za današnje okolnosti, u čemu se može uočiti značajan kontinuitet.

EUROPA I NJEZINO NEMOGUĆE GRAĐANSTVO

Nekoliko godina nakon završetka rata u Jugoslaviji ova je regija i dalje bila značajan indikator za europski proces ujedinjenja. Još za trajanja ratnih sukoba na ovim prostorima, u Europi nije postojao jedinstven stav o tome je li Balkan dio Europe. Zagovornici vojne i političke intervencije ili NATO-vih bombardiranja iznosili su argumente kako se politiku progona, kakva se dogodila u tom ratu, ne smije dopustiti na europskom tlu, a s druge se pak strane Europa u ime ljudskih prava i uplitala u taj rat. Jedan od političkih pokretača ove sve veće zbrke bio je Pakt o stabilnosti u jugoistočnoj Europi, izmišljen za „unaprijeđivanje sposobnosti Europske unije“; koordinatorski Pakt Erhard Busek izjavio je kako je Pakt o stabilnosti zapravo „kamp za obuku“³. No naše istraživanje o migracijskim kretanjima i konfliktima povezanim s konceptom građanstva otvara mogućnost za tezu da je upravo obrnuto, da se ovu regiju može smatrati kampom za obuku Europske unije. Sve do danas Europska unija reproducira vlastitu nesposobnost zahvaljujući unutarnjim granicama stvorenima migracijskom politikom na Balkanu. U ovom je istraživanju stoga riječ i o (ne)mogućnostima koncepta građanstva u Europi, što je pak povezano s pitanjem Etiennea Balibara o nastajanju novih granica na ovom kontinentu: „Europa – nemoguće građanstvo?“⁴

RAT, DRŽAVNOST, MIGRACIJE

Rat u bivšoj Jugoslaviji nadišao je granice pukov uništenja protivničke vojske. Taj je rat život stanovništva organizirao na potpuno novi način, definirao granice i oblikovao političku geografiju ove regije. Nove su se vlade i nevladine organizacije nakon rata dale na posao, a nacionalni i međunarodni sudovi preuzeli na sebe dio politike pomirenja. Nastao je novi oblik kontrole proizvodnih oblika i prakse mobilnosti (usp. Negri 2003.)⁵. Da bi se u regiji izbjegli daljnji konflikti nakon više od desetljeća ratnih sukoba, cijeli niz do danas postojećih država bio je prisiljen pitanja svoje unutarnje i vanjske suverenosti ostaviti otvorenima. Često se zanemaruje činjenica da miješanje EU-a u takozvani proces stabilizacije u regiji ima popratne pojave koje podrivaju državnu i negativno se odražavaju na njezine promjene, a to posebno jasno dolazi do izražaja u migracijskim politikama te politikama koje se tiču građanskih prava sa svojim brojnim akterima kao što su državni aparat, nadnacionalne agencije, nevladine organizacije i migrantske prakse. Osporavani i konfliktni proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja, naknadno provođen Programom CARDS (Pomoć zajednice za obnovu, razvoj i stabilizaciju),

stvorio je okvir za različite dinamike i brzine u zemljama takozvanoga Zapadnog Balkana (u koji se ubrajala i Albanija, ali ne i Slovenija) kad je bila riječ o provođenju migracijskih politika, kontroli na granicama i građanskim pravima. Prvobitni je cilj bio homogenizacija tih politika i stvaranje prostora slobodnog kretanja osoba prema šengenskome modelu Europske unije. Pritom je projekt stvaranja neke vrste mini EU-a na Balkanu, koju bi se onda kao cjelinu integriralo, početkom dvijetisućitih godina potisnut zbog različitih brzina u politici pojedinih zemalja jer su Hrvatska i Makedonija službeno tada već bile zemlje kandidatkinje za pristup Europskoj uniji. Znamo da je Hrvatska u međuvremenu postala članicom EU-a, no daljnji je proces pridruživanja potom u velikoj mjeri zapeo, dok su sasvim drugi procesi, poput dužničke i financijske krize, u međuvremenu doveli u krizu i sam europski proces, a posljedice toga ni danas nisu sasvim sagledive (podsjećamo na Brexit).

Da bi se razumjeli višeslojni procesi dereguliranja i ponovnog reguliranja teritorija i stanovništva početkom dvijetisućitih godina, nužno je promotriti središnji moto „Management of Population Movements“ koji se u to vrijeme pojavio. Smatralo se da je zbog svoja četiri aspekta ovaj moto središnji topos EU-a: (1) zbog posljedica rata otprilike je milijun izbjeglica (među najbrojnijima u svijetu) živjelo u ovoj regiji, (2) četiri od pet takozvanih zapadnobalkanskih država bile se najčešća zemlja podrijetla tražitelja azila u zemljama EU-a, (3) trebalo je poduprijeti povratak migranata i migrantica (većinom izbjeglica iz rata) koji su živjeli u Europskoj uniji (u dokumentima su se spominjali čak i pripadnici treće generacije) iz bivše Jugoslavije, (4) te su zemlje zbog razmjerno slabih struktura na granici i zbog ilegalnih pomagača pri prelasku granice smatrane tranzitnim zemljama za ulazak u Europsku uniju. Glavni operativni cilj za budućnost tada je trebala biti borba protiv „ilegalnih migracija“. U tu je svrhu trebalo u svim zemljama primjenjivati jedinstveno zakonodavstvo vezano uz davanje azila te „Integrated Border Management“ u cijeloj regiji. Obje su te mjere bile temeljni mehanizmi u državnoj kontroli migracija. Kontrolni je aspekt bio nadopunjen upravljanjem migracijama. U jednom od MARRI-jevih (Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative) dokumenata iz Sporazuma o stabilizaciji piše: „Sama kontrola ne može jamčiti sigurnost državama ako ne bude popraćena mjerama koje će osloboditi produktivne resurse građana, uključujući i migrante i njihov povratak“. Slogan „sloboda kretanja“ tu je započeo novu karijeru i u ovom je kontekstu značio

liberalizaciju davanja viza unutar i iz ove regije. Jer sloboda kretanja smatrala se odlučujućim čimbenikom koji će osigurati stabilnost u regiji i unaprijediti gospodarske reforme. Primjena migracijskih politika EU-a u ono je doba u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije bila u različitim fazama – može se reći da je njihova primjena bila to usklađenija s propisima što je zemlja bila bliža Europskoj uniji.

TKO SU MIGRANTI?

Iako taj proces nikad nije dovoljno jasno percipiran, proces proširenja EU-a dogodio se i izvan njezinih granica. Jedna od premisa našega istraživanja TRANSIT MIGRATION glasila je da se taj proces ne može razumjeti ako se ne istraže različita migracijska kretanja zasnovana na društvenim mrežama koje se u ovim zemljama isprepleću ili iz njih potječu. Upravo su te mreže stvorile krhki temelj za primjenu migracijskih politika i politika za provođenje građanskih prava Europske unije. Tako su na području bivše Jugoslavije nastali „novi granični krajobrazi”⁶ (Balibar 2003). Ne samo da se Europska unija proširila preko svojih vanjskih granica nego su migracijska kretanja u raznim smjerovima pospjela europeizaciju kontinenta.

Naše je istraživanje u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji pokazalo da postoje razne skupine migranata u čijim se pričama odražavaju socijalne i ekonomske promjene koje su se zbile u Jugoslaviji u razdoblju nakon 1989. Te su promjene obilježile politički proces migracija podložan stalnoj mijeni.

Rat je u velikoj mjeri pokrenuo izbjeglička kretanja i organizirano protjerivanje izbjeglica. U Beogradu smo sreli „vukovce”. Bili su to uglavnom muškarci iz Vukovara koji su se okupljali u parku oko spomenika srpskoga filologa Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića na bivšem Bulevaru revolucije, jednoj od glavnih beogradskih ulica, gdje su čekali da im netko ponudi kakav privremeni posao da zarade nadnicu. Većina je njih izbjegla pred ratom, neki su došli za vrijeme NATO-vih bombardiranja s Kosova. Sreli smo i one s iskustvom radne migracije u Njemačkoj. Ovdje su svaki dan čekali da ih netko zaposli kao jeftinu radnu snagu za malu nadnicu ili plaću po satu za rad na gradilištu ili u poljoprivredi. Mnogi od njih živjeli su u jednoj od preko četristo baraka ili smještaju dodijeljenom *Internally Displaced Persons*. „Beograd je izbjeglički logor”, rekao je jedan od njih u intervjuu. Druga skupina nadničara dolazila bi ljeti, uglavnom sezonski, iz Rumunjske ili Bugarske. Oni su pripadali skupini bez dokumenata koju bi policija svake godine kupila i poslala natrag preko granice.⁷

Nisu svi ratni izbjeglice odlazili u zemlje ko-

jima su etnički pripadali, nego su odlazili onamo gdje su očekivali zaštitu. Neki su od njih više od deset godina živjeli u barakaškom naselju u predgrađu Ljubljane s privremenom dozvolom boravka kojom im nije dopušteno da se zaposle, a nisu imali ni pravo na socijalnu pomoć ili zdravstvenu skrb. Djeca su, doduše, smjela ići u školu i završiti izobrazbu za određeno zanimanje, ali potom ne bi imali pravo na radnu dozvolu. Mnogi su od njih stoga bili prisiljeni na rad na crno, a time su automatski bili izloženi riziku protjerivanja iz zemlje. Drugi su se pak odlučili na alternativne putove pa bi otišli u Njemačku ili Austriju. Grad Ljubljana se 2002. odlučio na raspuštanje barakaških naselja u kojima je tada živjelo približno dvije tisuće izbjeglica i u skladu s propisima EU-a u području migracijske politike ispunjavanje zahtjeva postavljenih procesom proširenja: na istom je mjestu planirana izgradnja doma za tražitelje azila. Stanovnici barakaških naselja bili su pozvani da si pronađu novi smještaj ili, još bolje, da se vrate odakle su došli. To nije bio samo ciničan zahtjev nego i složen pothvat jer je većina njih pobjegla iz Srebrenice.

Da iznova ne bi postali žrtve politike protjerivanja, organizirali su Bosanski izbjeglički odbor i uz potporu slovenskih skupina pobudili pozornost javnosti. Zajednički su organizirali festival na koji je došlo oko sedam tisuća ljudi. U okviru festivala odigran je poslijepodnevni nogometni turnir na kojemu su se momčadi borile za „Temporary Winner Cup”. Navečer je na pozornici, uz bendove iz Slovenije i Hrvatske, nastupio u okviru tada sve snažnijega kritičkog antiglobalizacijskog pokreta u ono doba slavni bend Manu Chao. Slijedile su i druge akcije s isto tako snažnim odjekom u javnosti i važnom ulogom u političkim raspravama. Naposljetku su i dovele do uspjeha u političkoj borbi za neograničenu dozvolu boravka i rada, kao i za pravo na školovanje djece i mladih. Izborili su se i za jamstva za smještaj u ljubljanskim stanovima.

TRANZITNA MIGRACIJA KAO „VELIKI CIRKUS”

U znanstvenim se radovima o migracijama obično polazi od pretpostavke da država regulira boravak i ulazak na neki teritorij. No (ne samo) u Srbiji cijeli je niz nadnacionalnih i međunarodnih organizacija imao velik utjecaj na državnu politiku i u različitim trenucima te su organizacije oblikovale i određivale migracijske procese. Tako je u migracijsko-političkome režimu u Srbiji sudjelovalo više aktera. Tu su bili Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova i granična policija za kontrolu granica, a unutar državnoga teritorija policija je kontrolirala osobne dokumente. Policija upravlja

i „sabirnim centrom“ Padinska Skela, kamo se šalju migranti bez osobnih dokumenata. Za vrijeme našeg istraživačkog boravka imali smo rijetku prigodu posjetiti tu ustanovu. Ustanovili smo da je dio nekadašnjega zatvora prenamijenjen u logor za internaciju migranata koji su „ilegalno“ prešli granicu. Od tog su trenutka migranti uhvaćeni na srpskim granicama bez osobnih dokumenata dovodeni u Padinsku Skelu. Oni tamo ne smiju boraviti dulje od trideset dana. U tom se razdoblju provode mjere za njihov povratak u zemlju podrijetla. Oni koji bi podnijeli zahtjev za azil, bili bi premješteni u Motel 1000 ruža u predgrađu Beograda. Za vrijeme našeg posjeta Padinskoj Skeli nismo dobili dozvolu za razgovor sa zatočenicima pod izgovorom da migranti potječu iz Kine i Bangladeša i da ne govore ni jednim od jezika koji su nama stajali na raspolaganju. U intervjuu s odgovornim voditeljima logora za protjerivanje iz zemlje doznali smo da su oni službeno zaduženi i za povratak srpskih građana protjeranih iz Njemačke. Kada smo ih upitali o praksi povratka u zemlju podrijetla i mogućnostima regulacije migracija, naši su nam sugovornici objasnili kako je tu riječ o velikom cirkusu u kojemu se tranzitni migranti iz jedne europske zemlje samo prebacuju u drugu. I da se to neće promijeniti tako dugo dok na svijetu bude siromaštva.

Iako je ovaj logor bio pod upravom Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova, o boravku i statusu migranata u Padinskoj Skeli odlučivale su i druge instance. Crveni križ, UNHCR i Međunarodna organizacija za migracije IOM redovito su posjećivali ovaj sabirni centar. Crveni je križ bio odgovoran za zdravstvenu skrb i dijelio telefonske kartice kako bi migranti mogli stupiti u kontakt s vanjskim svijetom. UNHCR je imao vlastiti ured u zgradi u kojoj su vodili intervjue sa zatočenicima koji su tražili azil. Ako je bila riječ o obiteljima, ili su postojali zdravstveni razlozi, ili bi osobe zatražile azil u skladu sa Ženevskom konvencijom iz 1951., bile su poslane u prihvatilište Motel 1000 ruža. Do svibnja 2005. Srbija i Crna Gora nisu imale zakon o azilu pa migranti u tim zemljama nisu ni mogli tražiti azil, tako da je UNHCR odlučivao o tome u kojem se slučaju može odobriti azil za neku europsku zemlju ili Kanadu. Po donošenju te odluke državnim je službama bilo prepušteno da samostalno odluče hoće li nekoj osobi dodijeliti službeni status tražitelja azila. Zbog sporazuma između Srbije i Bugarske o preuzimanju migranata, UNHCR u Beogradu bi u slučajevima kada je netko u Srbiju došao iz smjera Bugarske preporučivao da se osoba vrati u Bugarsku i ondje zatraži azil. Nisu svi migranti koje

smo sreli za vrijeme naša prva dva posjeta u Motelu 1000 ruža – prije nego što nam je zapriječen pristup pod izlikom da bismo mogli ometati postupak odobravanja azila – bili uhvaćeni pri prelasku granice. Neki su od njih već više godina živjeli u Beogradu bez važećih osobnih isprava. U Motelu 1000 ruža upoznali smo ljude iz Afganistana, Azerbejdžana, Irana, Jordana i Somalije koji su bili uhvaćeni na putu u EU ili SAD. Neki su na put krenuli s turističkom vizom, drugi su prelazili preko granice uz pomoć ilegalnih pomagača. Čuli smo priče o tome kako su profesionalni pomagači nakon prelaska granice svojim „klijentima“ znali reći da su već prešli austrijsku granicu pa bi potom jednostavno nestali. Za migrante s kojima smo razgovarali takvo je postupanje bilo dio pogodbe. Ispostavilo se da već i prije polaska na put nisu imali nikakve iluzije o poštenju ilegalnih pomagača. Velika je većina migranata u Motelu 1000 ruža prije toga bila zatočena u Padinskoj Skeli. Tijekom tih razgovora drastično su opisivali katastrofalne uvjete pod kojima su mnogi bili zatočeni i dulje od tri mjeseca. U Motelu 1000 ruža čekali su na obradu zahtjeva za azil. Mnogi bi zbog potpuno neprozirne procedure i vremena čekanja nastavili put na vlastitu ruku. Za razliku od Srbije, u kojoj je samo mali broj migranata s kojima smo razgovarali imao namjeru živjeti, Mađarska je zbog svojeg članstva u Europskoj uniji bila atraktivan cilj. Mjesto poput Motela 1000 ruža bilo je bez sumnje sjecište komunikacije i razmjene informacija. Tako smo doznali i ovu priču: „Ako hoćeš doći u Mađarsku, moraš ući preko austrijske granice. A ako te pritom uhvati granična policija, samo reci da dolaziš iz Mađarske i onda te oni sami tamo odvedu“.

„NAJKRAĆI PUT U SVIJET“

Još je jedna skupina ljudi krenula iz Jugoslavije za vrijeme rata. U Beogradu smo sreli Rome koji su pobjegli u Njemačku, a neki od njih tamo su živjeli i više od deset godina. Kao izbjeglice s ratnoga područja u Njemačkoj su dobili takozvanu Duldung, ispravu o toleriranju boravka, koju su morali obnavljati svaka tri mjeseca. Većina ih se u Srbiju vratila na temelju „dragovoljnog protjerivanja iz zemlje“, postupka koji im je davao dva tjedna da obave potrebne pripreme i spakiraju stvari. „Dragovoljni povratak“ obično bi uslijedio nakon što bi izgubili pravo na socijalnu pomoć ili bi im bila oduzeta radna dozvola. Postupak je bio brz. Ujutro bi po njih došla policija i odvela ih u zračnu luku pa bi ih još isti dan JAT-ov avion prevezao u Beograd. Tamo ih je dočekao stari plakat ove jugoslavenske zrakoplovne kompanije koji je u vrijeme naših istraživanja još visio na zidu

i u naslovu obećavao čuda: „Najkraći put u svet“. Postupak „dragovoljnog napuštanja zemlje“ ostavljao je mogućnost povratka u Njemačku, ali samo za kraći boravak ili odmor. Kad bi jednom bili protjerani iz Njemačke, morali su se osloniti na svoje rodbinske ili prijateljske veze. Da bi finansijski osigurali preživljavanje, neki su radili kao nadničari na gradskim tržnicama ili u kojem od trgovačkih centara u Novom Beogradu.

Cijeli niz naših sugovornika u intervjuima samo bi odmahnuo glavom kad bismo ih pitali nešto o (tranzitnoj) migraciji u Srbiji. Uljepšane brojke službene statistike navode da nezaposlenost iznosi više od trideset posto. Upravo među mladima, koji najčešće zbog finansijskih razloga ostaju živjeti kod roditelja, gotovo nitko nije imao stalno radno mjesto. Ugovori o radu su prava rijetkost, većina ih je radila sad ovdje, sad ondje po nekoliko mjeseci, a između toga nisu imali nikakva primanja.⁸ Tranzitna migracija nije bila nikakva tema. Za vrijeme našega zadnjeg istraživačkog boravka u ljeto 2004. čak je četrnaest tvornica istodobno bilo u štrajku. Postojeći režim osiromašivanja, spojen sa silaskom na socijalnoj ljestvici i rizikom, doveli su nesamostalni rad i poduzetništvo, radno i slobodno vrijeme u novu svezu. Velik dio radnih mjesta, to se tada moglo vidjeti, nije se vratio u stare oblike relativno sigurnog zaposlenja, kako je to bilo u doba industrijalizacije Jugoslavije s njezinim pripadajućim političkim oblicima organizacije, tj. više nije došlo do formalizacije radnih odnosa. Osim toga, neformalni oblici rada i zaposlenja više se nisu nalazili u jednome određenom omeđenom sektoru, nego se velik dio radnih odnosa odvija prema ovome obrascu. U takvoj su situaciji društvene mreže i kooperacije postajale sve značajnije za strategije preživljavanja i svakodnevnu ekonomiju. Stoga je i emigraciju, čak i kada je ostala samo san o egzodusu, trebalo ubrajati u te strategije preživljavanja i samo njima inherentnu predodžbu o boljem životu.

DEREGULACIJA RADA, DEREGULACIJA GRAĐANSTVA

Nova kontrola, regulacija i ograničenje mobilnosti proizišli su iz tadašnjih programa kao što su MARRI ili CARDS, koji su dodatno pojačali osiromašivanje i silazak na socijalnoj ljestvici. Istodobno su ti programi bili zamišljeni da ubrzaju stabilizaciju demokratskih institucija i potiču slobodu kretanja u regiji. I doista su politike izdavanja viza, politike na granicama i migracijske politike Europske unije rezultirale značajnim hijerarhiziranjem kad se radilo, a i kad se danas radi, o pristupu građanskim pravima. Proces proširenja doveo

je do stvaranja diferenciranih prostora s različitim stupnjevima mobilnosti radne snage i različitim pristupima građanskim pravima koji se nisu poklapali s nacionalnim granicama.⁹ Prostori koji se preklapaju počeli su od Europe stvarati nove krajobraze s granicama koje se ni danas ne poklapaju sa šengenskim granicama ni s vanjskim granicama Europske unije. Zapravo se posvuda nalazimo na granici koja se sve više proteže i po unutrašnjosti, ali i kapilarnim putovima vodi prema van. Granice dobivaju funkciju regulatora koji sada ne služi suzbijanju migracije, nego u prvome redu ograničava broj migranata, a pritom ih vodi u trajno siromaštvo i silazak na socijalnoj ljestvici.

U tim je okolnostima i pojam migranta postao samo privremen. Počeli smo se pitati jesu li građanska prava uopće korisna kategorija kad govorimo o migracijama jer migracije su pitanje granice koncepta građanskih prava nužno dovele u pitanje. Prisjetimo se pitanja koje je postavila Hannah Arendt: Kako osobama bez prava dati prava? U kakvom je stanju građanstvo u Europi i na njezinim granicama?

Trajno podrivanje državne suverenosti governance-politikama Europske unije jasno je pokazalo granice koncepta europskoga građanstva i te politike do danas nužno utječu na oblike u kojima se razvijaju konflikti koji potresaju građanstvo.

Upravo u uvjetima nemogućnosti europskoga građanstva možda se upravo danas stvaraju pretpostavke za to da se potkopa institucija građanskih prava, i to autonomnim praksama građanstva, onako kako se to od 2015. odvija u smislu demokratizacije društava u ovoj regiji kada je riječ o podršci migrantima. Tko će na kraju pobijediti, tko će uspjeti upravljati konfliktom i odlučiti u svoju korist, to još nipošto nije izvjesno.

1 Ovaj je članak objavljen 2007. u knjizi *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas* (Turbulentni rubovi. Novi pogledi na migracije na granicama Europe) u kojoj je prikazano istraživanje skupine za istraživanje tranzitnih migracija na Goetheovu sveučilištu u Frankfurtu, a koje smo proveli ne samo u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije nego i u još dvije skupine u Turskoj i Grčkoj. Usp. istraživačka skupina TRANSIT MIGRATION, *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2006.), <http://www.transitmigration.org/>.

2 Zahvaljujući novčanoj potpori Zaklade za kulturu SR Njemačke uspjeli smo postići suradnju između

znanstvenika i znanstveno-umjetničkih praktičara, pa tako i razviti nove istraživačke putove. Tako su kao plod projekta u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, osim tekstova, nastala dva albuma temeljena na etnografiji zvuka pod naslovom *Blok 70*. Ti su albumi potom prošireni albumom *Blok 70: Translations*, za koji su svoje priloge u obliku remiksiranih verzija, <http://www.ultrared.org/pso7d.html>, dali glazbeni i sound-umjetnici i umjetnice s područja bivše Jugoslavije.

3 Usp. *Frankfurter allgemeine Zeitung* od 9. travnja 2006.

4 Etienne Balibar, *Sind wir Bürger Europas? Politische Integration, soziale Ausgrenzung und die Zukunft des Nationalen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003.), 24.

5 Usp. Thomas Atzert, „Der Krieg ist eine biopolitische Maschine. Ein Gespräch mit Toni Negri“, *Subtropen*, br. 2 (ožujak 2003.)

6 Etienne Balibar, Op. cit.

7 Usp. Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović i dr., *Trafficking in People in Serbia* (Beograd: VDS und OSCE, 2004.), 40.

8 Usp. Boris Kanzleiter, „Etwas Besseres ist nicht in Sicht. Wo Prekarisierung Normalität ist – Linke in Belgrad“, *Fantômas*, br. 2, (2004.)

9 Usp. Enrica Rigo, „Citizenship at Europe's Borders: Some Reflections on the Post-colonial Condition of Europe in the Context of EU Enlargement“, *Citizenship Studies*, sv. 9, br. 1, (veljača 2005.), 3–22.

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Sabina Salamon

Treće je moguće — prisjećanje i usmena predaja kao osobna poputnina u procesima kulturnog izmještanja

Temeljni metodološki supstrat umjetničkog nastojanja Neli Ružić jest rekreacija sjećanja. Blizak je modelu kulturnog pamćenja gdje se čuvanje, pohrana i simbolizacija nameću kao uporišta identiteta. U većini slučajeva pozivajući na politička pitanja, teme individualne i kolektivne memorije sagledava u terminima brisanja, ponavljanja, prisjećanja. Te su teme utemeljene ponajprije u vlastitom iskustvu lomova i kulturnog izmještanja koje se dogodilo triput: društvenim preokretom u domicilnoj Hrvatskoj (Jugoslaviji) početkom devedesetih, odlaskom iz nje krajem devedesetih te iznuđenim povratkom nakon trinaest godina. Povratak iz Meksika dogodio se pod pritiskom nasilja i kriminala koji su eskalirali tijekom dvije-tisućitih zbog trgovine drogom.

Odmičući se od uvriježenih istina, umjetnica se poziva se na neposredni horizont biografskog prisjećanja i usmenog predanja. Vezuje se na razlučivanje sjećanja (memorije) od povijesti kako tumači Pierre Nora, favorizirajući sjećanje kao svakodnevnu i živu aktivnost, koja je iz suvremenog razvijenog svijeta, u korist povijesti, sasvim iščezla.¹ Zamjerka povijesti koja „uvijek predstavlja problematičnu reprezentaciju prošlosti“, odnosi se na načelo racionalizacije (filtriranje i razvrstavanje) kojim se rukovodi prilikom legitimiranja prošlosti. Suprotno tome, sjećanje kao

živu aktivnost podložnu promjenama (zaboravu i ponovnom buđenju) smatra iskonskim i spontanom činom, neotpornim na cenzuru i manipulaciju, dakle, posve ljudskim procesiranjem gomilanja života. Takvim sjećanjem zaokupljen je rad Neli Ružić, gdje suspregnuta mjesta i neizrečene misli, postaju poticajan materijal za nadopunu praznina koje povijest nije registrirala, ili je namjerno preskočila. Drugim riječima, bez obzira što koristi sve postupke označavanja kulturne mnemotehnike – prijanja uz pejzaž, pjesme, ručni rad (vez), pažnju ne usmjerava na poznate i provjerene „fiksne točke u prošlosti”.² Umjesto toga, slaže vlastite, kombinirajući imaginarne i povijesne prostore.

KULTURNI KRAJOLIK: MJESTO POTISNUTOG SJEĆANJA

Primjer krajolika kao čestog medija kulturnog pamćenja, Neli koristi višestruko, a način tretmana u video i fotografiji identičan je: preklapanjem priče naslijeđene u obitelji (priča ispričana od oca) s elementima biografskog sjećanja (kadrovi pejzaža planine Kozare referiraju se na prvi ratni film kojeg je kao dijete vidjela) multiplicira fiktivnu dimenziju narativa koju gradi na sugestivnosti mogućih izmaštanih ishoda događaja kojem nitko od upletenih (pripovjedač, autorica) nije nazočio. Takav narativ tipičan je za oralnu povijest, prepun osobnog uloga, sumnji i pukotina; Otac prepričava priču opterećen emocionalnim ulogom, prije svega osjećajem krivnje i žaljenja. Premda nekonzistentna, priče na taj način ima snagu fakticiteta. Poput filma kojeg se prisjeća, „Bitke na Kozari” (1962.) redatelja Veljka Bulajića. Na sličan način fotografija „Dvije planine” uzmiče pred dokumentarnošću i kapitalizira vizualnu podudarnost sadržaja i forme (fotografije i razbijenog stakla okvira), uspostavljenoj na prisili ponavljanja motiva planine kao mjestu nestanka, smrti. Sparena s prethodno spomenutim videom „Ploča (dvije planine)”, tvori cjelinu koja se otkriva kao neka vrsta autoričinog *statementa*; otkriva optiku kojom neutralizira ideološke polove, raščeljava kategoričke sudove, traži „treći put”. Na taj način preklapanje dvaju toponima značajnih u ratnom razdoblju, od kojih jedan pripada individualnom sjećanju (Mosor), a drugi predstavlja kolektivni mnemotop (Kozara), postaje mjesto ispreplitanja univerzalnog i općeg s osobnim. U naslovu rada skriveni su i elementi priče kojom dotiče temu brisanja, jednu od stalnih autoričinih tema još od početka devedesetih. Dekonstruirajući naslov „Ploča (dvije planine)” lako je shvatiti da se ploča referira na memorijalnu ploču na kojoj je bilo ispisano ime očevog brata

Miljenka Ružića koji je nestao na planini Mosor, tema očeve ispovijesti. (Ploča je u nepoznatim okolnostima maknuta 1992. godine.) „Veliko brisanje” koje koincidira s nastupom traume, posljedično i revizijom povijesti, prvi put se pojavljuje u radu „Četka” (1994.), najavljujući temu u raznim inačicama, od „Kemijske čistionice Galeb” s kraja devedesetih, do „Strategija zaborava” (2005./2006.) koje se brisanjem bave na osobnom planu, u vrijeme izbjavanja u Meksiku. Brisanja i zaborav odrađivala je kroz performativno čišćenje, zauzimajući mjesto prvog lica, za razliku od video i filmskih radova gdje se pojavljuje kao promatrač i svjedok. Mnogi su radovi iz ove skupine; objekti „Kutija za plener”, „Oblaci i mušice”, „Arhipelag”, objekti „Plima”, „Snijeg”, „Vjetar (Aleksandrija)”. U sadržaj se umjetnica unosi neposredno, što je vidljivo po načinu tretmana pejzaža u spomenutom radu „Ploča (dvije planine)”, gdje pažnju ne drži samo teksturom videoslike, nego posve intimnim zbližavanjem s krajolikom na način da se uloga mnemotopa – Kozare kao semiotiziranog mjesta i uporišta sjećanja, rasplinjuje u elegičnoj i taktilnoj dimenziji krajolika. Kodiran ostaje i pejzaž u „Jami” i „Pjesmama za budućnost” gdje posebnu ulogu nosi (auto) cenzura, kao rezultat selektivnosti memorije, ali i potisnutog sjećanja.³ Stoga je u oba rada aktivan proces utišavanja i ušutkavanja – u posljednjem posebno naglašen u izostanku verbalizacije u pjesmama jasnih simboličkih pozadina. U „Pjesmama za budućnost” svaki od tri lika, prijateljica Tanja Kolar, autoričin otac i sin Luka, izvodi svoju verziju pjesme, redom: „Internacionalu”, pjesmu obespravljenih, „Marijane, Marijane” upisanu u lokalni folklor s referencama na nacionalni identitet, i „Konjuh planinom”, partizansku pjesmu iz drugog svjetskog rata posvećenu poginulom rudaru u okolici Tuzle, po čemu je 1966. snimljen istoimeni ratni film redatelja Fadila Hadžića.

MATERINJI JEZIK I DEKONSTRUKCIJA ŽENSKOG IDENTITETA

Nepovjerenje spram izricanja povijesti i dominantnih narativa izražen u „Dahovima”, otvara temu prenosivosti i premošćivanja, kako teritorijalne tako i mentalne i emocionalne, koja se u Nelinom radu na razne načine ponavlja. Jedan od radova koji nosi ideju premošćivanja jest objekt „Prenosive granice” (2003.) koji se sastoji od četiri kamena i konca i odražava umjetničinu nostalgiju za domom ranih dvijetisućitih. „Grandparents’ Bed” („Cama de los abuelos”) pokazuje interes za transgeneracijsko naslijeđstvo, gdje povezivanje s precima ostvaruje pomoću simboličke figure kreveta, u tradiciju zapisanog kao metafore za-

čeca, braka i obitelji. Bivajući u isto vrijeme suviše osobna i svakidašnja priča, no danas posve sigurno izuzeta iz biografskog i kulturnog sjećanja (kreveti su se nekad nasljeđivali što danas nije praksa), Neli se njome obraća obitelji, a pritom, ne izričući to eksplicitno, ulazi u sferu dekonstrukcije ženskog identiteta, što zaključujem posredno, uviđajući stalni interes za matrilinarnu povijest. Na to upućuju radovi „Reproduktivni sustav“ (2001./2006.), ciklus „Strategije zaborava“ (2005./2006.), gdje se pojavljuju konac i šivanje kao tradicionalno ženska pisma. U videu „Lengua materna/Materinji jezik“ (2007.) uspostavlja trijadnu i transgeneracijsku poveznicu baka-majka-kćer. U radu „Grandparents’ Bed“, u rekonstrukciju znanja o obiteljskoj povijesti, upušta se ulaskom u sobu (označeno, sveto mjesto) posvajajući krevet s udaljene točke, preko fotografije, ali nalazeći način da se s njom zbliži. Lizanjem fotografije, utjelovljuje iskustvo posvajanja, dokidanja uspostavljene distance, vremenske i fizičke. Jača subverzivnu vrijednost paradoksalne distance. Akt lizanja može se sagledati i kao čin inicijacije i kritiku logocentrične zapadne kulture, kako je primjerice tretira feministička teorija gdje se jezik pokazuje ideološkim alatom patrijarhalnog sustava reprezentacije. Ova se tema može provući i na druge radove, poput „Pjesme za budućnost“. Umjetnička praksa Neli Ružić potvrđuje dva mjesta kojima se stalno vraća – planine i materinji jezik – dva suprotna izbora, između eskapizma i „fundirajućeg“ sjećanja na vlastitost.

OSOBNOSTI SJEĆANJA VS. INSTITUCIONALIZACIJA MEMORIJE

Vratimo se „Dahovima“ kojima denuncira službenu povijest, snagu velikih narativa, pružajući ruku anonimnosti dahova pedesetero bliskih ljudi (iz Hrvatske i Meksika) koje snima tijekom 2007. godine. Računajući na njihovu efemernost i nemogućnost identifikacije, a istodobno bilježeći godine rođenja kraj svakog pojedinog daha, Neli izvrće službeno shvaćanje arhiva, kao mjesta univerzalnog i transvremenskog značaja, ujedno i jednog od simptoma hipertrofije memorije kojoj svjedočimo danas.⁴ Držeći ga načinom evidentiranja života, Nelin rad u cjelini možemo razmatrati kao arhiviranje nesavladive količina podataka. Načinom na koji se autorica obraća prošlom i sadašnjem. Čini se kako je pozadina rada „Obiteljski arhiv“ takva – nehotice potkopati ideju velikog i bučnog.⁵ Kuglice vune kao posve njene „figure sjećanja“, nastale kao ispljuvak stroja za pranje rublja, okreću hijerarhijsku ljestvicu naglavce.

Osim što su proporcionalni količini proi-

zvodnje života, arhivi su regresivni. Zamislamo, kad bi postojalo automatsko arhiviranje, sve što bi napravili korakom naprijed, bilo bi zabilježeno i zamrznuto korakom unazad. Arhiv se ponaša entropijski: što vrijeme brže odmiče, memorija nam je potrebnija, a proporcionalno tome i arhiv je veći. Za Neli Ružić, arhiviranje je mimetički princip koji služi ponovnom sagledavanju i vrednovanju, pokušaj uspostave alternativnog sustava reda. U očekivanju da je „treći put“ moguć, kao ispisivanje nedogođenog, na primjer.

Da li kao neočekivano opterećenje ili nepobjediva strast ljudi, arhiv, kao bilježenje već dogođenog, postao je nužnost. Kako ljudi ne bi ostali lišeni povijesti, memorije i zaleđa. Vječno mladi.

1 Pierre Nora, ur., *The Realms of Memory: Les lieux de mémoires* (Paris: La république, 1984.)

2 Jan Assmann, *Kulturno pamćenje* (Zenica-Tuzla: Biblioteka tekst, 2008.)

3 Jedna od osnovnih postavki Mauricea Halbwachsa glasi da se selektivnost memorije ostvaruje pregovaranjem između individualnog i kolektivnog; u *On Collective Memory*, University Press of Chicago, 1992. Termin potisnutog sjećanja (*suppressed memory*) uvodi Michael Pollak u tekstu „Memory, Oblivion, Silence“ originalno objavljenom u: *Revista Estudos Historicos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1989..

4 Autorica je dahove snimala s bljeskalicom na način da osoba puhne na staklo, u mraku kako bi izbjegla refleksije. O „hipertrofiji memorije“ kao življene aktivnosti raspravlja Pierre Nora u citiranom tekstu, smatrajući da je razlog taj što je memorija prepuštena arhivima i institucijama memorije.

5 Nora, op. cit., str. 7-8; Nora tvrdi kako je sjećanje u modernom i suvremenom dobu utemeljeno na arhiviranju materijalnih ostataka. Što manje dolazi iznutra, to je više usmjerena na vanjske rekvizite.

IV

DOSJE
PROJEKTA

RISKIRAJ
PROMJENU

SAMOSTALNE IZLOŽBE

Neli Ružić
Sjene budućnosti
MMSU, 13. 12. 2016. – 13. 1. 2017.

Tomo Savić Gecan
Bez naziva 2017.
Mali salon, 15. 12. 2017. – 13. 1. 2018.

SKUPNE IZLOŽBE

Između tamo i tamo:
anatomija privremenih migracija
MMSU, 27. 1. 2017. – 18. 3. 2017.

Crne krabulje
MMSU, 14. 12. 2017. – 22. 2. 2018.

Bijeg
MMSU, 16. 11. 2018. – 1. 2. 2019.

Mi nismo kao oni
MMSU, 4. 10. 2019. – 10. 11. 2019.

UMJETNIČKE REZIDENCIJE

Neli Ružić 2016./2017.
Igor Bošnjak, 2016. – 2019.
Tomo Savić Gecan, 2017./2018.
Mate Ugrin, 2017.
Pavlica Bajsić Brazzoduro i
Dino Brazzoduro, 2018.
Manon Avram, Fanny Avram,
Melanie Venino, 2019.
Alicja Rogalska, 2019.
Simon Farid 2019.
Krzysztof Gutfranski, 2020.
Fotini Gouseti, 2020.
Lauren Moffatt, 2020.
Vangjush Vellahu, 2020.

Između tamo i tamo:
anatomija privremenih migracija

UMJETNICI

— Tomislav Brajnović, Danica Dakić & Sandra Sterle, Larisa David, h.arta group, Silvia Hell, Nicole Hewitt, Ana Hušman, Božena Končić Badurina, Andreja Kulunčić, Veda Popovici

KUSTOSICE

— Irena Bekić, Duga Mavrinac

LIKOVNI POSTAV

— Škart

PRODUKCIJA

— IPAK – istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije i MMSU Rijeka
— U ponešto izmijenjenoj formi, s fokusom na konfiguracije pripadanja privremenih migranata i u suradnji s kustosicom Dušicom Dražić, održana je izložba „Između tamo i tamo: treće mjesto pripadanja“ u Galeriji Out of Sight u Antwerpenu, 16. 5. – 30. 6. 2019. / Umjetnici: Tomislav Brajnović, Nicole Hewitt, Ana Hušman, Božena Končić Badurina, Tonka Maleković likovni postav: Out of Sight – Dušica Dražić, produkcija: IPAK – istraživački projekt i autorske koncepcije i Out of Sight

POP RATNI PROGRAM

— 14. 3., alter vodstvo studentica Odsjeka za kulturalne studije Filozofskog fakulteta u Rijeci
— 16. 3., vodstvo kroz izložbu s kustosicama i umjetnicima
— 17. 3., Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci, Odsjek za kulturalne studije, Radionica Centra za Mirovne studije – „Migrantski rad – aktivistički doprinosi“, voditelji: Iva Zenzerović (CMS), Julija Kranjec (CMS), Iva Ivšić (Mreža antifašistkinja/Brid), Branimir Šloser (Brid) i Duga Mavrinac (IPAK).
— 18. 3., okrugli stol, „Privremene migracije – liminalnost, ranjivost i rad“, sudionici: Centar za mirovne studije, Grupa 484, Brid, predstavnici sindikata i radnika, kulturna antropologinja Duga Mavrinac i moderatorica Irena Bekić
— 18. 3. 2017., performans, Nicole Hewitt, „Ova žena se zove Jasna O8“

Crne krabulje

UMJETNICI

— Carlos Aires, Cristiano Berti & Can Sungu, Marianna Christofides, Aleksandar Garbin, Roos van Haften, Laurent Van Lancker, Miroslav Mikuljan, Rafael Puetter (Rafucko), Davor Sanvincenti, Ana Sladetić, Elejan van der Velde

KUSTOSICE

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Nataša Šuković, Marina Tkalčić

ŽIRI

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Renato Stanković (Odsjek za kulturalne studije, FF Rijeka), Nataša Šuković, Marina Tkalčić

POP RATNI PROGRAM

— 20. 2. 2018., 17 simpozij „Životi u pokretu – uvjeti u promijenjenom stanju granica“, sudionici: Jelena Prtorić (slobodna novinarka), Marijana Hameršak i Iva Pleše (Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, ZG), Marko Luka Zubčić (doktorand „Filozofije i suvremenosti“ na Sveučilištu u Rijeci), Renato Stanković (Odsjek za kulturalne studije, Filozofski fakultet pri Sveučilištu u Rijeci), Valentina Radoš (Muzej likovnih umjetnosti, Osijek), moderatorica: Marina Tkalčić
— 20. 2., plesna koreografija „Migracije“ u izvedbi Plesnog ansambla Osnovne škole za klasični balet i suvremeni ples pri OŠ Vežica, koreografinja: Kate Foley, plesačice: Jana Budiša, Katja Butković, Lara Drljača i Jana Jakšić
— 13. 2., Art-kino Croatia, filmski program „Gastarbajteri u Art-kinu“ u selekciji Diane Nenadić, HFS, filmovi: „Jesenice-Stuttgart“, Miroslav Mikuljan, 1970., „Put, Imotski“, Tomislav Radić, 1970., „Dernek“, Zoran Tadić, 1974., „Charter let...“, Krsto Papić, 1975., „Hrpa ZgRiZg“, Đorđe Jandrić, 2014., u suradnji s Hrvatskim filmskim savezom, Hrvatskom radio televizijom i Zagreb filmom

UMJETNICI

— Manon Avram & Pierre Audouard, Pavlica Bajsić Brazzoduro & Dino Brazzoduro, Nisrine Boukhari, Lana Čmajčanin, Tomislav Čeranić, Aleksandar Garbin, Ibro Hasanović, Siniša Labrović, Lukas Marxt & Jakub Vrba, Nika Oblak & Primož Novak, Alicja Rogalska, Sara Salamon & Hrvoje Spudić, Tao G. Vrhovec Sambolec, MMSU zbirke: Milenko D. Gjurčić, Branko Kovačević, Andrija Maurović, kulturno-povijesni dokumenti posuđeni su od Muzeja grada Rijeke i Pomorskog i povijesnog muzeja Hrvatskog primorja Rijeke

KUSTOSICE

— Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon

ŽIRI

— Kora Girin, Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Marina Tkalčić, Sabrina Žigo (Muzej Grada Rijeke)

POPRATNI PROGRAM

— 16. 11., glazbeni performans „Bijeg“ s glazbom skladanom za izložbu, Cyborgix 4E75
 — 21. 11., radionica za studente „Zašto (ne) bježimo?“, voditeljica: Daria Morosin
 — 24. 11., radionica za djecu „Savršeni grad“, voditeljica: Tanja Blašković
 — 29. 11., Art-kino Croatia, filmski program „Bjegovi“ u selekciji Diane Nenadić, filmovi: „Soske“, Rada Šešić, 2001., „Arme Leute“, Vlado Kristl, 1963., „Bježi“, Mladen Stilinović, 1973., „Terra roza“, Aldo Tardozi, 1999., „In Whitest Solitude“, Rada Šešić, 2003., u suradnji s FACTUM-om, Goethe-Institutom, Hrvatskim filmskim savezom
 — 5. 12., simpozij „Kontrasti bijega“, predavači: Ana Dana Beroš, arhitektica, istraživačica i Matija Kralj, umjetnik; Gordan Bosanac, aktivist za ljudska prava; Sanja Janović, psihijatričarka, grupna analitičarka; Dragan Markovina, povjesničar i pisac, moderatorice: Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon
 — 14., 15. i 16. 12., koreografska radionica „Transmutacije“, voditeljice: Selma Banich i Nina Gojić, u suradnji s Prostorom plus
 — Međunarodni dan migranata, 18. 12., OKC Palach, prezentacija „Kraj o liku/ideo doma“, Platforma za eksperiment (Lara Badurina, Liberta Mišan, Sara Salamon), predavanje o istraživanju migracija u Rijeci, predavači: Barbara Matejčić i Drago Župarić Iljić
 — 26. 4. 2019., Manon & Fanny Avram, Melanie Venino, performans „Par minuta u cipelama migranata“

UMJETNICI

— Brook Andrew, Nika Autor, Gildo Bavčević, Avgust Černigoj, Lana Čmajčanin, Nina Delanović & Mirna Gurdon (studio mikser), Olga Dimitrijević, Simon Farid, Fotini Gouseti, Driton Hajredini; Janez Janša, Janez Janša, Janez Janša; Ivana Keser, Mirna Kutleša, Chris Marker, Chris Marker & Alain Resnais, Danilo Milovanović, Driton Selmani, Vangjush Vellahu, Zvukospjevi (Nicole Hewitt, Vida Guzmic, Ivan Slipčević)

KUSTOSICE

— Ksenija Orelj, Marina Tkalčić

ŽIRI

— Vana Gović (Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja Rijeke), Katerina Jovanović, Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Marina Tkalčić

POPRATNI PROGRAM

— 19. 10., „Antigraničar“, radionica kreiranja imaginarnih karti za djecu, voditeljice: Tanja Blašković i Ivana Lučić
 — 21. 10., 22. 10., radionice za generaciju 54+ i za studente, izrada fanzina „Beni – JUXTAzin“, voditeljice: Tanja Blašković i Ivana Lučić
 — 7. 11., simpozij „Balkan je drugdje“, predavači: Tea Perinčić, kustosica PPMHP-a, Ana Inić & Sandra Jukić, doktorandice na studiju Glotodidaktike, FF Zagreb, Eric Ušić, kulturolog, Željko Senković, Odsjek za filozofiju, FF Osijek, moderatorice: Ksenija Orelj, Sabina Salamon, Marina Tkalčić





IRENA BEKIĆ holds a Bachelor's degree in art history and comparative literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. She works as a librarian in the Zagreb City Libraries and is the head and curator of the Prozori Gallery. Her field of interest is the contemporary new media art and its research and socially transformative potentials that can become tools for activating the community in certain social situations, as well as the interdisciplinary collaboration between art and other fields. She writes art criticism, texts about artists, exhibition forewords, and has published the following books, "Andreja Kulunčić: umjetnost za društvene promjene," 2013, 2018 and "Sandro Đukić: The Outworn Structure," 2019. She is the author or co-author of art, art-research and educational projects: "ARTeceda" (with Petra Dolanjski, in 2016), "Between There and There: Anatomy of Temporary Migrations" (with Duga Mavrincac, from 2015 to 2019); "Rječnik svakodnevnih interakcija" (Novi list, 2011), "Majke i kćeri" (with Marijana Stanić, Gallery 90-60-90, Zagreb, 2010, MKC-Multimedia Cultural Center Split, 2011). She is a member of the

Croatian Association of Artists of Applied Arts (ULUPUH) and a founding member of the association IPAK – istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije.

MANUELA BOJADŽIJEV is Professor for Globalized Cultures at the Leuphana University of Lüneburg and Commissioner for International Cooperations at the Berlin Institute for Integration and Migration Research (BIM), Humboldt University of Berlin. Previously, she was a lecturer at the Freie Universität Berlin; City University and Goldsmiths, University of London; and Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. In addition to her dissertation, "Die windige Internationale, Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration" ("The windy internationale: Racism and struggles of migration", 2008), she has published numerous articles on racism and migration research, the history of European migration, and postcolonial studies.

MARIJANA HAMERŠAK holds a Bachelor's degree in comparative literature and general linguistics from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, and has earned her Doctoral degree at the same university in 2008. She has been working at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Research (IEF) since 2001. She is currently collaborating on IEF's internal project "Ethnography of Refugeeism in the Croatian context", and the project of the Croatian Science Foundation "Economic Foundations of Croatian Literature" (lead by Maša Kolanović, PhD). She regularly publishes works in Croatian and international scientific and scholarly publications and collaborates with media, educational, cultural and scientific organizations and initiatives. She published the book "Pričalice: o povijesti djetinjstva i bajke" (2011) and co-authored the book "Uvod u dječju književnost (with Dubravka Zima, 2015). With Suzana Marjanić she edited the collection of papers "Folkloristička čitanka" (2010), with Iva Pleše and Ana-Marija Vukušić the collection of papers "Proizvodnja baštine" (2013), and with Emina Bužinkić the collection of papers "Kamp, koridor, granica: studije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu" (2017, translated into English in 2018 as "Camps, Routes and Borders in the Croatian Context").

BARBARA MATEJČIĆ holds a degree in Croatian language and literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She is a freelance journalist and author focused on social affairs and human rights. She writes for print and internet media in Croatia and abroad, collaborates with international research, media and human rights organizations and is involved in media education. She received an award "Marija Jurić Zagorka" for best print journalism in Croatia, is the winner of the "Krunoslav Sukić" award for the promotion of peace-building, non-violence and human rights, and was recognized for best coverage of LGBT issues in Croatia. She was also selected for several European fellowships in journalism. She published the narrative-journalism collection "How Are You?".

DRAGAN MARKOVINA was born in Mostar in 1981. He is the president of the New Left Party. He holds a PhD in history, is an essayist and columnist. For ten years he worked in the History Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split and wrote for many regional magazines and media. He is a regular columnist of telegram.hr portal and "Oslobođenje" from Sarajevo. He published the following books, "Između crvenog i crnog: Split i Mostar u kulturi sjećanja", "Tišina poraženog grada", "Povijest poraženih", "Jugoslavenstvo poslije svega", "Doba kontrarevolucije", "Usamljena djeca juga" i "Jugoslavija u Hrvatskoj 1918.-2018.: od euforije do tabua".

DUGA MAVRINAC is a doctoral student of cultural anthropology and ethnology at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Zagreb, and a research assistant at the Institute for Anthropological Research. Her research interests are focused on studying contemporary cultural and social phenomena with a particular emphasis on female labour migration, informal economy, commodification of care and paid domestic work, and the anthropology of aging and home. She applied the potential of interdisciplinary collaboration and applicability of knowledge and terms of cultural anthropology in numerous projects such as, "New, new Babylon" (Rijeka, 2008), "Stand up artistic action" (Rijeka, 2009), "Ne(istra)žena" (Pula, 2012), "The Silent Art of Beekeeping"

(Ethnographic Museum of Istria, 2014), "Between There and There: Anatomy of Temporary Migrations" (Rijeka, 2017). She is a member of the international doctoral programme Transformations in European Societies network, a coordination of eight European universities. She is a member of the editorial board of the international scientific journal "Visual Ethnography", she published several professional papers and is a member of professional associations and the association IPAK – Istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije, that uses an interdisciplinary conjunction of art and science as a resource for investigating social processes.

KSENIJA ORELJ studied art history and German language and literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. Orelj took a master's degree in curatorial cultures at the Leipzig Academy of Visual Arts. In 2011 she took part at the Intensive Curatorial Course, ICI, NY and in 2018 she was curatorin residency at the Museumsquartier in Vienna, Q21. As curator at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka, she often works on group exhibitions, interested in questions around labour, hyper-production and scarcity of leisure time. Among such projects are "The Munchhausen effect: On time in times of having no time", 5020 Gallery, Salzburg, 2017 (with Anamarija Batista); „Please empty your wallets“, MMSU Rijeka and Emil Filla Gallery, Usti nad Labem, 2016, "From within the giant's belly", MMSU Rijeka, 2015.

IGOR PETRIČEVIĆ is a PhD student at the Department of Social Anthropology since September 2016. After finishing his BA in Sociology and Anthropology (2009-2012) at the University of Zagreb, Croatia, he received his MSc in Social and Cultural Anthropology (2013-2015) at the University of Leuven in Belgium with the thesis: "Navigating the Crisis and Negotiating Mobility: Trajectories of Highly Educated Southern European Youth in Uncertainty". He also holds an MA in European Studies: Transnational and Global Perspectives (2015-2016) from the University of Leuven. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Zagreb between 2017 and 2018, his current doctoral research focuses on the ways the new diversity in Croatia is constructed and negotiated through

daily practices and interactions among former migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, local residents, and activists in the interplay with the changes in border regimes, migratory routes and legislation.

IVA PLEŠE holds a Bachelor's degree in comparative literature and ethnology from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, where she also earned a Master's and Doctoral degree, at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology. She has been working at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Research (IEF) in Zagreb since 2001. She participated in several scientific projects, and is currently collaborating on IEF's internal project "Ethnography of Refugeism in the Croatian context". She published the book "Pismo, poruka, mejl: etnografija korespondencije", and co-edited the collections of papers "Etnografije interneta" i "Proizvodnja baštine: kritičke studije o nematerijalnoj kulturi". She was an editorial board member of the *Etnološka tribina* journal, *Nova etnografija*, and was a co-founder and editor of *Zarez* – a biweekly journal of cultural and social events.

SABINA SALAMON is a curator at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka. She develops interdisciplinary approach resulting in some major projects dealing with art in public space (project „Copula“, 2012-15), interpretation of the smuggling phenomena („Smuggling Anthologies“, 2012-15) and migration related project (Risk Change, 2016-2020).

ŽELJKO SENKOVIĆ holds a Bachelor's degree in philosophy and Greek language and literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. His Master and Doctoral thesis dealt with Aristotle's philosophy. He is currently working as an associate professor in the Department of Philosophy at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek. His fields of research are: practical philosophy, Greek philosophy, Kant, philosophy of education. Senković is a member of the Croatian Philosophical Society. He publishes scientific articles, essays and literary criticism. He also published three books: "Tertium datur. Prilozi uz pitanja o religiji i čovjeku," FFOS, Osijek, 2014;

"Aristotelova etika," FFOS, Osijek, 2011; "Aristotelova kritika demokracije," FFOS, Osijek, 2007. He is working as an associate in the international scientific project: "Spuren deutscher Sprache, Literatur und Kultur in Kroatien – von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart." There is increasingly more literature and non-academic writing in his life.

CJ STEPHENS is an artist-philosopher working toward a Ph.D. in Visual Art focused on a hermeneutics of the sacred in words and images. Her interest in art is related to an interest in storytelling as Cj's personal ecology includes the lost culture of an Abenaki tribe. Rather than invoke ghosts of a past she can never know or idealize a past she will never fully understand, Cj's goal is to create and celebrate a multiplicity for where we may go: to embrace a non-hierarchical thinking and being so that a new philosophy and a new art will emerge from the words, images, and stories that one nomadically builds into a sacred becoming. Though her experience exists predominantly in the field of education, currently, Cj lives in Marfa, Texas where she is a Teaching Assistant and a site steward for the Institute for Doctoral Studies in Visual Art.

DRAGO ŽUPARIĆ ILJIĆ is a sociologist and an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, where he earned his postgraduate doctoral degree in sociology in 2015. His research and teaching interests include Sociology of migrations, Sociology of ethnic relations and Socio-demography, in particular the scientific fields of Studies of forced migration and Refugee studies, and the topics of migration, asylum, integration and national policies. He published, independently or as a co-author, approximately thirty scientific and professional papers, and participated in many local and international scientific and professional conferences. He is a member of the Croatian Sociological Association.

IRENA BEKIĆ završila je povijest umjetnosti i komparativnu književnost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Zaposlena je u Knjižnicama grada Zagreba kao knjižničarka, voditeljica i kustosica Galerije Prozori. Predmet njezina interesa je suvremena novomedijska umjetnost te njezini istraživački i društveno transformacijski potencijali koji mogu biti alati za aktiviranje zajednice unutar određenih društvenih situacija, kao i interdisciplinarne suradnje umjetnosti i drugih područja. Objavljuje likovnu kritiku te predgovore za izložbe i tekstove o umjetnicima, među kojima su i knjige „Andreja Kulunčić: umjetnost za društvene promjene“, 2013., 2018. i „Sandro Đukić: The Outworn Structure“, 2019. Autorica je ili suautorica umjetničkih, umjetničko istraživačkih i edukativnih projekata „ARTeceda“ (s Petrom Dolanjski, od 2016.), „Između tamo i tamo: anatomija privremenih migracija“ (s Dugom Mavrinac, od 2015. do 2019.), „Rječnik svakodnevnih interakcija“ (Novi list, 2011.), „Majke i kćeri“ (s Marijanom Stanić, Galerija 90-60-90, Zagreb, 2010., MKC Split, 2011.). Članica je ULUPUH-a te osnivačica i članica Udruge IPAK – istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije.

MANUELA BOJADŽIJEV profesorica je na kolegiju Globalized Cultures, Sveučilišta Leuphana u Lüneburgu, i Povjerenica za međunarodnu suradnju Berlinskog instituta za integraciju i istraživanje migracija (BIM) na Sveučilištu Humboldt u Berlinu. Ranije je predavala na Freie Universität Berlin; City University and Goldsmiths, Sveučilište u Londonu; i Goethe-Universität u Frankfurtu. Uz doktorsku disertaciju, „Die windige Internationale. Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration“ („Vjetrovita internacionala: Rasizam i migracijske borbe“, 2008.) objavila je brojne članke na temu istraživanja rasizma i migracije, povijesti migracije u Europi, i postkolonijalnih studija.

MARIJANA HAMERŠAK diplomirala je 2000. komparativnu književnost i opću lingvistiku na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, a doktorirala 2008. na istome fakultetu. Na Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku zaposlena je od 2001. godine. Trenutno je suradnica na internom projektu IEF-a „Etnografija izbjeglištva: hrvatski kontekst“ te na projektu Hrvatske zaklade za znanost „Ekonomski temelji hrvatske književnosti“ (voditeljica dr. sc. Maša Kolanović). Redovito objavljuje radove u hrvatskim i inozemnim znanstvenim i stručnim časopisima te surađuje s medijima, obrazovnim, kulturnim i znanstvenim organizacijama i inicijativama. Autorica je knjige „Pričalice: o povijesti djetinjstva i bajke“ (2011.) te suautorica knjige „Uvod u dječju književnost“ (s Dubravkom Zima, 2015.). Sa Suzanom Marjanić uredila je zbornik „Folkloristička čitanka“ (2010.), s Ivom Pleše i Ana-Marijom Vukušić zbornik „Proizvodnja baštine“ (2013.), a s Eminom Bužinkić zbornik „Kamp, koridor, granica: studije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu“ (2017., prijevod na engleski jezik 2018.).

BARBARA MATEJČIĆ diplomirala je hrvatski jezik i književnost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Slobodna je novinarka i spisateljica fokusirana na društvene teme i ljudska prava. Piše za tiskane i internetske medije u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu, surađuje s međunarodnim istraživačkim, medijskim i ljudsko-pravaškim organizacijama te je angažirana u medijskim edukacijama. Nagrađena je za najbolje pisano novinarstvo u Hrvatskoj nagradom „Marija Jurić Zagorka“, dobitnica je Nagrade za promicanje mirotvorstva, nenasilja i ljudskih

prava „Krunoslav Sukić“ te priznanja za najbolje praćenje LGBT tematike u Hrvatskoj. Dobitnica je nekoliko europskih stipendija za novinarski rad. Autorica je narativno-novinarske knjige „Kako ste?“.

DRAGAN MARKOVINA rođen je u Mostaru 1981. godine. Predsjednik je Nove ljevice. Doktor je povijesnih znanosti, esejist i kolumnist. Deset godina radio je na Odsjeku za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu i pisao za brojne regionalne časopise i medije. Redovni je kolumnist portala telegram.hr i sarajevskog „Oslobođenja“. Autor je knjiga „Između crvenog i crnog: Split i Mostar u kulturi sjećanja“, „Tišina poraženog grada“, „Povijest poraženih“, „Jugoslavenstvo poslije svega“, „Doba kontrarevolucije“ i „Usamljena djeca juga“.

DUGA MAVRINAC je doktorandica kulturne antropologije i etnologije pri Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu te znanstvena novakinja na Institutu za antropologiju. Njezini istraživački interesi usmjereni su na proučavanje suvremenih kulturnih i društvenih fenomena s posebnim naglaskom na žensku radnu migraciju, neformalne ekonomiju, komifikaciju njege i plaćenog rada u kućanstvu te antropologiju staranja i doma. Potencijale interdisciplinarnih suradnje i aplikabilnosti znanja i pojmova kulturne antropologije primjenjivala je u mnogobrojnim projektima poput „New, new Babylon“ (Rijeka, 2008.), „Stand up“ umjetnička akcija (Rijeka, 2009.), „Ne(istra)žena“ (Pula, 2012.), „Pčelarstvo tihi zanat“ (Etnografski muzej Istre 2014.), „Između tamo i tamo: anatomija privremenih migracija“ (Rijeka, 2017.). Članica međunarodnog doktorskog programa „Transformations in European Societies network“ u koordinaciji osam evropskih sveučilišta. Članica je uredništva međunarodnog znanstvenog časopisa „Visual Ethnography“, autorica je više stručnih radova i članica strukovnih udruženja kao i udruge IPAK – istraživački projekti i autorske koncepcije, koja koristi interdisciplinarnu spregu umjetnosti i znanosti kao resurs u istraživanju društvenih procesa.

KSENIJA ORELJ diplomirala je povijest umjetnosti i njemački jezik i književnost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Orelj je magistrirala na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u

Leipzig, na smjeru kustoske kulture, 2013. Sudjelovala je na Intenzivnom kustoskom tečaju, Independent Curators International, New York 2011., a 2018. godine bila je rezidencijalna kustosica u Muzejskoj četvrti (Museumsquartier) u Beču, Q21. Kao kustosica u Muzeju moderne i suvremene umjetnosti u Rijeci, često surađuje na grupnim izložbama, s interesima usmjerenim na pitanja rada, hiper-produkcije i nedostatka slobodnog vremena. Među takvim projektima su, „The Munchhausen effect: On time in times of having no time“, 5020 galerija, Salzburg, 2017. (s Anamarijom Batista); „Izvolite ispraznite svoje džepove“, MMSU Rijeka i Emil Filla Gallery, Usti nad Labem, 2016. „Iz trbuha diva“, MMSU Rijeka, 2015.

IGOR PETRIČEVIĆ je doktorand na Odsjeku za socijalnu antropologiju od 2016. godine. Nakon što je diplomirao sociologiju i antropologiju (2009.- 2012.) na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, magistrirao je na Odsjeku za socijalnu i kulturnu antropologiju (2013.- 2015.) Sveučilišta Leuven u Belgiji sa tezom: „Navigating the Crisis and Negotiating Mobility: Trajectories of Highly Educated Southern European Youth in Uncertainty“. Također je magistrirao na programu Europski studiji: transnacionalne i globalne perspektive (2015.-2016.) Sveučilišta Leuven. Na temelju etnografskog terenskog rada provedenog u Zagrebu između 2017. i 2018. godine, njegovo doktorsko istraživanje fokusirano je na načine stvaranja nove raznolikosti u Hrvatskoj i prilagođavanja na iste kroz svakodnevne postupke i interakcije između bivših migranata, izbjeglica, tražitelja azila, lokalnih stanovnika i aktivista pod utjecajem promjena graničnih režima, migracijskih ruta i zakonodavstva.

IVA PLEŠE diplomirala je komparativnu književnost i etnologiju na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu te magistrirala i doktorirala na istom fakultetu, na Odsjeku za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju. Na Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku iz Zagreba zaposlena je od 2001. godine. Sudjelovala je u nekoliko znanstvenih projekata, a trenutno je suradnica na internom projektu IEF-a „Etnografija izbjeglištva: hrvatski kontekst“. Autorica je knjige „Pismo, poruka, mejl: etnografija korespondencije“ te suurednica zbornika „Etnografije interneta“ i „Proizvodnja baštine:

kritičke studije o nematerijalnoj kulturi“. Bila je članica uredništva časopisa „Etnološka tribina“, uredništva „Biblioteke Nova etnografija“, te suosnivačica i urednica u novinama za kulturna i društvena pitanja „Zarez“.

SABINA SALAMON je kustosica u Muzeju moderne i suvremene umjetnosti u Rijeci. Razvija interdisciplinarnu pristupe projektima, poput serije intervencija u javnom prostoru („Spajalica“, 2012. – 2015.), izložbi o fenomenu krijumčarenja („Antologije krijumčarenja“, 2012. – 2015.) i projekta vezanog uz migracije (Riskiraj promjenu, 2016. – 2020.).

ŽELJKO SENKOVIĆ diplomirao je na filozofiju i grčki jezik i književnost na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Na magisteriju i doktoratu bavio se Aristotelovom filozofijom. Zaposlen je na Odsjeku za filozofiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Osijeku, sada u zvanju redovitog profesora. Područja istraživanja: praktička filozofija, grčka filozofija, Kant, filozofija odgoja. Član je Hrvatskog filozofskog društva. Objavljuje znanstvene članke, esejistiku i književnu kritiku. Pored toga, objavio je tri knjige: „Tertium datur. Prilozi uz pitanja o religiji i čovjeku“, FFOS, Osijek, 2014; „Aristotelova etika“, FFOS, Osijek, 2011; „Aristotelova kritika demokracije“, FFOS, Osijek, 2007. Suradnik je na međunarodnom znanstvenom projektu: „Spuren deutscher Sprache, Literatur und Kultur in Kroatien – von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart“. U njegovom životu sve je više književnosti i ne-akadenskog pisma.

CJ STEPHENS je umjetnica i filozofkinja, trenutno na doktorskom studiju iz likovnih umjetnosti, fokusirana na hermeneutiku svetog u riječima i slikama. Njezin interes za umjetnost povezan je s interesom za pripovijedanje jer CJina osobna ekologija uključuje izgubljenu kulturu Abenaki plemena. Umjesto prizivanja duhova prošlosti koje nikada neće upoznati ili idealiziranja prošlosti koju nikada neće u potpunosti razumjeti, CJin cilj je stvoriti i veličati višestrukost puta pred nama: usvojiti anti-hijerarhijsko razmišljanje i bivanje kako bi iz riječi, slika i priča koje nomadski ugrađujemo u sveto postojanje proizišla nova filozofija i nova umjetnost. Iako je njeno iskustvo većinom na obrazovnom polju, CJ trenutno živi u Marfi, država Teksas, gdje radi kao asistentica u

nastavi i pročelnica Instituta za doktorski studij likovnih umjetnosti.

DRAGO ŽUPARIĆ ILJIĆ je sociolog i predavač-docent na Odsjeku za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje je 2015. završio poslijediplomski doktorski studij sociologije. Područje njegovog istraživačkog i nastavnog interesa su Sociologija migracija, Sociologija etničkih odnosa i Sociodemografija, a posebno znanstvena polja Studije prisilnih migracija i Izbjegličke studije, te tematika migracijskih, azilnih, integracijskih i državlanskih politika. Samostalno ili u suautorstvu, objavio je tridesetak znanstvenih i stručnih radova, te je sudjelovao na brojnim domaćim i međunarodnim znanstvenim i stručnim skupovima. Član je Hrvatskog sociološkog društva.

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