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Arts and Computational Technology

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Title:

Balkanising Taxonomy: How to capture and transfer an experience of the event – the case of Belgrade protest in '96/'97

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Declaration:

Hereby I declare that this work is my own.

Nela Milic

Instructions for the reader:

How to approach this text
This text accompanies my projects' websites and links, which provide crucial information for following my arguments.

http://www.kulturklammer.org/nm - **protest map**
http://www.kulturklammer.org/days-of-remembrance - **pilot for *BG:LOG* project**
http://www.kulturklammer.org/bglog-mapa - ***BG:LOG* project map**
http://www.kulturklammer.org/view/179 - ***BG:LOG* project blog**
http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/balkanising-taxonomy - **1st archive for the thesis**
http://daljenecesmoci.wordpress.com - **1st protest archive and blog**
http://vimeo.com/19207332 - ***Yugo Yoga* project video**
http://fourthland.co.uk/nela-milicmotion2 - ***Here Comes Everybody* project**
http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/culture/gallery/migration-and-women-exhibition-londons-wedding-bellas.html - ***Wedding Bellas* project information**

Authorship and images
The images in the text are from my archives and maps now available online. They are mostly from the private collections of my research contributors that I refer to when possible, but even though they were given to me by 'the owner', they often do not have assigned authorship as s/he could not locate it. Many Belgraders refuse the engagement in projects that are recorded or display formality, so it is imperative to understand that this research could not yield its artefacts if devised differently. Facebook pages that opened and closed during my research were assigned to the event itself, rather than to a person. The most relevant is *Studentski protesti 90-ih* set up by Milos Miljatovic:
https://www.facebook.com/pages/%D0%A1%D1%82%D1%83%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%82%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8-%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8-90-%D0%B8%D1%85/125939594139887?fref=ts
Belgrade media organisations like B92 provided some of the images via its websites into my archive too, especially the ones that mark 15 years since the protest. Other local professionals that shot images for print media mostly ended up in the repository that Reuters provided to me in a bulk by dates, without authorship. Many authors, out of fear chose to be anonymous contributors to both Reuters and my repository. Methodology chapter covers to the issues around the authorship and images. See the enclosed memory card for the full list of images and sites the text illustrates.

Acknowledgment:

For my grandad, who carried my books.

Abstract:

The Serbian uprising in 1996/1997 was an attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of president Milosevic after he annulled elections because of the opposition party's victory. Ashamed by the unsuccessful outcome of their protest, the people of the capital Belgrade, have never produced an archive of the photos, banners and graffiti, which emerged during these demonstrations. Scarce information on the Internet and the inability of the media to reveal the data gathered during the protest has left the public without a full account of the uprising. My project is that archive – the map of images, leaflets, badges, flags, vouchers, cartoons, crochets, poems etc., an online record of the elucidated protest available to the participants, scholars and the public.

The narratives of this event have been locked within the community and there are only odd visual references hidden in people's houses. My research has generated them through interviews and image elicitation that looks at the uprising by analysing these accumulated historic relics. Presented in sections on the website (timelines, artists, routes) and pages of art formats (poems, photos, badges), this overview of the geographical, political and social circumstances within which the protest's artwork was produced demonstrates how it influenced the actions of the citizens.

This urban spectacle was enthused by the creative participation exposed in the walks of the masses that became the force of the protest. The reflexive method of my practice, just like this communal approach at the uprising challenges dominant representations of culture, history and politics from the whole of the Balkans.

My online package for capturing the past (hi)stories shifts the official narratives, predominantly from the West and saturated by the wars of the '90s into only one possibility among others. It maps the failed revolution in Serbia under Milosevic from its beginnings, revealing the accomplishment of academics, artists and citizens buried under the war stories...

Figure 1: *Belgrade is the world*, the image used on the postcard from the protest, unknown author, anonymous contribution[1]

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[1] The banner in this photograph was at the start of the procession and often in company of another one - Zajedno ("Together" coalition). Rastko Sejic claims the authorship of the slogan on the banner as well as the sign "Straight". However, the drawing has allegedly been done by Zoran Mujbergovic and the sign in the digital form transferred by Bojan Jankovic and Kosta Milanovic. Slavisa Savic also asserts himself as the designer of the first banner written by hand.

INTRODUCTION[2]

The term 'balkanising' was introduced at the end of World War One to illustrate the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the region, but it was used predominantly in the media as a geopolitical synonym for 'fragmenting' (a division, a split, a detachment of a region or a group into smaller and often more hostile units), and as a metaphor for the recent history of the Balkans, especially the disintegration of Yugoslavia. At first it was only 'media speak', but 'balkanisation' quickly spread in academia, providing this negative connotation to the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, picturing it as the underbelly of Christian Europe. On a subtler note, 'balkanising' can also mean 'degenerating', being 'an imitation' rather than the original. It implies a derogatory quality of the Balkans employed by academia in the West where the region has a subordinate position.

My research is proclaiming power within that condition of the lack of Western validation. It tries to deconstruct and challenge that strategy of demeaning, undermining and looking down on in order to elevate the Balkans from the space it has been allocated through the dominant narrative of the West. It provides an insight into the workings, technology and methods of such edifice. A methodology that Western societies pride themselves with – ordering, indexing and classifying[3] is established as a tool that builds the West's own identity (supremacy, divorced from violence, economic power) and it is reversed.

Western colonisation in intellectual and territorial means has been the life work of Edward Said[4], and this inevitably underpins my writing, but postcolonial theory proves

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[2] This introduction has been substantially changed and developed from its shorter version published in *Audiovisual Media and Identity Issues in Southeastern Europe* 2011 Pistrick, E., Scaldaferri, N. and Schwörer, G. (Eds.) Cambridge Scholars Publishing

[3] The study of nature was stimulated in 17th and 18th centuries in Western culture by the urge to reveal the order and harmony as thought to be provided by God. Scientists then believed that the diversity of living organisms obeys laws that could be disclosed by the way organisms were taxonomised. These early indexes are precursor to the systems that we use today. Developers of such systems "attempt to carve nature at its joints and to construct ways of grouping phenomena that reflect their natural state". Millon, T. (1991) Classification in psychopathology: Rationale, alternatives, and standards. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 100: 245–261

[4] Said, E. W. (1935 – 2003) was a Palestinian American literary theorist and intellectual, one of the founders of the critique of postcolonialism. He is best known for the book *Orientalism* (1978), a term he redefined as the West's patronizing perceptions and cultural representations of the "East" - Middle Eastern, Asian

not readily available in the case of the Balkans. It is Occidentalism[5] rather than the orientalism established by Said (1978) that is the cultural paradigm that applies to my project and it will be discussed in relation to positionality discourse and archival practice. I argue that 'balkanisation' has been constructed as a form of western orientalism, achieved through taxonomy and I try to overturn such an imposition as immaterial colonial heritage by interfering in the archival processes.

Both words – 'balkanising' and 'taxonomising' are verbs representing actions of separation, but 'balkanisation' evokes negative dissemination, destruction and ruination while taxonomising is seen as a virtue through which we create - order, store and define. The examples here illustrate the tensions between the Balkans and the West Europe - what is to do with the Balkans is corrupted whilst Western methods provide quality. Therefore, I use a partition technique for inaugurating and analysing the archive (of a historical event – a protest against the regime in Belgrade in 1996/1997) to prove that they are the same practice, sensitive to who uses it and how and hence, they are strategic and politically charged.

Since the beginning of my research, the word 'balkanisation' has gone through a process of revision, mainly by Serbian academics who tried to make it a lighter, more positive term, by embracing it as an option for alternatives, so it even appears in *Wikipedia*[6]. Architect Jovanovic Weiss[7] (2006) in his blog started the investigation of the word 'balkanization' in detail:

"It used to be hostile, but recent usages of the term show the potential of Balkanization vis-à-vis democratic processes." Another Serbian academic, Grubacic (2010) embraced Balkanisation as radical method of operation in his book "Don't mourn, Balkanise", challenging the settled negative connotations of the word.

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and North African societies. According to Said, Orientalist scholarship is a product of imperialism that produced it and hence, demonstrates mainly its desire for power. Bernard Lewis rejected that western scholarship was biased against the Middle East, but he thought that Orientalism developed as a facet of European humanism, which was independent of the European imperialism.

[5] Opposite, inversion of Orientalism, anti-westernism, dehumanizing view of the West

[6] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkanization

So, the Balkans (as the carrier of the meaning of the term 'balkanization') could be depicted as terrain of resistance. My research is a contribution to that development, an attempt to add an innovative type of democratic system expanding in the region at a very slow pace and adopting capitalism as its first phase of negotiation with this historical novelty in the area.

"It's not how little we know that hurts so, but that so much of what we know ain't so."

Toni Morrison, quoting the old folks

When I started compiling the archive of protest against Milosevic in Belgrade during 1996/1997, I came across large and continuously developing discourses of memory and event. These research domains are coloured by 'positionality', a term coined by Rogoff (2000) and drawn from the idea of 'situated knowledge' laid out by Haraway (1988) in response to feminist approaches to obtaining knowledge as partial perspectives. In order to engage with positionality, I had to reflect on my own scholarly circumstance and think through my project as an artist, a participant and a witness of the protest. These are just some of the attributes I assigned to my work. I tried to exclude globalisation, feminism and migration (even though I worked on the project *Wedding Bellas*[8] taking precisely these topics during the research for my thesis). Though these are areas of interest to me, within a framework of a PhD I had to put them to one side.

Cook (2005:16) writes that researchers' identities and practices make a difference: "Research can only emerge out of them. Tainted by them. Reproducing them." In the case in front of you, this is evident – I am not only dealing with an event that I am implicated in, but I grew up under the regime that I am writing about and it inevitably left an impact on my body of/and knowledge, affected by the then dominant ideology in Serbia and expanded in the West in yet another framed continuum.

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[8] More on the *Wedding Bellas* project is available in: Milic, N. 2015 An Artistic Journey Through the Experiences of Refugee and Migrant Women in London. La Barbera, M. (Ed.) *Identity and Migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary Perspectives Series: International Perspectives on Migration* (13) http://www.springer.com/social+sciences/population+studies/book/978-3-319-10126-2

With the archive of protest's artefacts, I am garnering data on relationships among people and objects produced at the demonstration with the desire to include another view of Serbia and its nation in the metanarrative of the Balkans in the West, in which the region appears as 'a powder keg'. The task of challenging this almost universal representation of Serbia is twofold, and requires the parallel address of Serbia's developments at the time and its representation today. The protest was a different side of Serbia during its dictatorship, but that dictatorship has been written about in the mainstream media and academia so much that Serbia is accepted in the eyes of the world under the unified paradigms of violence and nationalism without any other aspects being conceived, regardless of the fact that many of its citizens opposed the regime, which now seems to define them.

This absurd standardizing of the image of Serbia into a monolithic picture has extended to the whole of the Balkans in the yet again homogenized realm of the West devising a pataphysical phenomenon, a creation of a non-sensical entity. Todorova (1997) explains it by unpacking the metaphor of the bridge and crossroads of the Balkans as it is premised on the endorsement of the East-West dichotomy, an essentialised opposition and an accepted fundamental difference between Orient (as the East where the Sun rises) and Occident (as the West where the Sun sets). Gerolymatos (2002:4) affirms this view:

"Western leaders refer to the region as the back door to Europe…or Europe's doorstop. What these euphemisms hide is, perhaps, the wish that the Balkans were located anywhere other than in Europe."

So, the Balkans' reality would rather be a fiction. My archive therefore, contains both of those dialectics: historical accounts and empirical tropes of memory – my own and those of my research contributors. It is up to archive users to find their own 'fact' in it. As every archive is an artwork due to the processes of its creation that I deem inevitable for its establishment and maintenance, mine is not looking to be part of the archival science, but the art world. It is more interested in how to transfer the experience of the protest via its artefacts than weave its historical narrative.

There were many protests before this one, mainly against the wars and Milosevic's policies - both local and foreign. Memorable is the demonstration in March 1991 when the struggle against his regime started, but the protest was smaller in size and larger in scale – fewer protesters requested his resignation and so the goals of the 'demo' stayed unobtainable. In '96/'97, the small, humorous actions by the citizenry were about to break down the regime. It took until 2000 for this to finally be achieved[9].

"My favourite action was when we brought bottles of water and were spilling them on the street behind the police so they wanted to go to pee."

Tupanjac, V. 2011[10]

Jansen (2001) argues that there is a direct relationship between European politics and discourses that frame happenings in Serbia. He claims that Serbian politics is outlined by and imports agendas from European and world contexts. Therefore, the non-violent character of the protest inserted it into global foci of democratic resistance.

Furthermore, what has been written about it created a network of textual referentiality. Said (1982) describes this interaction as a 'travelling strategy' where writers reference each other in their literature creating a compact, fixed and powerful body of knowledge. For example, the opposition media found similarities with the fall of the Berlin Wall: "a cordon of heavily equipped riot police protected what in the eyes of many was the last bastion of communism in Europe" (Jansen, 2001). However, this was only a glimpse of civilian peaceful practice in the overpowering heap of resources about the wars.

Said (1982) develops the travelling theory of partial representation via grouping various types of texts as a strategy for subjugating the East that works in parallel with the direct coercion that the West administers against the East. He emphasises a process of tactical location by the author who positions him/herself in the text in

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[9] Following the presidential election on 24 September, the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević occurred on 5 October 2000. *Wikipedia* reveals that there are multiple issues on this topic, supporting the multiple accounts of the event and contributing to my arguments on the problems with history…
[10] Tupanjac, V. in interview 2011

relation to the Orient. The author's choice of narrative forms displayed in a particular way builds their paradigm about the territory and that construction of the Orient whilst being outside it makes one 'The Orientalist'. In this thesis I too travel from outside to inside of the Balkans and vice versa, searching for a position within both worlds, wondering whose voice I am representing at what points and why, whilst fighting the possibility of 'being Orientalist' because I am writing from the West.

Foucault (1969) also considers language as a domain of domination, where we all fight to achieve a safe and sound position. In his essay "What is an author?" (1969) he wonders about the persona and the role of the writer who adopts an individual view on history and literature, appropriating signs and the whole discourses for the purpose of interior expression. By finding the position through such practice I do not hope to dominate, but allow myself and the Balkans to keep its integrity, culture and value.

I am influenced by Derrida's writing style – the words matter to me as I keep debunking their meaning and dividing them. I take them back to their origin and investigate prefixes and add-ons, making sure that my message, which comes through history is hi-story: a construction. Furthermore, Derrida (1993) himself asked what remains of Marxism taken here in the West as an intellectual movement in contradiction to capitalism. Without socialist states what future, possibility, or philosophy can we offer to East European countries now, after conflicts, revolutions and transitions have settled into mostly capitalist regimes? In this research I ponder on what can I propose to Serbia from the West apart from building up its reputation, the value that could invite a desire for even stronger exploitation by the undying imperialists of the West?

My PhD journey went through various stages that often left me numb from this duality of existence as the author from the East and the West and lands that I have wondered through – here in the West and there in the East and I sometimes found myself silent because I did not want to write in English at all, let alone create narratives from London about Belgrade. Hence, I include the reflections on that schism in the positionality chapter, but the bursts of my consciousness about this split identity are

expressed as narrative interruptions of the academic text that the reader will come across here as incidents from life, shaped as performances of manuscript.

'The facts'

In the municipal elections on 17th November 1996, in almost all cities of Serbia the opposition coalition *Zajedno*[11] ("Together") won. The results were overruled through a blatant intervention by the government in the civil service and judicial institutions. Hundreds of thousands of citizens (some days 250,000) reacted by coming out on the streets. There were mass anti-war and anti-regime protests in Serbia during the armed conflicts years (from 1991 to 1999), but ruthless police action stopped demonstrations and the country sunk into wars, nationalist euphoria and economic ruin. Political opposition - tired, disillusioned, preoccupied with everyday survival and the emigration of the young and the educated - appeared non-existent.

But that winter in '96/'97, the electoral results set off overt dissent that lasted for three months. The co-ordinators were the *Zajedno* coalition and student councils of Serbian universities. The participants were mainly young or middle-aged, well educated, urban, and middle class (Babovic and Milic, 1997). Politically, they ranged from committed peace-activists to ardent nationalists. The street strollers looked schizophrenic in their 'Western best', which consisted of US brands and styles as well as local woollen traditional clothing. They promoted cosmopolitanism and affirmed the idea of Belgrade as the world city.

> "There was a river of young people, one energy, a good one, almost like a festival even though someone might think of this now as hideous, but something was in the air…"
>
> Posta, M. 2007[12]

Serbia's protesters, however they felt about their heritage, had an interest in and enthusiasm for West European cultures. Their visual and textual references – pictures

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[11] *Zajedno* political coalition was set up in 1996 and it consisted of Serbian Movement for Change, Democratic Party, Citizens Alliance of Serbia, Serbian Democratic Party and Democratic Centre
[12] Posta, M. interview in 2007

and statements on badges, coupons and graffiti in the capital, were of a democratic nature and they demonstrated a desire to be accepted as such – modern European instead of 'a trigger happy' nation which was painted in the world media mainly as war criminals. Protestors were eager to be taken as members of civil society by partaking in peaceful movement and opposing the violence executed on the orders of the Serbian regime. An illustration of such a desire was a banner carried at the front of the walking procession, designed by Slavisa Savic, stating "Belgrade is the world" – not some crazy place where leaders do what they want and everybody follows.

The landscape of Belgrade and the urban character of the protest were symbolically connected to the imaginary place of Europe. The notion of 'urbanity' referred to many constructs - 'Western', 'modern', 'sophisticated', 'educated', 'civilised', as learned through cultural values depicted through the East-West exchange. It was hard to distinguish where 'Europeanness' started and where it ended, but what everybody knew was that we are not witnessing Balkan-ness we were used to (Jansen, 2001).

Those who were constantly critical of the regime emphasized the importance of cosmopolitanism and celebrated a communal identity. Protesters' accessories gave rise to a petty trade in postcards, badges, whistles, raincoats, plastic trumpets and other souvenirs that were insignia of a global protestor identity.

Virtual reality

The attempt by the government to stop the protest was an attempt to adjust reality, as they were "supervising the standard procedures of reality correction" (Curgus and Babovic, 2007) mainly through dictating the national media's cohesive expression.

"To refuse to accept the valid making of sense is in fact to refuse to accept existing as the only valid model for life. At such moments the only thing that makes sense is not to make sense. A fully armed policeman, at ten degrees below zero, will not learn anything from a few pages of the *Metaphysics*, nor will he be ashamed of that, because he 'is only doing his duty', nothing personal. The reading of the *Metaphysics* is the drawing of a line of demarcation between two senses of logic, two ways of making sense which do not exclude each other, but which can coexist, thus

heralding a pluralist society. That demarcation line is just the beginning of a cultural rebellion" (Curgus and Babovic, 2007).

Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (350 BC) illustrates a dimension of Serbia's demonstrations against then president Milosevic that more precisely occupies the terrain of pataphysics - a philosophy dedicated to studying what lies beyond the realm of metaphysics[13]. It is a parody of theory and methods of modern science and it is often expressed in nonsensical language. This approach is used in sections of my thesis to support the spirit of demonstrations. Writer Jarry (1960:131) defined pataphysics as "the science of imaginary solutions, which symbolically attributes the properties of objects, described by their virtuality, to their lineaments." Another pataphysicist, Artaud (1925) wrote: "There is for me the evidence in the realm of pure flesh which has nothing to do with the evidence of reason."

Those prominent theatre practitioners were igniting the idea of performative objects or indeed, their whole collections. In my view, the digital realm allows and demonstrates such object condition, forcing them to 'explode', open up, play, rather than stay defined in their edges, materials and dimensions. As Latour advises (1991) we must give objects their own life, agency and autonomy and not turn them into judgments by classification.

All phenomena, including the archive, for the pataphysicist are totally gaseous. In the line of deliberated illogic, the need to create the archive of objects from the protest is encouraged by these intellectuals and its format defined by Baudrillard (circa 1950): "We are nothing more than a state of **virtual** fart". The virtuality of 'the reality' found in Belgrade's happenings is what calls for the digital display in the object archive that I built.

"This is a metaphysical struggle. Spirits are at war. Primitivism and friendliness, smiles and cynicism. We'll see who wins (but not on TV, that's for sure)."

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[13] Metaphysics examines what can be asserted about anything that exists just because of its existence and not because of any special qualities it has

I decided for this research not to have *Facebook*, *Twitter* or other social media accounts as arguably expected in digital humanities today, but to promote community values instead of individual and commercial interests of those corporate media networks through the practice of lived experience of pataphysics from the demonstrations. I joined, listened to and stayed with 'non-sensical' people in this way and embarked on education in philosophy where having sense is essential. I run a closed blog as a post-mortem of the research process and I kept my writings, methods, field notes and interviews unfinished as if I am safeguarding their potential rather than sealing their destiny via my own formulation of them. My data is unruly this way, like the crowd of the protest, causing a disruption of the academic categorising process itself, balkanising its taxonomy.

Stranger than fiction

The Serbian 'stop making sense' strategy grew out of its presence in the national 'reality' even before the citizens' revolt. It has been employed by the state and its imposition is difficult to grasp. The government's instrumentalising of illogical content and method was so confusing that it left people perplexed and therefore paralyzed action. In the course of a decade of Milosevic's reign, various groups in Serbia were addressed as one-time terrorists and the other patriots and his international alliances equally shifted from one extreme to another.

Protesters embraced this constant mediation of 'reality' by adopting all roles they were given throughout Milosevic's rule at once and spilled them out in one of the crucial actions of the demonstrations – the walk for 88 days of the protest. Walking as a persistent movement became political (Jansen, 2001) and its participants wore badges naming Setac or Setacica (Walker - m/f). The protest presented itself as performance of self-conscious citizens, which was elucidated by the banner 'Cogito ergo ambulam' in Latin for 'I think, therefore I walk'. Apart from reinforcing the idea

that this was a protest by *flaneurs*[14] and other people with intelligence and education, it evoked the Cartesian rationalist axiom[15], which underlies enlightened 'European civilization'. This carnival of characters now confused the government's media machine. Who causes this vast 'public disorder' that is spreading daily by scooping thousands in its spiral? The Walkers became fascists, bogus refugees, foreign journalists, manipulated citizens, Karadzic's soldiers, turbo-folk singers, chetniks, liberals, monarchists, rockers, anarchists, social-democrats, parasites, hordes, enemies, traitors, vandals, cheaters, destroyers, ultranationalists, CIA agents, drugged, and degenerate elements. "It was as if it were a new form of rapid and radical mutation which had caught the whole society off guard..." (Curgus and Babovic, 1997).

While giving the events an international flavour, in contrast to the regime's self-isolation, protesters purposefully played with the frequent accusations of fifth columnism[16]. In this way, the regime's depictions of the demonstrators as made up of foreign-funded mercenaries were answered promptly by waving the flag of Serbia's supposed arch-enemy – Germany (Jansen, 2001). Furthermore, they created the Walker's Glossary to define their acts and instruct others in the behaviour practice.

As Curgus and Babovic (1997) conclude, "Faced with this strategy, the (mainstream) media could only accept its pataphysics or simply not report it." It chose not to report it, relying on the half of Serbia that was still living in rural areas, so without access to happenings on the city streets. This rural community would have been presented with the regular dose of prime-time news bulletins on state television that seemed to start backwards – with the weather; another example of illogic practiced by the government. Protesters reacted by wearing rose tinted glasses, shelling the television

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[14] Flaneur – Benjamin, W. defined it in his *Arcades* project (1920-1940) as a stroller of boulevards in Paris

[15] René Descartes (1596-1650) though of that body and mind are separated and wrote about it in 1648 in his *La description du corps humaine* (The Description of the human body), which is published posthumously by Clerselier in 1667: "The body is an automaton, a machine. The mind stands apart from and operates independently of the body"

[16] 5th columnism is subversion, sabotage and undermining of a larger group of people from within. It is established during a Spanish civil war by general Emilio Mola who counted on citizens support from inside the city against the government.

centre with eggs and making a cacophony during the broadcast, so the news could not be heard.

More than a decade since the protest, I am trying to create a community of optimists, activists and enthusiasts in order to revive Serbia's collective spirit and hearten its consideration in the current governance wrapped up in blame culture.

"The protest was successful in as much as it identified the deviations inside the status quo and was not to offer solutions for correcting it."

Curgus K. V. 1997

Owning the side-lines was encouraging the creation of critical mass of the protest as 'the outsiders' to the regime thickened this external membership by engaging the more active citizens. To the state, their passionate behaviour was anarchic and destructive, but there were not any signs of aggression – people calmly and persistently took to the streets in family, work and neighbourly units. Civil society became visible and overnight saturated the nationalist folk paraphernalia omnipresent in public space.

This chain reaction between demonstrators was as intriguing as the relations between the objects that they created. Their artefacts were made to speak to each other: placards 'Cedo, ozeni me'[17] (Cedo, marry me) held by female protesters were addressing one of the protest leaders and its meaning was along the lines of 'Keep it up, man! Hold on in there! Here is a bit of love to keep you going...' rather than an actual invitation to marriage, but at that time of an increased sense of possibility, marriage would have not been surprising. Soon after, the male demonstrators would carry the placards 'Cedo, ozeni me' to add fun to reactions of both parties involved in this proposal, subtly undermining the dominant macho discourse brought by the wars that the regime was involved in. This sense of the possible, which Appadurai (2010) deliberates on in relation to the archives which 'mime socilaity' and build identities, I chose to think of as a constant state of protest and my own political position.

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[17] Cedomir Jovanovic was a leader of the protest walks and is now contemporary Serbian politician, president of Liberal Democratic Party

Figure 2: Poster: *Arms against robbers*, unknown author, anonymous contribution

If politics is the art of the possible (Bismarck, 1867) there is hope within power, because there is no exit from the realm of possibility (Appadurai, 2010); the possible cannot be exhausted. Politics is art precisely because it reflects the imaginative. Resistance emerges as a reaction to politics and the protest testifies to this. Its slowness, duration and persistence depicted the potential to change - one can observe the developments of revolutions and track the ability and disability of political acts in relation to the imaginary of those states for which the uprise became a real event developed precisely because of the notion of the possible. We imagine ourselves in the future and only then are we prompted to act.

Rhizometry of archive

Drawn from the botanic, Deleuze's rhizome is a concept of 'image of thought' (1980). In *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980), it is opposed to an arborescent idea of knowledge, which works with flat, vertical and linear connections, dualist categories and binary choices, like the ones existing between the East and the West. Rhizome allows for multiplicity, non-hierarchical entrances and exits in data representation and interpretation, but it also, in my view, weakens the opposition. If we are always looking for the 'third way' to manage contrasts, we are not bringing the opposites closer, but possibly widening the space between them, tightening the strain between the sides.

Furthermore, the protests' physical, digital and on-line collection unveils the necessity for a dual presence of text and image without temporal or spatial threshold. The inability to approach it from any definite perspective of time and space comes from the notion, as Milevska (2006:5) argues, that there isn't a single introduction to the archive (arche – true beginning); there are only compound and erratic beginnings. When we hit the first entry/point/record, we only find that there are more accesses to it. "All human artefacts and practices have extension in time, whether or not they have extension in space. Their freight of past is essential to their meaning", claims Segal (2013:6), but the sole encounter between the researchers and the sought document is what makes research matter. "The archive is a labyrinth with many dead ends and no short cuts" (Milevska, 2006:5). That search, my research itself is an unstable archive and it is rarely new factual information that excites me so much as the evident tension in interpretations of the records when placed next to each other.

The archive both includes and excludes - it works to preserve while simultaneously doing violence in this act. Collection, ordering and cataloguing are inherently violent as deliberated in *Balkanising Taxonomy*[18]. This is demonstrated by the method which allowed us to see only the given items from the textile collection and only the illuminated elements of them, so we could understand just parts of the stories they carry in line with how we read and record history – through bits.

"When people actively construct and co-construct their own social reality, fluid and multiple perspectives of the world emerge: there is no single truth" (Coatzee and Rau, 2009). This compels us to assess and re-assess, to interpret and to re-interpret our knowledge enterprises. "It is through a continuous oscillation between hypothesis formulation and revision that we move towards understanding" (Coetzee and Rau, 2009). Archives can provide us with it.

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[18] Milic, N. 2008 *Balkanising Taxonomy* project Accessible at: http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/balkanising-taxonomy [29/12/2014]

I further use mine to counter the region's invisibility by making the Balkans' cultural past more knowable to both historical and art research, so the clichés of Balkan-ness are diminished and the impact of their imposition is revealed as an imperial act.

Towards digital memory

Assmann defines cultural memory as the "outer dimension of human memory" (1992:19), which encompasses concepts of 'memory culture' (Erinnerungskultur) and 'reference to the past' (Vergangenheitsbezug). Zerubavel (1996) sees that understanding of collective memory taken as cultural and a notion to imply not only a commonly shared past, but also a jointly remembered one. Van Dijck (2011) furthers that paradigm when she examines social media worlds, suggesting the substituting of the term collective memory with 'networked' or, in support of Hoskins (2009a; 2009b), 'connective memory'.

This way of building on the canon of the study of memory is not simply a deepening of it, but a mediation and an appropriation for our times, when we mostly work digitally with memory. The transformations that are occurring because of the switch from the analogue to digital are reflected in the dilemma Plato set up between anamnesis and hypomnesis. He insisted on the careful consideration of the direct experience now being recorded and so taken in and distributed within a particular order that shapes it. Archive cannot be anything else but an unsuccessful attempt at repetition of experience because it has guidelines, forms and techniques. Hence, online 'collective memory' or 'cultural heritage' is "the result of data linked up by means of computer code and institutional protocols" (Van Dijck, 2011).

The conceptual re-namings of cultural memory are therefore constrained by scientific parameters and even though it is spread across the field of humanities, the discourse of memory is more and more reduced to rigid calculations and corporative templates that online presence demands. I have tried to combat that by working with archive activists, media artists and public engagement organisations (IRWIN, Kulturklammer) whose professional ethics stems out of the interest for community empowerment that I have been led by too, according to the nature of the protest itself. By adding

subjective dimension to the experience of protest, it has been made 'real' and its consequences evident in all aspects of life that I tried to encapsulate.

The archive that I compiled is assembled by the protesters now based in Belgrade, but also around the world due to their exile and the continuous brain drain from the country. It addresses the knowledge gap in recent history of Serbia in order to update its account in the 'grand narratives' (Lyotard, 1979) and establish an online package for capturing the pasts in our 'computerised society'. It is a platform for meeting of voices, which have been previously quieted or dissolved into the noise of temporary political pressures. The purpose of it is to develop the storage of cultural memory, a prototype for encouragement of archive as activism. It allows through digital re-enactment, the process of evaluation of the past in a forum untied to predetermined directions. I am hoping that in such environment, where past is jointly discussed by the people from and in the present, the direction of the future will be found.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

"Europe today is a powder keg and the leaders are like men smoking in an arsenal ... A single spark will set off an explosion that will consume us all ... I cannot tell you when that explosion will occur, but I can tell you where ... Some damned foolish thing in the Balkans will set it off."

Bismarck, O. 1878

The field of research

Memory studies scholarship genealogy starts here with 'cultural memory', a term coined by Jan Assmann (1992) as memory situated within both history and myth that has been developed from Halbwachs's understanding of 'collective memory' (1950) as dependent on the social group that creates it. Assmann and Halbwachs built on the prior writings of Durkheim and even earlier, Aristotle's and Plato's and provided the first step in the trajectory that Erll and Nunning (2008) make about the topic in their *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook*. They inaugurate the plane of 'transcultural memory' and I use Erll's and Radstone's work (2010) as guidelines through the vast memory paradigm. Radstone outlines the journey through the memory plane from the Middle Ages to modern controversies in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. Even though memory studies re-figures humanities as the study of culture and gives scope for never ending research, Radstone gives a clear, directed and effective overview of the field. Her approach offers some comfort with regards to the possibility of applying phases of memory studies development to my investigations, especially its technological stage that marks the end of the 20th century.

Radstone (2010) works with memory in the hope of preventing the repetition of wars led by the manipulation of memory. By providing a route through the studies, she alleviates the burden of the interlinked and multimodal load that we carry in expeditions on memory terrain. She writes about fragility of memory and the power of it at the same time as we constantly refashion it, which is describing my artistic and

scholarly praxis and underpins the main question in the thesis – how does one capture and contain, transport and transmit 'the experience'? How can we convey to others what we have 'lived'?

She divides the theories by a linear vista – years of its development as well as the themes that they cover. However, as a historian, this set way of presenting knowledge troubles the sole attempt to think of memory as a discursive concept because one method – of a historical science leads the way into its understanding. We are grateful for a guided path through the deep forest this study is and questioning it would add years to our investigations, but one has to acknowledge that disciplinary instructions however helpful, leave much of the findings out of the main road they travel on. Archival science as well as media archeology popularised by Parikka's new media theory (2012) equally provide a rigid framework of history and its method for the purpose of my investigation.

To define memory, I reached for Coatzee and Rau's delineations from 2009 as they uncover the constant production of memory and its very process of 'becoming' a path towards the understanding. I align with this view in my thesis, presenting my own 'becoming' through the processing of memory. The cartographic eye that displays it covers the passages and becomings, temporary barriers and decodable forces that permit us to include changeability and dislocation into the protest overview.

I use contemporary theory in my explorations of memory, especially from articles in the journal *Eurozine* (http://www.eurozine.com),[19] which has been prominent in galvanizing writing from academics that are challenging European histories. Key examples are the works of: Nora, exploring the selective approach to national memory, Arendt, disrupting official narratives, Todorova, deconstructing narrative hegemony of the West, Ranciere, discussing democratic value of the elite, Huyssen, debating simulation and mediation and Schlogel, canvassing hidden histories sitting in institutions. They set up theoretical outlines in memory studies and like other *Eurozine*

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[19] *Eurozine* website: Accessible at: http://www.eurozine.com [25.1.2015]

contributors - Lessing, Stefanovski, Berger, Pavic – have entered the mainstream in literature and visual arts, both of which deal with representations and inform my research. They also progress my argument towards acknowledging the necessity of including arts in memory studies because they provide 'the outside' (Assmann, 1992) – the social, as well as 'the inside' – the private experience of memory made visible. The diversity of topics the authors above cover, testify to the urgency of the negotiation between public and personal that is difficult for the methodological examination of memory in disciplines that firmly hold to their traditions.

Memory field and the technological boom

Memory has been a topic that at the beginning of my research opened its caves and salves of material burst out defining a philosophical enquiry of its field since Aristotle (350 B.C.E.) who described memory as a state of affection conditioned by time. I devised my own historical overviews of memory studies (Figure 1) and produced it in visual form to remind readers and myself about the spectrum of data coming out of this colossal discourse.
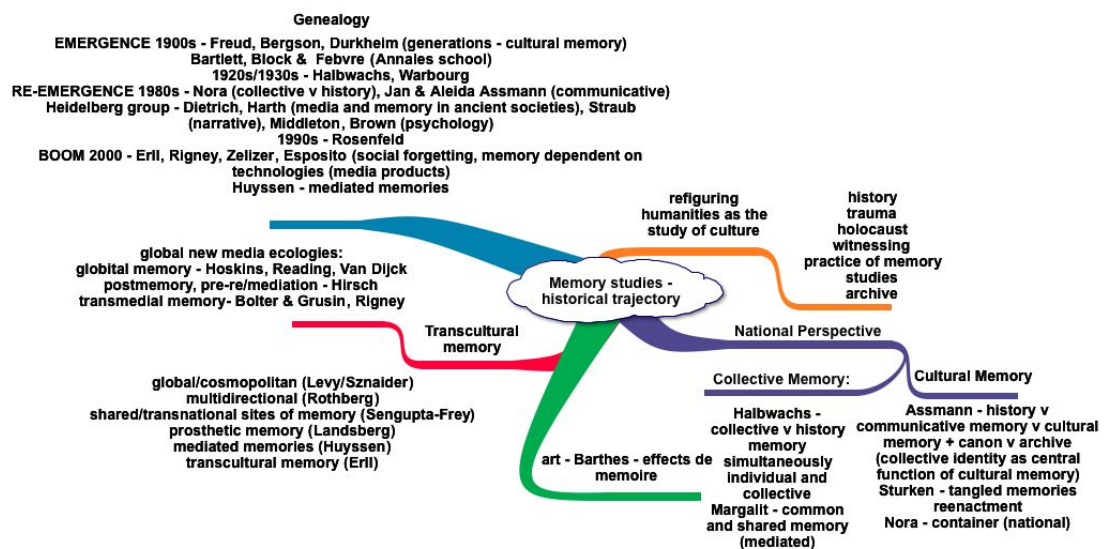
Figure 3: Pictorial learning tool of the genealogy of memory studies, author: Nela Milic

I focus on memory and new media technologies, using the work of Huyssen, Hoskins, Van Dijck, Levy/Sznaider, Hirsch, Rothberg, Landsberg, Sturken, Erll, Jan and Aleida

Assmann and Barthes. Most of them have introduced new terms for adapting memory studies to the contemporary world: connective memory (Hoskins, 2009), multi-directional memory (Rothberg, 2009), and global/cosmopolitan memory (Levy/Sznaider) for example.

Huyssen opened and ruled enquiry in mediated memory as a product of the rise of technology in the '90s. Kuhn (re/mediated memory, 1995), Zelizer (visual in memory 2001), Hirsch (postmemory, 2008) and Esposito (telematic memory, 2003) continue to work with memory dependent on technologies, but in the last decade, writing on digital memory has developed explosively precisely because it is disseminated through digital platforms. We learn about it from many who provide a new terminology for modern constructs that are reliant on the media – globital memory (Reading, 2012), transactive memory (Wegner, 1986) transmedial memory and premediation (Rigney, 2008), digital memory (Van Dijck, 2007), prosthetic memory (Landsberg, 1995) and tangled memory (Sturken, 1997). Not all, however, are as reliant on novel technologies as on its consequence – the advancement of the literature on memory. Digital technology has allowed comparative analysis, which had not been so readily available before the Internet, but memory scholars are still at infancy when it comes to thinking through that technology rather than simply use it for dissemination of the work.

This modern glossary reveals the gravity of the task for a contemporary student in the subject of memory and exposes the current state of memory studies - immersed in the humanities, stretching through science, and demanding from those interested in this discourse to work in interdisciplinary ways and master more subjects than ever. The technological flourishing requires that from all of us every day, but this is unprecedented in the memory studies field, as technology is exactly what nowadays allows for memory to be thought of, captured, handled and stored. This is the reason for my working on the Balkans in the area of memory studies – its diversity is the only way to provide justice for the Belgrade rebellion, but working across many surfaces inevitably leads to avoiding depth in some of them. I have tried to combat this by the constant archiving of the varied records as well of the process of research.

Taylor (2010) considers the shift of our times to digital archiving and wonders if this possibility of archiving of everything and the sole practice of archiving being available to everyone is in essence, anti-archival. Foucault (1969) would celebrate its challenge to the existent structures of knowledge and the open questioning of institutional authority as well as the data itself, but is it possible to archive against the archive? Would he call it counter-archiving, archo-activism or even archive anarchism?

In the '90s Huyssen (1995) gave instructions to the study of the technology of archive. I am engaging with his work on mediation through information processing and the jerkiness of that experience by using 'time capsules', reflexive disruptions that are bombarding the thesis text at selected points. Huyssen further deliberates on simulation as opposing and simultaneously enthusing our desire for anchoring, which is how I employ my memory of protest – as a re-enactment of the experience in order to settle for one place, one people, one time while searching for another place, another people, another time. To move on to another experience, I am trying to encircle the one of the protest, so to find, agree with and accept who I was and where I am now.

> "Archive lives its own life and that resistance is fantastic, fascinating and when you face it once and seriously involve yourself in it or you are young and doing some work with it, you understand it is a live value."
>
> Celovic, J. 2011[20]

Memory field and Eastern Europe

I have tried to challenge the orientalist discourse of the region throughout this thesis and to situate Serbia and the whole of the Balkans in the continuum of a global nationalism trend instead of treating it as region specific and supporting the assertion of orientalism onto a particular territory. However, the traditional view of the Cold War turning into transitional conditions of East European states after the fall of communism and its post-socialist historiographies overpower my arguments.

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[20] Celovic, J. in interview 2011

Nationalist and neo-liberal transformations of new countries are also part of the totalitarian view of the Cold War's narrative from which it is difficult to build different theoretical positions. In the last two decades Bakic-Hayden and Hayden (1995), Wolff (1994), Todorova (1997) and other writers have been trying to break that cycle of defining 'dispossessed' Eastern Europe through the grip of liberal calls for EU accession, free markets, civil society, electoral democracy and political culture. They warn against 'nesting orientalism' (Bakic-Hyden, 1995) and the troubled relationship that the Balkans has with Western European civilisation, which in turn, ought to be examined (Wolff, 1994).

Bakic-Hyden and Hyden (1992) developed their thinking on the identity between the Ottoman Orient and Western Europe, which coincided with regional territorial shifts, but was still situated within the European imaginary, deepening the difference that already existed between the north west and south east of Yugoslavia, drawing national borders as divisions in culture and leaving the Balkans (Bosnia and Serbia especially) in the domain of the primitive. Old twists, they summarise, were created anew.

Still, the transition, even in their work, seems to be a fetishized reform parallel with the one of the Cold War and that evolution is best illustrated in the artworks from the Balkans – its films, literature, visual and even social movements. I have chosen to draw my references from some of this cultural production because it presents Serbia's reality as a significant modern political and social phenomenon, rather than just a tragic, utopian, historical instance.

In *Orientalism* Said (1978) positions the authors of Western texts in relation to the Orient. I use this 'Orientation' to expose the Balkans narrative imperatives and add to them the mechanisms of dominant visual media that also belittle contributions from the Balkans.

For example, Serbia's anti-globalisation solutions register only as local struggles. The Balkans is reduced to a laboratory of Western capitalism, but the residents of that terrain are experimenting too, trying to find a more generous answer that could

possibly free them from preconceived ideas of their 'future' society brought to them by the West. To imagine democracy in the East as it exists in the West, is a misconception of democratic values themselves as this does not give an opportunity for the society to develop in its own form and pace. Realms of memory scholarship as well as 'democratisation' advices come from the West with a libertarian concept of freedom. Manipulation of liberal identity politics there and in the Balkans sometimes serves the purpose of silencing protesting voices that manifest opinions of the many.

The work of numerous NGOs (Women in black, Media centre, Citizens initiatives...) that were almost non-existent until the wars in the '90s is now seen as favouring minorities that did not have state support but without the strong state, it is only the minorities that have a voice through that vast 'third sector'. The inequality stays, it is just reversed and temporarily without a structure that could fortify the change in approaches of majority and minority.

Writing on gothic morality in post-Soviet society, Khapaeva (2009:1) reminds that we need to be careful about the inside struggles on the local territories:

"Personal loyalty towards superiors and respect for hierarchy constitute gothic society's most important and only uncontested law."

It is from such intensely engrained myths that a different society ought to be imagined by the people from the Balkans. However, it is one thing to question one's own society and another to associate it with primitivism that is imposed by outsiders and to ridicule it for that same imposition. I have chosen to situate my thesis between those two approaches to memory – the global one that stems out of the locality, and 'critical remembering', a term used by Falkenstein (1999) when addressing Irish mnemonic practice to describe the excavation of one's own community memory.

"I view all of that period romantically, I was surviving it too emotionally, there were so many things, now some people maybe from their angle see it differently, so all of it for them is mixed up, but I cannot, I know exactly by the date when it was to when… I never even spoke about it to people with who I am sharing those memories, nor we ever remember it, like it has happened and it is gone now. I am really disappointed that last year was 20 years of 9th of March or those jubilees happen like

15 years of protest and there is not even one line on TV – there is someone from some organisation who says, "We showed Milosevic". There is not a little programme, different angles… That is really sad, especially because some of the people who are on the top now were made then…"

<div align="right">Savic, S. 2007[21]</div>

Historical activity after the fall of communism fascinated Schlogel (2008) who was equally consumed by the material found by digging out the past, as well as in the insatiable desire of ordinary people and professionals for it. Schlogel believes that this matrix of interests for objects and stories is the crux of political debate today, differentiating only according to the levels of liberalisation of the societies – more accesses we have to the heritage, the more enchanted we become with it.

Memory field in the Balkans

Todorova's theory (2004) rests within the domain of positionality as per her defence of the Balkans. She managed this by marking the historical processes that worked against the formation of the Balkans as a decaying and backward land, and identifying them as places of hope and prosperity. But Todorova pins collective memory to the nation and I am showing one example of such an understanding – my own cultural praxis of political rebellion, knowledge production, migration and identity struggle, which comes out of this discourse that is delivering an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). Todorova (1997) ascertains that hegemonic power and the essentialism left as the only opposite force to it, are the two poles of East-West contention and I follow this view, deepening her critical findings with examples from my own experiences of both constructs.

Todorova considers language as central in the construction of nationality and ethnicity, but she rescues the people of the Balkans from the greater interest aroused by those latter entities rather than by their culture. She exploded the topic of Balkanism in her book *Imagining the Balkans* (1997). Presented as a darker side of Europe, the Balkans, Todorova discovers, is erected around nationalism due to its Asiatic Byzantine heritage, which is presented as alien to the supposedly civilised European nations and

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[21] Savic, S. in interview 2007

therefore projected onto it in national terms. The Balkans, it seems, is blamed for what it has been given.

She continues to defend her stance with newer publications on postcommunism, which she sees as equally produced, performed and open for diagnosis, so we will again be in trouble to predict what our pasts are going to be. Relying on Confino (1997), Todorova (2004: 5) writes about the nation as "an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group" whose need for a memorialised past reveals its newness as a concept.

Similarly, Wolff (1994) depicts the region as an intellectual invention of the economically powerful West, which devised its cultural zone through imaginative, philosophic and creative travelogues, diaries and maps (1994). Maps in particular contributed to the organisation of such knowledge production and I am therefore using them to expose the modes of their working and utilise them in reverse – as the East looking at the West. A desire to have all knowledge belongs to the encyclopaedists and this process is advanced by historicizing of knowledge and the 19th century's end of the book as the preferred place for depositing it.

For Wolff, maps are social and ideological documents that project power. They are cartographic panoptical gazes, which imply political, economic, and cultural ownership. Therefore, they make visible or hide what is not suitable to present. Eastern Europe, through such a technology of knowledge and control, has continuously from the Enlightenment and colonial expansion taken an agricultural and Oriental spot in the world where paradox thrives and without questioning this paradoxical positioning which would expose the economic and political interests of the cartographers themselves. Mapping has sealed the Balkans as an ideological construction. By positioning itself in the middle and adopting the connotation of 'civilisation', the West has invented a tradition by which it can stay central and Eastern Europe moves to the edge, into the barbaric fringes.

I examine the unsustainable idea of a fixed global identity with the reinforcement from Badovinac (2007) who thinks that memory will soon not exist unmediated due to our constant recording of it and reliance on technologies external to us to do it for ourselves, divorcing our bodies and 'outsourcing' in order to capture knowledge rather than live with it. I have been helped by identifying with the Balkans' writers and the troubles they find within Western interpretations of 'our' culture and social world (Petresin-Bachelez, 2010) and by distinguishing Western and Eastern thinking streams and the methods of their exhibition. I aligned to discursive, the Balkans' way of looking at 'things' as firmly connected and vastly networked, just like the ground of the region itself – bordering, but holding tightly to diverse states from all its sides.

My own struggle to combat this diachronic environment lists Serbian authors (Dragicevic-Sesic, Curgus-Kazimir, Lazic) and very few others who have published work about the protest (Gordy, Jansen, Steinberg). My first case study - *Balkanising Taxonomy* captures this tension between Eastern and Western academic sources and strives for a new reading of the Balkans and Serbia in both East and West. However, *Vampire nation* (Longinovic, 2011) is a brand so settled within the imaginary of the West that I riddle the thesis with examples of this deep-seated condition, which I will spend a lifetime working through. At least, as I gathered the people interested in this issue, I discovered that Balkan academics felt the same about the dearth of scholarship on the region, which is providing a monolithic, colonial and patronising view of it.

"All these writers, are entrenched in the establishment, too addicted to lashings of Eastern Europe's past, too willing to give neoliberalism a free pass."

Sandhu, S. 2014

In his seminal book *Imagined communities,* Anderson (1983) claims that both East and West 'suffer' from the same fantasy of themselves as peoples with unshared interests and values. They imagine themselves in inclusiveness and exclusion from the other, especially in the contest of the nations that are as false as broader understandings of the global community. Positioning themselves as culturally separate from the nationalist Balkans, the Westerners are demonstrating nationalist traits, imagining

their own coherent, sovereign, limited, defined political entity. Anderson asserts that this misconception is built by the media and this was certainly the case of Serbia in the 90s, in both Western and Eastern broadcasts and print.

Representation

There was a rift between the academics and media chroniclers in the West and the East in the '90s. Western writers held on to wars and developed narratives of violence as being inherently Serbian whilst Serbs kept the demeanour of intellectuals uninfluenced by Milosevic's tyranny, and being equally objective as the Westerners on the opposite side of the argument. The texts, which were produced started another battle – over history and so, the Serbs entered yet another war – of representation.

This culturally focused resistance by the Serbs did not have an aim to usurp established power as much as to expose it and propose an alternative through direct action and lived experience. With this thesis, I hope to join that trend, because of the depressing and pervasive visibility of the war narratives, which has been evident by only glancing the shelves of books about the Balkans at any library in the West. Under the history section, the titles promise a drama of the fall, genocide, nationalism, disintegration, illusiveness, justice, killing etc. It takes a long search through the art, psychology and education sections to find gems on imagination, creativity and innovation that the Balkans also provides.

In the debate on 'otherness' Ahmed (2004) campaigns for the placing of our responsibility on the side of "the other" or as Levinas asserts (1972), for "the other". Ahmed's notion of the stickiness of labels and orders of words in the naming of matters and peoples makes representation a signifying practice, which is spectacularising "the other", as deliberated by Hall (1997). Ahmed introduced the phenomenon of 'stickiness' to signs that we create from our cultural heritage through repetitive use. This process is external and internal, suggests Hall and it is shown in my research practice. I am recording it as I am going through it, separating from and yet demanding to be included with my data and methods in the visual regimes of the West.

Ahmed (2004) takes one's background as a starting point in the acceptance of "the other" and Levinas (1972) positions himself as a critic of a condition when one feels endangered by the presence of "the other". He further develops the argument about the need for "the other" in which one is always bound to be responsible for, 'opened up' by and witness "the other". This must not be done as a representational relationship because our own freedom and humanity depend on the honesty of this encounter. However, by the imperative of thinking about "the other", Levinas might be guilty himself for the extension of that figure, as he holds that representation deals with itself.

Furthermore, stickiness has been practiced in Serbia by the regime, militants and nationalists who have for years been portraying the country through stereotypes, transparent motifs and vague figures to both national and international players. The cluster of stories lock together, but have enough leeway for other narratives to be incorporated and so appropriated for interpretation by the hierarchies.

As a result of those moulding local and global processes, Serbs oscillate between representations of the lazy and the activists of today. It was the same situation during the protest. Even though people were not working and public services were non-operational, they insisted on performing their political and physical 'stuckness' on the street. They were expressing their position within the globe that has taken them as the nation against the world. However, in order to call upon the world, you must act modern (democratic), hence the Serbs forced the event by forging an absence from regularity. Their appearance in masses created irregularity even in the most ordinary places like public squares, and insisted on being visible through 'abnormality' – the state in which the left was boxed into. As they began performing it, its absurdity became evident. Therefore, the protest in this research is curated as an activist object, as well as performance art.

The old tensions between the East and the West are still present in all aspects of our lives. Not only am I confirming the existent findings on that matter, but I am describing

current influences in the entanglement of the East and the West as settled within modernity and in a new shape, affected now by contemporary processes of globalisation, neo-liberalism and technology growth. The pulls between the two sides of the world are not diluted by the emergent North and South divide; they take dominance or stand behind at times, corroborating its destructive nature and never-ending resurfacing in old or new light. The visual boundaries that Bal (2003) writes about are not innocent and they are the veins that I take the pulse of in this thesis, agreeing that every history is non-existent and yet repeats itself. This acknowledgment of the boundaries that are sharpened by constant reference to them, making their imaginary 'real', 'embodied', 'visible' would be one of my contributions to the field of study of the Balkans.

I sometimes think of my in-betweeness as a state of un-naturalness in comparison to rooted people whom seem to have a more sound social stability due to their local connections. Landsberg's (1995) definition of 'prosthetic memory' finds correspondence with my dwellings on non-belonging - not only to physical space, but to the experience that others might have of it too. I take her writing further though, dissecting the memories of the '96/'97 protesters, some of whom combined this memory with all the other protests that they attended in Milosevic's time, others of whom were fading out that memory due to the protest's uncomfortable ending. This ambivalence in protesters' accounts made my in-depth interviewing an unusual sociological tool, but Landsberg (1995) urges us to think of losses in memory as well as of additions. If we want replacements, what is missing from the original when the original was never available to us anyway?

Archive text-ure

I analyse the textures of the archive and observe its rhyzomatic nature through the work of Benjamin, Derrida, Foucault... As the flexibility of memory is in their focus and they are inspired by the artworks in their thinking, I develop an artist's viewpoint on the making, display and contextualisation of artefacts in *Balkanising Taxonomy*, but I regularly go back to Schlogel's 'officiality of memory', so I don't forget the politics of deployment of archival classification, its legitimacy and use for and by the powerful.

Benjamin's texts stimulate criticisms of the official accounts of history by allowing the examination of the technique of their affirmation. Not only that, I hold on to him in critique of traditional and also newly developed mainstream views on history coming out of the old structures, but his writing is essential in my comprehension of the theory about the archive and its construction. The awareness of the practice of archiving and the reluctance of the same come mostly due to his troublesome doing of it too – archiving as well as continually being disillusioned by the same act. To Benjamin (1940), containing memory in a document that then gets passed on has been historically a practice of the privileged, so the whole history is 'barbaric' as tampered with by the wealthy who fought over those records.

Memory for Benjamin operates in the form of an image – a photograph, a flash that shines for a moment and then fades into dark from which it might never arise again. Therefore, memory is precious experience – on one hand, it is once in a lifetime and on the other, it is a perpetuum mobile from which we draw life. In its archives, we do not search for comprehensiveness and understanding, we can just be present – feel ourselves between the past and the future. Archives are not the places of the past; they are spaces of present in which we feel the absence of the past, as well as of the future. Like the gravestones with pictures of the deceased, they remind us that these people are not with us anymore and their portraits are the signs of absence, emptiness, void, gap like the archival documents that tell us – this 'was'.

I followed my trajectories of attachments to the artefacts given and sent to me for the archive and so, I began to drift, inspired by Benjamin's *flaneur* (1892-1940) through the streets of Belgrade in my mind as I was looking at the pictures, touching the objects and reminiscing about the winter of '96/'97. By placing artefacts next to each other and marking their forms, similarities, contexts, patterns, histories, I was formally analysing them in order to grasp their connection and position within and beyond protest.

The failures of the archive itself, but also of working with and in the archive are described by Milevska (2006), which leaves me in the company of many who indulge in archival explorations feeling exhausted and without much achievement. Still, those philosophers' accounts invite the work with the archive and the perseverance of it allows for some pleasures like discovery, object contact, authenticity encounter etc. Milevska (2006) considers especially East European feminist practices, which I find myself belonging to through a highly reflexive way of working and a kind of exorcism through art by making the fear of archiving noticeable.

I rely on Foucault's *The order of things* (1966) not only because of the recognition that indexing and labelling leaves a permanent mark on 'the marked' as we see with the Balkans, but because the researcher is also an object of study as I am here. 'Ordering' is after all, his/her methodology of acquiring knowledge, however antagonistic it may be.

With the challenge of translation and issues with English language domination in mind, I have developed the *Balkanising Taxonomy* website as an elusive platform – the relative permanence of the digital technological display allowed for enough space for investigation without committing ideas on paper, but still making them present, visible and crucially, exchangeable online when a reader comes across the website. It does not have the authority of material heritage or language and it is established in the West precisely because I wanted to uproot these. Nevertheless, it is an archive and its ephemeral Internet surface, however vulnerable, carves the stable path of enquiry and establishes its trajectories.

A number of research questions were positioned on the website addressing territory, history, image, politics, media, identity, representation, reflection, arts and archival practice. One of the most important wonderings was whether the Balkans matters most to those interested in it as a topic or to those who are from there and who have an interest in preserving and glorifying its culture? I proceeded in my thinking about the protest in that light – apprehensive that I might be in a minority of those who care

about it. This anxiety however, finalised the questions underpinning the whole of my research, taking it in different directions, away from the protest:

1. How can an experience be captured?
2. How does memory and participatory arts impact community?
3. What is the East versus the West today?
4. Does the end of socialism means the end of solidarity?
5. What is the potential of digital archiving of events?

The nature of the archive tackled by Derrida (1995) explains the influence of digital technology not only to his canonized ideas of the archive, but to everyday uses that the archives now have via Internet. Derrida's insight into my 'archive fever' is delivered through a Freudian impression of the structures and practice of archiving itself, but he contributes most to my thesis by revealing the Western interpretations of Marxism, especially after the fall of communism. I found his thoughts in *Dissemination* (1981), *Writing and Difference* (1978), and particularly *Spectres of Marx* (1994) crucial for demystifying the romantic ideas of the East and unpacking the discourse of the future without such an imaginary. I answered his question – if the East is not its representation, could it be the place of the future - with 'yes'. If given time to do it itself, stripped from Western influences, we might yet discover the future practices of governance, community and economic development on that territory.

Steedman (2001) returns me from the online world and sits me back amongst the dust of the objects, which act as particles in my archive repository, but also to the people that carry it in them. This material world that is a secure part of history for the historian, provides meaning through reservoirs of people's stories born out of the debris of their lives. This clichéd understanding of what the archive is – a place for documents, is followed by Van Dijck's (2005) shoebox archive which she tried to turn into a digital one and through this process noted the problems with this object transmission, because it fundamentally changes the meaning and value of our memories by repositioning us in relation to objects, others and ourselves.

"What were those demonstrations in '96/'97? That is now only a document about the spirit of one time – the interpretation there is very important. There is some raw material that we were packing. I was trying very hard with the details, banal things in the description of what is on that material and then the protests ended, disappeared, shut down. After some time, Karic (Ljubomir – owner of BK television) who was a cunning peasant understood that there is some material and he even found a person to process that material, the director Vlada Perovic who made a documentary film about the event that is a lie. He made a romance about the event that exceeds a romance of everyone as a personal experience, but you cannot make a general conclusion. That material is only useful as single shots. That use was misuse."

Celovic, J. 2011[22]

Approaches to method

My technology is an archive itself and a database of digital formats, which illustrate the need for a bundle of methods in order to provide the experience of protest. My archival practice resembles Bakhtin's carnival, dressing the people and the streets as I pack them in groups and continuously unpack them to taxonomise differently: I arranged three groups of people for my interviews, which became five and are now eight planes that are difficult to distinguish separately. I kept changing Belgrade's physical map too as I went along. My methodology is presented through two case studies that indicate how my protest map was produced, what its aesthetics are and how to read it. Most significantly, they reveal that the archive will not be completed with the end of my thesis. Like the revolt itself, my thesis depicts the process of creating prototypes, never really settling for one, but collecting the best practices with each case study and hoping to establish the archive in the future, which would suit the protesters and the protest most.

Semiotic interpretation of both - the images and the text for my archive come from Barthes (1964), but Bakhtin discovered for the West by Kristeva (1986) led my practice and is now a mainstream writer in protest culture. In *Rabelais and his world* (1940), a study of folk culture depicted by French renaissance writer Rabelais, Bakhtin recognizes carnival as a topsy-turvy world where laughter subverts authority, which matches the Belgrade protest. The fear of repression was overcome by what resembled a rave. The effervescence of the protest was infectious and its persistence

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[22] Celovic, J. in interview 2010

strategic as many demonstrators assured that daily stunts and distinctive iconography were constantly encouraging the presence of the public.

French situationist Vaneigem, in his book *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (1967) ascertained that in carnivalesque moments the individual celebrates unification with a regenerated society, but that is a view of the finished act – the society already refreshed by the sole celebration of success of change. However, we protest precisely because we want the change yet to happen. When we arrive at the after-party we can only reminisce how that change occurred.

According to Bakhtin, the carnival celebrated "temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions ... it was hostile to all that was immortalised and completed" (1968). So, I am careful not to connect Belgrade protest to anarchism, anti-globalisation or Situationist International movements because they are milestones in history mostly against the order of capitalism – a system that came later to Belgrade after the local protest had finished and the dictatorship had been finally overruled.

The beauty of the protest is in the moment of suspension of time in between two evils: an old, stale, ideological system and a fast-paced, obscure, capitalist society. The tide could have turned sideways, away from those two options, rather than gone forward – into the 'progress' that Benjamin (1940) was warning against. That space of possibility is where I keep coming back to, wondering what we could have done if not pressed forward and where to go next time when the opportunity arises.

> "That walk is in my view the best tourist tour, the city can never be seen from that angle as in those walks when you walk in the middle of the George Washington Street, only then can you realise that architecture - that is a completely different city…"
>
> Savic, S. 2007[23]

The twenty people that I interviewed provided discursive accounts among the random comments of the citizens that I encountered, which often appeared essential for my understanding of how the protest shapes the present of the Serbian population. The interviewees themselves leapt considerably through space and time in their stories, leaving me confused, but aware that the interviewees were so themselves. They were unsure about what they do remember, but they knew how it all felt at the time of the experience. This is why I find that it is sometimes more beneficial to describe rather than transcribe the interviews I led and so abandon the scientific rigour and operate within the arts field of interpretation.

I keep jumping too - from the ideas of the archive as enclosed, rigid, fixed space to open, digital, Deleuzian (1994) accumulations of everything at the same time that is troubling the value of my items. Memory for Deleuze deals with the creation of identity in order to allow experience to be remembered. He recognises the eternal return (to home, to past, to archive) like the longing that matters is the absolute return as for Hall (1997), demonstrating that only the repetition, which differs-from-itself, or, as Nietzsche reports, only the repetition of those beings whose being is becoming counts. Deleuze links memory, archive and map in a plateau with various layers and admittance points defining a new form of seeing as a projection of infinity from the birdseye view of diagramic abstractions. That Icarus view or the top lens empowers my archive map and provides it with the narrative authority and authenticity.

Speaking for the archive

Arendt (1972) evokes responsibility in my storytelling as she reminds that it inspires judgment and calls upon the need to deconstruct official narratives so we can peek at the possibility of truth, which is not delivered to us by 'the knowledge specialists'. By decomposing them, we can account for ourselves and for "the other". We address "the other" and at the same time we are reflecting and reconstructing ourselves (Butler, 2001). For *Balkanising Taxonomy* I have invited Balkan connoisseurs to encounter themselves as a community, but also as "the others" and question their own position within the field as well as reflect on the impact of the Balkans studies on wider culture and academia in the presence of a new generation of 'experts' who are

now coming from the territory of the Balkans, rather than parachuting into it for the purpose of research.

Bourdieu's writing on cultural capital appears an important factor in assessing the culture of the Balkans locally and from a Western point of view and hence, it is included here as an analytical tool as well as a theoretical stance, because "art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimising differences" (Bourdieu, 1979:7). He advises on a method in research that is trying to defy such appropriated set-up - in-depth interviews (1993). He thinks that questionnaire surveys are not adequate in situations where difference is fogging the approach to investigation. In-depth interviews as oral history that I used allow time for both researcher and the interviewees to understand better what it is exchanged, how and why.

I engaged with cultural capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986) and Matarasso (1999) and disclosed, with the help of Das (2010), that symbolic and material violence is sitting in the imaginary. Bourdieu's (1990) laments on 'habitus' as a system of dispositions determined by society, encompass the idea of both rationality and imaginary as situated within the pillars of power. The mostly rich establishment dictates the norm and influences the codifications and formalisations according to people's lifestyles and practices, heavily dependent on their economies, but appearing objective. These socially bound performances display one's cultural capital, forbidding transition to and from one class to another as per the dominant group's view (Bourdieu, 1991). I took that powerful elite to be Western academia in intellectual terms. It dictates the lines of enquiry through its economic power that gets transmitted through the use of language, the formation of discourses and access to the scholarly material.

Matarasso (1999) provided a demarcation according to the participatory arts field, where talent, training and exposure to cultural activity accumulate over time to deliver one's cultural capital. That delineation of vitality that an individual or a group holds as their cultural value can also work against them as noted by Foucault (1969), Hall (1997)

and Fanon (1961) who warn about the boundaries of representation within which this culture can operate. From its borders, where there is a sense of their expansion, these values can be brought back, 'get tamed' or implode as the barriers of knowledge are impenetrable and hold the supremacy of a particular representation.

The mix of different modes of data deployed in my archive allowed for poetic dynamic to disturb the separation between fact and fiction and bring them closer. I am treating history as the story and the practice of storytelling as a historical method. Portelli (2009) argues that in oral history we have to think through the telling, because memory gets made via the stories we choose to tell and I am conscious of this process while listening to the audio records of the contributors to my research as well as my own voice in writing.

Behind the artefacts

Realising that every research has its own method and furthermore, that every interviewee should be approached in a unique way, appropriate for that particular individual and the situation we are in; my methodology mirrored the realm of memory. My own stake in this research is uncovered as I am narrating myself through personal objects, friends, family and colleagues. I am deconstructing their private and public places of memory and constructing my own as I write a blog and create maps – sites, which are inviting feedback.

I give interview snippets, photographs and object analysis to my digital storage whose production is accompanied by the narrative vignettes scattered throughout the thesis. These intersections in the text that I collected as scars and deliver like they are my second voice are to be distinguished from the first (academic) voice although they often interlink. Even though they are embedded within the text, they are characteristic nuances of my experience, achieved independently from that manuscript, yet informing the whole thesis. Cixous (1976) and Das (2010) use the same technique when they interlace the examples of their experience of the communities they study in their writing. When these samples are given as everyday praxis, their theory gets illuminated.

My case studies expose the constant play between theory and practice – one influencing the other as they migrate in the shape of texts and images from Internet platforms to hard copies and back to signs that, when glued together, create words and pictures - a context reflected in the medium that impacts it.

Images from my protest collection can be categorised by subject and differentiated according to their mode of production: professional or amateur. They are a mix of photographs produced for newspapers and magazines and casually taken snapshots on the streets by the individuals.

They have been analysed with the support of the work by Shevchenko (2007), who thinks of them as media with emotions, yet they are precise outlets of mixed stories plaited between conventions and details that oppose them. I have written the text of the thesis in a similar manner, delivering theories in between the extracts of personal narratives, deliberately provoking emotions without order, instruction or guidance in how to experience them. You arrive at the photograph as you do to my reflective written intersections and they strike you as you are at that moment.

Rose (2009) claims that images are not enough. The sociologist who wrote so much about visuality is unable to embrace it in its fullness – as a language and an approach that needs mastering in the same way text does. She rather unpacks it as a strategy of presentation of 'core', 'relevant', 'serious' data in 'word' form. For her, the text is worthy and so are the numbers. For me, an image has a unique value in its ambiguity and words and numbers are incomparable as they are specific in their processing and in their expression. Bell (2005) shows us that colleagues can have different views, as she states that qualitative researchers are more interested in individual perspectives of the world, rather than statistical interpretations, so images give us something else than a word or a number and Bell recognises it.

Furthermore, the value of digital images lies not in their accrual, but rather in their circulation just as I started working with them - through gathering and preservation.

Like with the protest movement, which dispersed transient energy, their worth is in ephemeral, rather than archival quality, hence they are a perfect medium for depicting the event. "The currency of the snapshot ceases to lie in its narrative or mnemonic value, in its indexicality, or in its status as a precious object" (Rubinstein, 2008). Instead, it becomes an exchange value – a stake in negotiable relationships.

Ethnographic self

Hirsh's (1999) writing on post-memory influenced my interest in legacy of memory and its transference to younger generations. With her thinking about captured experience and its revival in the bodies of descendants, I have positioned my archive as a work for the generations who took part in the protest and the ones who did not, so they can, through the obtained material, talk to each other about that event. I have done the same with projects *BG:LOG*[24] and *Yugo Yoga*[25]. I am hoping for the discovery of sensitivities, affinities and respect between ages and to encourage the self-development from the lessons learned in that exchange. Furthermore, I want to see one generation included in the future of the other, rather than dismissed as victims or survivors – disempowering categories that do not lead to constructive resolutions or suggestions for moving forward.

My reflexivity plane engages Coffey's (1999) theory about the process of ethnography while writing the self, a soul-searching journey that I took with this thesis. Conscious of the method and its impact on the construction of my own identity, I was willing to dive into it as the synthesized account of personal experiences of ethnography that have been compiled by Coffey. These offer beside interesting stories an important insight into 'thick description' as well as its implications for the researcher. It is the change into a researcher of 'the personal' rather than personal research that I tried to achieve through the appreciation of her work.

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[24] *BG:LOG* 2012 Blog Kulturklammer project Accessible at: http://www.kulturklammer.org/view/178 [29/1/2015]

[25] More on *Yugo Yoga* can be found in Milic, N. 2011 Performing nostalgia or a bull in a china shop. *Annals of The Ovidius* University of Constanta Accessible at: https://www.academia.edu/1467967/The_Annals_Of_The_Ovidius_University_of_Constanta [29.1.2015]

Even though Pink (2001) is trying to merge the role of photographer and ethnographer, as an artist, I cannot escape the grip of art history that pushes away the social scientists from the borders of art. If photography is the only form of visual art that is embraced by social science, it is quite telling how the scientists are thinking of it and why it is there – to record, not 'imagine'. In her work on 'doing ethnography', Pink advocates for the use of media, from photographs to video, to strengthen qualitative analysis in social research, but she does not deliberate on the reversed impact that we now have to solve – the omnipresent visualisation of data that provides us with images whose relation again has to be explained by artists in arts context and scientists in the scientific.

Lazic's book (1999) and the interview conducted with him allowed me to understand the protest from the point of view of a sociologist, but also that of a protest participant who used his academic skills to gather the data he thought successfully represented a face of Serbia, which he has seen on the streets. He used his professional knowledge to assess the crowd's demographic characteristics that promised, according to his experience, to deliver a different vision of the country from the one made in the world's media. His work and the political plight did not clash and they provide an inspirational endeavour, which serves as a report on the community at its best, far from a simple positivism of the occasion. The 'civilised behaviour' that was exterminated by Milosevic's followers re-appeared in the 'liberated spaces (Spasic and Pavicevic, 1997a) as observed by Lazic.

Another event participant, Jansen's (2001) provided a ground for the descriptions of the protest crowd and their relationship to a European landscape. His ethnographic record is a colourful drawing of the witness he was, who could assess the happenings as a foreigner – uninvolved, but nevertheless taken by the dynamism of the desire for change. He was also able to juxtapose this event with the world media and discourses at the time. Even though well researched, Jansen's work suffers from a lack of good translation, which takes him to some wrong conclusions, but also interesting ones that 'a native' could never arrive at.

Curgus and Babovic (2007) provide local references and observations from the protest published as essays in *Walking on the spot*. These accounts are powerful projections of what was seen on the streets and often experienced personally as evident from the style of writing and the detail with which the event is established. Belgrade opens up as a tableau of mass commingling and achieves another, positive dimension for consideration during its decade of wars.
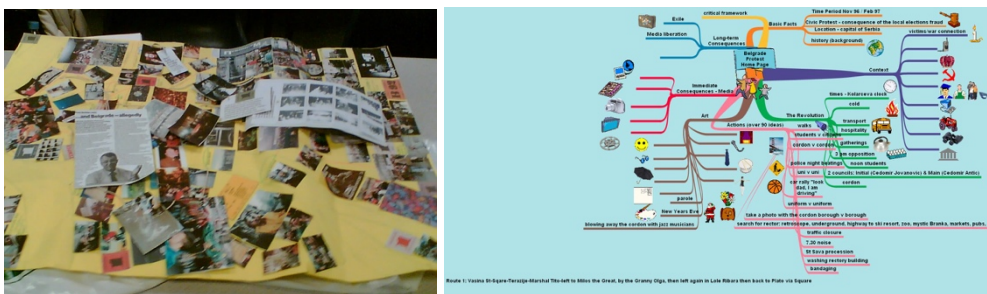
Figure 4: My first archive map of the protest and the first digital layout of it, photograph by Nela Milic

Belgrade as a place, a dot on the map that keeps escaping, moving, disappearing and getting inscribed itself, that is mostly contingent on the political and economic changes, has been engraved in my research via Foucault's (1986) concept of heterotopia as layered, 'impossible space' of otherness where opposites coexist. This is how Zizek (1986) interprets the space of the whole of the Balkans – as never here wherever you are, but always more towards east. Zizek relies on the thesis by Mladen Dolar in which the Balkans is the unconscious of Europe.

Noise of memory

"Noise is in! Listen to us Belgrade!"

The slogan of radio B92 that started the student protest

Noise is feared by totalitarian systems and is key to carnival festivity as it provides it with an element of subversion and serves as a vent for emotions. It embodies irony, sarcasm and the re-enactment of reality with the potential to amend it.

Democracy in Belgrade at protest was constituted through spaces of collective listening. Noise was seen to disturb the clarity of the monolithic political voice projected by the state. Reclaiming control over Belgrade did not only involve the politicised insertion of human bodies into public space, but of the noise too: shouting, singing, playing music from sound systems, whistling and drumming. The re-defining of space by citizens happened through the noise carried by the air, airwaves and cyberspace. This endeavour was expressed first in the choice of place for demonstrations, which started on universities' grounds or at the Square of the Republic, both in the heart of the city and the walks would spring across to other places laden with strong symbolic meanings, thereby transgressing spatial–political boundaries (Cresswell, 1996; Feldman, 1991). Marching to government and military buildings and surrounding those symbols of the regime was frequent, but the most popular route became known as 'the media walk', because it led the crowds along a number of buildings of Milosevic's state-controlled media. Whenever passing one of these buildings as well as headquarters of Milosevic's, his wife's party or courts, the whistling and the booing would reach its highest decibel level.

Radio stations supporting the protest, such as B92 and Index, appealed to citizens during the News at 7.30 pm on national television to open their windows and at least listen to the noise that the protesters made, even if they wouldn't contribute to it, planting the seed of opposing the deep running and long established state order. As in Benjamin's descriptions of his archive (1931) "comprehensiveness was neither possible nor sought after". The idea was simply to gather the energy that many believed had been exhausted by the apathy, which inhabited the citizenry who'd given up the fight with the regime[26]. The bodies resonated in the mass, like radio vibes and through this

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[26] This lack of unity in vision for the future in Serbia (as some groups found themselves together on the street, but on separate seats in other public arenas) is significant contributor to after-protest developments in Serbia and even the consequence of its situation today. During the interview conducted with one of the protest participants (Caca, the archivist from CZKD), it has been stated that this protest is the reason why Serbian politics now is in chaos. She thought that the streets were a confusing site for venting troubles and it displayed some reactions, symbols and language that she was ashamed of. The loudest voices were not representing her views and she felt like the demonstrations kept only them in their legacy.

ripple effect democracy got "a real chance of operating as a living force throughout the extended community" (Oswell, 1998:2).

Radio sound was seen to be both highly interiorised and individualised and, yet at the same time, thoroughly collective. Belgrade's community as much as being attentive listeners at home was like my archive because it never at root practiced that activity like it is solitary or selfish (Oswell, 1998), it was providing many paths and actions at once. Radio needs to be listened to without noise, but equally, it is a source of noise. Through the walls of neighbours radio noise was less 'heard', but more 'sensed' as a bodily experience. Reverberations were felt and they acted directly upon the body in a manner that induced involuntary movement – out on the street and this was performed as a collective dance piece expressed in the protest walks, followed by drummers.

Dancing kept the cold away, but reeled in the spirit of collective expression especially in the popular *Discotheque Blue Cordon*. This protest action began when a stand-off between the police and the protesters finished in stalemate, opening a large tense space in the small Kolarceva Street. Demonstrators brought in a sound system and the music amused the dancing protesters for 178 hours while the police cordon worked in shifts, exchanging staff in front of about 30 000 people. The nightclubs closed – their customers were in front of the blue cordon, encouraging it to dance too.

The 'blowing up' of authority during the protest happened, among other reasons, because the 'enemy' target was not locatable – the bodies of people acted like the ones of terrorists – they were all weapons in the sheer vulnerability of their presence in the face of the officials.

The 'multitude' of protest is not only in its carnival, but in its organisation too, as Hardt and Negri (2004:11) understood in *Carnival and Movement* about Bakhtin's construction of the 'carnivalesque': Bakhtin "help[ed] us understand ... the logic of the multitude, a theory of organization based on the freedom of singularities that converge in the production of the common" (2004:11). Dragicevic-Sesic (2001) and

Steinberg (2004) also contributed to the comprehension of the protest as a celebration of commonalities, both relying on the analysis of popular culture in relation to political expression. Steinberg has dissected pop music as an agency of successful collective mobilisation for political purpose and Dragicevic-Sesic focussed on student actions to depict the theatricalisation of life in the event and streets as its stage.

A walk calling on different spots in Belgrade amounted to a distance of around 70 kilometres and Dragicevic –Sesic sees this as the spirit of the protest, accompanied by noise, insisting on acknowledging the crowd's presence. Temporarily invading the places, which until then were controlled by the regime, the citizens reclaimed the city by insisting on movement in spite of cordons positioned at critical points. Freely and self-consciously relating to popular culture, they quoted music, film, philosophy, sports and so on. The signs in their space read: "Can't touch this: 'liberated places'" – evoking American rapper MC Hammer's hit *U Can't Touch This* from 1990. Still in view of the police force and under threat of a violent intervention, these places came to represent opposition.

Some songs were especially associated with the protest: *Mesecina* (Moonlight) - a gypsy brass song from Kusturica's film "Underground", *Zajedno* (Together) - a remake of an old Croatian hit by supporters of the opposition coalition party with the same name), *Breathe* - a dance track from 1996 by the British band The Prodigy, *Kolotecina* (Everydayness) by Belgrade's urban indie band Darkwood Dub and *Slusaj 'vamo* aka *Mir Brate Mir* (Listen Here: Peace Brother Peace) by rock band Rim tu ti tuki (the title is an anagram). The diversity expressed through these songs was considered as having an urban quality - an element which counterposed the city to the widespread images of homogenous, bland and unchanging ruralism (Pusic, 1995: 571–574; Prodanovic, 1997: 25–26) as the folk (turbo) scene was part of the regime's soundscape. Rock music was an antithesis to the dominant folk because it was engrossed in dissident politics and part of the collective action away from the ethno euphoria inspired by the regime.

Songs of Bajaga, a Belgrade pop star who enjoyed success during the time of both Tito and Milosevic were also played on the streets, building up the city spirit. Especially the

song titled: *Verujem, Ne Verujem* (I believe, I don't believe), which metaphorically captured the confusion with the election results. A hit by rock band Disciplina Kicme (The discipline of the spine), *Decija pesma* (Children's song*)* got a word change; from 'hands' to 'feet' by the students who walked 20 miles to Belgrade from Novi Sad singing it: "These feet are not small, they give wisdom to many". Song *Glas* (The Voice also The Vote) was especially composed for the protest and MTV shot a video for it[27].

Lighting action corresponded with the sonic one. Both were done in mass, assuring a portion of anonymity. Fires, cigarette lighters, torchlights, candles, rockets, bicycle and Christmas lamps were lit on the streets; people waved lanterns, chandeliers and illuminated pictures on their windows. They decorated balconies and facades to converse with the protesters by using symbols and signs, but also through explicit textual messages in posters, panels and graffiti.

Light switching played a large part in the estates where the residents of high-rises would make a harmonious play with their home lights, switching them off and on in the rhythm dictated by other buildings – mirroring each other's guidelines. Their 'ghetto beat' provided the visuals that then gave the rhythm to communal resistance. The habitat was defiant, but an anonymous, secure place and away from the streets, which could be dangerous.

The literature described above illustrates the diversity of my research sources that spread across humanities and science as the Balkans as well as the protests can not be investigated by using one field of study nor by operating from a single study area. This means that many protests examinations often dissatisfy their audience by providing short descriptions of a number of phenomena arising on the sites of the events. To track down all the spheres of happenings requires a combinatory effort of using a range of methods and a research team that would undertake them at the same time. The delivery of such research would also demand different planes of display, so it

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[27] *The Voice*, 1996 Altogether Band MTV music video Accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l-ALPdUIus [25.1.25]

would be understood by various types of audiences. With this thesis, I hope to have made the first step towards that initiative.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY - ARTillery

Figure 5: My parent's house: Family practice or 'storaging', photographs by Nela Milic

"[There is] a monolithic conception of social space, according to which it would suffice to have the right information to make the right decisions. But in point of fact, information itself is far from homogenous and a purely quantitative approach is not satisfying. Having ever greater amounts of information at our fingertips not only does not make us more virtuous, as Rousseau already predicted, but it does not even make us more knowledgeable."

Todorov, T. 2009:39

Benjamin (1892-1940) structured his work alphabetically by themes and headings in order to cope with the abundance of material that did not fit into linear, coherent literature or theory. He knew that novel conditions could not manage knowledge conceptually and just with categorisation. It was important for him, as it is for me to work with interpreting images like Aby Warburg (1924- 1929) did – visually, to understand the social production and the character of contemporary phenomena. This visuality tends to destroy the time of memory that has become commemorative, as well as reflective, mirroring the aesthetic of architectural and artistic modernism.

In modernity, data are produced, manipulated and transitory, so the archive does not only inventorise the knowledge, but is a knowledge generator. Its space is navigated with searches and has limited capacity that once exceeded, produces loss. Digital operations treat space as a metaphor within which they activate objects across

borders of real time – the time, as well as space shift their analogue perceptions online. Furthermore, these virtual actions inaugurate meta-data as the archival classification paradigm based on storage and linkages between files. Machinated, ephemeral and eternal time in electronic archive is the time of the present. "The ephemeral is a way of capturing the modulations of beings and things, their unity and their differences" (Buci-Glucksmann, 2004).

Digital atlases produce a 'new imagination', despite the tradition of cultural resistance of the imaginary as opposed to symbolic operations by numbers. A fascination with encyclopedic, universal and holistic approaches is embodied in the database gaze of the world. However, mapping should be seen in its capacity to divide "an imaginary (iconic) with symbolic (indexical) actions in cybernetic aggregates and physical networks" (Frieling, 2004).

Performative database

Artistic work with databases, archives and displays is a media performance where data collection takes place beyond conscious ordering. The networked archive is a practice of actualization, reproduction, interpretation and reimpression (Derrida, 1995). The technique of the archiving determines the structure of the archival content, the way it is created and its relation to the future. The method of archiving is itself an artefact which produces continuity of cultural tradition, but simultaneously changes this practice. This complexity is engrained not only in my choice of the artform for the protest, but in myself as an archivist whose migrant identity colours the work with it. My archive map is "a guide to the uncertainties of identity-building under adverse conditions" (Appadurai, 2003:23).

My praxis revolves around identity – lost and regained through leaving home. It explores a sense of belonging and stages of adjustment to the new environment. Longing for home, the one left and that doesn't exist anymore is a childhood memory that we can all relate to. People exist in the realm of spectacle as everyday subjects and we invite performance by our presence in spaces. How I make subjects and objects breathe with the life that they get with the gaze of the public is my practice enquiry,

but also how something ordinary becomes spectacular? How are we able to see more than it is 'there'?

I am quilting the narratives through the use of technology. Its machinery is my tool for assembling, relating, connecting the dots - on the map and in the archives in order to create an understanding of the world that I am speaking from, not simply of my position. I am making an itinerary through that world and as I place a light on a location, one can see a bit around it and its link to other places, realising more about the importance of guidance than the presence of knowledge that one can acquire from reading the text. This is because the guide moves you from spot to spot and creates a story, but if one wants to journey on their own, one might discover more interesting narratives as well as dark alleys from which s/he would need to find a way out without the help of the expert guidance.

The reader is on the unique journey with me and that subjectivity, among other things – the use of language, the distinction of the voice, the accent revealed through the non-English phrasing, the experience of the territory provide the authenticity of my account and the objectivity of my maps, which do not contain numbered distances, the scales of the land nor clear place-names across a landscape. They give out a mnemonic cartographic record from which we can learn that the past was constructed and so we are responsible for dealing with the present in the way that would justly propel it into the future.

Drawing upon Foucault's (1986) concept of heterotopia as space of coexistence of the opposite distinctive and incommensurable, Blazevic (2009) proposes conceptualising the Balkans as a heterotopic space in geographical, historical, social, political, cultural and symbolic terms. This is why *Balkanising Taxonomy* started my protest research as a project with transnational and translational politics with its portal online - a digital and elusive format for creating intertextuality and superimpositions that were needed for 'reading' the Balkans. It mapped a complicated reality and in doing so, failed, as maps do, to represent the whole of the event, but this was its success too. To represent is to fix and I wanted to do the opposite, to demonstrate the impossibility of

the full account and the urge to keep attempting it, to detach the Balkans from its rigid entity, which embeds violence. By doing the maps and archives, I was undoing them – repeating a method until rendered obsolete – balkanising taxonomy.

My research methodology developed with several projects that were done throughout my thesis (*Yugo Yoga, Wedding Bellas, Here comes everybody*[28]…), but two created the infrastructure, the blocks and the base of it: *Balkanising Taxonomy* and *BG:LOG*. The approaches to both consisted of ethnography (visual, historical, self or auto-ethnography), storytelling and oral history (with research contributors), formal analysis (photographs and other artefacts) and mapping. I framed them in the text with reflections on data gathering, categorisation process and participation in both protest and research.

Writing practice

Philosophers that I do not want to favour, many from the West, crop up sneakily in my thesis and I do not know how to mute them. They use nice words, but they mean little, so I have to gather 'wreckage upon wreckage' (Benjamin, 1940) to arrive at a point which is by then so loaded, that it is no wonder that their voices speak in my sleep. A cacophony of noises forms an order that explodes by the time I awake and starts again although differently the next night. Its cords and sequences shuffle even during the day, making me dizzy if I hear them. An archive of theories is formed together with my protest archive – emerging through the images and interviews and hiding away at the same time, disclosing its layers and destroying them on the way back to the invisible. How to present findings when I am unable to hold their threads, when they grab me in my sleep or in the middle of a day and I have to let them go only to start this process of straight, narrow and seemingly logical telling yet again?

My writing feels sacred as soon as it is on paper because it reveals my immediate thoughts as they are unmediated and so I restrain myself from writing – a medium that sets my body free, but discloses too much of me. Still, I do not like drafting because I

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[28] *Here comes everybody* 2012 Fourthland project Accessible at: http://fourthland.co.uk/nela-milicmotion2 [30.1.2015]

change my mind when doing it and it is less connected to my body which seems to, at the first attempt, push out the story that matters, however uncomfortable it makes me feel. The distance between that arbitrated story and my flesh starts showing as eczema on my skin.

Writing is a powerful method to connect with time. I use it to devise the narrative assemblage – cutting and pasting interviews and my own accounts of the event parallel with discoveries of theory. Plato interpreted by Derrida considers writing as external to internal memory, but Derrida (1981:110) emphasises that writing penetrates the core of speech and mneme and it affects and infects memory. Writing is "... that dangerous supplement that breaks into the very thing that would have liked to do without it yet lets itself at once be breached, roughed up, fulfilled, and replaced, completed by the very trace through which the present increases itself in the act of disappearing".

Plato made an accusation against writing since writing would replace living memory for a mnemonic device (Gere, 2012). We would therefore, miss 'the practice of memory' and surrender it to paper. The mneme, instead of being present itself, would be supplanted by archives, lists, notes, tales, accounts, chronicles: memorials instead of memory. However, as Derrida (1981) indicates, the memory relates to itself by organising the mnesic activity – it always needs signs in order to recall the non-present. So, we are to archive, but not to fasten, encircle and judge.

I am practicing what Cixous urges the women to do – speak through writing in their own voice to distinguish it from the man's wor(l)d. Cixous (1976) is 'performing her voice' in writing by introducing narratives in verse, staging conflictual addresses and inviting the understanding of different accounts: if one's condition is restricted – the half that longs for freedom speaks even if silent, but it takes an investigation outside conventional means to hear them both - the loud, the visible and seemingly the only voice and the hidden, silenced and apparently non-existent one. If we are not to search for a particular thing, why search at all the man would ask, but Cixous believes

that philosophy of masculine targeting is precisely what curtails the most beautiful findings.

I write in the same way as I am developing the archive. I collect some objects, I look at the pictures, I have an outburst when reaching a cul-de-sac again, I devise and dismantle categories, I play some audio interviews. My hectic way of making this repository is the embodiment of its content. My archive is the carnival as the protest was. If I was 'to tame' it, I would have destroyed it. It has to stay as a potential history and a community site that changes with its actions in order to exist at all.

Data gathering

Most statistical data is easily accessible in online storages. At first, digital ways of data preservation as new or additional options for collecting information appeared to bring about a change in science and arts by providing alternative methodologies, which would modify the project outcomes. However, the more we used modern technologies, the more visible their connection to well-established structures of conducting research became. The initial enthusiasm of going 'beyond text'[29], uploading findings that were not only numerical, but presented in images, allowed quantitative and qualitative methods to come together and for the research to be more convincing than offering the statistics in graphs which has historically been understood as data visualisation. Now we could also see the pictures from the fieldwork and even follow up the process of its development through online diaries usually kept in the format of blogs, so the information about the work could be easily and quickly shared by people around the world and researchers could collaborate by exchanging knowledge via the Internet.

Nevertheless, the display of findings and the elevation of authors' profiles have been consumed in the same way as old systems prescribed. Qualitative data still serves as

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[29] AHRC project introduction online states: "The Beyond Text strategic programme was developed in 2007 following a period of consultation with the arts and humanities research communities which identified visual communication, sensory perception, orality and material culture as key concerns for 21st century scholarship and the wider community." Accessible at: http://www.beyondtext.ac.uk/documents/Beyond_Text_Programme_Specification.pdf [25.1.2015]

an attraction, as added value and as an illustration of the quantitative analysis but cannot stand in its own right, and has to include the scaling provided by statistics. Modern topics in humanities, like space, time and identity are therefore reduced to geographical and national borders, historical clocks and homogenous entities as that is the method we are sure to be within the academic disciplines.

However, historians for example, mostly utilise data that was intended for a different use. Trying to convert the data into something suitable for a spatiotemporal visualisation inevitably leads that very data to be compromised. So the trendy push 'to visualise' it, might be producing their loss and encourage researchers to stick within their own disciplines, not 'corrupting' their methods and use visualisation purely for presentation of their projects. This way the sole legacy of visualisation, its integration in the method and its artistic praxis are not considered.

Numbers, used here as the symbol of technology, matter, but we must be aware of their limitation and appropriation as we are likely to have experienced their contextualisation when conducting quantitative methodologies. Numbers speak as loud as photographs and maybe are also "worth a thousand words" (Barnard, 1921)[30], but they are not enough. Still, this was the reason why sociology adopted photography as an element of qualitative research – it provides technical information (the strength of light, the size, the apparatus) as the camera is a laboratory in itself and seemingly gives evidence – a record, a measure, a test result. The content of it is still a difficult zone as it demands the knowledge of aesthetics and history of art, which challenges the relevance of technical expertise. However, in these laments over what gives us more information – image, text or numbers - lays the whole conundrum of learning. Nothing is ever enough and that is what is great about knowledge. It is not obtainable in any way, but we must strive towards it and keep finding methods for its expression.

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[30] Fred R. Barnard in the advertising trade journal Printers' Ink, promoted the use of images in advertisements that appeared on the sides of streetcars. The December 8, 1921 issue carries an ad entitled, "One Look is Worth a Thousand Words."

Computer programmer Brooks (1995:102) makes a statement in *The Mythical Man-Month*: "Show me your flowcharts and conceal your tables, and I shall continue to be mystified. Show me your tables, and I won't usually need your flowcharts; they'll be obvious." This phrase has been used earlier by computer scientist McCarthy (1927) who made the opposite point: "As the Chinese say, 1001 words is worth more than a picture." The science world is not giving up on forcing the quantitative agenda, alienating the complex side of our social worlds from us, as statistics does. The solution for this misrepresentation might be in combining text and image as presented by contemporary researchers and bloggers, but then we must look at all aspects of their work as equally valuable and it is necessary that they are skilled in both science and arts methods. The researcher nowadays must be a multi-discliplinarian or s/he could be accused of one-sided analysis.

Categorisation

My partition technique for inaugurating and analysing the archive map was to divide stories into thematic categories. This exposed my interest in keeping the duality between West and East alive, but it also introduced the problem of extinguishing it. Removing the tension between the two powerful poles distracts one from keeping the pressure on the centre of power, but moves it into a third, weaker, volatile field that is, however exciting, potent and innovative, still vulnerable in front of that same centre of power. We have seen this development with the technological boom that we hoped would free us from corporate forces but instead, were more tightly gripped by them. There are many reasons why this is the case and as the central power grows, resistance does too, but this motion seems to be accelerating the polarities or creating them anew. The centre of power stays at the centre, even if it moves elsewhere and the opposition agents change, providing for some time a belief that the outcome of the shift will be different. We hope that it will eventually happen indeed and the communities will benefit from such an occurrence, but we are not inventing new structures for it that are necessary to sustain the change - we are just developing methods. I do contribute to that fashion, but I am also questioning the outcomes of such procedures by interrogating their set up at start and their progression into the content production.

"I realise now that what we leave behind we keep and what we take with us we can let go for ever", said an old lady to Vesna, my artist colleague Ines Wurth in her research for the performance *I miss communism*[31].

Digital technology is an object of memory transport, the content carrier, which is not only the means and the tool of collating and analysing data, but its mediator and so, its creator too. The media is not only the message (McLuhan, 1964), but it is also the method that I used. The accumulated online storage allowed me to travel in various ways, which changed both my research and me. I have been carried:

1) Through time. I have been actively engaged with the past through imag(in)ing a conscious push-pull between collating, reminiscence and the possible futures of my archive, Belgrade and me.

2) Through space. I have physically obtained the objects for my archive by taking them from their owners who have posted, given or emailed them to me. I scanned, photographed and displayed them on my online archive map for others who are scattered around the world to see and send more to the collection.

3) Through community. My research contributors have been in contact with me and with each other, visiting my archive as a point of reference through which I have gained access to them privately, blurring the boundaries between professional and personal and embracing this dichotomy of emersion in the production of the artwork, archive instalment and collecting data in the fieldwork.

4) Through cultures. As the integration in many societies that my contributors are part of is more or less in progress, their memories and values acquired a moderation, which is revealed together with their contribution to the research. My own cultures are equally investigated here.

5) Through theory. Thanks to the e-journals and other online publications and research websites, I have been able to digitize much of the theory resources previously only available in hardcopy. By placing different texts on screen often simultaneously I was

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[31] *I miss communism* 2007 Performance by Wurth, I. and Soper, M. Accessible at: http://www.imisscommunism.com [25.1.2015]

able to see the keywords and create links that wouldn't necessarily show themselves if I had read firstly one and then another piece of writing.

6) Through objects. Even though we talk about digital technology mainly in immaterial terms because of the focus on the content, besides its cables and monitors, I have been literally gathering the objects of my study. I have used 3DSMax to build one (trumpet) in the graphics software, but I found myself spending hours digging the snapshot of it from my memory and never really achieved a decent result. It is only when I held it in one of my hands and drew it on the computer screen by holding a mouse in the other that I achieved an adequate image. So, I had to get hold of the objects or their representation in any case. The cost of space also came into consideration – initially, the amount of memory that I had on the computer did not allow for any software to be used for prototyping, so I found it was quicker and cheaper to make space in my room for the objects to be physically placed rather than sorting my personal computer archive. In my archival practice at that moment, what started with the 'digital revolution' almost went back to 'the museum' arrangement, but I have managed to maintain the two layers of object representation throughout my research since – physical and digital.

7) Through memory. By looking at the pictures from the protest, searching for its artefacts on the Internet, in the archives, in my home and touching them once they were in my hands, I fell under the spell of the seeker, the collector haunted by 'the ghostly matters' (Gordon, 2008). I looked for and through them to understand the event, but also to remember or not to forget it. I was holding on to them, as they would carry my past, so it does not vanish before I manage to captivate it, like it is possible to do so.

By positioning them next to each other on the computer screen, I became aware of the variety of scales existing in my collection of objects and I could classify them by the way they were displayed during the event for which they were made. Some were pinned, carried, printed, shared and so on. They collapsed from 3D in my hand to 2D on the screen and I noticed that I was conducting an experiment with scaling and shapes. I was reducing the images through numbers, following the computer

instructions to gain an aesthetic result (i.e. 300dpi, 72 web resolution, JPG file format etc.)

Even though I was following the standard procedures of labelling, I was dealing with geometry, elaborating on the questions of time and space, doubting mechanics of time and creating an archive as a list of architecture. Even though I have devised a database, I was maintaining that my artistic praxis is both research and research methodology which includes construction, composition and congregation. I was going through the examination of the optical and symbols that seemed to have emerged from my readings on semiotics, particularly Barthes (1957), but that was only my first reaction to the project. What I thought of as a tension between the East and the West might have been a complementary polarity between practice and theory or art and science.

I was searching for a way to humanise dimension, scale and category. Visible in the computer world, these concepts alter philosophical notions that they carry and provide 'workable' layers for experimentation. Therefore, they are reduced, narrowed, lessened to the simplest explanations, which injure the beauty of incomprehensibleness of these paradigms. But if we do not show them somehow, how we are to know them?

Archives, through their unfortunate taxonomies that systematise empirical data, aim to provide harmony after all, as do maps. Halbwachs (1980) social frameworks, the braiding together of autobiographical memories is possible precisely due to the existence of these common resources and coordinates, made present and evoked by photographs of the cityscape.

Storytelling

"The political function of the storyteller… is to teach acceptance of things as they are. Out of this acceptance, which we can also called truthfulness, arises the faculty of judgment".

Arendt, H. 1966:573

During my fieldwork storytelling performed yet another vehicle for history of Serbian community that constituted itself through this process. The protesters used it as a method to narrate the protest in order to improve the established view of the nation. I continued the same method in my research and furthered it by allowing the objects, cloth and image elicited from them to 'speak', like I did in *Balkanising Taxonomy*.

"You can't put people in books – you encounter and listen to them and then books get produced" (Portelli, 2009). I gave the opportunity to protesters to lead on the re-building of the nation's reputation through narration without judgments, but rather self-assessments, verbalised in front of me as stories for which 'the truth' might be irrelevant. It is the chance to tell them that matters most. When we go to the real people, says Portelli (2009), we think that we finally have access to the real experiences, but what we have is just a construct.

If we have any access to facts, it is through words and images, which provide us with a series of representations and interpretations when we strive for fidelity. So, "don't throw away a good story just because it is not true", advices Portelli as it might lead one towards it. He continues: "Page retains memory" and Foucault's (1966) assertion that we mark items when we first gaze at them in a particular way heightens that idea. What we write can never be completely erased as it is never without the trace of what has been written before. Therefore, when we search for truth, we construct it on top of its trace, conditioning, trapping, limiting our own research to our experiences.

Photo analysis

In using formal analysis as a method for evaluating the photographs in my archive, three groups emerged through which further deductions could be made: landscapes, portraits and images depicting citizen's actions. By dividing the photo collection into these loose categories they often, like all the material in my repository, sipped into one another.

The photographs are a mixture of monochrome and colour and taken with analogue cameras. They are a combination of the participants' visual contributions to the protest and professional photographs taken mostly by photojournalists at the event. These professionals came from different news companies; many from national papers and magazines - *Politika* (Politics), *Vreme* (Time), *Dnevni Telegraf* (Daily Telegraph) and they often provided images for international outlets, like Reuters which itself stores over 100 photographs from that period. These were often shot by the same photographers working in Belgrade media at the time.

1)

Figure 6: policeman   Figure 7: Student policeman

2)

Figure 8: Shouting protestor 1   Figure 9: Shouting protestor 2

3)

Figure 10: Demo at the Republica Square   Figure 11: Night demo at the square

These photographs are taken by unknown authors. Contributions are anonymous.

In the first coupling (Figure 6 and 7), we can see the policemen in the full riot uniform, a site that was in front of the protesters for the most of the demonstrations. As directed to guard access to the crucial parts of the city, they were positioned in the cordon where they spent time just standing. After looking mean for a few hours, this condition became ridiculous even for them, so they mellowed their postures and some begun accepting flowers, cakes and other gifts that were on offer from the peaceful protesters. However, at times when the police were sent on a beating spree and would run after the protesters with bats, their serious demeanour whilst standing in the line evoked the potential for violence. At those times, the protesters presented their makeshift defence squad that mirrored the outfit of the police. Harmless as they were, this play between seriousness and comedy became even more emptied of the meaning, inviting the police to look at themselves as part of the people.

The second coupling of the images (Figure 8 and 9) shows the crowd at different parts of the procession and presents the collective action of vocally shaming the employees of the media organisations, which were obeying the regime or supporting the ones who were on the opposition's side. Assuring that the workers hear their chants, but also see the movement of the hands as disapproving or welcoming, the people were using their bodies as instruments in the orchestra of the rolling mass. Sheltering the sides of mouth, so the voice can be heard louder on one side or the other whilst passing the buildings which invited a reaction or openly demonstrating in front of it with the full exposure of the lips, the protesters included the making of noise as one of the most important ways of expression during the street walks. By imitating each other, the chorus would organically make its own stars and protagonists, spontaneously and undirected, performing the democratic in its ancient form.

The crowd itself, without its individuals at front like in the portrait pictures, stood for a creation of a collective aesthetic (Figure 10 and 11) that invited the carnivalesque through the use of objects, colours and composition. When gathering on the squares, people assured that their presence was visible by the deployment of vivacious tones of

their accessories. Some of them were useful, like gloves and scarves, but more and more people purposefully wore and carried the marks of the circus performers – jester hats, umbrellas and masks. The political betrayal and election fraud felt so scandalous that it deserved an equally dramatic reaction. By adopting the carnivalesque as a method of resistance, the protesters found themselves in a large community festival that invited engagement with the landscape of the city. Situated among the buildings, prohibited from walking where they wanted to and pushed towards each other, the protesters acted as a well-rehearsed ensemble, delivering action on cues, adopting roles as given or self-imposed and following the rhythm of the mass movement.

Interviewees who commented on these photos "appear to scan the periphery of the image, performing a reversal of the usual distribution of attention and interest between figure, the human subjects, and the urban landscape that constitutes the ground" (MacDonald, 2013:7). They associate their memories with the place rather than a human subject, which is how memory work starts for Khun (2002). The protesters opened up Belgrade of the time and united in the group whilst reconstructing their networks based on previous residential proximity. It was clear from the distances, which they depicted that these images must be placed in the space that represents Belgrade and the map emerged as the best feature for a display of this phenomenon.

Ethnography – field notes

I created a questionnaire for interviewees available on research blog *Dalje Neces Moci* [You cannot go any further][32], but it served mostly as a framework for the conversation that I led with them. I thought of having a traditional research method at hand in case my experiments of mixing oral history, photo and object elicitation proved unsuccessful on the spot. It was not successful. People were rather just talk to me, but I continued collecting by taking things from some protesters and showing them to others to ignite memories and opinions about the event. I placed a

[32] *Dalje Neces Moci* Accessible at: https://daljenecesmoci.wordpress.com/questionnaire/ [25.1.2015]
This phrase is from a famous Serbian comedy *Who sings over there* (1980) by Slobodan Sijan

microphone among the coffee cups and conducted one to one interviews as well as 'roundtable discussions' that proved difficult to organise.

Responding to emails or phone messages was not something I could rely on in Serbia. Some of my research contributors were not at ease when I started asking questions as they were in some kind of a relationship with each other before or after I went to the UK. Some jumped in and out of political parties, which I was unaware of. My colleagues, employees of the media were also a different community from my school friends and neighbours who protested in '96/'97. This was evident once I put them together. Some professionals who were working at the protest, even though many were not in danger because of it, were risking their careers or even lives to be there. The fear of the state persists today.

My supervisor suggested that I organise 'roundtable discussions' because she understood that I might not be able to confront the group head-on with my questioning, so gathering data in an informal setting could help. I prepared a barbeque with the support of my parents and invited the people that I'd put on my interview list. I categorised the list in five sections, according to the role that the people in the section played during the protest: professionals, artists, students, family and friends who now live abroad. All fifteen that I invited at the first instance showed up, but I concentrated on being a good host more than being a good researcher during the party. My dad's interest to show his garden sent me off the rails and the children accompanying my research contributors overtook the spirit of the event. I woke up the morning after feeling defeated, with a few photos and without any relevant voice recordings.

I began to realise that the gathering encompassed too many interests and the people involved were pulling in directions that suited them. This was the first time they had sat together and some of them had not seen each other for a very long time. They live in the same city, but never have reason enough to meet and my coming 'home' was a perfect opportunity for this collective assembly. Perhaps my presence was a safe opportunity for reunion as they assumed that I was unable to make connections

between them since I had left more than a decade ago and so was probably unaware of these relationships. Slowly realising that my absence for years left a lacuna in my knowledge of their trajectories, I started recollecting the power relations from the party through the seating they chose for themselves and the content of what had been said between different people and groups. Everything was humorous, but none of it was without the political opinion. The Serbia they live in now is the place they arrived in from the protest through bitter journeys of drugs, media, illness and unemployment. They managed it however they could and chose to switch or keep their politics which might not be related to who they were during the protest, how they were remembered by others at the table or would receive their approval.

Figure 12: My parent's house, photograph by Nela Milic

This plethora of unknowns flying around the space provided a poor outline for my collective interview and I decided that a standard questionnaire would be put in front of each of these people next time I was to see them one to one. Their internal referencing painted a strong picture of hidden experiences, bursting to come out, and so performed in jokes. It signalled the need for these concealed issues to be discussed, like they all came in the hope that they would have a chance to exchange them, but failed to do so, like I failed to assume control over the situation. It was as if we were choked on our own involvement in the subjects discussed and could not join every conversation. We seemed to have obtained a wealth of experience and were able to talk forever and so, we chose to keep quiet and compose a demeanour of contentment.

Perhaps we did not ask about anything because everybody had a story to tell, so it would produce more information than could possibly be understood because so much had happened to us. We clog all possible interpretations ourselves - the lump of experiences stays in our throat, blocking our voices. There was not time to reflect between the wars, not time to breathe between demonstrations, not time to learn between generations. Big events just kept happening - before we could grasp them and even now we cannot address our own conditions. This silence will manifest itself when we cannot contain it anymore and I worry what will happen then.

Having a lot to say, nobody was saying anything relevant, but bouncing off the walls like in a Beckett play, talking about one thing, then another, following different threads of thought, almost purposely avoiding the subject. Still, this was not the case as everyone tried to talk about the protest. They did not act as a traumatised group of people would be expected to and this is another reason, besides the weight and the register that the trauma carries, why I would dispute its presence in the lives of my interlocutors. They were attempting to articulate what was happening to them in my company, knowing that I was there too. I wanted to talk about it, so we worked together towards finding ways of voicing correctly what had happened. We sprung around to see if we could come up with some links that could serve as ropes to get us out of the whirl of events and define at least one feeling, one experience, one thought, one version of what was, so we could hold on to it in the plethora of possibilities that we still needed to investigate. It was like I just started the life-long research, mapping a tiny event in the cosmos of Serbia's stories.

My archives and maps confirm this. They never got made in the way I wanted them to be. They are a work in progress for which I keep finding 'the best' solutions and with every case study that I do, I change my mind about what is essential for their life. That life is precisely what outlines the work – my archive is a living thing, an evolving piece of art and research that only started with this thesis. I began creating one product, but found a field within which I always want to keep my practice.

Endless conversations

My research draws on twenty in depth interviews, that I have worked with as an artist and a researcher, taking people's accounts as their own creative work – an aesthetical expression of the time and place we met in. These interviews provided a discursive record of what could have possibly happened at the demonstrations and more even, how we think of them now.

I started one to one interviews with Joksimovic, a colleague who worked for *Radio Index* at the time of protest and he gave precise answers to my questions into the dictaphone, making sure that we were away from the noise of the coffee machine.

Joksimovic is a professional and focused on my questions, understanding when he could give a more personal view of the story, when an anecdote could illustrate his point and when to move onto the next question. This was in contrast to Mira Odic Ilic (in charge for 'artivism'[33] at the protest) to whom in three hours, I did not manage to ask anything. As she grabbed the microphone, she set off through her life story, from the times at the Fine Arts academy to protest and politicians in Serbia today. All were connected and relevant and there wasn't time to continue as I booked another interview after hers. She was one of the protest leaders and crucial for my study, but as she went along, the juicy content turned into tasteless liquid. As one was finally asked and given an opportunity to talk, the forever happened and it meant nothing. I was drained and strangled like I was watching all of Shakespeare's plays back to back and witnessing wars, kingdoms, loves, all decompose and compose themselves again.

The effect of so much history, culture and eventfulness left me desensitized and I started missing speaking in English. As it is not my first language, it gives me a distance; it provides me with mediated space in which I have to think a little before I speak because the words do not pop out naturally. In Serbian, I receive the stream of someone's consciousness on top of the word and I feel launched upon, unprotected. My knowledge of all the conditions spoken about, the ability to see the setting, the

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[33] A term describing a fusion of art and activism

identification with the speakers, the skill to connect the dots is too immersive and as a researcher, I experienced an opposite reaction to the 'roundtable discussions' where I did not get evidence for my research. I now have a recorded statement from the protest leader, but I find it equally useless. Blah, blah, blah – a rhetorical account with only one dimension. I know the smell, I know the taste, I feel the trembling of the body, but how can I convey it to you if you do not have this experience that Mira and I share? How to keep you interested when even I am not?

"...one gives an account of oneself to another, and... every accounting takes place in the context of an address. I give an account of myself to you… I am engaging not only in a reflexive activity, thinking about and reconstructing myself, but also in speaking to you and thus instituting a relation in language as I go."

Butler, J. 2001:31

I leave Mira so I can get together with Prota from *Skart*[34] collective, one of the crucial creative agents during the protests. Balmazovic (Zole) and Protic (Prota) were involved in the production of work with a particular anti-regime aesthetic (friendly, recycled, poetic) and often with such messages too. With subversive, metaphoric and social value, their graphic design quickly won the hearts of Belgrade's people. Activists, cultural circles and educated social classes especially supported their work and kept their interest in *Skart* initiatives. *Skart* produced a series of coupons firstly in 1993 that fitted the demonstrations perfectly as they already predicted, with the rise of Milosevic, the inflation in Serbian society. They offered coupons as the compensation for what the country was lacking – miracle, orgasm, revolution. They spread like hotcakes on 'the demo' and people understood the metaphor as the work of opposition.

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[34] *Skart* arts collective website provides information about the works of the group since their inauguration in the 90s. Accessible at: http://www.skart.rs [25.1.2015]

Figure 13: Coupons by Skart, photograph by Skart

I was hanging about in their studio at the Centre for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD)[35] that hosted 'society outcasts', 'minorities', 'leftists' and other 'democratic allies', being one itself as bravely declared it in its organisation's title. CZKD opened up as an establishment against the wars, tired of Milosevic's cultural institutions, which propagated nationalism. As his followers infested arts academies, national and other theatres and arts venues, a fraction of academics and intellectuals felt the need to re-do the culture that he was creating. CZKD is housed in and around Veljković Pavilion, where there was the first private museum of European art in the Balkans. "CZKD has always been the place where people come to feel free".

"It is spring and I live in Serbia" (Prolece je, a ja zivim u Srbiji)

Graffiti from the protest

In his interview Milan tells me about how we, the Serbs arrived where we are now (historically, politically, economically, socially, culturally) and I sense his didactic approach relates to the fact that I have not been around for so long. I am glad that I have such an effect on my interviewees because it means that they are favourable towards having the conversations with me as their fellow citizen who wants to know about their opinions. But I am searching for specifics and locality in my inquiry and I

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[35] *CZKD* website provides more information about this organization. Accesible at: http://www.czkd.org [25.1.2015]

keep failing to arrive at those. The grand narratives that I seem to get are only counter-narratives (Bamberg, 2004) to even bigger ones existing in the West. The universal narrative was attacked by the subaltern (Spivak, 1988) a long time ago and this struggle for recognition intensifies helplessness in power relations with the West, but also with oneself.

As Milan is not talking about what I want him to, I press him to get back on track, but the interview feels forced. This is due to my lateness, the space we are at and a desire to be talking about something else, or rather more. I leave for another group meeting, keeping my dictaphone in my pocket, but it never comes out of it, to disturb the renewal of the old relationships.

Being among friends and family in Belgrade always meant that I saw them, at least once without recording, to enquire about their wellbeing and ask if it would be ok to interview them next time. Sometimes, 'next time' never happened as I was going back to London, conducting this fieldwork as a hop-on and hop-off the plane ethnography.

When I listened to the interviews, I went through the same experience as when I was talking to the people or I invited that direct experience and felt that it was inappropriate to pause, stop or rewind the audio file and interrupt the account. This was not only because I wanted to be polite and allow for responses to form within the conversation, but also because I believe that there is information in the flow, breath and 'sensorium' of our encounter.

I wanted to have a conversation, rather than conduct an interview and so, capture natural processes and directions to the waiter or over the mobile, which suddenly rings. All those little motions in speech and action revealed the state of the affair that I was investigating – how can a respondent transfer the experience of the protest to me. We danced from present to past continuously as we were justifying our own connection, our current existence and being here and now. We were constantly proving the right to subjective thinking, breaking from collective history and the idea of society as it once was – most of my research contributors were born and bred in

socialist times. I came (back) to enquire about the fight against 'the extreme form of socialism' – the communist state that Serbia became and I kept getting dragged into history or the future, either in Tito's times or the mutated form of capitalism that had developed after the Milosevic era.

"You can't find coffee ground as it once was."[36] The first sip of the drink as we met stretched more than 70 years and I was immediately drawn in the conversation that indicated that there would never be enough time to learn about the protesters. I never felt that I finished my interviews and I always left them unhappy. After four years of these meetings, I realised that my methodology consisted of attempts to talk to people. They also used my invitations to group gatherings to try to talk to each other.

However, according to Das (2007) violence transgresses into everyday and vice versa and therefore, none of my contributors' experiences got lost in these attempts to articulate oneself. On the contrary, they became visible and clear in these suspended conversations. I think of them as unsatisfactory, like all conversations supposed to achieve something. Moving around the city, recording these endless conversations about everything and a bit of the demonstrations; the process of inviting my interlocutors into debate and its realisation is the activism on my part.

The protesters were not only shaping their experience in the form of speech, but it was by invitation, as a privilege. Someone had finally asked them, the bearers of experience what had happened rather than leave the event to be interpreted by various media. Furthermore, media (in this case a voice recorder) is used to capture that linguistic and emotional outpour, directly challenging the official narrative by its ability to immediately insert into it.

By collecting data about the resistance, I was practicing it in providing space for individuals' stories to come out. In the pictures in particular, I showed the collective

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[36] Posta, M. in interview 2007

spirit of the mass, but I kept it through separate accounts in my archive map and so, celebrated protesters' subjectivity too.

Mapping
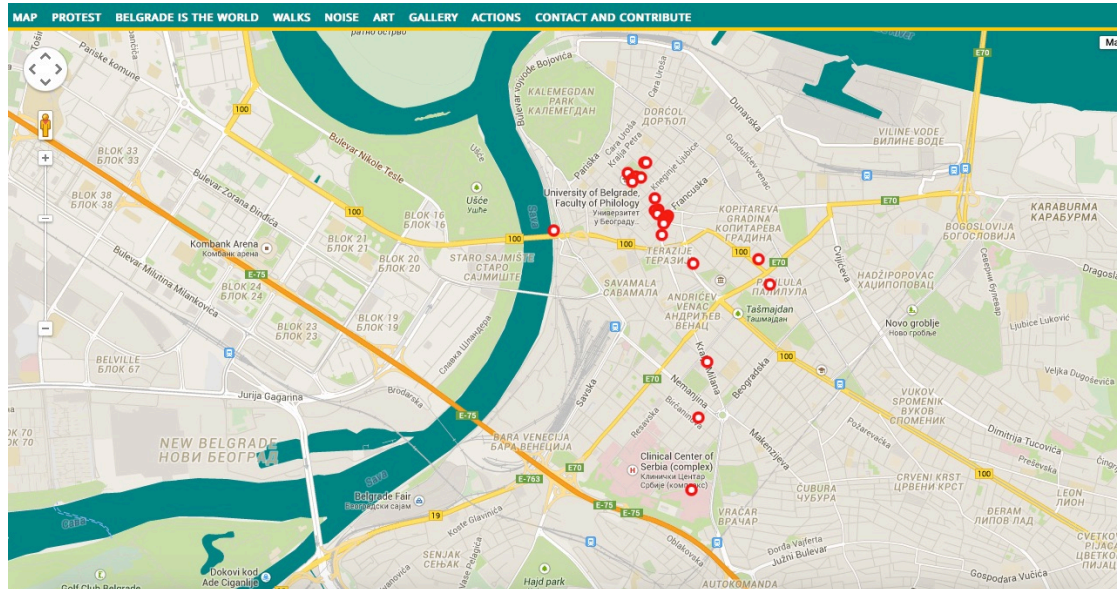
Figure 14: Snapshot of the first version of digital map of the protest, Accessible at: www.kulturklammer.org/nm - snapshot [25.1.2015]

The Serbian regime tried to dominate the protest through the control of space, and therefore certain places became sites for resistance (Cresswell, 1996). During the protest, Belgrade was constituted differently, so it was a different city. In de Certeau's words (1984), walks as "the practice of the everyday life" were spatial stories, which extended and re-shaped existent boundaries and made new ones. The breaking of taboos started with political ones and continued with the reversal of roles – students were walking at the front of the column and professors at the back, reveals Dragicevic-Sesic (2001).

The student procession started every day at noon and then merged with the public one at 3 pm after the speech of leaders of the opposition and supporters of the protest, from economists to artists, emulating the carnival of local parades as well as international celebrations. Inhabiting the environment they'd lost ownership of during the dictatorship and re-claiming the streets and institutions they felt that the government had taken away from them, made citizens appoint their own guards for

those places. Considering that city spaces are made for citizens, they embarked on their 'liberation', entering them, sometimes by force. They hurled themselves into civic halls, the regime's media houses and places known as belonging to the representatives of the establishment. Even though it was for the purpose of freeing this space, such praxis is known as a strategy of government and the military, which besiege buildings and kill 'the public space' as opposed to nurturing it. Coward (2008) termed this 'urbicide' exemplifying the destruction of the urban environment during the Bosnian war; another contribution to the violence-related pool of keywords that came out of the Balkans in the '90s.

One of the opposition leaders, Zoran Djindjic invited people to stroll down the streets "in the civilized, decent and restrained manner of the urbanite one would expect to find in 19th century Paris…" (Jansen, 2001). Many Belgraders were surprised by the change in public interaction because for years they had felt that the city was characterized by the unfriendliness of Milosevic supporters. At the protest, civilized manners and politeness took root, particularly in 'the liberated spaces' (Spasic & Pavicevic, 1997a). The citizens demanded that terror desists and that they could walk without restriction in and out of the city.

A simultaneous and linked process started in the naming of places. Literally, in the oppositional press, The Square of the Republic, which was the daily centre of protest gatherings, was renamed Trg Slobode (The Square of Freedom). In everyday conversations, when someone said s/he was on the square (na trgu), everyone would know that this person was talking about a specific square, but they would also understand that s/he was at the protest. Topographical was automatically political. This is why mapping in my projects plays a political role – the location, the position, the place of one's belonging defines his or her political stance. If we want to make maps, we need people on the ground to check the data that gives the local context.

After the rally of pro-regime demonstrators, the students 'decontaminated' the area where the rally had been held with detergents. This obsession with the ideas of pollution was protuberant: people often explained the crisis in Serbia in terms of a

disease where the country was 'infested'. This is reflected in the name of the *Centre for Cultural Decontamination*. The sense of 'urban hygiene' was imposed on the city in the demonstrations (Douglas, 1984), as a reaction to the government's public dictionary that implied 'vermin' to the opposition.

> "These friends from the University of Arts were great, like some machine, everyone found their own screw in it, what they are going to do, we were all operative, when one lost energy, the other would add it, taking it over and it was great. We were in contact even today, we all found our own sources… and we had to take care of each other because we were a useful platform to get things over us and we were objectively young for all of that history that we have at that moment, different backgrounds, people on the edge of everything…"
>
> Odic Ilic, M. 2007[37]

The protest was also an experience relating to different senses: tangibly, through occupation by human bodies; visually, through banners, flags, and candles; acoustically, through noise and prayers; and smell-wise, by using garlic and detergents (Jansen, 2001).

Digital cartography

The map transforms space into nonchronological time. The contemporary ability to generate maps mechanically and algorithmically and present them electronically illustrates that the map is temporary and fleeting like memory. So, the spatial, that is archival order might be accompanied by 'mapping time'. Dynamic maps can be automatically updated through trace routers that are temporal outposts. Mapping time is "sequentializing, time-critical as is a/synchronous communication online; every spatial representation of this process can only be metaphorical" (Ernst, 2004).

Cartography abstracts the land from physical space, but maps only model the space; they are not the space itself. They construct it, rather than reproducing it, posing the limits and the borders of the unlimited. Mapping corresponds to the occidental impulse of surveillance and data control as per the grid of the modern state. They have sketched and etched territories in order to take, posses, occupy and colonize them.

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[37] Odic Ilic, M. in interview 2007

Mapping works between exploration and passage and it paradoxically dislocates the place. In my protest map archive, Belgrade as toponym is localized, but reading of the map demands mentalisation of the world where one projects him/herself outside of self. As in the atlas naivete, through the map of protest I have designed history on the back of geography.

The sphere of the imaginary in the public space, constructs the tension between the present and the future and pushes the protesters to transition from one realm into the other, often depicting the fantasies, which come out in art displayed through their actions and artwork brought to the site. The performative element of the street activities was part of the iconography of all protests and I wanted to extract them for the purpose of creating an experience of protest within my own artwork. I worked to develop the visual material particularly for the exhibition and online map. The versatility of the formats in my collection and their juxtaposition transfers the experience of visual plenty and sense of abundance from the protests, which is the closest I could get to 'the real'.

Cyberspace transforms the sites of memory into nodes and nets. It theorizes space as mediated, relational and nowadays largely driven by the individualization. To develop a new topography of the information society, maps should be taken as a strategy, not a free floating form of understanding data. Every map is legible, readable, visible and pragmatic expression of non-mimetic image. In representing imperial territories, mapping has traditionally been symbolic—until mathematics overtook the image-indexes. Today, artistic and scientific applications show the map's dependence on creative input and on users' interpretation and my archive map is the example of this practice.

Maps display a merging of arts and science, delivering them both as creative fields and presenting arts as dealing with rational, scalable, measurable achievement that is often the way that sceptics get drawn into understanding the ambiguous and abstract, like artworks can be. The map has become a strong metaphor that we increasingly live by and a way of comprehension not only of our personal journeys, but where we are

heading as a society and culture. I use the changes in circumstance of the territory of Belgrade to show the influence of both people and nature on each other through narrative accounts, events and memories of the space. This relationship is not clear in real time as it happens over a long period, but in the digital realm, this change could be presented as evidently consequential.

My approach to mapping brings various disciplines together; critical and counter-mapping, urban studies and community art practice. In most of those, the method weaves the city firstly in the narrative, then in a physical display (on paper, wall or cloth) before it gets transferred into digital world. My investigation is 'mapping the impossible' – the moving, the social, the emotive that does not get represented in official cartographies. Online platforms make it possible to capture such phenomena and I have used an open way to develop the work for input from the audience, which would be its online public.

Digital cartography is a mediation of time and space in order to allow for both phenomena to be visible on the surface of Internet. Mapping is art because the positionality of every researcher defines his/her projects and makes the maps the cartographer's subjective work. However, the measurements, the amounts and the distances are the field of science and this is where the two disciplines clash. The opacity and freedom of art practice communicates successfully with the local and community practices because of the behaviours and interests of people cannot be predicted as numerical information can be.

I have developed a prototype for participatory mapping that can be used in any territory and on any topic and be situated within academic as well as arts and community spheres. Mapping has traditionally been associated with the people in power and can now, with Internet tools, be a democratic method for representing ideas.

My project encompasses data from different members of the public in whatever shape they arrive – as GPS coordinates, photographs or audio files. I utilise them by including

them on the map, diversifying the type of data present on the screen and making it difficult to read in a linear way, but demanding from the audience the ability to sense the information value rather than its exactness. This navigation through unknown forms synchronises with the tracks of life and in that way simulates the comfort with the ambivalence of people's journeys.

Even though I interact with community members in person on a daily basis, I am delighted to have a digital platform with which I can draw in not only more participants and audiences, but reviewers and critics too. I also anticipated devising a map pattern for other researchers to use, generating an interest around firstly the method of practice and then its interface.

Community participation

Taking part in the construction of the collective identity at the protest is a method, which I sculpted at the start of my visual practice through engaging with the works of cartoonist Corax and *Skart*, but it became especially embodied in the experience of music. The immediacy of the connection to both the personal and the political that the tunes provided carried the demonstrators from anonymity to the collective entity, forming through that process the practice, the meaning and the legacy of the protest at the same time.

The collective experience of protest became a collective past. The strength of that affective encounter, performed in public was paradoxically also the experience of intimacy with the group at that moment and in that place. The occurrence was visibly extra-ordinary, creating an alliance among the crowd through the agency of the unique experience. We were not to let anyone come out of that realm, which was outside of 'normal', hence the term *metaphysical* is used to best describe the strange unification of the people on the streets.

This bubble of energy that travelled with protesters as they moved across the city was not purely an infectious happiness of belonging to the collective, but also an attachment to a cause, which is precious and costly and that recognition is what

provides the authenticity and appeal of it. Just like Bakhtin's genres (1986), these dialogical, relational and contingent constructs were at the same time liberating and constraining cultural agencies, formulated by the dynamic of the group, which formed them. They were opposite to the arts, media and social institutions, which offered hegemonic aesthetics of a low standard and were transparent as per their political message influenced by the regime. However, as Gordy (1999) deliberates, this hegemony co-opted the alternatives, watering them into harmless movements and keeping its authoritarian domain.

The forces of globalisation that touched Serbia in the '90s in spite of its isolation, brought with them a more complex popular culture. Its connection to political spheres was evident as often narrated and visually evident. The people devised their own answer to the quasi pop that they have been presented with, which was often influenced by the Western rock, but also sat within Serbia's art and music history. That melange of the local and the unexpected global stimulus created a metropolitan fusion that erupted in the city with creativity, talent and potential.

The narratives and artefacts created were social products that engaged others through the patterned, though improvised, practice in line with established policies. Whistles, trumpets and pans were sold as weapons complete with a licence to carry arms and you could also obtain a licence to access various parts of the city. Many artefacts were distributed freely. The most interesting was the presence of flags raised to show alliance with the countries where many left due to the government's actions and behaviours (Canada, UK, Germany), to make that government angry (USA) or to perform the role of foreign mercenaries by being dressed in their flags.

One could never rely on first impressions, but had to dig deeper into the meanings of paraphernalia displayed on the street. Fancy dress and disguise were part of this discourse of defiance through sabotage and they contributed greatly to the celebratory components of the protest. There were masks, handcuffs and teddy bears, but generally 'anything would go' on the streets. The most loved were life-size puppets

of Milosevic and his wife, but the leading couple also appeared as dummies and cartoon characters, in slogans, poems and banners.

"'96/'97 is for other resigned students, losers of the '90s, those who could not take 2000 (the overthrowing of Milosevic on the 5th of October) as their own direct victory because they did not know many from *Otpor* and did not recognise themselves in it. They experienced it as a major defeat after three months of big strength and enthusiasm; a compromise which ruined further citizen mobilisation by establishing a negative example. People supress it because they invested their energy. All positives that were left in Serbia manifested then and were defeated. That loss was never realised or acknowledged here, except as a mythical time and the inner feeling was one of total defeat… Nothing from the achievements of the '96/'97 remained after a period of 6 months."

Sekulic, A. 2007[38]

Graffiti was on the walls, but also on banners, which carried them through the city, making the thoughts realised on paper just before they moved onto/from the concrete of the streets. The catharsis of ordinary people drew references from cultural heritage and encouraged participation in a modern political struggle.

Participation can be understood only when one contributes to it and hence it is difficult to describe or evaluate it if it is not experienced. However, the challenge of 'transporting' that experience is what I am dealing with in this thesis, finding it imperative that the future generations who lack that knowledge, encounter it. I am offering various enactments of the collective spirit from the protest through projects I have selected - two case studies as examples of different approaches to generating the past and framing the pastness from objects and stories. They provide, like the protest itself, a particular setting in terms of time and place from which different questions arise, complicating and layering this investigation, but they are also pointing towards the impossibility of understanding, the inability of technology to deliver such knowledge and the failure of archival practice to enlighten us with 'the truth'.

Archiving practice

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[38] Sekulic, A. interview in 2007

I found Belgrade as I remember it in the protest artefacts and I started plaiting the narrative of the city through the archive, in the same manner that the protesters inhabited it during the rebellion claiming its scenery and landscape as an active, not an innocent part of the city. I worked through it as Latour (2005) would like – connecting people and objects, analysing social interactions and depicting the formation of the symbolic clusters surrounding these subject and object relationships as visible on my map. When technological flesh was added to 'the assemblages of sociality' my archive got its cartographic representation. Maps users displayed their own material through the map and their personal memories by entering the archive became a collective wealth.

The archiving started with *Balkanising Taxonomy* project showed that the dismissal of the regions' misrepresentation as 'an old issue' was not what we settled for as it keeps appearing in the new light, like the Balkans is catching up with Europe's modernity as per Habermas's (1993) elevations of the continent's omnipotence, which neglects the identities of East Europeans in the procedural ideas that he has of Europe's political integration.

Balkanising Taxonomy academic collective continued its life online. Its digital portal was set up parallel with other events delivered during the project – exhibition opening, catalogue publication, website launch and it accepted further data, which arrived as recordings of talks and photographs from the symposium. They were uploaded on the website as podcasts and gallery sections. The ability of viewers around the world to participate in our event and the vibrancy of the community I formed with the project approved the adequacy of my idea for the protest archive to be a digital body of work.

While *Balkanising Taxonomy* and *Yugo Yoga* were investigating the archive, the projects *Days of Remembrance*[39] and *BG:LOG* dealt more with the idea of community. As many protest participants emigrated from Serbia, it was essential to generate their input online alongside the ones that I engaged in Belgrade. So, I was mixing primary

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[39] *Days of Remembrance* 2012 Project Accessible at: http://www.kulturklammer.org/days-of-remembrance [29.1.2015]

sources with secondary ones – the data I generated from interviewees myself, with the data given to me by those who saw my archive online or received a questionnaire via an email list. These 'strangers' who interacted with me through my blog shared their memories and souvenirs from the protest and provided feedback on my writing.

Still, I missed 'the real' (not virtual) engagement with the mostly exiled population and I imagined what would happen if I was able to gather them in my house. Therefore, I simulated that situation and approached a group of migrant women in London to attend photography workshops in my experiment of 'generating community' through the project *Wedding Bellas*. As I worked closely with the women for more than six months, I noticed the sparks of the collective and recorded the building up of relationships. This was my proof that regular physical interaction is an effective tool for creating community, but I wanted to achieve the same effect online.

So I kept constant communication with the virtual community, trying to give them a sense of exchange, achievement and learning while spending time in my archive. However, my need to meet the people in person, to inspire the work with memory and witness its development in their minds and body was irreplaceable by the feedback I was getting online. For that reason, I realised another project – *Yugo Yoga*, inviting Belgraders to a journey through memory via a personal and public archive in the Museum of History of Yugoslavia. I was marrying the experience of previous two projects – *Balkanising Taxonomy* and *Wedding Bellas* and arriving to a satisfactory combination of physical and virtual community work. In *Yugo Yoga*, we invited Belgraders through digital social networks and got them in person. They brought their private objects to contribute to a public archive and engaged in a durational exploration of the museum and its legacy in contemporary Belgrade.

The experiences of those projects encouraged me to think of the archiving around the community as a performative quest of making objects alive. This progression demands the move from positionality and representation to the issues of perspective, scale and translation as the artefacts are transported from the past into a present that holds different frameworks. Following two planes of experience - of people and projects, the

users of my protest archive have some understanding of how the protest was for us, how we lived in it. Our objects perform and now come alive with our memories on screen.

Media examines the interaction of different mnemonic practices over time, the influence of innovations within its landscape on such praxis and their contribution to the shaping of cultural and collective memory. What happens to the past as it passes from one medium to another (from fiction and non-fictional stories, to maps, ceremonies, souvenirs) and is it possible to receive the experience just as it was lived?

In the digital age, the content is the subject of the research, but it is not important. The imagination is the subjectivity and this is what matters - the world we build around that content as I have done through my projects and case studies.

"The act of imagination is bound up with memory."

Morrison, T. 1995:98

CHAPTER 3

THE REALM OF MEMORY- Mediality

"History … does not refer merely or even principally to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, that we are unconsciously controlled by it and that history is literally present in all that we do."

Baldwin, J. 1965:47-48

This chapter summarises a contemporary history of the study of memory and its place in modern dialogue on Serbia. A critical view of debates about cultural memory follows, setting up a frame of reference for subsequent disputes in and with different media that attempt to capture it. Furthermore, it exposes the writer's struggle to work from an environment saturated by information on Serbian war mongering.

Buden (2007) thinks of cultural memory as never having an original meaning, but mediated. Sturken (1999) similarly suggests that memory is created and distributed within a culture and memories are constructed, tangled and reflected in both our experience and our history. Recognising experience being separated from memory as soon as it is lived is what fascinates – if not in memory, how would one transfer it? If history is not viable because it is a set line of stories that come from the untrusted realm of memory, is experience the only method of finding 'the truth' even though it can be different for different people and so, not truthful for all either? What is the past when we do not have means to take it to the present or the future?

The idea of the past being articulated in memory and always from the present is deliberated by Caines (2004) through Huyssen (1995) who considers the technology of such a process. She invites us to think of memory as constant re-invention, enactment and creation of representation of the past that does not ever become original or authentic insight into 'the real', but is always belated and therefore, interpreted, just like taking and viewing the photograph, which is always 'late' in ordering 'reality'. The

gadgets, media and ways that we have to record our moments do not seem to be satisfactory for the transmission of 'the lived' and 'the lived' keeps escaping as we are trying to find better means to contain it.

Still, that painful search for the faithful, accurate and genuine experience must be a priority for any researcher, as Benjamin believes:

"He who seeks to approach his own buried past must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over the soil."

Benjamin, W. c1932

This thesis therefore provides a personal journey through identity, a depiction of the selfhood, a crisis of subjectivity, a quest for moderation of history, an investigation of a past life and its present meaning in the circumstances substantially influenced by the past and unsettled with the future due to the ambiguous present. It is a dangerous play with history and a dive into experience in order to articulate it in a bearable vein.

This is epitomised by the story of one of my research contributors who told me in passing that Dostoevsky would give millions to live in Serbia in the '90s. It stuck with me because the representation is reductive to a real experience. He continued: "If someone were to read it in the book or see it on screen, it would be unbelievable – carrot juice used as petrol?" One would think the narrative had been enhanced for the purpose of entertainment. For us, who hitchhiked to and from school and work, getting into cars with people that we did not know, this was real life. We had to use whatever means to pretend that life is regular. Fantasy of safety saved us from the reality – unpredictable, unkind and disturbing and it kept doing so throughout the decade. I caught a science programme on television the other night. It was all about carrots that we will use for petrol in the future. There, in the future, our fantasy was real.

What is Memory?

For Aristotle (c350 B.C.), time is both qualitative and quantitative, so memory is too.

When one wishes to recollect, one will try to obtain the beginning of a movement whose sequel shall be the movement, which one desires to re-awaken. The mnemonic movements are to one another as the objective facts from which they are derived and in succession. Things arranged in fixed order, like the successive demonstrations in geometry, are easy to remember and hence ideological displays are often referred to and delivered as recitals, hymns and nursery rhymes because they are easy to recall and so, we know them by heart. Socialist ideology permeated all aspects of life in Serbia 'til the '90s and therefore colors my relationship with memory and makes it intrinsically political. That memory disturbs the everyday and its recollection is a mode of inference.

Remembering is often depicted as a mental act of "... thinking of things in their absence" (Warnock, 1987:12). This makes Coetzee's and Rau's (2009) theory of memory as "a commonly agreed notion of the person's capacity to recall or summon up information stored in his or her mind" logical. However, this research focuses on a social set of influences in memory and Frisch's (1990:22) approach to it as "the leap across time from the then of happening to the now of recall" with all that surrounds that memory and us when we are recapturing that time. Memory is 'in the mind'; it is not real time ability although we do use it in the present to reach for the past.

It contains a blend of the experiences of the past, the set of circumstances within which these experiences occurred and the way in which one reflects on these experiences in present conditions. This complexity of memory as time-related notion appeals to me more than its neurological aspects and visual impulses. My enquiry progresses into the politics of memory, which is born out of the layering of meaning, reflections, circumstances, conditions. Its dichotomy is presented here as the closure of the past in the present, or the construction of the future by a merger of a living and active past faced with the present (Cassin, 2002). By holding on to 'the living memory' or *anamnesis* (Plato, 1911), the Belgrade protest lives on. As humans possess knowledge from past incarnations, claimed Plato (1911) and learning consists of rediscovering that knowledge within us, I am not only keeping the protest alive, but encountering it anew every time I take it into consideration.

My research frame increases from the individual concept of the rebellion to the protest experienced collectively, encompassing its political, social and in particular, cultural elements. This is because all individual, intersubjective and collective facets weave together to form our reflections on the past (Coetzee and Rau, 2009).

Although memories become adapted in this process of closure and construction, there will always be aspects that remain the same, affirms Connerton (1989). Both of these uncertainties and fixed representations of the past affect and still impact on remembrance and understanding of the protest, especially with regards to the imprint of 'meaning' on it. "…the habitual aspect of recall serves to entrench ways of reflecting on and narrating personal and societal experiences, and ensures... the containment, coherence and continuity of meaning" (Connerton, 1989:23). Therefore, even if it was unsuccessful as a revolution, the '96/'97 uprising described in this research as a memory and an academic subject, is kept active and relevant for the current comprehension of Serbia and its future.

The world of memory spreads from the construction of the individual and collective past to the study of the ways that it is expressed in public. 'The realm of memory' is also often intimate, bodily experienced and demonstrated and we have proofs of these in scars, tattoos, clothes and jewellery that we can chose to make visible to claim it.

In her lecture *Biopolitics*, Bell (2009) attains that "the past holds us and continues to shape the present". She thinks of memory as the voice, the noise that has its own life, both in reality and in fiction, devising a separate category that exists along with what it was then and what is 'then' now. I use that voice to disturb my own didactic, academic, linear narrative within this text and provide heartfelt responses to the established discourses. A jittery cartography of myself reveals that the politics of memory and production of knowledge follow all uses of memory, especially in national conflicts and Bell does not forget to call on the memory's destructive and redemptive potentials, particularly when addressing the violence of power. It inevitably appears

when we try to locate memory in Serbian communities where recent history is globally known along those constructs.

The past is appropriated in a multitude of ways by different sectors of society. Cultural memory in particular, takes up a large portion within university curriculums and there are programmes offering Masters Degrees in 'un-told events' referring to the investigations of collective history and culture. Memory research is conducted among the general public too, mostly coached by popular television series like the BBC's "Who do you think you are" and alternative formats in live and media arts based on the search for one's roots.

Even the basic search engines – like collectively co-authored Wikipedia, list complex results, for instance for the phrase 'politics of memory'[40] and state its connectedness to identity and its vulnerability to culture, social norms and governments. As an example here and in most of the writing on memory, the Holocaust has been presented as a point of departure when studying and doing the work with memory.

Considering that Serbian war crimes have been almost synonymous with the Holocaust, it is impossible to explore the memory of the protest in '96/'97 without addressing them. The Balkan wars that Serbia was involved in are for many the only knowledge of this state and its imagery now constitutes their memory of the country. They might have never been in Serbia, but they do remember the striking conflict footage of it, which I do not want to contest from the present, but to complement with visual data and textual analysis of Serbia's protest in an attempt to contribute to positive records of Serbia's history under then president Milosevic. I need to inform the readers that not everyone went to war and many suffered in rebelling it.

> "The day after [meeting in support of Milosevic] I suggested that we donate blood and that was the action of the voluntary blood giving and those from the Democratic party joined us so we made a huge procession from the Saint Sava temple. Because the government wanted to spill our blood, they do not have to make a contra-

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[40] Politics of Memory *Wiki* page Accessible at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics_of_memory [25.1.2015]

meeting, we are going to simply donate ours as a type of performance – one reacts… because they want it, no problem and a huge number of people joined…"

<div align="right">Odic ilic, M. 2007[41]</div>

Schlogel (2008) provides a 'set of associations' that help in understanding memory study:

'History of memory' - the insight that memory itself has a history, a historical place.

'Places of memory' - all memory is attached to places where history took place.

'Strata of memory' - brings both of these together, place and time.

This last - strata adequately describes the stretch of connections needed to comprehend the event of protest. Through rendering history's semiotics in place and time, the infectious nature of memory is revealed - a meta discourse storing several paradigms. As Portelli (2009) notes: "Memory is not just a record of experiences. It is an ongoing world". I am seeking to establish a navigational map through that territory and supply an insight on the time of protest. That 'ongoing world' is the one I am describing, with a constant change within it, of its infrastructure and of my own presence that shifts from an observer of the protest to its participant, from an interviewer in research to a witness of the researched event, from a researcher in the archives to an artist and an archivist.

I was not aware at start that my work would encompass all of those roles simultaneously and that they would show when I wanted them to or of their own will on different occasions, like I was constantly wearing all these faces and was able to switch them as I went along when the need for a particular one arose. However, I have always known that I would be de-masking the faces that I inhabit, opening them up, exposing myself, as unashamedly, indulgently and bravely as I believe that the Belgrade protest deserves.

The politics of memory

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[41] Odic Ilic, M. in interview 2007

In Serbia, politicians have been abusing national stories – myths and legends that are accessible in school curriculums and that host the publicly promoted knowledge inherited from the past governments. From primary school to adult life, Serbs know the official version of history, consisting mostly of the heroism of the partisans that once the president of Yugoslavia – Tito led against fascism (my own primary school is still named after the famous WWII communist fighter Jelena Cetkovic who died in German captivity after horrendous torture). The State was not to be questioned for decades after Tito's coming to power at the end of WWII, let alone for history he carved, until transformation in East European nations following the dissolution of Berlin Wall and divisions in the Soviet Union. Revolutions in Romania, Czech Republic and Poland affected Serbia and opened a door for thinking about an alternative to the regime. Memory acted as a double-edged sword leading to understanding the past and overcoming existing ethnic, religious and social divisions or, as in Serbia, perpetuating them.

To 'balance the books', (Snyder, 2005) the work of the opposition that had always existed and was particularly creative in the country has to be inserted in the grand narrative of Serbia's history.

Finding an adequate balance between opposing understandings of past events is crucial for grasping the realm of memory. I am getting Serbia out of 'the hole of shame', so the country and Western Europe can try a different approach to Serbia's past. Through memory, I wish the protest to be acknowledged and through balance, I want the memory of it inscribed and engraved in global history.

"The war of politics and the war of memory are intertwined."

Phenicie, K. and Laplante, L. 2009

Remembrance

The narrative can never be ahead of the narrator. It requires digestion – a process of acceptance, settling and customization. This is why a mature historical culture and a civil culture belong together (Schlogel, 2008). Appropriate remembrance and historical

writing is based on an act of recognition of preceding generations. It is we, the living, who are making–present and giving the dead their voices. So how can ones who do not respect the living acknowledge the dead? Plethora of modern Serbian politicians do not, some commemorate war criminals as heroes and these statesmen are makers of the nation's present?

Maturity comes with time for reflection. Hence, war crimes that blur the picture of the protest must be acknowledged and dealt with both collectively and individually or the protest will not be remembered in its full blaze. I am therefore, conducting both processes at once, reluctantly embracing the people's painful memories and my own, as well as our proud resistance. Furthermore, we must think of war criminals as victims too, but that requires a considerable diversion from the protest and is difficult to negotiate.

My research is an attempt to gain a hearing for a different narrative of Serbia that now is only a history of conflict - a polyphonic chain of insults, injuries and unreasonable demands. If Serbs could bear to hear this - these stories, their own histories, it would be more than one can expect at the moment. These stories kept coming after the war, inundating especially the audio-visual memory platforms in Serbia. My friends and family have told me that one time they stopped watching television, which broadcasted vast amounts of documentaries, trials and interviews with the victims and perpetrators of war. The sheer quantity of it created a burden and moved people away from the war issues.

I cannot blame them. Many felt – it was not me, so why am I presented with this on a daily basis? Whose agenda is this – of educating the population about 'civility'? My school friend Aca (2008) commented on my obsession with broadcasts of the Milosevic trial I came across on the Bosnian digital channel when in Belgrade: "They broadcast it for the people like you who are still fascinated by it"[42]. The nation has been removed,

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[42] Stojkovic, A. in interview 2008

distanced, alienated from its own representation and so did not feel a connection to the stories about it.

The future is doubtful, troubled, but the prevailing discourse in Serbia, so the past has more secure, appealing, nostalgic qualities, but then, it is not the one where wars are featured. Serbs rather travel further back than the '90s in that 'foreign country' (Lowenthal, 1985) deeper into a history of peace, long holidays, shopping in Italy as conveyed by the participants in my second case study *BG:LOG*.

However hard it is to believe in it, memory persists in the mind. It requires a non-threatening space from which its single stories can be heard. In both East and West Europe there must be a pause in delivering representations, dominations of interpretations, national narratives and a blank, empty and silent space must be created before the deliberations can begin. If this can be supported, the fuller account of the past in Serbia is possible.

> "I remember how we banged on pots and pans in '96 and '97. That is when my father and I clashed. And on the 5th of October [when Milosevic was captured], I was alone with my son who was 17 then. Special forces passed by in jeeps through Beogradska Street and after, when they were coming back, the people waved at them – some of them smiled, held fists and some kept their heads down. I now regret that because I think that the people are betrayed. It came to the point that dirty money bought the economy, that half of the factories are not working because even the ones who arrived anew were working for their own interest. And that protests shows a fellowship...in reality, we came from some lulled condition, one real-socialism that should be changed into a capitalism which we were not ready for".
>
> Stanojevic, B. 2013[43]

Private and Public Memories

When I see broadcast production credits and understand that 'civil society' NGOs have funded the programmes, I am compelled to doubt them. For us, who 'switched off' from the national media remit by moving to another country, the encounter with the large, overwhelming number of those stories wasn't available, but working as an

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[43] Stanojevic, B. in interview 2012 BG:LOG *Kulturklammer* project Accessible at: http://www.kulturklammer.org/view/178 [29/1/2015]

interpreter at the Home Office I have been bombarded by the testimonies of the victims from the Balkans' war territories. Brits who watched the conflict footage whilst I was in Belgrade also told me about the sufferings of all sides. This is not in the past – the long residue of it persists. My Home Office colleague – an Albanian interpreter will never forget how Serbs loaded the truck with the boys from her class and took them to slaughter. I do not want to hear and I do not want to know this. I want to forget and think of us in the future rather than who we were in the past. However, I see that past everywhere in her flat, currently my home, but it is not containable in discourses projected by the NGOs.

Private memories work across the idea of self, family, gender and ethnicity and inform the processes of identity creation and the methods in which memories are passed down across generations, or how they form the basis of personal self-exploration. They are essential to the formation and protection of communal identities and often are a way of coming to terms with collective trauma, an experience that I am not quick to assign to Belgrade's protestors. By applying this methodology of shifting between one and all, I attempt to reveal the interplay between social and individual experiences during 'the winter of discontent'.

"Even the most personal accounts and memories transcend our subjective experience of them, as they are shared and mediated by others around us" (Zerubavel, 1997). As Misztal (2003:6) remarks, our memory is "... of an intersubjective past, of a past time lived in relation to other people". Thus memory is almost always 'intersubjectively constituted'. While it is individuals who do the remembering, their remembering mostly arises out of social contexts (Alexander, 2004). Each individual remembers in a unique way and in that process "... refashion[s] the same past differently, making it to be different in its very selfsameness" (Radstone, 2000:13). This is why my voice depicts some of my experience as well as others', trying to define who we/I were/was, who we/I are/am today.

Havel (1990:43) reflected on his intimate memories now disseminated as anecdotes over the Internet:

"... two very difficult years of our lives have become lumped together into a few episodes that have lodged in our memory in a standardized form, and are always told in a standardized way, in the same words. But in fact that lump of memories has nothing whatsoever to do with our experience of those two years in the army and what it has made of us..."

Forgetting

Hirsh (1999) writes that the children of survivors have post memory that is more directly connected to the past than survivors' memory. This might be because when we are within experience, our awareness is around the things surrounding us, not on us. We are seen by others, but we do not see ourselves. Hence, even though our children have not been present at the event we experienced - in it, they see us better. So, as I 'survived' the protest, it might be more difficult for me to capture this event, but I believe that if I grapple with my own trajectory in which I lead the personal to the public history, the insight into the event of protest could be more complete as it joins the views of the people that were beside me there. The communal presence of these stories might provide corroboration and weave the narrative that history is missing. The regulated past is never the past for the citizen and not the past for researchers. It is more for the use of the media and politicians.

The issue with Serbia's history is not only of bringing it to the light, but also of forgetting (of wars, demonstrations, perceptions of the West) that must be deconstructed, re-used, communicated with. What does not please is difficult to remember, but it must be worked on, with and through. As Portelli claims (2009), history places the telling within its concept and we make memory through the stories we want to tell and the ones we chose to forget. So, a 'true' account of the event is likely to be between these two narratives.

I am a researcher from the generation, which was kept in ignorance and in denial of large parts of community memory and for whom recollection was only for the benefit of commemoration. Forgetting the official past was forbidden, "the public are denied the possibility of knowing what they should know in order to make an informed

decision: the 'we' is disabled" (Cassin, 2002). On the other hand, those in charge, who have access, continue to reside in their ignorance. Without 'us' and with none of 'the specialists' being informed, a politics based on non-facts is in place, performed into a historical narrative by singular rather than public agents (Arendt, 1972). Furthermore, when we are unable to imagine a society where authorities could separate personal ties from official duties, we cannot effect what is necessary for revolution – the change in ways of thinking and the change in ways of relating to each other. That potentiality which creates a commonality in difference has an aesthetic and an ethic, in which virtuality is a dynamism that transforms the real.

Supported by the inability to travel due to economic and visa restrictions, Serbs are unable to obtain the protest's information existing in Western Europe and their own archives lack the resources, even if they would have an interest in this event, to collect and collate it in a manner appropriate for dense historical research.

I attempted to work with the compound interconnectedness of my and the previous - post protest generation, wondering if it was more useful for research endeavours to have the missing memory – growing up with the accounts of others about the place and occurrences, rather than having a first hand experience of it? Hirsh (1999) seems to imply this, but what I am aiming for here is for my archive visitors to say: "It could have been me", still resisting the appropriation of "the other" and myself. Like Barthes (1981) does with his mother's memory, I guard the privacy of my and other people's experiences suggesting that one can identify the condition, situation, circumstance, but can never know, feel or embody it.

I am not taken by the period of emergence of memory studies at the beginning of the 20th century, partly due to the monumentalism of Freud's contribution to the field that glorified psychoanalysis, which has been particularly unkind to interpretations of Serbian violence. However, the unfinished *Mnemosine Atlas* of Aby Warburg (1924-1929) that considers the representation of the classical world in Western culture around the beginning of the century is of great importance for my research due to his way of dealing with art material and inserting art history into the genealogy of memory

scholarship. Warburg accentuates that history is a visual process presented in systemic typology, the historical and the geographical ordering of a 'Mediterranean basin event' in one tableau. His aim was to use constellations of photographic reproductions to display connections in a way that the hidden structures were visually identifiable.

As we have traditionally learnt about history mostly through text, the attention that he paid to the image marks the beginning of a different kind of thinking about memory. The creation and employment of the visual in the Western world is crucial in the construction of the Balkans' "other", so my investigations on memory start with his work, resonating in the theories developed in the 1980s when memory studies re-emerged through the work of Pierre Nora in France and Jan and Aleida Assmann in Germany. History and collective memory and their connection with nationhood, literature and religion shape cultural and communicative memory discourse today. They make collective identity a central function of cultural memory. I found my position in the Balkans in this space between the identity at the centre and a periphery of cultural memory that extends to media, cartography and technology, communicating that community's past.

Technology of memory

My colleagues kept coming up with more software packages for my archive, but by the time I purchased and learnt how to use them, I would conclude that they were not for me. What I needed to build my archive was a flexible and 'authentic' method, not a template given to me by various programme providers and archive science specialists. Furthermore, I wanted to keep 'the originality' of the protest through this archive structure rather than disseminate it via already known options that I would be promoting by their use.

We are still missing an acceptance of the validity of the ways to analyse data through media and yet we speak of the digital revolution in both science and arts as it has been realised. If digital programmes at various institutions developed as a follow up to the now widely available statistical information gathering, we have misunderstood the power of technology or reduced it to rhetorical notions about the future; but who is

that future for if we want to stick to our past? We, just like we want for our objects, want to live forever, but we also seem to want for our past to live with us there too.

We delude ourselves with the belief that without Twitter, contemporary revolutions would never happen. We seem to value the people from Eastern Europe and the Middle East very little if we glorify Internet and social media in relation to their social change, even though there is a link between the technology and the revolt that must be addressed, it must not be exaggerated for the purpose of 'demonstrating modernity' as it threads along 'the Enlightenment and further to the "civilising mission".

Protesters embraced a limited, but sovereign entity in order to restore Serbia and its reputation, still shuttered by the regime that produced and projected images of war and devastation internally and globally. The media did not display them via the technological advancements of the time, the Internet and mobile phones, as these were not wide spread in a Serbia robbed by its leaders. In unity, demonstrators sent a different picture of Serbia to the world explaining in it the holding of their red cards as nothing to do with communism because they were their student IDs, but that image was not circulated at the level of engagement that Twitter has had in the revolutions of the Arab world, even though many of my research interviewees now claim the opposite.

Hardly anyone owned a mobile phone or a computer with an Internet connection, yet people say in their interviews that we used the Internet to spread the word about the unrest. Looking back to those times, it seems that even when we did, the world was not so 'wired', hence the message did not 'flow' without difficulties. What is particularly disturbing is the wide circulation of this myth, as if we now remember how we knew to use the Internet for our cause. Some radio stations, for example B92 and television centres namely BK were equipped for this, but were on the opposing side of the protest for a good while, so one can conclude that those who had the web facility were not always using it to disseminate protest information. Reading about the role of the Internet as crucial and accompanying "a veritable flood of protest publications,

real and virtual" (Jansen, 2001), I realized that the protest has been narrated in the digital sphere by mostly Western researchers, journalists and Serbs who live(d) abroad. The opportunity for the regular web presence that we have today was rare and the non-existence of a digital archive of the protest is evidence of this.

"The Internet was a "Spanish village" (unknown) and it had really just been initiated. The Internet was for us a phenomenal tool because the world already communicated through it and that was our gap. Our visibility had already increased but it was not controlled at that moment because artists were totally convinced of the fact that the event should have some other concept, different from performativity. We knew what one could do with the masses, there were examples of it from history of art…"

Odic Ilic, M. 2007[44]

Even if some information went out, like in *The Wired* magazine (1994-2003), the way it was spread was mostly via email, so it ended up amongst scattered individuals who years later might have put it online[45]. Now I read how the Internet was essential during the demonstrations and I have been told by a few West European activists how they worked with Vuk Cosic, a media artist living in Vienna during the demonstrations to stretch the information about the protest as far as they could. However, they say it as if the information about them being active in one country's struggle is more important than the struggle itself. Even the media artist Larisa Blazic claimed to have done the work during the protest, but upon grabbing a computer and checking the properties of the files she thought she had created at the time, the screen displayed the year 1999 – the time of the NATO air-strikes. She remembers that there was a large event whilst she worked; it just wasn't the one that I am researching – a testament to a packed history in the '90s unravelling.

My witnessing of the event on the ground is demeaned – the power of the virtual world takes over my experience and with it, my body. I have been cast out of the protest mass as a child that does not comply with its settled interpretation. This phenomena I understand as a type of prosthetic memory, a concept put forward by

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[44] Odic Ilic, M. in interview 2007

[45] Lynch, L. Twitter post even calls the event The First internet Revolution Accessible at: https://twitter.com/lilyslynch/status/428852540503883776 [29.1.2015]

Landsberg (1995) about the replicants in the film *Blade Runner*, who through media technologies 'posses' memories of experiences like human beings. Forms of media have contributed to "the era of the posthuman" in which memories "do not come from a person's lived experience", they are not their own. In her book, *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity*, Lury (1997:176) writes that the media has "fundamentally alter[ed] (our notion of what counts as) experience" precisely because it "bring[s] the texture and contours of prosthetic memory into dramatic relief". It is as if the copy, the second generation of a file is the equivalent to the original. Balkanisation hence, however constructed, counts as natural in a digital sense.

Mediated versions of Serbia are 'truth' as they 'stick' with us like replicants who eventually inhabit human qualities. Combined with images of violence and trauma, these memories move from 'phantom' to 'real'. Technological flesh is added to 'phantom publics' (Latour, 2005) and they, who were not there matter more than my account, the witness memory. A constitution of 'the phantom public' emerged from post-traumatic pathology, in the 1860s, of absent limbs felt present and present limbs felt absent (Lippmann, 1997 & 2007; Heller-Roazen, 2007) – a state of Serbia's memory and memory of Serbia today.

With Internet, the self serves as data and it extends the corporeality of the body to information. Data bodies draw on or challenge the notion that Western culture has taken a 'forensic turn', which I describe as separating sciences and humanities by interpreting evidence as directly linked to meaning. However, disciplines like memory studies institutionally can refuse or embrace empirical evidence, troubling the power of science and asking how do data bodies conceal or outlive real ones.

Case Study

Balkanising Taxonomy - To Memory and Back

"In the past decade memory and the manipulation of memory have been posited as one of the central aspects of Balkan conflicts."

Todorova, M. 2004:2

The project *Balkanising Taxonomy* developed through work with memory and started in spring 2008. It provides an account of Serbia's past as part of the Balkans before and after the recent wars. It contextualised my research differently, opened it to the influence of technology (especially digital), its presentation and archival practice that consequently led the thesis. The community of researchers, in particular young ones, developed around it and we shared the offences delivered to us by some senior scholars who were 'moderating' our tone of voice because 'they care for us', perpetuating the appropriation of the Balkans that we have seen and reaching back to their own colonial past by civilizing "the others". We wanted to write about the East and all ended up doing so in relation to the West. Our history is a constructed rebellion from its universal narrative or our own national assertions in that paradigm. We are trying to elevate the East, but in that attempt, we keep reinforcing the role of the West in our society too.

Figure 15: *Balkanising Taxonomy* symposium, 2008, photograph by Nela Milic

Memory offers a route into many themes of my research – archive, narrative, identity and I approached them from the material sources and worked the way up to conceptualising the whole of research. The main role in inaugurating my methodology was played by Professor Janis Jefferies at Constance Howard Resource and Research Centre in Textiles who offered me to curate an exhibition of garments and photographs from the Balkans' collection donated by Jane Page in 2007.

I jumped into the archive of cloth and images from the beginning of the 20th century and got lost in the richness of history held by the objects and the surge of memories I

carry as an individual and a part of the Balkans' people collective. Both approaches are equally important as per Halbwachs's (1950) belief that, every individual memory is a social phenomenon, hence my own memory input matters in a collective memory experience. In fact, membership of a social group is what enables individuals to acquire and recall memories.

Halbwachs' (1950) influential notion of collective memory comes from the idea that our memories are intrinsically localised and hence I display them in the form of a city map in my research about protest. He affirms that recollection deploys mental categories anchored to material spaces, which are shared with others – buildings, milieus and landscapes. As the journey through the objects' likely locations, dates and authors progressed, I realised that it would take another researcher to deal only with that and I found comfort in that researcher's advice, which provided a different solution to this problem – keeping the archive as mysterious as it is, because no amount of information will truly disclose its nature.

The archive has too many layers and it is difficult to grasp, because it is different each time you immerse yourself in it. You start looking for one thing and get distracted with a newfound item, which forms a novel path of investigation over and over again. Memory works in the same way, every time you go on the journey to the past some other information pops up, leading you on unknown routes to seemingly real remembrance. This is because, as Boltanski's[46] theatrical installations point out, "memories are continuously recreated events, based on the past, but understood through the present" (Caines, 2004:4).

As the images of people from the past started coming through the scratched negatives, I recalled the memories of my grandmother, adopting her stories as I experienced them first hand, identifying with people on yellowish strips of film as they are who I used to be. I begun collapsing the boundaries of past and present which revealed what critics of heritage believe that the heritage industry and nostalgia

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[46] Christian Boltanski is French visual artist who used memory as a topic in his mixed-media installations especially to express the loss and mourning around Holocaust

culture relies on the desire for immediacy in 'the experience' of the past (Radstone, 2000). Indeed, I have indulged in this project, as well as on the protest archive on the quest to re-connect with my ancestors.

"...ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them."

Benjamin, W. 1931:67

I wanted to go back, to have a direct link to my heritage, but staying firmly on the ground of now. I even inhabited the witness persona and was able to confidently claim the exact time, place and the circumstance of the women captured in the photographs from the market. I knew if they were buying or selling their frocks, if the garments they held they made themselves or if they were eyeing them up in the hope to fit into them. It is like I wanted to freeze them or freeze myself in the present instead of allowing the continuation of time. Huyssen (1995:7) describes my desire: "[Memory] represents the attempt to slow down information processing, to resist the dissolution of time in the synchronicity of the archive, to recover a mode of contemplation outside the universe of simulation and fast-speed information and cable networks …"

Continuing to think of memory alongside the development of media, Huyssen concludes that memory expresses our society's need for anchoring and to have time for reflection in the world of fast travel and technology. The whole conceptualisation of memory has changed over time thanks to electronic media storage techniques that allow us to easily capture information, but at the same time deprives us from forming a continuum of memory as we are busy shielding ourselves from the stimuli we make.

Our present, saturated by stories, images, sounds - stimuli, influences us to now deal more with memory then we used to. This boom in and obsession with memory studies is, Huyssen (1995:3) claims:

"a contestation of the informational hyperspace and an expression of the basic human need to live in extended structures of temporality however they may be

organised. It is also a reaction formation of mortal bodies that want to hold on to their temporality against a media world…"

I am also convinced that the technology we are surrounded by contributes to the desire to capture memories as the access and use of cameras and other, now mostly digital means of operation is ready-made, but my background in art, in particular filmmaking plays a key role in this view of memory. Not only that my references here derive from an education in arts, but my understanding of the social world that I am constructing also gets built on these pillars. There seems to be even more to it:

"This triangulation of looking, figured by the superimposition of images from disparate moments of personal and public history, is in itself an act of memory-not individual, but cultural memory. It reveals memory to be an act in the present on the part of a subject who constitutes herself by means of a series of identifications across temporal, spatial, and cultural divides. It reveals memories to be cultural, fantasy to be social and political, in the sense that the representation of one girl's childhood includes, as a part of her own experience, the history into which she was born, the figures that inhabited her public life and perhaps also life of her imagination."

Hirsch, M. 1999:159

As Gordy (2008) argues influenced by Todorova (2004) the "excess of culture in the Balkans" adds to my interest in memory and makes it a classic, traditional and expected journey for a female artist from the region. Women artists are rewinding the process of importing the communist ideology in their body and sculpting the collective sense of self by rejecting the individual and re-assembling it in order to reverse the state's action. As females, as artists and now 'conscious', 'free', 'liberated' persons, they are deconstructing the collective. They are acknowledging their history, but trying to utilize it for developing in another direction. They are not 'used organisms'[47], but the collective body is used to experience production in their professional (confessional) life.

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[47] In the film *WR: Mysteries of Organism* (1971), filmmaker Dusan Makavejev plays precisely with this cancelation of the individual and uses sexuality to deliver a metaphoric subversion of the state's system, which forced him to exile in America. *WR* explores the relationship between communist politics and sexuality, through Wilhelm Reich.

Figure 16: Display of photographs from *Balkanising Taxonomy* exhibition, photographs by Nela Milic and David Ramkalawon

I work through the Balkans' archive like a filmmaker. Ideology creeps into the foreground from time to time and withdraws as new themes fill up my collection. Projected snippets in front of my eyes show my past. Radstone (2000:9) notes: "Though the scales may swing between, say, invention–tradition and reflection-representation, the 'fragile value' of memory resides in its continued capacity to hold, rather than to collapse these equivocations."

The complex nature of memory caused my presence in the space of the people on the photographs many years ago through the combination of the narrative that I inherited from my descendants, the history presented to me through my education, the experience of the elements of environment that I could recognize and the postures and clothing of the people in the images. My account is prosthetic as well as a 'phantom memory', a mediated projection of historical clichés and personal assumptions and desires, explains Sarkisova (2007) and continues that in the absence of narratives structuring the perception of the photographed event, one could imaginatively interpret visual sources allowing the photographs to become fused with the auxiliary background to produce interpretation, and infuse the visual material with meaning.

"There is a memory that fades: that is, one fed by personal experience, direct memory. It dies with individual men and women and is replaced by a memory and commemoration that is mediated. The time is coming when there will be no more unmediated memory."

Badovinac, Z. 2007

The more I looked, the more familiar the faces became - memories of my people pressing so hard that I started thinking that I know them because they are neighbours, relatives even. Memory constructed in this way, with cultural narratives, unconscious processes and historical happenings – 'events' is how Passerini (1987) would understand it. Perhaps I was just conscious of my own 'expiry date' and I was embodying the fear of erasure done by universal history, which manipulates records and is felt strongly throughout the Balkans.

All representation is based on memory, as Caines (2000) writes. The photographs I looked at have been taken at a moment in time and have an immediacy around their creation, but even and especially with their belatedness, we cannot read them without impacting our memory on the image. "Re-presentation always comes after", Caines (2000:4) states and my feelings throughout the research of the Balkans' photos confirm that. They are not "leading us to some authentic origin or giving us verifiable access to the real." I was not going to have the Balkans revealed correctly to my audience - it was just not possible. Therefore, I committed myself for the rest of my scholarly journey to work with the responsibility for memory as a creation.

Radstone's (2000:7) view of memory which developed from the 19th century's "crisis of memory" is along the same lines: "...memory came to be understood as actively produced, as representation, and as open to struggle and dispute." I was as conscious of the delusion of my pure presence in the photographs as they were taken, as I was aware that I was making up the history, which I was trying to capture.

"The relationship between living and dead is asymmetrical: we, the living, decide who is heard and who condemned to silence. Historical work is the work of making-present, based on recognition."

Schlögel, K. 2008:9

Figure 17: Photographs from the negatives from Balkan archive at Goldsmiths University, unknown author, photographs developed by Nela Milic

My sense of self, now discovered as an artist of memory merged with the collective, blurred the understanding of my task as curator. I was suppose to expose the very people who I desired to preserve and hide from the audience, like Barthes (1981) wanted to do with picture of his mother. I was expected to exhibit them caught in their everydayness, in a way they might not want to be known, in case they have better clothes to show off, more beautiful places they visit and different people in their immediate surroundings. Did they want to be photographed on the market? Who photographed them? Was it their first time and if so, how was this experience for them? The need to talk to them was urgent for furthering my investigation, but it was not going to happen.

Photography as "an emotionally charged and a topographically precise medium" (Shevchenko, 2007) allowed for hybrid narratives to emerge in the Balkan archive and oscillate between the stereotypes and recollections of details that contradicted accepted conventions.

There are not many photographs of men in this collective; it looks like the interest of the photographer was with people's clothing and females indeed displayed a rich canvas of textiles. They carry the cotton or wool - materials not yet cut into patterns layered on their bodies. Coats, shirts, skirts, underskirts, waistcoats, scarves, socks,

aprons show a plethora of artwork from stitching and knitting to weaving and embroidery.

A few tall men wear well-crafted hats and elegant overcoats. Layers of clothes, like layers of memory, layers of meaning like layers of history are zigzagged into the fabric. I place the photos in the jars, to preserve them from dust and to add to the understanding of the Balkans as a domestic, remote environment, opposing 'the violent' contributions to the descriptions of the area. It is a difficult approach – the Balkans has been known as wild, but also generous and I wanted to expose these conflicted attributes, so I opted for an inviting and welcoming look associated with a warm home. To compensate and highlight the juxtaposition of a hospitable and a hostile place, I presented the garments at the exhibition in a very different manner.

Tactile memories

I moved from photographs to caress the garments sneakily taking the gloves off. A desire for direct contact, evoking 'the real', calling on the ancestors through the senses like in Stanislavski's madeleine biscuit exercise[48] pays off and the sleeves of dresses in the archive wrapped around me as I was dancing with the spirits of the past.

Through this touch I was acquainted with all the garments carefully placed in numbered boxes. As I looked at them together, they appeared to be the property of one family and at the same time I was not even sure that they were from the Balkans as the influences of other cultures in them were distinctive. One shirt looked Indian and the trousers were of Turkish origin – is Turkey in the Balkans or its fashion, among other things that the Balkans was left with after the Ottoman Empire, kept these trousers alive in the period of time that I am witnessing through the clothing encircling me now? I looked once again as I remembered that the memory of the trousers was actually recent – I owned a pair of them myself, my present memory was

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[48] The Russian theatre director, Stanislavski used affective memory in his working method with actors, by stimulating their body through smell for example, they would revive the memories necessary for the 'genuine' interpretation of the character on the stage.

complemented by this past. I was encountering the past through the present – my trousers were the embodiment of this.

My memories were overlapping, confusing and fading as the new ones emerged and I could not guarantee the authenticity of any of them – the ones that were leaving nor the ones that were arriving. I was not sure that they were mine at all, but I was becoming increasingly conscious of their fragility and imbrication. I did not have control over what was coming or going, but I knew how to provoke them. I wondered if doing so intentionally made a difference to the kind of memories that cropped up or even the type of transmission. I also pondered if I would react in the same way if I saw these garments elsewhere or separately or if I was not insisting on going through this process. I was seeing this collection through the prism of memory because it was already an existing outline in my mind. The eyes see what the heart wants?

However, for us who were not there when past events occurred, they are accessible only through other people's recollections of events, their narratives and records. The more similar ones that we encounter, the more truth is assigned to them, and the more they get written about, repeated and transferred through generations, becoming the history as this process continues.

The history that has been passed on to me was under question – I was not sure any more about what I knew and I had doubts towards what has been presented to me in the West about the Balkans too. If I carried some truth about the past, it was in conflict with a lot that I have read and was told about the region in the UK. The Balkans seemed to be taken as ancient, provincial and rural, a territory stuck in time with so much history that it blocked any progress. The recent conflicts contributed to this established view and I now had to battle with the wrongly described past occurring even before the Yugoslav wars, which we, from there, are yet to understand and reckon with.

I try to identify the area of investigation, so my research gets a geographical boundary, but I have difficulty with cutting off the old influences or adding on the new countries

that made themselves part of the European Union – a western aspiration that is somehow still at a distance from the east of Europe. When my project included the exhibition of Balkan objects, I needed to make sure that a Turkish blouse is made in Turkish fashion, and is worn in the Balkans or made with the material from there. The more I questioned and found out, the more questions arose and the less I knew.

I asked myself how to be certain about the garments' description? Should I put a republic, now a state where the garment is from as the artwork specification on the label next to it or write which minority would wear it? Do I call the object by the name it had at the time or how we say it now? In what language? Is the year it was made or the year it was worn more important for this collection? Would any of this information help the audience to understand the Balkans better?

I have heard, witnessed, participated in, watched, downloaded, read and transcribed numerous papers produced by many academics that specialise in the Balkans and it did not look to me like they understood it, so why contribute to the confusion with laboratory data on the examined material? Instead, I decided to try and erase it, the same way that I often felt the Balkans is rubbed out and excluded from the global history. I ignored the accepted framework under which the Balkans is examined and moved on from the desire to classify in hope that I would show it better. I closed it up, sheltering it from foreign influence, applying the Western strategy to "the other" and by doing so, revealing exactly that – the methodology behind which the Balkans is presumed. Exposing this scheme and questioning the methods that lead us to understanding is what I also developed in my research on the Belgrade protest.

I placed the garments in black boxes and hung the boxes along the gallery walls. Black is inclined to total erasure or total form and the sumptuous colour of retrospection and nostalgia, claims Prince (2008) to the statement of maximum contrast against the white cube. The jars with photos were placed on a plinth and their lids were covered with black felt to illustrate the alleged domesticity as well as the death of the region. The Balkans is often the exact opposite of what is expected, even though whenever it shows, the Western de-codifier would not let go of her/his embedded image of the

Balkans' 'wildness' and s/he will support it with archetypical addition of the chaos discourse where the Balkans sits in the Western mind. S/he would not think of this understanding as illogical, but ascribe irrationality to the object of investigation itself – to the Balkans.

"Black is cast as an all-purpose emotive backdrop, a memory of its previous content", declares Prince (2008), "Blank, empty and dry... black depths are a metaphor for hidden sound." My hollow boxes evoked that muted voice, said the public shyly peeping through the peepholes, which "...function as escape valves from the static, information-free world" (Prince, 2008) and were the only source of access to the garments. There were not magnifying glasses, reflectors, explanations on the walls, but cards with thoughts of writers and theorists I stumbled across throughout my research. A mystery of the Balkans was enhanced by the mystery of how it was perceived. The light barely illuminating the clothing inside the boxes sparked ideas of what could be there, but did not allow for statements to be made. One felt that s/he should look, but did not know what for and as long as we started from there, we might have been on equal footing – the Balkans and the West.

"There is a sense of necessary release. It is as though we have groped our way out of the glacial time of the paintings, through the black tunnel of the peepholes, into sudden bursts of bright uncontained life, our eyes having to forcibly readjust to the light."

Prince, M. 2008

Just before I let the public into the space, the women working at the textile centre walked in. "Ah, the coffins", said Jan and my face got a long grin. As in the archives, whatever I brought with myself from the past, in the gallery she was seeing whatever she had with hers - the Balkans' war images from the telly.

Figure 18: The catalogue of *Balkanising Taxonomy* project, funded by the AHRC & Goldsmiths University, author and photographer: Nela Milic

Cultural and collective memory

Memory work is directed towards practices of collective and self-transformation. Through it, I am trying to understand the community and myself and ascertain how we got here, to take the Balkans the way 'we' do in the West. I am regularly switching the 'we' to 'me' – 'me' at the West and 'me' at the Balkans, accepting that my memory of the region is as cultural and collective as my memory of the perception of 'Balkanness' here, in the UK, which is cultural and collective too.

However, my memory of the peninsula is not the same as my cousin's or grandmother's. Not only because they are of a different generation, but they arrived here in a different condition – one through marriage and other through work. Me – an exile will have a different view of where I was and where I am now, according to the way that transgression occurred and influenced my Balkan and my British memory.

Furthermore, as Hall (1999) considers, collective memory is as selective as history is and us who are involved in 'the passionate research' as Fanon (1961) defines the many auto-ethnographies conducted by people feeling 'robbed' of their own past through the process of colonialisation, are involved in the production of identity or more, re-construction through re-telling that would result in a more permanent inscription in history.

So, I am choosing what to remember from one or the other side. I also perform cultural recall, even though I might not know it: "in many instances, such acts are not consciously and wilfully contrived", as Bal (1999:13) recorded:

"Because memory is made up of socially constituted forms, narratives, and relations, but also amenable to individual acts of intervention in it, memory is always open to social revision and manipulation. This makes it an instance of fiction rather than imprint, often of social forgetting rather than remembering."

Being away from one culture that I was part of and coming to another that I haven't been in, my interest in memory feels like "a response to and a symptom of a rupture, a lack, an absence" as it is for Berdenstein (1999:14). I lack the continuation of the Balkans' history and I am absent from the British one. However, I might not be missing anything because "there is no master narrative to forever fix the meaning of a historical event. Neither is there a subject of history to make experience of it", states Buden (2007) and asserts that what we have instead is cultural memory, which never recalls the event in its alleged original meaning, but rather through various shapes of its cultural articulation. So, what is presented about the protest here is only one version of it, but every other type of it is also unfaithful.

Still, it is not lies as Sturken (1999) notes, but reflections tied to other images produced and circulated within the culture.

However, "the crucial issue in the history of memory is not how a past is represented but why it was received or rejected" (Confino, 1997:1390).

In the case of Serbia, there is desperation to move on from wars, but abruptly and with acceleration, which is not only continuing in the manner of the recent past, but eradicating 50 years of peace within state socialism before that too. Societies develop not so much through remembering the past as they do through forgetting it and in Serbia this practice is noticeable and it has consequences. "When memory is erased in one local situation, this helps to create at the same time a false picture of a fixed global identity", comments Badovinac (2007). It is not a wonder then that if history in

the Balkans itself is getting modified, the Balkan people insist on being re-invented in the homogenised journals of the West.

Furthermore, Connerton (1989) suggests that memory is never the same and so, we cannot be either. If we would hold the recollections that are always the same, we would be machines that do not learn or experience anything after these events we have in our memory, which would teach us to think of them and of the people within them differently than on the first occasion that we 'looked back' in time.

"Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate..."

Benjamin, W. 1940:391

The system of canonical history seems false on both sides – the East and the West and we can continue it by blaming each other. As we look at these portraits, the people in them look back at us, but through layers of gazes - the artists', the subjects', the audience's, our view is kaleidoscopic and blurred. The memory in them should be deciphered and cleared as a vision, not understood as a lost reality to be rediscovered.

"Researchers interpreting the memorial traces of individual or collective sufferings and abuse do so not only to honour history's victims, dead and alive, but in the hope that memory can vanquish repetition. Moreover, whereas books and bodies can, and continue to be burned, any attempt to distort memory arguably leaves its traces in the form of interpretable 'silences and forms of forgetting' (Passerini, 1983) which, once seized, constitute the memory of and the grounds for resistance."

Radstone, S. 2000:10

CHAPTER 4

ARCHIVE AS PRACTICE – Re-enacting the past

My archive is essentially a storytelling machine. It mediates my process of emersion into it as both the researcher and the subject of research. I am my archive. My archive represents me. Its images expose defencelessness, vulnerability and illustrate the condition the objects are in or the conditions the subjects put themselves in for this intervention in 'the real' at the time. "The silence of the absolute image" gives a possibility of testimony, announces Bell (2009). The portraits say "I was there", the pictures call to be counted to provide justice of the experience.

Objectification

I advocate for an objectification of the objects as pure material, texture of 'the thing', physical entities, but thinking of them as signifiers of context within which they operate. Objects are alike ourselves - unstable, jellylike, whimsy, shaky, ambiguous and without meaning until we inscribe it to them. We objectify, rationalise and constrain their looseness, abstraction and vagueness. We create borders, taxonomies, labels for what is unclear, pulsating, changing in order to control, utilize and tame those fluctuating, relational and uncertain entities. I am doing the same with my memory here and I am opposing that praxis too, rebelling the West with Western practice where I situate the East in order to show the impossibility, ineffectiveness, uselessness of data if it is fixed in frames.

"I can go further and further into the wilderness; because it's only there that transformation can take place. My Black Square is a bare and frameless icon for our times. Arise Comrades, and free yourselves from the tyranny of objects."

Malevich, K. 1915-1932

The understanding of protest lies in interconnectedness of its objects - images, badges, placards offer the narrative that we can only sense. They were purposely subversive and separated from the space that regularly stored direct messages provided by

Milosevic's nomenclature, about the greatness of Serbs, the necessity of wars and the constant scepticism towards the West.

"Thieves" – written on the protest banner was too obvious for 'dominant reality', but "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark" worked on two levels: the reference was to the self – the community on the street was mostly an educated bunch and they were rebelling against their masters through the power of knowledge, organizing their own allegiance via recognition of the joke. A sophisticated remark made by the group referred to the regime that displayed the traits of 'the common criminal' who stole votes to proclaim victory in local elections. This is the second dimension that these objects reflected – their holders' disagreement with the government.

Their 'second hand' nature provides the basis of collecting, which does not lie in "exactness", in "silk reeling" or "the complete inventorizing of all data", as Benjamin (1931:478) describes; it is in Appadurai's (2010) potential, in the possibility of their meaning, their condition and relations when they are placed together in reality or virtuality (Benjamin, 1931). It is also in the audience's route to discovery of the collection and its objects.

The repository of protest artefacts can only be a mediated version of its narrative, even more so than any archive. Working on it is the goal and in my case for years to come in order to rehabilitate and re-live the event, but the real excitement comes with 'what if'. What if these objects were created at the same time or presented in different parts of the street? What if their owners met? What if they were never taken to the street, would the protest be the same? The potential in and of these relations is what makes the future brighter and bearable for the protesters, even though it has its limitations due to our own exhaustive endurance in such praxis.

Benjamin (1931) even uses the word "protest" to mark the archival practice. He thinks of fidelity to the *thing* as "the wilfully subversive protest against the typical, classifiable." This sense for the object defines the methodology employed here – the subject, the object and the practice of collecting are interwoven and that approach is

instrumental in this research. I am collecting and at the same time rejecting a standard archival act by receiving guidance from the community, which allowed me to have, photograph, scan and exchange their artefacts. Working through protest souvenirs is what matters because it permits repositioning of the objects and the collector him/herself. This method is objecting the space and the time the regime left for the protesters, but it is also objecting the regime of representation this collector found for herself and her archive in the narratives of the East and the West. The collector has "a relationship to objects which does not emphasize their functional, utilitarian value - that is their usefulness - but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage of their fate" (Benjamin, 1931:60).

It is that status of the theatrical that they currently hold, which is investigated here, but there is a sentimental attachment to these artefacts and a desire to make them to perform the past too. Many badly shot images, ripped posters and blurred placards have a greater value in my archive than just being pieces of paper and fabric. Due to their contextual and historical worth, they are a precious evidence of the event that the collector and the public can (re)encounter through them, forging a life over again and sharing history.

Archive as political practice

Critics of the rise of memory studies have asked can societies really remember together and is speaking of collective memory simply to speak of ideology or political fantasy. This is a pertinent question in the case of Belgrade's protest – political fantasy features prominently in the event and the archiving of its creative remnants. Fantasy settles in the memory of its collector too, who is the witness and creator of digital objects and their public 'premiere', but now also, their interpretation. Furthermore, the process of their collation is mostly dislocated from the territory of their 'happening', the place that is criticised due to its ideological traits. In this relational context of research, the intrinsic ephemerality of memory – the fantasy it embodies and transports plays an important role, expressed in the practical aspect of presenting data - digital archive as computational artwork.

The virtual demonstration of the archive draws on the elusive nature of memory, hence this protest collection can never claim to be a historical resource "…[W]hat used to be thought of as objective 'historical truth' is in fact strongly influenced by ideological – political and/or religious aesthetic, philosophical and other preconceptions" (Segal, 2013). My archive is an artwork, a creative podium of the event from history whose objects from photographs to coupons are also art pieces, as well as its body of evidence. The archive highlights its own false existence, but points to the truth. That truth is always the only one we've got, even though it is just a point of view.

"When you police a boundary… you believe in it... By contrast, when you study a boundary, it is put at risk, denaturalized, perhaps modified, perhaps maintained for strategic, not essentializing reasons. The same is true for the specific fantasy of optical purity… we study it, but we cannot quite endorse it. In order to historicize it, it must be de-essentialized."

Bal, M. 2003:264

The question that the protest archive poses is why insist on the boundary and who or what is invested in such assertion? Building a path from the East to the West and back is policing a boundary, but going around both and arriving at the beginning of the journey might be scoping and scrapping for the understanding of the intricacies that each of those parts of the world carry in their history and culture.

The act of constructing the protest archive and its analysis contributes to the narrowing of the vacuum of knowledge existent about Belgrade protest and about artworks that criticize the regime on its own territory. My practice is relying on formats used then and tries to continue the legacy of revolt through keeping its medium and its aesthetic alive.

Its function now is to rebel against the regime of the popular representation of Serbia in Western circuits. As Todorova (1997:59) reveals: "In the face of a persistent hegemonic discourse from the West, continuously disparaging about the Balkans,

which sends out messages about the politicization of essentialized cultural differences, it is hardly realistic to expect the Balkans to create a liberal, tolerant, all-embracing identity celebrating ambiguity and a negation of essentialism". Still, the protesters cried in solidarity for a new social contract different to the one delivered to them by the state and later on, the Western world.

It looked like the protesters created an early democratic society – inclusive, transparent, free in speech, but it was not sustained beyond protest, not only because of the (de)pressing representation of the Balkans in the West, but because of the economic state which does not allow for these values to be upheld by constantly focussing solely on survival.

Archive as activism

I am doing this research as memory fades – a memory fed by personal experience, direct memory, both mine and the protesters'. I am attempting to capture it before it vanishes with me and other individual men and women or it is replaced by new, recent and more persuasive memories. I also want to record the event for the ones born later, who can never have the experiences that others have had. Being lost in the present and dragged through the past for their future choices, Serbia needs to find ways of communicating better with its younger generations, helping them to learn about the history from its people rather than officials.

To think oneself into the horizon of experience of another generation is a question of education, tact and sensitivity (Schlogel, 2008). It requires careful negotiation with well-known and personal stories connecting the private (individual) and public (collective) memory by weaving the present through the past and the past by the present. In my work, memory is demarcated as a state of the mind, conscious and unconscious, which is encompassing events, representations and experiences from the past.

I am trying to be guided by that inherited intergenerational notion of memory and use it as a method to create an archive that will not develop a remembrance so concerned

with the past that it forgets the present. Sometimes it is easier to exist in a past that is transparent and self–contained, than in the uncertain and obscure present. This is Serbia now, it is 'the way of life'. An obsession with history could be so that one can avoid the present and for Serbs, it has become habitual. My task is therefore, a delicate affair and it requires that I work with history in a non-traditional way – a conundrum in itself. "Devotion to the dead that is not borne by respect for the living is somehow unconvincing" (Schlogel, 2008:8). Derrida (1994:18-19) concurs with Schlogel: "Without this non-contemporaneity with itself of the living present, without this responsibility and this respect for justice concerning those who are not there of those who are no longer or who are not yet present and living, what sense would there be to ask the question 'Where?' 'Where tomorrow?' 'Whither?'"

Instead of focusing on the archive as the repository of truth, I perform it as a way of acquiring knowledge because dealing with arts and culture, especially during dictatorships is impossible without accounting for the political state. However, the archive attempted here is itself a political apparatus, not only because it is created around the political activity, but the choices that are made to collect artefacts, the format and methodology of gathering data are political decisions. I am seizing this archive and its associated collective consciousness as a tool for resistance in countering dominant history with different narratives. This is done because the archive is not simply a place to amass memory. It is a site that can render the history of the present more visible, which can uproot the authority of the past to question that present. What has been written about the Balkans can be interrogated in the archive. It is in perpetuated renewal and tautness within which the past and present come together and hopefully, influence each other so that a better Serbia can be found.

In order to understand developments in Serbian history, it is necessary to follow a cross-disciplinary pattern of investigation as many events simultaneously happened across several planes and their interaction moved forward what we know now as Balkan history. A digital archive as a versatile podium of types and data is better suited for obtaining knowledge about the region than the usual linear presentation of singular events in historical annals, novels, anthropological records or political

commentary. My archive covers a range of objects that reveal this, from poems to installations; the objects are holding in their variety a plethora of historical possibilities, routes and options for how the event developed.

"I am an old woman who is eager to empty those words, they are not carried anywhere."

Celovic, J. 2011[49]

Production, use, destruction and withdrawal of imagery happen in the processes of shaping history and memory. Heterogeneous sources - analogue and digital archives, institutional and personal accounts are vehicles for histories from when they emerge. We need to question them when considering their artefacts as 'evidence' or we can accept those methodologies in them, like my archive, as an interpretation of history. Furthermore, digital cultural forms do not just replace or succeed analogue ones as Van Dijck (2007) accentuated. New technologies are influenced by remediation and merged with the representational strategies of older forms.

Benjamin (1931:60) notes that possession of a *thing* generates irrational accents, but he admires exactly this. For the collector, his item, its origin and past all close ranks as "a magic encyclopaedia, a world ordering, whose outline is the fate of the object". The archive has been aestheticized and revered from afar, but not understood as critical practice, which is how I am trying to work with it in order to contain, organize, represent, render intelligible and produce the narrative of the protest, which can stand as a positive excerpt from Serbian history.

I am also applying self-historisation – a methodology practiced by Slovenian art collective IRWIN (2006), which works from an imaginary history. "History is not given", they cry, "please help construct it"[50]. My research is a contribution to that call, trying not only to narrate the self, but also the community of protesters who had similar

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[49] Celovic, J. interview in 2011
[50] Irwin (Eds.) 2006 *East Art Map: Contemporary Art and Eastern Europe*, London: Afterall Books is established after the work generated on their website Accessible at: http://www.eastartmap.org [25.1.2015]

views about the regime, but different backgrounds and are now dispersed around the world or settled in Belgrade, battling yet another regime – a mutation of neo-liberalism and post-socialist experience of capitalism. I am not only making a collection, but also a community around the collection and I have already achieved this in part, with *Balkanising Taxonomy* project.

Archive as a stage

Belgrade's protest was an event with a city as its stage. Its archive attempts to use its artefacts in the same way – spill them through its compartments, allowing the objects to inhabit it, so they win the space, like the citizens won Belgrade during the demonstrations. The temporality of both conditions (physical and virtual) is what connects them – protest unexpectedly flashes through piles of objects of collectors' memory and global history too, as we suddenly come across its artefacts while browsing the net. There – online, the collector is again a part of the protest community. The longing to gather the artefacts is a desire for re-constructing the community, more than the rebuilding an event of protest. The aim of this attempt is to reach out and communicate with people who were together on the streets once, almost able to achieve the change of regime.

In 1989, after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the archives – the depots in which the memory of a nation, of a society is stored – were opened. "A historical activity got underway that previously could only have been carried out abroad, in the West" (Schlogel, 2008:4). Interestingly, it is still the case in Serbia, information is inaccessible and some collections are better compiled in Western Europe, not only because former Serbia's leaders attempted to cover up the stories of resistance by forbidding the upkeep and access to their records, but current Serbia's leaders are more concerned with the party politics and European Union membership prospects than the issues of the past and its preservations. Here, in Western Europe, emerged a space in which the normalisation of Serbia's historical memory could take place and restoration could begin, however basic, flat and partial.

I watched the Arab Spring with tears in my eyes. The memory of Belgrade demonstrations surged in, and I longed to be on Tahir Square with the Egyptians crazed with a joy of potential. A few months later and their military is not surrendering power, even though the government did. Just like politicians in Belgrade, with their children in Oxbridge and the Ivy League, they were not prepared to get rid of the lifestyle, which the regime fuelled. They took the governing posts, only changing their side and suit, but not abandoning their class. They have done whatever was necessary to keep their societal position and if that meant deserting party principles and shaping them for the opposing and extreme ones, they complied. So, 'we', the Serbs got democrats who were ex-Milosevic, talking with the EU on post-socialism and the democratisation of Serbia even though people like them had run the country backwards for years. The ones who let us down are now negotiating our posterity.

What unified the protesters who came from all walks of life was the struggle against Milosevic and the will to change the regime. However, there were serious differences among the representatives of the resistance and their opposing views were never to form strong unions based on the same values. Nationalists and LGBT activists, refugees and radical parties stood by each other in a free zone of protest, but their previous control by the regime tamed the extremes between them. Faced with each other on the street, led by the same battle for dismantling that control, they recognized their differences and still kept on demonstrating together.

Unfortunately, after the final surrender of Milosevic, the new regime produced an ambivalence, officially known as transition, which caused even greater animosity between the already formed sides. Not guided in their behaviour by the national government, the internationals stepped in as with all other aspects of life. The variety of Serbian communities and parties leaned towards whoever they liked without fear of authority. They visibly displayed their interests, often conflicting their own views from the past and mostly for the purpose of getting the tenders, votes and media time. Let loose from the dictatorship, one could now be anyone and anything and this appearance of new identities combined with the power of capital quickly became the strongest quality in the newly established system of value.

Archive as history

The origins of the archive catalogue lie, literally, in listing objects included in repository, display or collection. Brecht's hybrids, photo-epigrams that were published as a book titled *War Primer* (1955) in East Berlin were designed as practical, portable 'monuments' to aid future generations in 'critical remembering' (Korner, 2006). Even though I package my data creatively and hence, purposely produce artwork, its pieces like Brecht's come from history and highlight precisely the process through which history is built – from scratches, which find their way into it or get advocated for being visible.

A document is less of a proof, but rather supports possible histories. Still, postcolonial and subaltern voices speak through the documents (in particular the image) and their power then is immediate (Spivak, 1988). To have a history at all rather than be historicized by the West, demands challenging the idea of history and constant self-narrativization. By doing so in this research I want to improve the nebulous record that the demonstrations of '96/'97 have in Balkan history annals, but I also hope to follow up IRWIN's methodology that the artist Ilya Kabakov terms "self-description" in the article by Petresin-Bachelez (2010).

"Deprived of a genuine viewer, critic, or historian, the author unwittingly became them himself, trying to guess what his works meant 'objectively'. He attempted to 'imagine' that very 'History' in which he was functioning and which was 'looking' at him. Obviously, this 'History' existed only in his imagination and had its own image..."

While undoing history, I am creating it too, re-assembling a story by including what is missing, inevitably inscribing myself and scribing my life through text and image. An image contains a multifaceted thought-process, as believed by IRWIN, ready to offer new information to the spectator who acts upon it. This interaction between the object of an image and its viewer creates 'a spectator' who communicates with the image via evolving information and not through the lure of illusion. It is the interaction achieved through 'the memory' of the image, and not the image itself that inserts

meaning to history (Santorineos, 2009), which I am portraying here. I am imitating, re-creating 'the outside' perspective that we, the protesters did not have at the time, because we were 'inside' of the 'representational' container.

Archive as medium

The mass media portrays complicated relationships in superficial and simplified ways while the impression of authenticity and historical accuracy is acquired. Even though the availability of materials online increases the selectiveness and provides users with 'individual truths', a problem as well as an advantage of the Internet, is that the mainstream media saturates the audience with its narrow-line narratives, neglecting much of the events coming from the communities that are technologically ill-equipped or do not have English as their language of communication to assert their own experiences into 'the worldly view'. Still, the Internet is a useful memory stage, which offers discussion and virtual sites of remembrance. I use it as a plane for representation in my research and an active methodological tool.

The most obvious selection process in the monument of the archive is that of typifying the text and images to follow the path of assortment. This process is an attempt to apply and devise a method of representation. Archive saves and protects memory and is a record of a desire for preservation. However, the rhizomatic structure (Deleuze and Guattari, 1972) of my archive defies linearity in terms of the gathering, chronology and systematisation of the text and images.

This research is about the inability to build a successful archive, even though I denote and use it as a practice, a display, a method, a tool, a platform, a text, a map, an image, a resource, a repository, a laboratory, a gallery, a museum, a classroom, a paradigm, a stage, an activism, a story, a network, an object, an artwork, a product, a diary, a technology, a narrative, a database, a memory, a connection, a relation, a bridge and a passage to the people, to the place, to the belonging, to the past, to the present and to the future.

My archive 'anarchism' is illustrated by the group *Active Archives*[51] that works on deconstruction of traditional ways of creating and using archives, which by their belief constrained the documents in them. Digital technology allows for their expansion, but demands a particular positioning and situatedness on the net. Artist Graham Harewood advised me to beat the linearity of the archive by not classifying the data in it at all, but by providing visitors with hardware where nothing is sorted. I remember my first encounter with Internet and I imagine how it would be for a contemporary person to enter the space where things are random. In the world where all is fluid and mobile, I do not want to contribute to the anxiety with a piece of research where it is not possible to take responsibility for the given data. As in my *Yugo Yoga* project, I am aware of the narrative that I am making and I want to be identified as the person who questions can be directed to.

"As a cultural and historical phenomenon it [the protest] could be to Belgrade more beneficial than it is now. I consider it a valuable part of the history of Belgrade. It is a period when besides all the troubles and problems, people were smiling, enjoying the laughter and becoming friends with each other, even if they did not know each other at all… there was solidarity, social awareness and directing people to each other."

Joksimovic, D. 2007[52]

A bulk of material for my archive is corrupted by the interpretations and representations of it at the time it has been confided to me as people are not indifferent to history. These 'facts' are created by the interviewees, researchers and media and I can only make yet another story out of them.

Digital technologies are part of the system of transmission that is changing our structures of knowledge. The practice of archiving nowadays questions presence, time, space, embodiment, sociability and memory as well as copyright, authority,

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[51] *Active archives* manifesto states that: "Practices which can take place on line or in various geographical places, and which can be at various stages of visibility for reasons of rights of access or for reasons of research and privacy conditions." Accessible at: http://activearchives.org/wiki/Main_Page [25.1.2015]
[52] Joksimovic, D. interview in 2007

accessibility and preservation. Therefore, we cannot assume that everyone can be his or her own archivist. I now understand my praxis as more 'alternative' rather than 'counter archival' because I do work against the dominant, which I have to acknowledge and engage with, in order to propose different models of archiving, but I work alongside both of those possibilities – archiving the protest individually as a protest participant, for the public. I am contesting the expected set ups by producing case studies – unique vessels of unexpected content that link back and forth to my theory. That experience is impossible to transport to another person and in full as it is always exceptional and framed by the agendas behind the capturing and transmitting process.

Case Study

BG:LOG

The BG:LOG project was based on the belief that culture of remembering and communication of memory in public space contributes to community cohesion and incites citizens' involvement in the development of their neighbourhood. It aimed at recalling and safeguarding oral histories and memories and recognising the importance of community memory preservation. We wanted to keep the memory of family houses, important buidlings, yards and street spaces specific for Belgrade, as well as to preserve the everyday life by the ordinary people through local stories that we have listened to since we were children.

The project's activities encompassed workshops with citizens related to the way of life, urban and community advancement of Belgrade as well as creating postcards and a multimedia on-line map displaying oral histories and the memory of the common people. It was envisaged as a participatory project that explored the scope in which a culture of remembering in a particular urban place affects basic principles of its functioning – connection within the community, a sense of belonging to the collective, care and responsibility of an individual for the common good and the quality of the local environment.

The innovativeness of the project lies in the methodology applied to the work with workshops' participants and it is one of the examples of my contribution to academic knowledge in this thesis. The whole project was conceptualized as the result of an intergenerational collaboration and dialogue between senior citizens and young people, as memory equivocally inherits their exchange. Even though the structure of the workshops and methods applied (group and individual interviews, discussions, narration, creative writing, practical work with digital media) were defined in advance, the project team was open and responsive to the needs of participants. This resulted in contributors' commitment to the project and in alternation of our methodology when it suited them.

The city has been through a number of changes during the last 60 years caused by socio-political transformations of the countries whose capital it has been. Therefore, the findings of the project present a part of wider corpus of 20th century European memory.

Figure 19: Postcard (front) from the pilot project, design by Katarina Sasovic

I asked the residents to describe the locality to me, as well as their lives in the area just as they remember them. As oral histories were decanted, supported by a few photographs, Belgrade emerged as a site of destruction in the 1st, 2nd world wars and the Balkans' wars in the '90s. Featured by its citizens as a constant place of change, the extremes of poverty and wealth, which are common to urban structures particularly in capitalist societies seem an ordinary injustice to Belgraders who are used to both suffering and celebrating life. If one didn't encounter the sacrifices they made, one

would think, as most of the world does – that they are crazy. During Milosevic's regime, Serbs acquired an appreciation of small joys as a strong trait alongside their postulated violent character due to the fear that he spread to the neighbouring countries. Not only has the practice of dictatorship on his own nation been neglected in that assessment, but Serbs became the embodiment of terror in the view of the globe. I hope that this project and my whole research encourages people to ask why is it that they are perceived in such way.

Pilot project – *Days of remembrance*

Participants of the pilot were citizens of Belgrade's council of Vracar gathered around The Association of Vracar's Pensioners and pupils of high schools located on the territory of the borough, as well as university students. Group sizes varied from session to session, but the total number of participants was 25.

Seniors mainly mapped the memory of the local area through positioning the dots, while young ones conducted interviews and participated in discussions, editing and processing the collected artefacts. During the public presentation of the project, they were mostly the hosts, explaining the process and the mediation of the map content to visitors.

The sessions were attended by an increasing number of participants due to word of mouth that spread among the large group of Vracar's pensioners (friends, neighbours, relatives etc.). Even though we took the necessary steps in order to animate young people (distributing an on-line call for participation, visiting schools, presenting the project to school officials and teachers), communication with school representatives failed given that their support and comprehension of the project was crucial for engaging pupils in a larger number. Still, the ones who managed to be with us learnt how to organize and present collected data and artefacts for the digital realm.

With this project, I have tried to answer some of the questions that were underpinning my thesis: How do citizens' memory impact life and connections within the community? In what way does the past continue and become part of the present by

preservating the narrative of the community through its oral transference, written recording and visual communication? How are private histories and memories made present in public?

These questions came out of my observation of a lack of solidarity in public space illustrated by a doormat chained to the stairs at my old building to prevent theft. At the same time, theft was regularly occurring in the basements and with the rise of poverty and nationalism, 'others' (Gypsies in particular) were blamed for that when only residents have the keys of the main entrance and the basement's two doors.

Figure 20: Chained doormat, photograph by Nela Milic

The interview with Aleksandra Sekulic, the archivist of CZKD about the protest in Belgrade, served as a point of departure for my academic investigation. She told me that Vracarci (people from the borough that my old street borders) are guilty for the poor state that Serbia is in now. I wondered who are these people and how they relate to each other. Did the departure of socialism cause the breach of trust in the community and if so, does the end of socialism mean the end of the community?

Taken as a posh part of the city, affluent Vracar has been a sought after location, especially recently. The nouveau riche are interested in keeping their status by becoming local to this borough and they have insisted on buying property here. Impoverished citizens, particularly the ones whose habitat consists of shabby houses, built either before the WW2 or the good ones that worsened due to the lack of means for maintenance were happy to sell. The new residents remade them from bungalows to high rises, creating tunnels from small streets. Some developers hoped that they

would sell the flats expensively and asked for large bank loans, but the financial crisis and the lack of professional experience caused many of them to stop building half way through, leaving the sites exposed to further deterioration. Vracar now has streets comprised of a mix of high rises, 19th century houses, building sites, socialist-realist constructions and villas. It is an architectural mess and visibly a place without regulations about the city landscape. "Developers are beside publishers the biggest money laundering mafia in Belgrade," says Irena Sentevska, a colleague who works in publishing. The corruption seems not to be only of the soul, but of the mind too.

Furthermore, the division between rural and urban Serbia is vast and has always been substantial. People who arrived in the cities had and have difficulties to adapt to town rules and for that reason Belgrade is hardly a metropolis. Both host community and the newly arrived act with great suspicion and judgment towards each other. This relationship has been complicated during and after the wars because many of the newcomers were refugees who were either protected or let down by the state. They adjusted to that support differently – some by acting negligently and disrespecting the city and its residents and some continuing to suffer in poor health and working conditions and living on the streets. This tension between 'natives' and 'newcomers' on top of the poverty prompted some of the Serbs to call upon the Turks from Ottoman times who they were proud of resisting. Considering the prosperity of Turkey in comparison to nowadays Serbia, it is not a wonder that the old relationship is re-figured.

Vracarci seem connected by the values of the lifestyle gained mostly before and during the socialist times. Some mentioned the possibility of choosing where to live through work and building on that property (often literarily) but also, by providing subsequent ones for their friends and family. One elderly lady's family owned nine flats before the WW2 and the grocery store where the president of Bulgaria, Todor Zivkov and his wife Mara Maleeva worked. Many of them spoke about the international relationships they achieved through their profession, holidays and education, but also through trade, among other things, of property. The state's support of sports allowed for those connections to spark too on both local and global levels. Some participants still hold

those stately links that they offered to exploit for us, which we took as a sign of respect of our work and a steely reminder of how Serbia still operates.

However, in this networked society, we also learnt about outstanding professionalism – the standards at the jobs held, the pride in the companies worked for and the appreciation of the ideology that had brought those jobs and high living standards.

In their accounts, the state of socialism appeared as a time of bliss and it got prolonged due to the benefits that continued from its left-overs, but the class system enjoyed during those times wasn't overt, visible or advertised. It was only a privileged few, many living in Vracar that had it. That socialism wasn't sheltering everyone and the majority were in poverty, which caused the whole society to be pulled down, but those who were 'upper class' without many of us even knowing that classes existed, started revealing their stories of luxury in our workshops.

I understood those confessions as assertions of 'proper' class, through which they wished to distinguish themselves from the nouveau riches that are now moving into the area. Old age, a loss of health, retirement from a working role in life, dementia and the lack of care from friends and family for some of them took its toll and histories never heard before poured out of our elderly participants, often leaving us unsettled, disconcerted and sometimes frightened. We would burst out onto the road as soon as we arrived at a safe corner, competing with each other about who had got the more powerful experience of the day, speaking loudly as we could not contain the excitement of the testimony that we heard.

At home, we would listen to our recordings and exchange them between other team members, transcribing for hours those accounts of the country that we'd never known. This parallel Serbia sometimes got a direct intersection into our lives – we could identify the places, the daily practices, the family dynamics which could have been ours, but other times it was another world that we dived into and swam through it enjoying the exclusivity of a preview that was in fact, an aftermath. We learned about

the past in the present, knowing that we were storing it for the future. We gorged on the archive practice, discovering the old anew.

We got feedback from participants through talks during and after the project. The team underwent an internal evaluation too in the form of a dialogue and analysis of aspects of project implementation. The most important impression was that the approach, which we applied proved to be adequate and responsive to the field as well as to the participants. Reactions of both general and expert public confirmed that this kind of practice in the protection and communication of community memory is needed and effective. Therefore, the relations and partnerships established with the project's participants remained after its completion.

We were open and immediate in our exchange with participants from the beginning of the fieldwork and we tried to make them relaxed because some of them didn't feel comfortable talking about private memories and giving personal remarks in front of the group. Some had barriers because they hadn't had an opportunity to work with artists before or to participate in cultural activities of this kind. Some had the experience of being used, manipulated and foxed for mostly political purposes and they stood away from us, but our approach with the ones who we managed to involve resulted in relationships based on respect and confidence.

The most beneficial outcome for all participants was the intergenerational dialogue through which many questions that were important for the local community were raised and discussed. Senior citizens provided an insight that was helpful for comparing positive and negative facets of changes in the local community, while young ones recognized the value of those accounts, especially since the perception of the common good, belonging to and sharing with the community had significantly altered in the last 50 - 60 years. The elderly, who as custodians of the social memories of their communities have traditionally served as 'mnemonic go-betweens' in our work were continuing to link generations (Zerubavel, 1996).

Figure 21: Images from workshop participants' family albums, unknown author, anonymous contribution

With this project, Kulturklammer, a tiny NGO and I developed a mix-method approach (oral history, mapping, photo elicitation) for engaging a wide range of people in reflection and this added experience and know-how to the field of participatory arts and we are hoping to formally involve it when we manage to engage more cultural institutions in our work in the future. Currently the project's result – the online archive displayed as a map is used as an informative data source and a base for further development of a large structured dataset. Therefore, it deserves a better support than a one-off grant-based maintenance. A number of organizations and institutions are linked to it through their official and social networks and this shows the interest of those cultural agents, but we need a commitment from some of them to pursue growth and build the quality and innovation within the project that we started.

Belgrade Log

Belgrade is a crossroad city – not only a spot on the silk route and the junction of two long rivers – the European Danube and the Balkans' Sava; the capital of Serbia is a hyper site where its historical patchwork reveals parallel timelines. These are embodied in the peoples and places that we worked with. We won two local grants to run a project across the whole of the city.

Our project, now called *BG:LOG*[53], started in summer 2013. It stemmed out of many concerns that we had with the city and had heard from our pilot project participants;

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[53] *BG:LOG* project map, Kulturklammer Accessible at: http://www.kulturklammer.org/bglog-mapa/ [25.1.2015]

from issues and questions of community, labour, professionalism, politics of space, to the nostalgic reach for both past and future. Firstly, we returned to known collaborators; the pensioners' club in Vracar. We wanted to speak to the people that we'd missed last time, to fill in some gaps in the heard stories and to re-kindle old relationships. As the pensioners were and still are a powerful community in Serbia and a third of them support their families with their pensions, according to news reports[54], their recommendation to other clubs across the city meant 'a foot in the door' for us.

We did not have to establish contacts anew - the camaraderie between friends of the same generation worked, so we were offered workshops in two other boroughs of Belgrade that were crucial for the project. In the month that we had to map the whole of the city, we opted for four boroughs that represent its diversity: the most extreme one by its demography – Savski Venac, encompassing the rich area of Dedinje and the poor area of Savamala; the biggest and the newest borough - New Belgrade; the most separate – Zemun which had not originally been part of Belgrade, and was on the other side of the Austro-Hungarian border and Vracar, an intellectual hub of the city as discussed above. There were many boroughs, which we were not able to cover, given the limited capacity of our team and the amount of funds we had. Marijana Simu, the director of Kulturklammer managed the project. I was employed as an artist on it and Katarina Sasovic was commissioned to do the graphic design.

We first visited Belgrade's City Archive at their head office in New Belgrade. Their employee, Slobodan Mandic who is in charge of archive's online presence included our map on their 'Recommendations' webpage. He congratulated us on the pilot when we arrived and asked what more we need to further it. We suggested getting some archival material about the boroughs ready for the people to discuss specific locations in them at workshops. We agreed to engage a historian who had already enquired about working on our project, but she never showed up to work with us.

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[54] *Vecernje Novosti* (Evening News) newspaper May 22 2013

Many young people didn't come. One girl came having heard about us from another project and explained that she was especially interested in our approach. She then had to urgently go on holiday, and so did not observe the workshops for her research and was not able to reveal more to her colleagues. She was from a competing group – the Dorcol Sound Map project from the Old City (Stari Grad) borough. After our map of Vracar project was launched, we had been contacted by the young colleagues from the Dorcol Sound Map who had done an online project consisted of audio-recordings of legendary Dorcol people. They wanted to know how we achieved our map and Marijana explained that we worked in an opposite way to them – we talked to people and they ended up exposing themselves as local heroes (literarily - Miroslav was proclaimed a hero of Savamala by the October Salon, a contemporary arts fair in the area). We did not specifically target known people, and we did not create caricatures of established characters. This meant that sometimes we did not get anything from our research contributors – a risk we were willing to take.

By not having expectations, we got the most out of people; by being quiet, waiting, offering a blank surface for them to write on. They confided in us not only because we were silent, but also because the people of Belgrade need to talk. We have witnessed that over and over again. The need to be heard seems stronger than the one for food or warmth. Even more, having a voice matters to them as life itself – they cannot see the future without it, so they might as well be dead as no one asks them for anything at present. With our project we seemed to be restoring their vision of the city and keeping them alive in it.

On our map, their voices are visible, sometimes even heard and their accounts are accessible to people around the world. The map is available in English and Serbian. Their testimonies provide the content and dictate the infrastructure of the map; their stories are the dots and the connections between them. In the written part of the thesis, I describe the process of working with Belgrade's people and the projects, but one has to visit my maps and archives to access the narratives of projects' participants.

However, if violence is what is envisioned, we are not strengthening community with this project; we are handing it the tools to rip it apart. Filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl 'only' provided a platform for Hitler's views. He supported it by offering the means for her work and in doing so influenced the German psyche at the same time. So, we have been cautious with the way we exposed the data, which we obtained at the workshops - some were revealed as a performance – asserted for inclusion in the map by the ones who had an agenda for participation and some were passed on in confidence and unintended for the public. Therefore, we had to tread carefully in order to intervene without harm in the social, political and economic fabric of this local history.

Furthermore, if we were navigating the relationship with participants of the project, we would be in charge of its direction and so, we would hold the power. How could we then think of it as participatory project? Chrissie Tiller mentioned in correspondence with me the participatory intensity as one of the measurements for socially engaged projects. I embraced that criteria as a badge of honour and accepted to join her team to continue research on participatory practice in the project *TimeCase – Memory in Action*[55]. She suggested two more categories for assessing participation: the means of production and the content of the work. Our project wins on both standards. We have adjusted the tools that we used according to the participants' desires and we took pictures and recordings only from and of the ones who wanted to contribute them to our map.

Some people that we met in the winter proved more important in the local community than we thought in the summer. They spoke of their political affiliations now unashamedly, offering them to us if we get 'in trouble': "Here is Mayor Djilas's mobile phone number". I understand that gift as the Belgrade elite's traditional way of 'getting things done' - through connections. My colleague Maja Jovanovic reminds me: "Belgrade does not have aristocracy in European terms"; 'the elite' that speaks of connections, square meters of flats and spending in Euros is the class of people that

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[55] *TimeCase. Memory in Action* is a network of organisations, groups and individuals interested in participatory arts and 20th century memory practices. Accessible at: http://www.timecase.org [25.1.2015]

formed in socialist times – the group who had a function in the society, so they were simply called 'functioners'.

They held high profile jobs at institutions and organisations, were able to employ their children and school them internationally, buy flats in wealthy areas and the city centre and go on exotic holidays, like other rich Europeans. This is why one would think of them as 'our aristocracy', but that is far away from titles and estates. Still, they learnt from each other – the rich Europeans and our establishment that managed to purchase flats for their families that later went abroad to avoid the troubles in the country and they are now collecting money from renting the property they left behind.

Additionally, their political sympathies kept them on the state's side and they obtained its perks through those connections, replicating the order of the West. So, our first Vracar map can be read as a dark display of political power existing in Serbia during socialist times and continuing under Milosevic. It is also a humorous depiction of the community, but if one reads carefully the CZKD archivist Caca's words about 'people who are guilty for everything' ring through/true, as they seem to be the ones who could have influenced change in the country when it was most needed. Even if they took part in demonstrations, they were there when it was too late. "I have to talk to Braca – his aunt is Tito's wife", said one of them and walked away from the interview with me. Old power still rules and it is clearly favoured over other arrangements for addressing citizens' needs.

Our workshop participant Jelena gave us the low down on Belgrade's historical sites as an amateur historian. We encouraged her to think differently and to understand that we were not that interested in official history. She doesn't have to tell us about the order of monuments in Karadjordjev park we explained. Instead, she told us about the medieval door found when a local politician tried to build a parking lot there. She contacted the Centre for the Protection of Culture and they arrived, opened the door and found a treasure for which she only got a 'thank you' call. We did not really know who is safeguarding culture and now, it seems to be done by the people whose sense of community was instilled during the socialist times.

Then we gave a lecture to Vracar's pensioners as they had asked for our stories 'for a change'. I choked half way through when I was talking about the bombing in 1999. Old people and us, the young ones as they call us, unfortunately have that in common - a bond of war - an experience difficult to neglect when known. It is like no one else comprehends what we have taken part in and we hope no one will, but among ourselves, there is a respect and understanding because we share such an extraordinary event. Some of the elderly, like we the young, have gone through it several times.

However, more cheerful stories of water - the Danube and Sava rivers kept bubbling up to the surface, connecting the city to its other parts, better than its architects have done. Savski Venac borough, where we moved to next has four bridges as we were told, so the narrative ties there with the whole of Belgrade were bound to be strong.

I wrote a blog with stories of community living[56]. The post revealing the story about the first lift in Misarska Street made us all laugh and pointed out how we use the local space co-habitually for sharing, engaging and learning about each other. I hoped to offer ideas about participants' equality through the interactions from these projects to as many people as possible because their separation fosters elitism, offers a sense of exclusivity and stops development of communal spirit. If one wants to be part of the collective, one has to adopt a role - not a special one, but one that is as crucial as the rest of the roles are. I wished for others to find pleasure in being one of many, working as a group, in a team, but I was aware that it is difficult to suggest that approach to some communities. Artists in Serbia who are educated in schools at present, mostly because they belong to the elite already, think of their part in society as solo artists, separated even from each other. Not one of the art academies provides an option for working in a group, or collaboratively, let alone in a participatory way. One can only develop as an artist in their department as a 'magical', 'idolised', 'cult' persona. With

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[56] Milic, N. 2013 Blog *BG:LOG* project website, Kulturklammer Accessible at: http://www.kulturklammer.org/view/179 [25.1.2015]

our project, we were bringing a new arts practice as well as citizens' engagement that had not been used much in Serbia's cultural circles.

In our dealings with the government, we did not go far up the hierarchical ladder with the city or the state employees. Marijana kept explaining to me how it all works with the funding, which we won in a public competition. Or more precisely, how it does not work because it was only when we had almost finished the project that we got paid from the City Secretariat and Ministry for Culture. A government official had been unobtainable for three months, unable to sign a contract with us in order to release the grant. Ironically, both Marijana and I know him through friends and colleagues, so we had 'a connection', but it did not work. Besides, there was another election and a change of staff in the Ministries as the new political affiliations begun, so we did not expect to have that signature for some time. The new Minister for Culture is the Head of the Philharmonic who received the new post according to his popularity in judging an "X factor" type of television show - that was the level of cultural recognition among his party peers.

At one point during the project, Marijana decided to contact Ministry's finances office directly and she was told that we would be paid upon providing receipts but that only ones, which went through her business account could be validated. This would mean that she would have to have thousands of Euros in her bank account in advance of the project. Marijana suspected that she was not the only one who could not satisfy this condition, and the woman on the other side of the phone line confirmed it was a problem for everyone who got the grant. "I cannot do this anymore", Marijana said to me. "I practically work for the Ministry and they treat me with contempt." I felt terrible. I encouraged Marijana to keep her organisation going and hoped to provide funding from the UK, but I did not manage to do so.

We started the project anyway because we had got the approval of the state, city and the borough grant and we thought that this would be enough to sustain us. The money did not come, but I brought my personal fund from the UK and Marijana's mother provided us with more cash. I hadn't realised the gravity of the situation that Marijana

was in due to her work. I have never been enthusiastic about the NGO sector replacing state provision of cultural facilities as NGOs do not have the capacity, staffing, profile, knowledge or experience to work as bastions of culture in the way that national institutions can, but in current circumstances professionals like Marijana and her organisation are all that Serbia has of cultural actors.

We began our project just after cultural workers in Belgrade held a demonstration against the government's decision not to support its existing cultural programmes determining them not to be a state priority. I felt guilty for getting the grant from such a state, guilty for working when my local colleagues did not, guilty for being a foreigner taking their money as I was aware that they are perfectly capable doing even better job and projects than me. I also felt guilty for talking Marijana out of closing her organisation after seven years of good work. "I do not take pleasure from foreigners being delighted with my work, I want to be appreciated here", she said.

Figure 22: Pictures from workshop participant's family albums: invitation to the ball, wedding photo and the local swimming pool, authors unknown, anonymous contribution

Project Methodology

We started extending the pilot into a full-scale project with a longer series of workshops. We received information on places in Belgrade via participants' reminiscence in various formats - through narrative and photo elicitation as well as mixed media that they included themselves. We begun creating a repository, which demanded a display that would allow for all those objects to be represented.

Through that combination of methods – audio, visual, literary, we devised a way of working – a methodology itself consisting of these aspects, which were applicable to different stages of the project or different project contributors. We concluded that not all people had photos, not all were good storytellers, not all would want their picture taken, but all who wanted to needed to be able to take part, so it was up to us to find a way for them to. We hope that we have done justice to the accounts that we got from our contributors by diversifying the existing ethnographic methods and applying them in digital space in order to create an online collection for other projects and investigations that might spring from it. We found a solution for the exposure of such accounts in display of them as categories on the archive map of the many discourses that had been exposed through our project. We devised an online arsenal that exhibited our observations of the city's phenomena, the rapidly changing demographic and physical landscapes that clash with the previous political and social systems that had been entrenched in this environment for decades.

With the process of the map and archive making, we explored the performance of history. As the map will be used by many generations who will naturally have different personal histories, it presents a place where they come together to find a common story. We investigated this further by asking how they remember the events that they shared – according to their company, their work or their stage of life? I was particularly interested in the recollections of the protest that popped out occasionally and were swiftly pulled away from other 'city delights' – the stories of youth and urban development from times when both were safe.

We recorded memories digitally – with an audio recorder and camera, a technique that can be further developed by others who wish to compile a digital archive as a way of debating what is important in shared histories – the people, the stories, the images or simply the process of reminiscence conducted by the groups and individuals involved in it. In our project, everyone was invited to have an input in how we selected, uploaded and disseminated the collection that we created and then, how we exhibited it – as an installation, a postcard or a video. I offered writing and

photography tutorials to project visitors and participants whilst devising the archive, in order to connect the dots on the map through connecting people who came to share the memories and then the friendship too.

Our Vracar project took a week and the subsequent *BG:LOG* was a month-long engagement. We saw that an instant recollection of the past was different to a long-term reminiscence. Both give birth to stories, but one is usually personal and so, emotional and immediate; the other is collective, reflective and holistic. They are equally valid, but it is their difference and the tension in which they live alongside each other that inspires my work with memory, history, technology and so my whole academic and arts practice.

We moved on from the heart of Belgrade and its stories of gardens, rugby and labour to the borders of the city – the borough of Zemun. We met mostly men at their pensioners' club and they turned up ready for the workshop with historical paraphernalia about their locality. I entered with a colleague – the artist Jelena Ilic who is from the area and wanted to experience the workshops that we were running.

I was disappointed at the start. Marijana and Katarina arrived early and in the haste of getting our recording equipment out of the car and parking lot, they were hurled into the club's president office where he positioned everyone and gave permission to speak. I tried to break that set up by making a joke from the doorway and asking if we shouldn't go outside as the weather was nice. My British strategy did not work here and I was given a chair on which to sit and listen to lectures from the invited people; those high profile men (museum curator, chief of the fire station etc.) who narrated official history to us. Their illustrations and records of it were lovely – a ballroom dance, pictures of local signposts, newspaper articles, but we did not collect much personal history even though I tried to interrupt presentations a couple of times to pull them out.

A waitress was ordered to come in and serve us a drink, so our recordings capture this commotion too. I felt that we had wasted our time and I asked our team for de-

briefing. I explained that we should never start before the whole team was present because many of the social relations that we should depict happened simultaneously. Like in Vracar, when one pensioner or a group came late and we were in the middle of the workshop with the other group; if one of us was in the control of it, the other would move away and work with that latecomer or group. One had to be attentive to notice when someone was in the need of water or a break and to use that opportunity to press for more information or re-stage the conversation if it was not going well. We have to allow workshop participants to lead us with their stories, but we must be in charge of the workshop space – both physical and immaterial via its navigation. Otherwise, we would collect what we had done our first time in Zemun – pre-planned fabric and what participants imagined we wanted.

Conversation is always mediated, just like memory, but we must strive towards conditions where the unexpected happens and we experience its creation on the spot. This is where the workshop becomes a creative space, in the exchange of goods, where our (facilitator's) and their (participant's) intentions match, rather than one leading the other.

Marijana took my feedback stolidly, insisting that they did not have a choice, but accepted to be positioned if the workshop was to happen at all. We asked if we could gather casually at the café in the garden next time. The club president allowed this and we managed to have our regular workshop the day after, where we gathered sports stories and their champions who walked through their glorious past. My uncle was amazed when he heard that we had met Partizan's team football champion Marko Valok. Like my father, he smirked at our 'pensioners' project', so we were pleased that our participants had impressed our audience on this day.

Zemun residents were proud of their Austro-Hungarian heritage and of their Danube. They kept telling stories of water that spilled to our next workshop with the residents of Savski Venac borough, the area by another of Belgrade's rivers – the Sava. Those two groups of citizens played off each other without knowing it, as we worked with them separately. The Zemun crowd complained about vagabonds who knocked over

the watermelons from the boats as they were arriving from Srem through Zemun's waters to be sold in the city's markets. Savski Venac residents admitted that it was them who were waiting in the river to pull a watermelon off the boat and let the rest fall. As the watermelons floated, others would fetch them, avoiding a whip from the rascal-ready boatman. Belgraders were corroborating their accounts and in doing so, creating an identity of belonging to the city. They were reminiscing about the past where conflicts were meaningless, giving themselves an opportunity to remove the loss from those clashes and gain space for a collective future.

In Savski Venac, at the first workshop we stumbled across the writer of a local history book and it was hard to make her to understand that we were not looking for official history, but personal ones. She talked over people, so we positioned ourselves in four corners with the help of young people from our Vracar project and tried to encourage others to speak too. Many did, especially when the woman left and we started making friends. They were enthusiastic about our activity in their centre and they came again, bringing more stories and materials and they offered us other engagements with their local initiatives.

We were invited in their homes and we could see similarities in demographics – class, age and gender with Vracar's pensioners. Their *Majdan* headquarters was built for and used by children as per the residents' request, so Savski Venac pensioners only used these facilities for their gatherings. That intergenerational context resonated throughout our workshop because most of the stories were from childhood or related to children. One of the participants provided a possible answer to our question of solidarity during socialist times – there were more children, a proof of which is the photograph of about fifty who all lived in one building. We left them as rejuvenated as they left us.

Figure 23: From Jelena's family album, author unknown

When we arrived in New Belgrade and its post-war pensioners' club our enthusiasm suffered. Most of the residents in this borough were police and military personnel from Tito's and Milosevic's times when they endured great bereavements. We heard about lost homes, sons and jobs and Belgrade's narratives turned sour and bleak. They rarely smiled even when they joked and they spoke about acceptance of poverty, war and hardship. They projected hope, but had little of it. They were angry about the current state of affairs in Serbia, grieving the past lives of both the living and the dead and they constantly asked: "what we were fighting for"? We heard mostly about Yugoslavia rather than Serbia or indeed, Belgrade and again witnessed the need to talk, the desire to express the unspoken, to tell the stories that press chests, choke throats and when they come out, they do so in the smoke of cigarettes encircling every site in the city.

We collected all the stories and drafted the map from the narratives in our repository. They were of different times, different communities, different areas of Belgrade and we realised that our Vracar map was a small project in comparison to what faced us now. We had to divide the new digital map in sections that could load according to the users' desire to view a particular part of the city. We contacted the Geodetic Council to clear the copyright of the map that we intended to use. They not only refused the partnership with us, but forbade us to use their Vracar map, which we had got from the council authorities for our pilot project. They threatened us with a court order and wanted us to pay for the use of their map. This is why Marijana wanted to give up her

organisation – she does not get a sense of future with colleagues, hence she doesn't hold a belief in the development of the sector itself.

We took Vracar's map off Kulturklammer's website and started negotiating the use a different one among ourselves. Our programmer gave us examples of other maps, but *History Pin* or *Google Maps* were already set pieces of work, which I was reluctant to include in the original artwork that we had just produced. Our graphic designer was ready to make something else, but the advantages of navigation installed by Google and other corporates were impressive. We also tried to contact other Belgrade map providers to see if they would recognise the benefits of partnership with us – we would inherently promote their map because we were placing dots as sights of interest on it. However, Marijana refused to continue hoping. She had had enough of the agony and encouraged me to accept the available *Google* map as the background for ours. *Google* won, my resistance was futile.

When *Google* tried to map Kaludjerica, 'wild settlement' of Belgrade – the unlicensed, unlawful and unpermitted building area on the outskirts of the city - its vehicle got lost. The residents told stories through laughter of a guy in the car with the *Google* sign and the camera on top of it asking for help out of the marshes and pits that he had fallen into, and asking for directions in the whirl of unnamed roads. Corporations like *Google* reign through orders of power. Without the ability to enforce the rules of order, their power is diminished. Without taxonomy, there isn't hierarchy. Without hierarchy, nobody is on top. *Google* did not like that and Belgraders paid the price for it during the recent floods. GIS that was not established in the region because of areas similar to Kaludjerica could not provide essential information for disaster management. The locality suffered from the lack of knowledge that could have been utilised through technology of *Google*.

I asked Dragan Stanojevic, my colleague from the sociology department at the Faculty of Philosophy, what project I should do next time I came to Belgrade. "None", he said. "You are thinking in terms of post-capitalism, as a Londoner. We have not even gone through capitalism here to see beyond it and come back to community." I left him with

my head down. Was I pushing 'togetherness' on Belgraders too early? What if the conditions never arise for it to happen? Should I then not even try? What would it mean to give up? Would local artists finally take over?

Figure 24: The workshop at Vracar's pensioner's club, author: Marijana Simu

CHAPTER 5

POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY - Narrative cartography

> "East is a relational category, depending on the point of observation..."
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> Todorova, M. 1997:58

Location and positionality are useful concepts for investigating processes and outcomes of collective identification - the claims and attributions that individuals make about their social position, their views of where they belong (Anthias, 2002).

I captured the street theatre of protest in the film *Street theatre* I made that was screened at the Biennale of Yugoslav Society for Stage Design and the Art of Spectacle. My film treated the city as a stage during Belgrade's protest, the approach that many artists took at the time, not only because the theme lent itself to the circumstances, but because our vocational method was to participate in the demonstrations. Together, we were less frightened about the repercussions of publicly exposing the material that was forbidden to broadcast for more than a month.

Also a journalist, I was on the protest with the crew. The protesters approached us, asking for whom we worked. They were eager to support foreign correspondents as the local television wouldn't mention the protest, but they were ready to knock down the employees of national television that were also on site, recording for the state. My position was, as Joksimovic[57] has explained: "Us, journalists considered ourselves to be a part of the protest. We provided logistical support, like asking people to bring hot drinks, all night… It started professionally, but it quickly transformed in a personal fight because as a journalist I was beaten up by the police and taken to emergency ward where my head was stitched. I experienced that as a personal attack on the profession and me. Most of my actions later on were a personal revolt." For this reason, when we could not broadcast, we gave the footage to foreigners.

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[57] Joksimovic, D. in interview 2007

My family came to support me at the biennale, even my brother did, but the film disappeared from the television archive and my home. I accused my brother for erasing it – he worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and we have never approved of each other – differing as man and woman, as scientist and artist, as opposition and state. He swore that he didn't. We never spoke about it since, but I find that my thesis is, among other re-cycling endeavours – of the past, friendships, memories - a re-construction of that artpiece and maybe a relationship with my brother.

I read one of John Simpson's books about "the mad world". It starts with Belgrade – that mad city where he was during one NATO campaign in 1999. Madness is not a naive category here. Bjelic (2009) discusses it as a political factor, a characteristic woven in the pathology of the West and imposed onto the Balkans since Freud. Bjelic claims that Freud himself undermined the Balkans in order to fit into the West. Milosevic did not allow the then BBC world affairs editor, Simpson to have a crew, but he could stay in Serbia on his own. So Simpson borrowed mine. My 'boys' were splashing around the Hyatt hotel in the city and could not be bothered to come out of it to shelters and bomb sites with me. They were getting foreign money, so the sense of national pride was overridden. The BBC was 'a gig' that might have taken them places. What places did I have to offer? Years later I find Simpson's book on a Brick Lane market pavement pitch. I look at the photograph from Belgrade chapter. The caption states "our crew in Belgrade". Balsa's name is spelt wrongly and Mica does not even have surname.

Positionality

Orientalism (Said, 1978) is a construct that works through its repetition in which stories re-enact the presence of thoughts and ideas about the Orient as a textual presence, which in turn marks itself as representation in words and images. Occidentalism is a form of response to it devised by Carrier (1995) and subsequently by Buruma and Margalit (2004) where they develop 'the picturing' of the West through the eyes of its enemies. Occidentalism is practiced by female artists in Eastern Europe, especially performers who keep repetition as a method of cancelling the issue itself. The artists are not erasing the past, but inflicting and infecting a subordinate process

of taxonomy within which they are objects of observation. By undermining its technology of classification and instilling their own narratives in the supposed modernity of the West, they are actively reconstituting their otherness into a new, self-shaped identity.

The large amount of mis-representation cannot be eradicated, so they have sent it to oblivion by making it empty; revealing it as an ideology and a vague rhetoric that doesn't have meaning because it gets constantly narrated, till that story dissolves and does not matter, as an echo in the background of a more important happening.

"We had so much happen, for us harrowing things, when one finishes, the other starts and then that other presses the impressions of the previous…that was all happening on the streets and somehow it all got interwoven and if it is in our memory, we would have gone crazy, it is lucky that we forget…"

Zitnik - Paunovic, S. 2010[58]

Dayton's agreement, which was signed by the leaders of all three countries in the Balkans – Serbia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia, is colloquially called Holbrooke's agreement as then American assistant secretary of state Richard Holbrooke managed to gather presidents Milosevic, Izetbegovic and Tudjman to come up with a map for disputed territories in ex-Yugoslavia. As none of these nations were happy with the result (Serbia gave away a section of Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic) for which Milosevic lost the trust of many of his supporters and so started his downfall), Holbrooke and the US were celebrated as winners of the deal that had allegedly stopped the war. As a researcher at the television station Al-Jazeera English, I had the opportunity to view the footage from the villages on the newly established territories. Here the members of one family who are aware of the killings committed by their neighbours across the river don't have the right to take them to court as they now live in another state, but watch them every day going about their business. One country's heroes are another's war criminals.

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[58] Zitnik - Paunovic, S. interview in 2010

This paradox is a common left over of wars, complicating peace and reconciliation processes and leaving traumatic consequences to live on, escalate and deviate. How much is humanly possible to overcome is then a question of an individual's strength and a constant challenge. As nobody is 'plucked' from history, this author is neither. On the way to Norwich where my cousin lives from Heathrow airport during the NATO campaign on Serbia, I saw the bombers from the bus. After sleepless months, I arrived in an enemy land looking for shelter only to feel like a traitor the moment I reached safety. Apart from allowing British readers to put my objectivity into question with this information, I am dealing with other obstacles, one already deliberated on: in the sea of writings about the Balkan wars, can the story of protest matter?

Other hurdles consist of the fact that English is my second language, especially because I didn't come here for schooling, so my 'speech' is the product of the company I keep, which is mostly poor London East End residents and other refugees and asylum seekers with 'tough' and 'disadvantaged' epithets. My social status of refugee and student do not provide an adequate throne from which to challenge some reputable academics who claim the Balkans to be their area of expertise. Furthermore, I was part of the protest more than fifteen years ago and its importance for me, living outside of Serbia might be a nostalgic reach out to my country of origin and so, in some people's view, might have little scientific significance. Finally, Serbia has changed within the period that I was away. Its activists embraced different roles and now speak of the protest through them.

Still, every time I come back and see the ones I shared the streets with that winter, they speak about the protest, or if not, they find it intriguing that I am willing and able to collect that memory. They spread their nets to help out and generally root for me in silence. I feel the respect as a friend, but more interestingly, I think they appreciate the joint experiencing of something that was extraordinary. Even though it was a dangerous attempt at revolution, it was the end of the road for people who had nothing to lose. Being there, while this road was walked on is what gives me a reputation of 'the sister Serb' among my fieldwork crowd and they allow me to access it with a welcome.

However, my now physical and 'hard copy' liberty that I had with my British passport of jumping from the West to the East and back is not possible for many of my family, colleagues and research participants and on one occasion during an interview, I have been told so in a disturbing way. Being addressed as 'You, English'[59] refuted my history in Serbia and made me feel sad that the years of friendship are clouded by "my Western practice of interviewing desperate people for personal glory…"

Working through war crimes data, in order to speak of a glimpse of good about the Serbs seems not an important task and this view of my friend disappoints in equal measure as when Serbian tennis players are supported to win a game against all the countries involved in Serbian wars. It is their registry of payback that shines through and so I keep the radar of mediation on my own writing that can be used as an interrogation of this two-way traffic of revenge or I have just become liberal as per my working environment, shooting myself in the foot or adopting the customary practice of self-censorship exercised in dictatorships.

In the search for my 'lost community' I am also adjusting my recollections and they sometimes appear to me and to others as schizophrenic. Often diving into and unable to get out of the past, from time to time I embraced a philosophy of contradictory thinking, allowing myself to change my mind. Having categorical ideas at first within memory discourse was a lost battle, hence I unashamedly switched from having a strong line of enquiry to following an unravelling of my own and other people's pasts.

My auto-ethnographic approach to research is a construction of fiction in the centre of what IRWIN defines as self-historisation. It is a method for democratising the Western art history that rules the trajectory of history of art, by inviting artists from East Europe to include themselves in it by archiving their work and inscribing it in a global art history. My positionality is identified by Rogoff (2000) as working in contrast to a

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[59] Milicevic, D. 'Kokica' interview in 2010

traditional model of art history where the knowledge obtained is distant, universal and abstract.

When I go to the east, I am often offered artwork tailored according to western world references in order to display it in the UK. It is no wonder that there have been little consideration for the region's cultural heritage on its own terms without relation to other, better-known historical cultures. In the Balkans, art histories have often followed the trail of national histories developed with emerging or consolidating West European states. To counter the invisibility of its other histories, it is essential to make the territory's cultural past more knowable according to standards in historical and art-historical research, so the clichés of Balkan-ness are alleviated.

"Us, who are committed to culture and identity that has not been inherited from one historically dominant group, we must become the mainstream in order to change it from the inside. Too often we settle for set-aside and particularised institutions on the margin, dealing with a marginalised region" (Early, 2008:40).

However, it is hard to find the data to support the view of the Balkans outside of the study of nationalism and any creation of such information invites its positionality within the existing work on nationalism. My research, therefore is not a simple exposé of the cross-wiring of the East and the West, but an exposure of the plight of effacing under-representation and even more, mis-representation of East Europe in the West European cultural context. A distraught state or national suffering is often used as a self-evident argument in the service of nationalism, but Hobsbawn (1983) has described a situation in which political institutions and ideological movements were so unparalleled that even tradition had to be devised.

For example, in many newly formed states a variety of new devices and symbols were taken into usage. In the novel state – Serbia, formerly a republic of Yugoslavia, much has changed between and after the wars. The insignia of the old power, national anthems and flags fell and new ones were conceived or old ones re–introduced. This

shows that history is not a finished story, but constantly re-written one, so memory is always a fiction (Kacandes, 1999).

Nations too are not fixed, but liberating, progressing and relatively new phenomenon in history. For their development, there must be a sense of kinship, the will to be united and the desire to live together. However, the nation has violence at the heart of its concept - it lies in the gathering of the nation/nationalism and the history of colonialism that is ascribed to it. Nation has to draw on founding myths to appear old and located within evolutionary narrative, like the stories of founding fathers and genealogies of the homogenous heroes… common glories. The protest in '96/'97 is ejected from modern Serbia's history, largely because there's no agreement that Belgrade's uprising was a positive historical event.

The story of the battle in Kosovo in 1389 is a founding myth in Serbia used by nationalist propagators, but the historical outcomes of the Turkish and Serbian clash might provide a different account for the opposing sides. This battle is glorified amongst Serbs and serves as a regressive, reductive, old-fashioned tale that Serbs hold on to. However, is this a legend misunderstood on both sides – Serbian and Western? Did it travel to the West and through generations in Serbia and arrived when it was already distorted through 'Chinese whispers'? Are we to claim past glories forever? If so, we would always stay with our failures too. Does that danger keep Serbs reminding themselves and the world that they are honourable people and not 'the butchers of the Balkans'?

Eurocentrism – Asymmetry of memory

Apart from its local contexts, Serbia sits within the discourse of Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism advocates that the history of Europe is exceptional and implies standardization through imitation and catch up. From Amin's perspective (2010), Eurocentrism is common to both vulgar Marxism and mainstream political theories because it simplifies complex differences and has the same outlook on states and nations.

This is evident in Europe's treatment of the Balkans. The European Union closed its doors until Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks surrender war criminals as if this was the same issue for all those countries. The eagerness to join the EU is invited, even furiously encouraged by the EU itself and similarly to the NATO excuse for bombing in Serbia in '99, Serbs are put under pressure as if that is good for them (NATO claimed it will propel people to get rid of Milosevic). Europe acts and appears as the attractive correctional body, but if Serbs behave in the same way as that body, they are branded 'aggressive'. The supremacy of the European Union's privilege prevails in Europe and that is Eurocentrism. This disproportion between the Balkans and EU in particular, is harshly depicted in reference to the atrocities in the Soviet Union by Orlando Figes (2009).

"In the West, by comparison with our attitudes towards the Holocaust, we are really quite insensitive to the repressions of the Stalinist regime. We are ignorant as well - we know about Auschwitz but who knows about Magadan or Kolyma? Perhaps it is a problem of who speaks for the victims? There is no Spielberg for the Soviet Holocaust. Who cares about the millions of peasants murdered by Stalin when there are Jews (like us) to care about instead? Or perhaps it is because we still harbour left-wing sympathies for the Marxist tradition..."

Figes figures Marxism here as communist chic – another western paradigm on quite a diverse ideological system, so frequently depicted as only a philosophical construct. For western socialists that I have met, oppressive regimes in Eastern Europe are heavily romanticized, Marxism too, while there wasn't a chance even for the existence of the left in them. There were only 'spectres of Marx' as Derrida (1994) announced.

Furthermore, after many years of holidays by British and Germans on the Croatian coast before and after the war, Hague tribunal representatives freed captive generals of the Croatian army. Some Croats, embarrassed of the actions of those generals are even more ashamed of them now, while others celebrate the release. The decision was biased, not so much for stating that the Croatian military personnel were innocent, because even their own people knew this was not the case, but for pointing a finger at the side that stayed jailed – the Serbs.

Schlogel (2008) states that East/West polarity in one's experience produces different centres of historical interest, different perspectives, different sensibilities with respect to different themes and there are different caesuras with different meanings. Previsic (2009) concurs with the variability of positionality and explains the effect that this difference has on the Balkans as a subject of research: "Speaking about 'marginalised regions' always connotes a specific position or perspective: there are parts of our world more central than others. By focusing on the Balkans as 'marginalized', we assert that other regions like Western Europe or North America are more central."

Previsic's perspective is of a migrant whose experiences of the West and the East are altered due to the absence from both territories in question and who holds states of discomfort due to a lack of 'full' belonging in either of those geographies. We both are questioning the European cultural concept of Serbia from the perspective of its periphery in order to highlight its process of construction that benefited the West.

Production of Knowledge

The national compartmentalization of knowledge in the region impacted Balkan studies abroad that reflected that same taxonomisation, which is capitalized upon in interdisciplinary contexts and on a project to project basis. This is because the region has been affected by a multitude of influences from different disciplines, which are almost impossible to distinguish, so it is unmanageable to grasp the field of Balkan studies in its entirety, often even in parts. Serbia has been mediated by every study that wanted to analyse it. This makes sustainable investigations difficult due to the enormity of research attempted. I am struggling with the wealth of information, much of it irrelevant, under researched, badly linked, wrongly scaled etc. If I was to start correcting 'the said' and I am often compelled to do so, the archive of the protest and its interpretation would never be completed, but I must strive to do both because only in that way can my project keep a community around it.

I refuse to allow for the disappearance of collective actors in the shadow of the historical process and the leadership cult that has been widely publicised. "The stage

of human history has been swept clean of people" (Schlogel, 2008:9) and the ones that the world knows – Tito and Milosevic are not Serbia's brightest stars. A task of a researcher is often to move these figures aside and look at the people whose accounts we still lack.

However exhausting this insightful journey is, it has the support from thinkers like Tal (1996:23) who claims that a cultural critic should insist that nothing goes without saying.

"When cultural critics seek to expose and then question the rationales for specific community practices, we situate ourselves in opposition to dominant discourse. We question our own beliefs and the beliefs of others. We appeal to people's 'good sense', and we measure our success by the amount of argument we generate. We actively work towards the breakdown of consensus..."

Serbs have been witnessing state actors working with the media, the military, NGOs, corporations and other institutions for years to project strategic narratives nationally and internationally and they feel that as a nation, they have lost the say in their own history. Furthermore, reflecting on memories encourages awareness of the fabricated nature of the concept of the nation. In Anderson's (1991:7) writings, memory features as residing on a communal standing (in the medium of print), which provides "deep, horizontal comradeship" almost devoid of the political, social and economic relation.

However, that outlet has been so influenced by Western interpretations of nationalist political developments in Serbia that it holds mostly these Western views and the one who proposes different approaches finds that space already crowded with opinions of various parliamentarians, academics and PRs. If narration is at the centre of the nation (Bhaba, 1990), the Serbs have to narrate the protest to improve their impression of themselves and the understanding that they have of their community, but being branded as war criminals so widely and for so long, the Serbs now think of themselves as such.

Public memories are intrinsic to the concepts of nation, heritage and community and they tie memory to power. If we are to question that power, we are to ask how individual lives are affected by strategic manipulation of memories and how minorities within these public narratives resist such impositions. Reviving the memory of the '96/'97 protest in my archive therefore establishes a more balanced account of the events of the time by drawing on the national corpus of shared memories, not only to recollect the terrain of wars, but the ground of individuals and a society in Serbia that opposed them too.

If I were to write about the wars, I would fit better in intellectual context of the West because it would be easier to obtain funds for research, especially if I were to prolong the influence of justice and reconciliation paradigms pushed onto the region in a particular format that is designed by NGOs and funders of 'democratic values'. This one-dimensional view of democracy propagated by the West in Serbia seems to me as yet another mantra of the powers at play. The new state does not project its ideals so strongly anymore and that makes the Western assertions of values even more unconvincing. The West's influence emerges more visibly in Serbia's bureaucracy and the systems arrive with vicious capitalist demands that the Serbs cannot satisfy nor accept as the infrastructure to build their country on. Rejecting that future and uncomfortable with their present, the Serbs often indulge in the past which is long gone - when Serbia was a kingdom and so historically closer to their West determinations today, yet far from their violent contemporary history.

Anderson (1983) deliberates on how revolutionary governments continue to use the legacies of dead regimes. The evidence of this view exists in Serbia, but the government after Milosevic is hardly revolutionary. Instead of Milosevic's talks about prosperity (Gazimestan[60]), now they claim that they 'will certainly achieve it'. Anderson explains how staples of the 'imagined community' are further preserved by the illumination and glorification of certain aspects of opposition to the official history.

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[60] This speech became famous for Milosevic's reference to the possibility of 'armed battles', in the future of Serbia's national development. Many have described this as presaging the Yugoslav wars. Milosevic actually spoke of the 'battles' in the context of 'implementing economic, political, cultural, and general social prosperity' and he later said that he was misrepresented.

The overturn of Milosevic's regime in 2000 is one of these moments, regardless of the failure of the opposition to achieve it for over a decade. Am I to be accused of this very approach that I am criticising because I am writing about the luminous protest and not focusing on incriminating remnants of the past? At the same time, doesn't one have to have some kind of meaning and so, meaningful past?

Serbia's attempted revolution in '96/'97 was considered a peace loving, non-violent struggle, but the police and the government who acted with violence were Serbs too. This highlights the difficulty with translating narratives across linguistic or cultural boundaries and within or between nations. The officials in Belgrade reported the protesters as rascals and it took a while for the actors out of the state influence to realize the scale of the event. In the West, the Serbs were aggressors, so it also took time before resistance to the regime was acknowledged as the movement mobilising the change of it.

I question intellectual exchanges as relational processes rather than as simple accrual, because they highlight the politics of knowledge in academic research and can produce more moderate, convincing and locatable arguments. My research is not the whole story and it is impossible to be 'impartial', but it is nevertheless 'a story' not yet accounted for (Cook, 2005). Furthermore, the protest explored here is the version of this event only for 'now'. It would be strange if, along with fundamental alterations, our memory, our understanding of the past also did not change (Schlogel, 2008).

The dominant global elites in charge of world flows consist of individuals who are 'citizens of the world' as per their fluid identities. This is the position that I partly hold, just like my fellow Westerners. On the other side, there are people who resist economic, cultural and political disenfranchisement and in order to gather their strength, they have to work as a community and form a communal identity (Friedman and Randeria, 2004).

With Serbia's socialist history, this latter method is the expected orientation of the nation and it presented itself at the protest too. Topographical borders of 'Europe' for

the protesters were not really important — the imaginary space of it was. The spatial metaphor of 'Europe' also played a role in the wider oppositional networks of Serbia: the idea of 'European civilization' (Jansen, 2001).

When both micro and macro are colonized, the task is to query both. Still, I stay interested in particularly how to liberate the local. We do not have the intention to create more Europes elsewhere, but question the one we have, its autonomy, its language(s), its cosmopolitanism, its art and its politics, even if Europeans resist it by labelling our voice 'unsuitable', just because it is raised and 'at these difficult times' Europe finds this inconvenient. When were the Serbs asked about their convenience? Furthermore, we seem to indulge in cosmopolitanism via memories that others have of us.

'Internal globalization' (Levy and Sznaider, 2001) through which world concerns become local experiences, grows out of media representations available to us, instilling a value that surpasses our surroundings and communities, promoting and nurturing an extra-territorial quality of cosmopolitan memory. Huyssen (2002) takes the Holocaust as an example of an event that has such a place in our memory, becoming a metaphor for other genocides, but by distancing the local or bringing the global concern to our own environment, even though useful to revive the debates around it (Levy and Sznaider, 2001), Huyssen worries that we could be hindering insights on local histories. This is my concern with the nationalisation of memory in the Balkans, both internally and externally, because it gets attached to the nation state, rather than the experiences of the people who hold it in individual ways or as a shared culture of the community that might not correspond to larger national interests.

> Nevena: I remember that mum and I took rolls and muffins.
> Nevena's Mum: We started baking at 10 so they were warm at 2 am at night and we could take them to the students in Kolarceva Street. The whole of Belgrade brought food to students that were on the streets.
> Paunovic, S. Z. and Paunovic, N. 2010[61]

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[61] Zitnik - Paunovic, S. and Paunovic, N. interview in 2010

'Habitus' is delineated as a socially constituted system of dispositions, which orient thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions (Bourdieu, 1990a). Rationality within that situatedness is 'socially bound' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1990a). I am therefore, affected by my current circumstances and my physical displacement encourages my mind to be colonized - my memories of Belgrade are influenced by their projection in the West. They are mediated, but my act of memory is a radical departure of the perception that Serbia has in Western Europe. They tell of the effects of such narratives on the people they are inscribed on and the consequences of such representations. They must stay alive so that memory does not get uniformed in the shape chosen by the West.

"…[T]he 'practical taxonomies', which agents establish via the symbolic effects of their practices are not merely empty 'grids' superimposed on the social space" (Weininger 2005:238). Because individuals perceive each other principally through 'the status' performed via their lifestyles and practices that contain the symbolic notion of honor, they mistake the root of this status, their economic and cultural capital, for the honorable position that they have in society.

When differences of this capital are misperceived as differences of honor, they work as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991:238), that is "legitimizing theatricalization which always accompanies the exercise of power". Thus, "[t]he very lifestyle of the holders of power contributes to the power that makes it possible, because its true conditions of possibility remain unrecognized…" (1990a:139). The dominant group in this way conducts 'symbolic violence'.

"There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism... barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another."

Benjamin, W. 1940:392

I felt a duty as a researcher and an artist to mediate the transmission of documents, stories and data between protesters and the West. Also invested in influencing policy in a British cultural milieu, Matarasso renders the question "what the arts can do for

society", into "what society can do for the arts" (Matarasso, 1997), which echoes the cultural setting that I acquired during and after the protest. As *Skart* in practice, Matarasso provided me with an entry into the world of participatory arts through the theory by articulation of the need for art practice. For me that was a familiar method of operation and I then found it in the UK's political realm. Through the case studies in his seminal book *Use or ornament?* (1997), he, like me in this thesis, offers a view of the elements that constitute the artform of participatory arts.

Reflexivity

Coffey (1999) asserts that the fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work in which ethnographers ought to reflect on the production of the self. This practice, in her view differs according to the discipline and I am inspired by that departure from anthropology, the inaugural field of the ethnographic method and traditionally investigating "the other", to turn the lens inwards and question the researchers during the process of observation and recording – balkanising the taxonomy.

In *The Beach*, a film by Boyle (2000), about a secluded community experience of a small and varied group of people, the character who leads the story checks his email at an Internet café. He hides away from the crowd in the café as he wants to preserve the experience of the beach for himself. This reveals a sense of preciousness and the understanding that it is unlikely that this happening will occur again and most importantly, it does not happen to just anyone. The beach that he found is not available to them anymore, so the experience of it is hardly possible. What he wants to keep is precisely that idea of the possible in the seemingly impossible. It is as if he alone discovered this potential and wants to stick to it for as long as he can. His experience of the beach is my experience of the protest.

His unexpected and unusual journey is recognized as 'a primary' one. Even though we cannot predict our life course we know when something is special, but we are equally able to make a mistake in getting ourselves to think that it is so. Most of the time, this is what we want to believe – that something is as unprecedented as 'the beach'. Even though we know better, we just do not want to go through life without that

experience, so we boost the less extraordinary ones - our secondary experiences are 'up scaled' to primary ones. Still, we can sense the glory of the principal ones. Their presence is a convincing premise, an evidence of change for the people involved. I shared that feeling with my fellow protesters as I could see the same joy on their faces (Levinas, 1969); a recognition of being together at an exceptional moment that will change us forever. Cavarero (2000) argues that the question to ask is not 'what' we are, and fill in the content of our personhood, but as Foucault (1988) does, to ask 'what can I become' after having that experience?

My passionate view of the protest may seem to essentialise the Balkans, predominantly due to my loyalty to Belgraders and the belief that the event in '96/'97 was a 'real', 'original' 'pure' happening. At the same time, I am concerned that its democratic urge to conquer the dictatorship is understood as a contribution to liberal discourse, which I consider ancient and positivist in its oral and visual representations that fail to be upheld in practice.

My concern is worrying too, as it suggests that I am part of the neoliberal movement in which one is either essentialist or liberal. Furthermore, we are encouraged to strive towards inclusivity, relativity and freedom – properties which many fellow Serbs and I do not see practiced by those who pressed them onto us. Even the critique of this hesitant duet of left and right – liberal and essentialist fits into the realm of neoliberalism as yet another opinion lost in it.

"...art has long tended to aestheticise politics; the weakness of modernism is that it's too non-committal, always working to efface its own traces; what the left needs is an engaged political art that can practice what it preaches – a 'powerful aesthetic of protest.'"

Pyzik, A. 2014

There cannot be a permanent displacement from these two spheres to the point of acceptance. In fact, objectivity and nothing of that matter – 'truth or, 'knowledge' do not exist as stable categories. Nothing IS anymore. In such a world, I would rather

essentialise and as Todorova (2010)[62] answered to an audience member and so what? Essentialism is part of the neoliberal dialectic anyway, a paradigm which swallows all like its free markets, but that surely does not mean that we ought to give up making histories to contest the global narrative. In the plurality of choice, I hope the universality, as everything else, will be doubted.

This hope aligns with the format of neoliberalism, which is virtual, its connections fluid, its atmosphere mobile, like an airport – a connective nerve-centre where everything comes and goes and there are no fixed points. The amount of facts and the challenges to them are becoming such that any 'veracity' is impossible, unacceptable and not one story can hold. Nevertheless, these facts and their disruptions are entering the field of knowledge and audiences respond to them when they appear as reference points, buttons on the screen of Internet. We now have 'too much information' about everything, including the Balkans. However, 'the truth' still needs to be navigated through those histories or rather brought from behind them, as the majority of the stories follow an instructive narrative relentlessly reproducing 'ruritania' (Goldsworthy, 1998).

National history was utilized by Serbia's regime and their techniques of sympathy were disclosed even before the protest, so Belgrade's citizenry found difficult to believe this past. But after international interference delineating Serbia's history as inherently violent, Serbs felt fooled and lost in the hear-say of both sides – national and international. People were mostly aware of their family history, but it was the community history that became problematic as different nationalities once peacefully living next to each other were now guessing about their neighbours' pasts, motifs and desires. The international community, by defining Serbs differently to their own understanding, kept nationalism alive. Between the two evils, Milosevic or internationals, the majority of the Serbs opted for the national one – the regime. In the West's final physical strike, the NATO campaign, even the core internal enemies of

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[62] Todorova at the inauguration of the Balkan Centre at Goldsmiths University, London in 2009

Milosevic held their friends and fellow residents together, standing patriotically side by side, just like Milosevic ironically was appealing to people to do.

Political geography

My colleagues are researching the German contribution to the fall of Yugoslavia, and finding that Germans were possibly trying to shift the reputation of Holocaust villains onto another nation in Europe and so were 'up scaling' the atrocities in Serbia to that level. Even though every loss of life is a tragedy, it took a decade for the Hague's War Crimes Tribunal prosecutor Carla del Ponte to be heard when she announced the disappearances and sufferings of the Serbs in Kosovo which had been diminished by Kosovo's Albanians equal tragedies. The 'yellow house' where Serbs were taken before their transfer to Albania was a concentration camp for harvesting organ transplants, but the lack of witnesses and the destroyed evidence in the tribunal itself calls for a re-balancing of late Serbian history as known in the West.

Serbs, without doubt, are responsible for many actions they took themselves, unfortunately even without Milosevic's orders, but when one is labelled as 'warmonger' and cornered into an inability to address that, one starts despising the labeller, the curator, the archivist, and carries the aggression further or becomes withdrawn, inert, careless. This latter condition was the one adopted by Belgrade's intelligentsia and middle classes, until they finally broke out of it at the protest in '96/'97 and got back into their shell with the departure of Milosevic. This was not only because there was no one to challenge in the same way anymore, but the new echelons of government led more their political party than state politics, which is still the case in the country.

A new generation of scholars have an approach to European cultural and social history that is comparative, pluralistic and goes beyond the binary oppositions that have structured much of the thinking about the world today. For example, within the geography of politics, Serbia is seen as only marginally part of Europe, but "what is relocated to the margins is often, as we know from deconstruction, right at the centre of thought itself." (Ahmed, 2004:4)

During the protest, Europe equalled democracy, as reflected in the editorial line of the opposition's *Democracy* publication, which aspired the European characteristic of cosmopolitanism. For instance, one night the riot police invaded the student occupied Faculty of Philosophy, which caused harsh reactions, as it had not happened for more than 60 years. In line with European civilization standards, the Serbian police had not had access to university campuses without permission from the academic authorities. Serbia then had needed to take up its place in Europe, a cultural universe to which it rightfully belonged (Jansen, 2001).

The whole city in protest was territorialised. In urban centres, opposition parties won the elections, so the establishment utilised the always significant division between rural and urban communities. It played an important part in tensions between the police brought in from the rural areas (seljaci - peasants) and the protesters who were residents of the city (gradjani - citizens). 'Urbanity' decreased as one moved away from the centre, and yet there in the centre the power was.

The citizens quickly reclaimed the governing language and the display of power reserved through Foucault's *Panopticon* (1975) for unruly and chaos that switched from the organized masses into a parliamentary deluge. The reversal of roles was due to isolation, distancing, fragmentation, narrowing and provincialising of the regime, which opened itself for control as it lost its unity, strength and sameness.

In populist arenas like mainstream television, it is evident that alleged political correctness, one of the symbols of neoliberalism, hides a cynical index, a subordinate view of the Balkan countries. For example, the Eurovision song contest, a major event in Eastern Europe, which for decades rarely had another shared platform with Western Europeans broadcasts commentaries by particularly ironic UK presenters who assign the popularity of East European songs to a political allegiance of once conflicted countries. A torrent of information throughout the nineties about 'the arch enemies' of Balkan nationalities suddenly disappeared. Classified by the Westerners as having 'irreconcilable' differences in the political sphere, Balkan states were spoken about like

they were identical in cultural terms, especially when better positioned than West Europeans to win a pop song contest.

Furthermore, whilst the UK struggled even to win a vote, the Serbs believe that the competition of multimillion Euros and an equivalent number of viewers, was reduced to a parochial contest by the UK because of the wars and because the UK years ago used to be a strong contestant. This mainstream media event, however weird and wonderful is an outlet that illuminates the bigger story, which I describe – the muddled dichotomy between the East and the West, constantly shifting and changing the ways of its existence, but never disappearing.

Witnessing

Thousands of people in Serbia joined the protest against the regime because the majority was affected by its interventions. Everyone had someone in the family disappear, disciplined, dismissed for expressing a different political view to the one the government held. This private experience exposed itself on the street and became public.

I am a witness to that process as well as to other witnesses whom I have interviewed. In their stories, the protest narrative is transparent despite the war stories that press them from above. I gathered dozens of tales and got an information overload that sometimes connected, but in any case stemmed from the possibility of history. These are not guarantees, proofs or evidence of 'truth', but visceral responses and affective reactions to the protest as well as the effect of it, visible on the faces of the interviewees. Rather than 'real' reflections, I have bites that follow the barking and bites that I transformed into digital ones – bites of emotion in my digital archive that are both its vein particle and its heartbeat.

Music in the protest has substantially contributed to the affective investment and emotional alliance in the resistance to Milosevic's regime, providing an "immediate experience of collective identity" (Frith, 1996:273) through participatory practice that I have been fascinated by ever since. Such an immersive dynamic of social organisation

beside its political stance offered a shared aesthetic as an enactment of collective values, commitments and conditions (Steinberg, 2004) that I continued using, appropriating and developing in my work.

Like music, memory is not static. Configurations of audiences and publics that witnessed the protest are developing due to migration and media technologies and such changes affect the meanings and approaches to citizenship. Many Serb exiles, living in the West (this researcher including) questioned and are still modifying their identities. They / we adapted the ideas of citizenship that emerged during the protest, which itself was the result of a fraudulent election. Electoral voices that were the choices of people were tampered with and the notion of liberty and freedom in governing these burst the sense of citizenry in the face of the nation.

Lichtenberg-Ettinger (2001) developed a matrixial method that I have struggled to understand without a background in psychoanalysis. However, I have entered her matrixial realm through the artistic praxis that she also takes up and I have found comfort in reaching for the experience of "the other" that she suggests as the gate to creation. The impulse invites aesthetical and ethical dimensions in relation to the community of others and offers an insight into the self from the outside. She devises transparency of time and space within which one is located as a matrixial gaze and I use it to reflect on my own protest experience.

As she wants, I speak from the experience. I interpret her matrixial method in my research as: 'everything in one project': the width and the breath of encounter with the event that shaped me. In the case of the protest, "the other" was sometimes me in relation to my people, a unit in the whole, an individual as part of the community and vice versa. I have recognised the culture, politics and time that brought us together as the event erupted in the process of history that we were part of. It is because of its extraordinary conditions and development that I was able to recognise others and me in them and understand that me, here and now is we. There was not "the other", only together. Ettinger's matrixial gaze invites the process of 'co-poiesis' – creation, a

possibility to see through time and space and devise, imagine, create the future and I look at the protest with such a gaze.

I have witnessed the event as the mark of 'otherness' becoming me. The event and "the other" became the same – I was with the people, I wit(h)nessed (Ettinger, 2001) the protest. I went to it also to be the people as well as the witness of them and me, merging into the new category of community that broke down the past. I was young, the future was mine, whatever comes. I could not think of it in any other terms than brighter than anything I'd known up to then.

Otherness

Representations of "the other" in the state's history education or in national media are often biased and support the interests of particular groups at the expense of others. Dominant discourse holders make us see and experience ourselves as 'other' (Hall, 1997). We, "the others" are subjected to that Western knowledge, "as a matter of imposed will and domination, by the power of inner compulsion and subjective con-formation to the norm". This technique silences us, deforms our identities and leaves us without an anchor (Fanon, 1963).

In the above described conditions, marginalised groups are punished under the umbrella of "the other" - where their representation is stuck (Ahmed, 2004) below those who stand for them as 'all'. Western Europe and civil society everywhere, even in Serbia recognizes that, but at the same time nationalist Serbs - 'the others' of Europe in the above situation, cannot stop regarding their war criminals as heroes. So, there are many othernesses in the category of 'the other'. The politics of memory in the case of Serbia, hence fuels a new war – of representation and representation is never about the realistic reproduction of anything, reminds Ranciere (2007) because it is governed by a set of rules, about what is appropriate to represent.

As historical representation, my digital archives examine the role of collective memory and its perceptions and they strive to decode the language of that representation and find a more acceptable way of narrating the past. I am not inviting amnesia or the

forgetting of violence, but suspending its spillage into our consciousness, just for a moment, to inspire a possibility for advancement in Serbia. When more positive elements of Serbia's past, like the revolt in '96/'97 become included in the account of its history, we should be able to look at this nation with an understanding of its relation to the war crimes conducted parallel with their ability to invite the violence or, in the time of protest elaborated here, to not engage with it.

I am not holding that Serbia's war crimes, as quickly accessible as its recent history, got a hard sentence - I am not addressing the war crimes, but stating that there is no other platform to speak from because and if I even attempt to question them, as a Serb by origin, I am on dangerous ground, verging on disrespect towards the victims of those crimes, the living and the dead. In the clutches of such a strong and widely disseminated narrative of guilt, supported by penetrating and harrowing images of desolation, I find my own accounts and memories of the whole of the Serbian nation buried under the victims of these crimes. We, the Serbs do not stand a chance to emerge from the graves on our own and with a new image. However, I am trying to dig a hole through this pressing load of representation placed on the top of the mass graves and hope that the desire for creating the beams of light for every 'stuck' (Ahmed, 2004) nation will catch on.

"Stickiness helps us to associate 'blockages' with 'binding'" (Ahmed, 2004:91); the subject becomes one of the many, who are neighbours to "the other" (Levinas, 1969). It does not exist on its own, but as part of "the other". "The other" is a strange alterity (Levinas, 1981), but our responsibility or responsiveness to "the other" in face-to-face encounters demands (in)corporeality - direct experience of 'lived' time and place together with "the other". Experience can be transmitted only if embodied.

Ahmed (2004) claims that some people get associated with constructs and so, their representation binds some wor(l)ds together – the employment of the words again and again is intrinsic like a form of singing (Derrida, 1974, Kristeva 1986). Phrases get formed, attached and repeated, sinking into our minds as joined words - justified hooks of history and use. Stickiness is an affect of those histories of contact between

signs, bodies and objects, but the closeness of these is a human action – someone puts them in small proximity to each other to form a link and to present it as a reoccurring concept. Balkan and violence are those words that got 'stuck' and now they 'stick' together, providing the content for the theory that travels (Said, 1982).

The protesters exposed this mechanism by endurance on the street. Their non-working, non-operating, hindered condition initially in relation to Serbian governance revealed the constructs produced by it and imposed on them by both the regime and the West. Accepting the roles given by the state, international organisations – academia, media, NGOs, political think tanks, they went 'overboard' in acting them out, performing inactivity. Paradoxically, nowadays they do the same, humouring Westerner's requests for progress in Serbia, sabotaging the achievements of targets, overplaying disobedience to newly established policies and disrespecting cultural and social changes.

Freedom is attached to resistance in Serbia. It is even a strategy – do nothing, *au contraire* to labour as communist and capitalist value. Serbs are against the world, because in order to see and be seen by the world, you must act modern (liberal, democratic, cosmopolitan) but without the permissions, visas and money, Serbs are stuck in their own country, so cannot be 'wordly'. The poorest are therefore, wedged in this segregation of values; everyone else can travel and their mobility is a sign of contemporaneity. The East is poor, therefore not cool.

Theories of 'otherness' highlight that stress always existed between dominant and marginal entities. Levinas (1969) writes that the intentional relation of representation is to be distinguished from every other relation. So, the one who practices 'otherness' wants to be distinct. However, Levinas's understanding of freedom is in relationships of responsibility to "the other". Hence, for one to be free, one must feel for "the other" as for oneself and not in a relational or representational way.

The object of our gaze is always a result of our interpretative acts, therefore it is always the same that determines "the other". If some aspects of the past remain the

same in our memory (Connerton, 1989), it is hard to change a view of "the other", if there are samenesses, sticky phrases and traditions that define him/her. This urges us to rise above our conditions, knowledge and history.

Dominant societies have always strived to define subordinate ones and that is separate from other connections that the relationship between them carries. Being stripped of external markers makes it harder to relate to "the other" beyond stereotypes. You make someone your own, by relating to what you know, you appropriate "the other" by (drawing on Hegel's 'total knowledge', 1977) suppressing the alterity to make him/her accessible. Levinas (1969) criticises Hegel's concept of 'total knowledge' which positions itself as the universal history and notes that we are ourselves responsible to welcome, bear witness and respond to "the other" regardless of our contextual inheritance.

I am hoping that this approach can be considered when thinking about the Serbs and their history, even though my argument here embraces representations of self (West) as opened up by "the other" (East) and the other way around. However, dealing with only an exceptional event (of protest) shows a biased study as well as a typically Western method of research. I seem to be applying and avoiding, defending and attacking it at the same time. I am also grabbing a role of a mediator because I want both sides not only to take each other into consideration, but to be changed by this experience.

We, humans are constituted by the relationship of being for "the other" - face-to-face relations call upon this (Levinas, 1969). For example, the participants of the protest in Belgrade were confronted by the faces of their compatriots prompting the revolt to grow daily to hundreds of thousands of people. The word of mouth and images of the sea of people blocking the traffic forced many to walk and so, join the protest. Those that came out of such despair meant that it soon looked more like a parade of the devastated. The viewers of the footage from the streets when it emerged through satellite channels faced "the other" on television screen whilst sitting at their homes, but acted as protestors indirectly when "the other" (streetgoers) were in need. The

uprising was inspired by care for "the other", which turned the subordinate citizens into liberals, offering shelter to protesters when police roamed the streets. This relation between indoor (private - home) and outdoor (public - street) rioters went even further in the media sphere. The relationship between the two poles of Belgrade's residents is best depicted in granny Olga who was, like many, taking part from home by waving to the procession of Walkers every time they passed by. Her terrace became a landmark the protesters mapped their routes by and she mobilised the community by her presence. The sociality and the community were created through the engagement of people on both sides of this relationship between the individual and the group.

The portraits in my archive have the power of face-to-face encounters on the protest. The faces looking at protesters in the archive think of themselves – being in that space, in that time, breaking into the same expression by compassion in visibility. To respond to the face means to be awake, to respond to precariousness of the life itself (Butler, 2004).

Face-to-face does not know "the other", but respects it in its totality. The face of "the other" exceeds the idea of "the other" in me – "the other" shatters our own selves. One always looks at oneself through the eyes of "the other" (Du Bois, 1903) and in the case of Serbia this is evident – Serbs view themselves as 'others' in Europe and Europe looks at them as "the others". 'The self' is negated in the process of self-representation; the power of representation overtakes 'the self' even though 'the self' is inscribed by "the other". My own situation of having two faces and places of habitat, makes me both – 'the self' and "the other", although I often feel as "the other" in the UK as well as in Serbia now, so my 'otherness' is becoming my 'self'.

The 'two-ness' of being British and Serbian leads to psycho-social tensions that I am forced into because of finding myself in two social worlds and having to split consciousness, as well as to constantly shift my sense of morality. Du Bois (1903) views the history of the American Negro female as this strife—the longing for attainment of self-conscious womanhood in order to merge a double self into a better and truer self.

However, if I manage to achieve this, I might lose the urge to write about this struggle. Hall (1993) provides a better explanation of this individual's tension, without a problematic reliance on gender in theory when he claims that identity, especially diasporic one is always in production, just like memory. One imagines the past country and pictures the return to the country that does not exist anymore as a constant quest for the essence of home.

Narrative technology

In recorded history, the narrative is constructed in chronological order, digressing from events and if at all, marking them and actions of the groups and persons who might have experienced these happenings differently according to their stake and loss in them. Their focal point might differ from official versions of history and provide challenging, additional or revealing information, steering the uncontested history in a different, even opposite direction. This is my drive for positioning Serbia in West European memory strata, but also the strata of memory Belgrade's protesters hold in relation to the versions of history its government kept and disseminated at the time of the uprising.

When political narratives support identity claims directed to the future, they often invoke the past. The citizens of Belgrade have to elicit the latest, turbulent past in order to address their desire to diminish it for the purpose of progress. In that process, many turned to even earlier history: pre-Milosevic, pre-communism, a royal (the Karadjordjevic dynasty) era that was pro-European, pro-civil society, pro-democratic. As the protest failed, among other reasons, because of the complicated messages it was sending out and the different targets developed on the go, Serbia got reduced to nationalist aspirations and it is still subject to them. The eagerness for the long lost past has disappeared as the immediacy of a narrow and simple difference between 'us' and 'them' is easier to instate, even if it does not move society forward.

In 1989, after their own national communisms, the Soviet release of political systems and its personalities, East European states began the tempestuous re–evaluation of the past. The contention spread in struggles over monuments, street names,

schoolbooks, dates, holidays and the setting up of memorials and museums central to the collective consciousness started (Schlogel, 2008). However, much of it dismissed notions of history and politicization and was put in the museum or was, reduced to entertainment like that life was never truly lived. This is still happening in Serbia (and other ex-Yu countries), parallel with other political developments, but directed towards EU entrance, rather than revision, introspection and reflection on recent history. It is also beyond reason. The streets are given new names, and then old ones are reinstated or then changed again with every new government.

Nora (2002:1) who examined the French revolution and remembering in the national memory writes about the variety of historical excavations as:

"...criticism of official versions of history and recovery of areas of history previously repressed; demands for signs of a past that had been confiscated or suppressed; growing interest in 'roots' and genealogical research; all kinds of commemorative events and new museums; renewed sensitivity to the holding and opening of archives for public consultation; and growing attachment to what in the English-speaking world is called 'heritage' and in France 'patrimoine'".

Europe's interpretative superiority and its setting of political agendas have always been driving the arguments towards nationalist discourses, but are now adjusted to the new - market led ones. The validity and denial of master narratives are problematised, but that is only the coded and masked format of contemporary political debate (Schlogel, 2008). Disputes about historical questions are instrumentalised for current interests, often party political ones, hence reduced to newsworthy topics, carrying temporality with them, an interest that occasionally peaks, but that doesn't provide the material for substantial and serious consideration. This watering down and occasional reach to the past for a particular use makes it irrelevant, unworthy and easily accessible in a staged format, not able to take its rightly deserved complex and more challenging role in this political play between the East and the West.

How these controversies are conducted is a matter of both political and historical culture and methods of dealing with the past. After war narratives got embedded in the collective history of Serbia, examining national issues without them is impossible. A memory that has no time for victims of terror under Milosevic's regime and does not include the inmates of the Hague tribunal, is selective and lacks credibility. To avoid this approach to the study, intellectual infrastructure needs to be in place: access to archives, free publication of sources, independent historical writing and above all, an independent public sphere. Even if those are becoming available in Serbia, considering what and how they are released, there is a danger of creating new myths and re–ideologisation (Schlogel, 2008).

The protest in '96/'97 was a grand movement in Serbia's history. I am accusing Serbs for running after the EU train and neglecting war crimes committed and I blame them for ignoring the protest that should have a prominent place in the national memory. It hasn't been narrated and so, remains unused in shaping collective identity. However, every great movement has left its traces behind and erased others. I consume its narrative in the same way that I am using my archive – to tell the story, to enchant, fabulise and create community. Fabulation, a concept from Deleuze's and Guattari's philosophy (1990) is a constitutive gesture of a community, which denotes the creative nature of truth. The truth is produced in the same way that memory is. I deliberately employ art to work with it, as it is its natural ally. Fiction is embedded in my work, just as it is underneath historical accounts.

My reflexive academic and art praxis centres on 'textuality' of the materials and of the techniques of production. The poetic function is dominant here because it furthers the act and form of expression, but also undermines the sense of 'natural' or 'transparent' link to a signifier and a referent (Chandler, 2007).

"The crucial distinction for me is not the difference between fact and fiction, but the distinction between fact and truth. Because facts can exist without human intelligence, but truth cannot…the approach that's most productive and most

trustworthy for me is the recollection that moves from the image to the text. Not from the text to the image."

Morrison, T. 1995:94

I work like Morrison and hence, my archive came first. The writing about it followed in between collecting the data, shuffling the categories, reflecting on the collection woven in the theories about it. By looking at the pictures, I could gather my thoughts about the whole of the repository and write about it.

For me, as for Barthes (1981:7), the narration of past events has been sanctioned by the historical 'science', which unbends the standard of 'the real', justified by 'the rational' exposition. Barthes asked: "…does this form of narration really differ, from imaginary narration, as we find it in the epic, the novel, and the drama?" How could I then, with my artwork produce anything else than history?

CONCLUSION

Mani (2002) reminds that overcoming the cleavages of the past can be done if the pain and suffering of the victims is recognized both on the collective (public) and on the individual (private) level and that those responsible for the past atrocities are brought to justice. However, the search for justice in Serbia shaken by the political changes means that personal developments in the area of remorse, grief and responsibility are shunned. The history of locating the victim, sufferers, witnesses, perpetrators or accused quickly turns into a frenzy of a witch-hunt where assessments on the individual level are not conducted. Any attempt of excavation of the past is overrun by the new properties of the nation, which arrived with capitalism - an interest in material culture and its accessories like fame and fortune interlaced with the religious aspirations, which were rapidly developed in Serbia since the fall of Milosevic's state.

Uneasy past must be adequately represented and remembered before the peace can settle in. The term 'peace' here has a literal meaning in connection to the conflicts, but it also has the value as a metaphor, as a reference to the balance of the past in the representations of Balkan territories.

The biggest protest in the decade of Milosevic rule (his actual overturn on the 5th of October 2000 measures on a different scale) has been understated and hardly noticed nowadays by East and West European politicians, scholars and media professionals that are interested primarily in the flow of economic benefits of the country, but this distancing from the significance of the protest that showed a potential for rethinking of the national identity today has even less chance to inspire such a development due to the eagerness for 'progress' (accession to the EU). The quick side-lining of this event left many questions unanswered, including the shouting of a few protesters at the police, encouraging them to go to Kosovo, not to be 'useless' in Belgrade. What was meant by this request, now that Kosovo gained its independence from Serbia? Were the police meant to intervene in Kosovo conflict to protect Serbs or attack Albanians? If it was encouraging violence elsewhere, can we claim that the protest was peaceful and displayed the character of civil society?

"There is no one history, but, since there are different perspectives and perceptions, there are also different interpretations..." (Schlogel, 2008:9). In order to move on from its violent history widely accepted in the West and in many East European cultures, Serbia appears to be jumping the queue, bypassing the laws, forgetting the responsibilities, holding on to selective memories and all for the EU embrace and on the encouragement of especially West European states, which played an important role in both war mongering and brokering of the peace deals. Western Europe calls for justice, peace and reconciliation derived from the memory of war and yet demands the neglect of the same events, so Serbia catches up with EU.

Unable to achieve both requests of this unreasonable demand, Serbia is stuck and further demoted. How to support remembering in Serbia, when memory is mostly interpreted as a drag to the past rather than a discourse of the future? "A liberated treatment of the past is possible in liberated societies that are liberated in every way" (Schlogel, 2008:9). Do such societies exist? The past is not solved, the present interrupts it and the future pushes through like a train. Serbia has to gain economic and political stability, to be able to deal with its past and until this is done, it is unlikely that stability will occur - a situation that appears as a vicious circle.

East Europeans have always been interested in what was happening in the West and open to engage with fashions and freedom, even to the cost of their life. West Europeans generated fears, a driving force of neo-liberal capitalism of job–losses, transfer of industries, corporate crime, immigrant labour etc. These opposite forces between the East and the West play of each other and only exist because the other one is there.

East Europeans are enraged by portrayals of the east as a backwater and they plea for a reassessment of this blend of fear, desire and yearning that penetrates the imaginative exchange between the East and the West. Czyzewski (2014) alleges that without equality and fraternity, freedom brings enslavement and so, overcoming the

ego-centric tendencies of the West that shape contemporary culture is the main challenge of our times. The search for a culture of solidarity therefore, continues.

"In the socialist state, a person felt a duty to care for a fellow human, but now it is considered more important, profitable and civilized to do so for dogs", my father said referring to Serbia's communist and socialist past and the strong presence and influence of environmental charities in the country today. The neoliberal versus essentialist polarity within which the Serbs find themselves is a regressive pairing as it imitates once clearer left or right positions. Instead of finding their own direction towards constituting governance, they now root for the European Union that the majority despises because of its constrained offerings. In the same way, radicals who once could not tolerate the EU membership aspirations of some parties, today promote them.

My project is therefore, a kind of a political revival, which mandates that we perform and practice sociality as we (want to) remember it. We are seduced by the place of our habitat from the imagined past and it colours our memories. Then, as well as now, we see the conflicting demands on civic pride and public utility versus state or private gain. That local phenomenon is operating today on a global level too. The world's play is visible in places like Serbia where the neo-liberal system is stripped to the bone and its infrastructure is cogent – democracy is transformed with capitalism to yet another economic dictatorship that supports the rich and yet 'speaks' for the poor.

Nostalgia

Nostalgia lurks around this research as a critique of the nation – its politics, history and culture. When all the rest has been given up on, people hold on to their communities and land, so the paradigm of nation appears sharply and strongly in contrast to those who have the privilege of freedom. We can see this lack of understanding of nationalism in the Israel and Palestine conflict and its interpretations in the libertarian West. The connection to the land seems ludicrous to those contemporary Westerners who for a long time have not encountered a situation when everything they have, including their identity is taken away from them. Gordon (2008) has explained the gap

between the past and the now as a crack in our knowledge and understanding that we are not keen to explore. It is not visible, seems to be understated and lacks attention and yet it is precisely there that we could find answers to misinterpretations of "the others" and the histories they are influenced by.

However, in resurfaced 'the age of reason' where logic and rationality are at the forefront of knowledge, my writing about the ghosts and imagination as a method of understanding takes me back to the interpretations of the Balkans in the West where I can appear as a basket-case, a backdrop to all mighty European mind for which the Balkans was always a lesser or even a counter-part.

> "…the television [station] was shot at with raw eggs, the main door was broken I do not know how many times, full of eggs, and the 3rd, 4th and 5th floor had the stains of the broken eggs. Nobody could understand because there is not enough of a run-up, even if standing on the opposite [side of the street] who could [throw to] reach the 5th floor? …At the time, my colleagues would produce eggs as their salaries were small. My colleagues would bring me twenty eggs in boxes, I had them in my bag when I entered the television [station] and the porter asked to look into it…I took out two boxes of eggs and I said that they are not for outside, but for my home, for my children. Besides, I said, I do not understand how they can reach the fifth floor with eggs and the security man said: 'It is possible, I've tried!'"
>
> Zitnik-Paunovic, S. 2010[63]

Through my archive, I follow Benjamin's (1968:181) surrealist dictum to reclaim the revolutionary energies of the past in the outmoded way as, "the objects have begun to be extinct"; but nostalgia, Boym (2007:9) claims, is paradoxical: "longing can make us more empathetic towards fellow humans, yet the moment we try to repair longing with belonging, the apprehension of loss with a rediscovery of identity, we often part ways and put an end to mutual understanding".

Articulating a sense of loss can enact exclusions of others in the present (MacDonald, 2013). Eastern Europeans can wallow in their sorrow for the past so the present is discounted, but this phenomenon of 'ostalgia' can be also seen as a Western reach for

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[63] Zitnik- Paunovic, S. interview in 2010

Eastern past or "vulturism, a dubious sympathy for communist culture and the symbols of the past without any political investment" (Pyzik, 2014).

Digital Practice

Like Armet Francis's[64] photographic work that Hall (1997) distinguishes as an emergent practice of representation, mine too is a conception of identity. Francis's photographs of the peoples of the Black Triangle visually reconstruct them and it is the artist who performs their imaginary reunification.

In my search for belonging throughout this thesis, I have imagined the East as a place of the future. I have been building its sense as well as conducting research. Both short and long memory have helped me to construct a material heritage as a common ecosystem of that future space. I have been establishing a personal, biographical connection to this landscape and in doing so enacting a sense of local identification through memory. As MacDonald (2013:10) maintains, I am satisfying "a need for collective memorialisation shaped by a social context of profound dislocation and discontinuity".

Doing historical and visual ethnography online required that I travel to the past for long periods and at various intervals. It left me defeated at not being in that world with the clear vision and attentiveness I'd thought I'd had in 'the real time' twenty years ago. The weight of knowing that no similar research has been done on the same event and the burden of responsibility towards the participants caused the emergence of many blind spots that are easily dealt with by younger generations whose approach to digital technology comes with less baggage. Now 'born digital' (Palfrey and Gasser, 2008), they skip from their representations on Facebook and their Avatars to their real life selves with more ease and so my struggle with this auto-representation appears old fashioned.

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[64] Armet Francis was born in Jamaica in 1945 and moved to London in 1955 where he worked

However, my working style does not correspond to many online applications; Facebook is not a platform I can utilise for my research. In the Facebook group project on Salford investigated by MacDonald (2013:9-10), there are the photographs of social groups that emphasise "the role of automated algorithms to enact 'sharing' and connectivity in an unwilled and unconscious manner, which is in danger of overlooking the important areas of human intentionality and agency determining communication, expression and interaction, albeit circumscribed by parameters defined by the platform's interface and software."

I thought about programmed features which controlled partition – economic, societal, geographic, political and I practiced it in my blog and revealed how it fails. According to Bourdieu (1990b:82), "[t]o codify means to banish the effect of vagueness and indeterminacy, boundaries which are badly drawn and divisions which are only approximate, by producing clear classes and making clear cuts, establishing firm frontiers..."

Limitations, which undergo codification only project precision, permanence and power. Taxonomisation amounts to a 'crystallization' of splits and it carries a symbolic force of 'objectified' borders. Differences, which exist spontaneously in practice, become transformed into objects and quickly, subjects of separation. By examining the modes of symbolic power, the politics of classification emerges.

Event

"[events]…are experienced and constructed in a highly subjective way...our only truth is narrative truth, the stories we tell each other, and ourselves – the stories we continually recategorise and refine. This sort of knowledge and our communion would not be possible if all our memories are tagged and identified and seen as private, exclusively ours. Memory arises not only from direct experience but from the intercourse of many minds".

Sacks, O. 2013

An event is an experience of witnessing, a rapture in knowledge and in history. As the force of time, it is anarchic, affirmative and it is itself an expression of time. In Serbia, after the protest, nothing was going to be the same again, or so it seemed. Due to the adrenalin of the demonstrations, although some claimed that in the Western mediated gaze, all at once, the Serbs had changed from bloodthirsty Balkan warlords to guardians of democracy in the face of an evil dictator, the '96/'97 events were, at best, another aborted attempt at democratisation.

The protest was a sustained uprising against the nomenclature responsible for the Yugoslav wars accompanied by the presence of Serbian nationalist characters and language, Orthodox imagery and symbolism and what sometimes looked like aesthetics and the representation of urban snobbism. I regret the lack of attention to those wars and xenophobia at the protest, but the demonstrators eventually succeeded in rectifying the election fraud, even though the *Zajedno* coalition collapsed soon after. Then, the Kosovo crisis and the NATO air strikes brought about the continuation of post-Yugoslav decay.

The protesting mass, just like its culture was heterogeneous, and its protest 'postmodern political practice' (Routledge, 1997a), which explains a discursive memory of it. Ironically, the establishment at the time of protest – the Serbian state owned media - and Western historical narratives then and today, both represent the protesters as a homogenous group. "From a postmodern perspective popular culture and media become the key battlegrounds, since representation is at the heart of political struggle" (Steinberg, 2004:6).

Still, the protest as an event, its participants as the people of Serbian nation, its place of happening as a geographically determined area, could not break the established reputation they had in the West even though the protesters exhibited unprecedented courage in the face of their circumstances.

The science of history kept appearing here with its many stories about the past, set in chronological order and captured by historians. However, my historical line holds an

empowering amount of records for the Serbian minority whose histories run parallel with the known homogenous course.

In this research, my past is not mine because I am restoring it, conducting a cultural archaeology, connecting cut-ups – a technique used by Burroughs (1961-1967)[65] via digital means to form a story that can challenge the one existing in the West and also in the East. These cut-ups in my geography of self came in the form of narrative vignettes, poems and images, which fixed some of my trembling memory and the memory of my research contributors. We are all haunted by that past, but we guard it as it is precious - a place we, Serbs, visit on our own because our physical territory is so devalued that we do not have a saying in who passes through it and what they make of it, even if these visitors are ghosts.

The full absurdity and impossibility of my research outcome – the archive map came to light one summer in Istanbul, a city I discovered by embracing an object – a book by Orhan Pamuk, *Museum of Innocence* (2008). A thick publication weighed me down like my past does and for the first time I could see my search as a pathetic, romantic, sad attempt, just like Kemal's, one of Pamuk's characters. His extreme transmission of love for Fusun onto the objects she touched was equal to my carrying around this heavy book to all the places in Istanbul that I visited, so much so that my biceps formed. I was obsessed with making sure that the book was present in all spaces I was, in case I bumped into addresses that Pamuk wrote about. I was first interested in Kemal, identifying with him in a positive way, so when Pamuk takes him to *Inci* patisserie, I went too. I, as he and Fusun did, ordered profiteroles, simulating Kemal's obsession with objects stolen from Fusun by putting them into his mouth.

However, the more I read, the more disappointing his life became to me. He was practically living in the past, treating everyone in his present badly, cheating them and himself through the desire to evoke what he thought was and in his mind could

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[65] *The Nova Trilogy* or *The Cut-up Trilogy* is a series of three experimental novels by William S. Burroughs: *The Soft Machine* (1961, revised 1966), *The Ticket That Exploded* (1962, revised 1967) and *Nova Express* (1964)

happen again. He cruelly neglected people involved in the events that marked him, sticking to that unifying idea of time as directional, not taking into account the movement of the social world around him. His suffering was the world. I saw his collection of Fusun's things as the story of Istanbul and I realised that it is that story of the city that matters. The objects that he took were just some stuff without value to anyone but himself, not even Fusun. So, when the museum (building) opened with permission from the city authorities, it was a display of artworks, not facts that guided the viewer through Istanbul. This is where I found Kemal as my soulmate. Pamuk wrote him into a larger story to serve as a guide through Istanbul that we would not see through regular tourist tours. His nostalgic persona deposited information about the city where remnants are visible to the outsider, but s/he is unable to interpret them, so only stares in wonder - unlike Kemal, who is able to consume his past and live it in the present. His journey is familiar, intimate and dear to me because I recognise myself in Belgrade as a passenger in the same vein.

The impossible archive

We are complacent, implicated, compromised by the politics today where we are invited to show the interest for "the other", the knowledge of ambiguity, ambivalence, uncertainty in everything, alternative histories included, the will to understand the events – democratic thinking, broadmindedness, tolerance. Perhaps, we are looking for forgiveness, promotion, even absolution via safe and acceptable route of performing empathy rather than feeling it? We do not really care, but we stage it through creating and visiting the archives and writing about memory. If that is the case, a good researcher can only be led by intuition and honesty; honesty towards oneself and one's research subjects, which raises difficult questions. This one is for me: am I colonised or integrated in the British culture? I have written a PhD in English about the Balkans' experience and I parachute to Serbia to do community projects with NGOs. What does that make me or what is more, who does that?

My conclusions take the form of advice for socially engaged researchers who are interested in furthering the facets of participatory practice, especially arts. I keep repeating them to myself:

- It is not their journey, but yours

- If you learnt nothing, the work did not matter

- Lie to them or to yourself and you or they will never come back

- The work cannot be repeated - relationships are always in flux

Just like going on a memory journey, if I was to do the justice to the people I worked with, I was to respect whatever direction they took when providing information to me. It made my research discursive, exciting, lifelong and if it seems to lack structure, rigor and standard. I ask: is it easy to live in a mess? Does anyone like it? How do you feel when you book a meeting and it does not happen or you ask a question and the interviewee talks relentlessly about something that you do not want to know about? When you have spent years doing this, can't you say that there is something in it, if you have been an observant, reflexive, intuitive researcher? Wouldn't you recognise that the issues presented in front of you are not as simple as academic endeavors, but encompass avoidances, misrepresentations, changes of political and private spheres and disruptions that are not containable, speakable, solvable. If you cut out, neglect and narrow down those incomprehensible nuances to infrastructures of knowledge, your rigor has let you down.

Just like the curator who is trying to tame "the other", our projects are displays of excitement with topics that must feel undone. My digital archive shows this, rather than provide another opportunity to turn over data – compressed, small and tedious pieces of information that hurt the people they suppose to represent.

I believe in Zizek's claim (2013) that the task of academics from the region is to ruin the Western idea of the Balkans. The Westerners who consider themselves open to "the other" upon hearing that one is from the Balkans tell you how their favourite film is *Underground* by Emir Kusturica. In the documentary *Balkan Spirit*, Zizek claims that Kusturica is giving the West what they want from the Balkans, hence the love for his work, which is the love for the West's own dreams. The Balkans' imaginary is bigger than the Balkans itself, because it is the property of the West.

Ralph Miliband, the refugee father of the once would-be UK Prime Minister - Ed Miliband was pronounced in October 2013 by *The Daily Mail as* someone who hated Britain because he questioned its values, past and institutions. After reading this thesis you will sit in the same chair that was facing Ralph. I can only hope that I have challenged the Serbs as well as the British enough to be taken as an agitator rather than a hater of a particular nation. If anyone, I am the person who cannot live anywhere without trying to improve that environment through constant enquiry about the way it works.

"[T]he capacity for bringing into existence in an explicit state...of making public (i.e. objectified, visible, sayable, and even official) that which, not yet having attained objective and collective existence, remained in a state of individual or serial existence...represents a formidable social power..."

Bourdieu, P. 1991:236

Essentialism is provocative – it oozes with experience and authenticity. Neoliberals are threatened by it, as they prefer a bland rhetoric of political correctness, which they are able to swing their way. We – all of us, must be different, not essentialist, but show difference in front of the monolithic and dominant system driven by markets.

In academia, I held on to disciplinary signs, but bypassed them freely if the journey took me elsewhere. Instead of feeling in danger for crossing over an area of study, I thought of it as a philosophical constituency to work with. I was spilling over the edges of expected scholarship as I was investigating the protest in the way it was happening. Similarly, the protesters first sank to cultural discomfort and then exited through familiar and authentic practices positioning themselves as catalysts of rebellion at the time. Even though they were unable to shift the categories by which they grasped the world, they managed to alter their surroundings. The problem is that we as they did not change with it. The Serbs, as 'the New Arabs' may not have succeeded in revolutionising their societies, but they have sensed the possibilities of a new world and the solidarity it will take to achieve it.

This thesis is the search for belonging in that imaginary world and the critique of Western reason within which it is impossible to belong without conforming to its frameworks that come with a history of violence. That history is profoundly negated by the sole acting outside of itself, away from the violence that is transferred onto "the other" – his/her territory, body and mind. In this way, humanitarian reasoning aligns with yet another colonial advance, the positioning of itself as a civilising and not a primitive project whilst 'primitives' are understood as those people who are subjected to humanitarians' primitive practice that stays unquestioned by them.

The protest emphasised endurance as a critical value in the quest for a different order. History in both the East and the West must therefore endure to re-position its narratives to acknowledge its presence. I have created an example of this by re-purposing my writing and the archive in order to demonstrate the possibility of this action. My analogue archive became digital and memories were mediated by this process, but the story is still an account from the past. So, we can adjust, improve and correct the wrong by allowing for alternative knowledge to emerge from history and to include it, in ways that are now possible by the use of technology. Archives nowadays provide possibilities, but it is up to us to keep them alive in order to display many versions of past events and never just the one.

Embodied narrative

I am covered in blotches of eczema. My skin exposed the mixture of Cyrillic and Latin alphabets making my Serbian and British identity visible. The letters are coming out like inverted/inner tattoo. People inflict stories on themselves by needling drawings onto their bodies. My body seems to be a medium for stories to be told without my will. I am more possessed than blessed with this situation. This isn't a reason for my joy and should not be a source of envy from others. Not being able to sleep or having to accommodate non-stop imagination is a lack of peace that I do not wish on anyone, especially when my soul's turmoil shows on my skin. It carves a map as if guiding the viewer through my world and spelling out the destinations of places that I have been in. My narrative is embodied, even as a dream captured in my body.

I write in patches, just like the eczema shows on my skin. My impressions come out on my skin or in my dream, but they do not leave me. I carry them around, pilling them up as the events that Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus,* that Benjamin (1940) interpreted as *Angel of History* caught in the force of progress, which he turned his back to. He, like me, wishes to rewind the chain of events in order to assess them, to stop them evolving until they are understood and one's own opinions of them can be held, rather than having to settle for the given, victor's story brought at one's feet. As victors propel themselves to heroic planes, I fall to victimhood, accepting that I would rather bear that burden, however disagreeable with the given role I have obtained. Between heroes and victims, both posts allocated by the believers in progress, there is no other space that one can occupy without being accused of treason of one or another category. Essentialising is the work of the victorious, just like taxonomy.

I am tired of being taken as a token for the exiles or for the Balkans' people because this recycling of 'the speaking subject' makes me feel like an object. In the global history that is predominantly black and white, I have struggled to devise a counter-narrative, so I have opted for the addition of colour. I have taken an universal narrative and added colourful details to it, which I believe will take it over. I hope these details will rise from the ground and approach universalism in vast numbers from the sides as they do in my dreams. I rely on help from other writers and artists who have also found the Internet as a platform able to provide exactly this – elevate the particulars and fade out the linear grand story, offering alternative interpretations of history. I think of the ignorance of global narrators as active aggression, a prolonged colonisation, which has now taken a different shape, yet it is the same in its intent.

There are fundamental differences between Western liberal discourses and Eastern traditional holdings. The Arab revolutions which followed the East European ones started, lasted and ended with the strong and contentious influence of the West as Younge (2011) claims:

"The west supports democracy when democracy supports the west. But Egypt further proves that, for the west, freedom is a question of strategy not principle. That's why, while most of the world looked on at the throngs in Cairo with awe and

admiration, western leaders eyed them with fear and suspicion. They know that if the Arab world gets to choose its own leaders, those leaders would be less supportive of everything from rendition and Iran to Iraq and the blockade of Gaza. The west's foreign policy in the region has not simply tolerated a lack of democracy, it has been actively dependent on dictatorship."

Serbia does not have dictatorship any more, but neo-liberal capitalism is equally demanding, pretending, just like Milosevic did, that the current state of affairs is the people's will. With my project, I am reminding Serbs, as well as the West of the sound of the people's voice, the look of their freedom and the value of solidarity they made at the protest.

Is the protest like that possible in Serbia again?

"Of course it is, that is the best legacy of the protest – those who are coming now know that they could be driven away."

Posta, M. 2007[66]

[66] Posta, M. interview in 2007

GLOSSARY

Artefact – a digital, physical object or a contained/condensed/enclosed construct depicting boundaries of screen, space or thought

Archive – an artwork that contains a repository of artefacts achieved over time in digital or physical format

Balkan – an imaginary of both Easterners and Westerners around the territory and peoples from Eastern Europe

Community – a group of people gathered around a commonality – activity, nationality, gender…

East – the east of Europe - geographically and the culture it carries

Event – happenings, which one distinguishes as a greater time

Identity – different faces we put on, emphasising different parts of our personality

Memory – a state of the mind encompassing events, representations and experiences from the past

Collective Memory – part of social memory, reliant on place

Cultural Memory - collective identity, which directs one to the shared past

Narrative – the weaved threads of a story

Nostalgia – a condition of the past from which one speaks and thinks in the present

Participation – engagement of people in an activity. In art, it considers the inclusion of people in the production of the artwork

Participants – research contributors, interlocutors, interviewees

Positionality – a political position of the person who acts and speaks according to his/her condition like social, economic, cultural status

Reflexivity – a critical review of previous actions and experiences

West – the west of Europe – a territory and its culture

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Copyright agreement

To whom it may concern:

From:
Kulturklammer-centre for cultural interactions
Trnska 22
11000 Belgrade, Serbia
T/F: +381 (0)11 2455 437

Belgrade, 2016-02-1

Dear Madam/Sir,

This letter concerns involvement of the artist Nela Milic in the realisation of the projects *A Week* Remembrance, *BG LOG :: Memory Archive of Belgrade* and forthcoming *Belgrade protest 20 years aft* implemented by the NGO Kulturklammer - centre for cultural interactions.

Mentioned projects were realised in collaboration with Nela Milic from the conceptualisation to the finalisation. All materials produced within the projects are owned by NGO Kulturklammer and conceded t be presented in Nela's PhD. Being that Nela's artistic work and innovative methodology that sh implemented in work with the projects' participants were the main tool in collecting and editing the materi published on the maps that represent main result of the both projects, Nela has all rights to use th materials for the purpose of her academic work and projects' promotion, as well.

I kindly ask you to consider the stated facts regarding authorship in further processing Nela Milic doctorate.

With sincere regards,

Marijana Simu

Executive Director

mob: +381 (0)64 370 97 14

e-mail: marijana@kulturklammer.org

Appendix 2

Questionnaire
Most of the material from the blog is now on my digital archive map, apart from the questionnaire that will be added to it online at the launch of the project for the 20th anniversary of protest in 2016, so Belgrade citizens who were not captured by this research can contribute to it if interested in doing so in this form. For other contributions, we have an email address as we need to receive material prior to its display on the web as it has to be modified for the best quality it can have on our archive map.

Short questionnaire in English language:
1. Where were you during the student protest in '96/'97?
2. Why the protest happened?
3. How you remember that protest – as something exciting or disappointing?
4. Did you participate in the protest and why?
5. Did you friends, family and colleagues participated?
6. How they looked at you and you on them, did you support or criticise each other?
7. How your participation in the protest manifested – what were you doing so you called yourself a participant, supporter or non participant, non supporter?
8. Did you feel that you are in danger, when and why because/during the demonstrations?
9. What actions and initiatives were good for you, bad, important (New Year, going through the cordon, blue discotheque)
10. Was it important to be on the particular spot or at the particular time somewhere on the protest?
11. How would you describe different groups, classes, parties, generations in protest – make a list
12. By what was the student protest different that civilian one?
13. What was particularly hard to endure – the cold, the news, the blockades of passage?
14. Which actions of individual citizens you remember – granny Olga, giving cakes...
15. Did you participate in the walks and how would you describe them? State different routes, names, the reasons for the walks?
16. Do you consider the demonstrations important for the future of Serbia, what they influenced and why?
17. Do you have protest souvenirs? Can I take them / photograph them / put them on the site?
18. Do you remember the protest as a collective history of Belgrade or a personal history?
19. What is the difference between the protest of '96/'97 and the one on 5th of October?
20. Is a protest like that again possible in Serbia?

Long Questionnaire in English language:
Q1. Gde ste bili tokom studentskog protesta '96/'97? (*dajte samo jedan odgovor*)
   1. aktivno učestvovao/la u protestu (na šetnjama i demonstracijama)
   2. aktivno podržavao/la protest (lupanje u šerpe, sveće, pištaljke i slicno)

3. radio/la, studirao/la, pratio/la preko medija (radio, TV, novine)
4. bio/la na kontra mitingu, protivio/la se protestu
5. nisam učestvovao/la, nije vredelo
6. nesto drugo
(*upisati*)_____
7. ne secam se, ne znam (*samo ako insistirate*)

Q2. Zbog čega je izbio protest? *(moguće je dati do tri odgovora)*
1. Zbog krađe glasova na lokalnim izborima
2. Zbog nedemokratskog režima
3. Zbog želja za promenama (demokratska vlast, približavanje Evropi, "živeti normalno")
4. Socijalni uslovi (tajkunizacija, siromaštvo, sankcije, korupcija...)
5. Inostrane zavere (strane tajne službe, Soros, Bilderbeska grupa...)
6. Nešto drugo
(*upisati*)_____
7. Ne znam (*samo ako insistirate*)

Q3. Kako se sećate tog protesta – kao nesto uzbudljivo ili razocaravajuce?
1. Ushićeno, osećao/la sam da se borim protiv nepravde i krađe glasova
2. Uzbuđeno, osećao/la sam da menjam društvo u kome živim
3. Indiferentno, više me ne dotiče
4. Razočarano, uzalud smo se smrzavali po ulicama
5. Gnevno, iznevereni su svi naši ideali, ništa se bitno nije promenilo
6. Razočarano, to je bio još jedan pokušaj destabilizacije SRJ i pokoravanja zemlje što im je i uspelo 2000 godine.
7. Nešto drugo
(*upisati*)_____
8. Ne znam *(samo ako insistirate)*

Q3a. Odredite na skali vaša osećanja prema protestu 1996/1997 godine tako što ćete zaokružiti broj na skali intenziteta vaših doživljaja protesta. *(Ako je osećanje npr. bliže uzbuđen/a zaokružićete intenzitet osećaja na skali 3, 2 ili 1, a ako je više osećanje bliže razočaran/a brojeve -3, -2 ili -1, a ako je nesto između onda 0)*

Uzbuđen/a   Razočaran/a
_____
 3   2   1   0   -1   -2   -3

Zadovoljan/a   Izneveren/a
_____
3   2   1   0   -1   -2   -3

Ushićen/a   Gnevan/a
_____
3   2   1   0   -1   -2   -3

Ispunjen   Prazan

3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3

Q4. Da li ste ucestvovali u protestu i zasto? (*može do 3 odgovora*)
1. Da, borio/la sam se protiv nepravde i krađe glasova
2. Da, želeo/la sam da promenim sistem (da normalno živim)
3. Da, želeo/la sam demokratsku vlast
4. Da, hteo/la sam da studenti dobiju bolje uslove studiranja
5. Ne, ali sam podržavao/la protest (šerpe, sveće, pištajke...)
6. Ne, bio/la sam protiv protesta to je značilo slabljenje SRJ
7. Ne, to je bila strana zavera
8. Nesto drugo
   (*upisati*)_____

Q5. Da li su učestvovali u protestu vasi prijatelji, rodbina, kolege? (*zaokružiti 1 ako su svi iz okruženja učestvovali u protestu i 10 ako niko vama blizak nije učestvovao. Ostalo zaokružiti prema situaciji) Može više odgovora.*
1. Da, svi bliski meni (*samo jedan ovaj odgovor*)
2. Da, porodica
3. Da, prijatelji
4. Da, poznanici
5. Da, kolege
6. Ne, porodica
7. Ne, prijatelji
8. Ne, poznanici
9. Ne, kolege
10. Ne, niko blizak meni (*samo jedan, ovaj odgovor*)

Q6. Kako su gledali na vas i vi na njih – da li ste se podrzavali ili kritikovali? *(jedan odgovor za svaki red)*

	Intenzivno podržavali	Blagonaklono (sa simpatijom)	Neutralno	Kritikovali	Mrzeli
Porodica	1	2	3	4	5
Prijatelji	1	2	3	4	5
Kolege	1	2	3	4	5
Poznanici	1	2	3	4	5

Q7. Kako se vase učesće u protestu manifestovalo – šta ste radili da se nazovete učesnikom, podrzavaocem ili neučesnikom? *(jedan odgovor)*
1. Učestvovao/la aktivno na protestu stalno ili vrlo često
2. Učestvovao/la aktivno povremeno svaka dva tri dana
3. Učestvovao/la aktivno kad sam mogao (vikend i sl)
4. Podražavao/la protest (šerpe, zviždaljke, sveće i sl.)
5. Podržavao/la protest, pričao/la svima u okruženju o tome pozitivno
6. Nisam učestvovao/la, nije bilo svrhe
7. Nisam učestvovao/la aktivno sam se protivio/la protestu (slabljenje zemlje)
8. Nisam učestvovao/la jer je to strana zavera

9. Ucestvovao/la na kontra mitingu sa suzbijemo zaveru protiv zemlje
10. Nesto drugo (*upisati*)_____
11. Ne znam (*samo ako insistirate*)

Q8. Da li ste osecali da ste u opasnosti, kada i zasto zbog/tokom demonstracija?
1. Da, jer je policija nekada bila bezobzirna i nasilna (*prebijeno je dosta učesnika*)
2. Da, jer se nikada nije znalo kad će policija da interveniše
3. Da, nešto drugo_____
4. Ne, želeo sam da smenimo tu vlast po svaku cenu
5. Ne, uvek sam bio na bezbednom odstojanju
6. Ne, nesto drugo_____
7. Ne, znam (*samo ako insistirate*)

Q9. Koje akcije i inicijative su vam bile dobre, lose, znacajne?

Akcija	Značajna	Dobra	Loša
Šerpe	1	2	3
Zviždaljke	1	2	3
Nova godina	1	2	3
Probijanje kordona	1	2	3
Plava diskoteka	1	2	3
Setnje	1	2	3
Drugo			

Q10. Da li je bilo vazno biti na odredjenom mestu ili u odredjeno vreme negde na protestu? *(Moze vise odgovora)*
1. Da, da se suprotstavimo policiji
2. Da, da nas bude što više i dobije protest na značaju
3. Da, da bi imalo međunarodni odjek
4. Da, da bi bili vidjeni
5. Da, da bi se družili sa istomišljenicima
6. Da, bilo je i romantično
7. Ne, vazno je bilo ucestvovati i pokazati brojnost
8. Ne, tamo su išli ljudi sa političkim ambicijama da budu viđeni i da iskoriste situaciju za ličnu promociju
9. Ne to je bio snobovski. Na nekim mestima je bilo fensi pojaviti se.
10. Nesto drugo_____

Q11. Kako bi objasnili razlicite grupacije, klase, partije, generacije na protestu?
Napravite listu

I KLASE
1. Radnička (bez posla i plata u propalim firmama)
Motiv_____

_____

2. Srednji sloj (službenici, šefovi, osiromašeno građanstvo)

Motiv_____

_____

3. Inteligencija (advokati, lekari, profesori, studenti...)
Motiv_____

_____

4. Predratno gradjanstvo i njihovi potomci (pre II svetskog rata vlasnici oduzetih nekretnina, fabrika i slicno)
Motiv_____

_____

II PARTIJE
DOS?
   1. Demokratska stranka
Motiv_____

_____

   2. DSS (Gradjanski Savez)
Motiv_____

_____

   3. Srpski Pokret Obnove
Motiv_____

_____

III STAROSNE GRUPE
1. Mladi
Motiv_____

_____

2. Sredovecni
Motiv_____

_____

3. Stariji
Motiv_____

_____

Mozete koristiti tabelu ako vam odgovara

Godine	Motiv
18 do 29	
30 do 44	
45 do 64	
65 i više	

Q12. Po cemu se razlikovao studentski protest od gradjanskog? Zaokružiti broj ispred *(može više odgovora)*

Br	Studentski	br	građanski
1	Spontanost	1	Ogorčenost
2	Kreativnost	2	Organizacija
3	Motivacija	3	Demografija
4	Idealizacija	4	Partijska pripadnost
5	Drugo	5	Drugo
6	Drugo	6	Drugo

Q13. Šta je bilo naročito tesko izdržati? *(mozete dati više odgovora)*

1. Hladnoću
2. Loše vesti
3. Zabranu prolaska od policije
4. Sačuvati zdravlje
5. Uskladiti obaveze i protest (učenje i protest, rad i protest, porodica i protest)
6. Drugo_____
7. Drugo_____
8. Drugo_____

Q14. Kojih se individualnih akcija gradjana secate? *(više odgovora)*

1. Prolazak pored Baka Olge
2. Deljenje kolača
3. Gadjanje rezimskih medijskih kuca jajima
4. Drugo _____
5. Drugo _____

Q15. Da li ste učestvovali u šetnjama i kao bi ste ih opisali? *Navedite razlicite trase, nazive, razloge setnji*

1. Prva trasa - krug preko Terazija i Londona, pa Takovske i Svetogorske (baba Olge) do Trga Republike
2. Druga trasa - trasa do Dedinja i Slobine kuce i davanja peticije sa kordonom
3. Treća trasa - trasa preko mosta za Novi Beograd kad su na mostu dokacili panduri

4. Neka druga trasa

   _____
   _____

5. Neka druga trasa

   _____
   _____

6. Da li prepoznajete individualne akcije gradjana (*procitaj pomenute*)?

Q16. Da li su demonstracije bile važne za budućnost Srbije? *(jedan odgovor)*

1. Da (idite na Q16a)
2. Donekle (idite na Q16a)
3. Možda
4. Nisam siguran
5. Ne (idite na Q16b)
5. Ne znam (idite na Q16b)

Ako je na Q16 DA i DONEKLE
Q16a. Na šta su uticale demostracije i zašto? *(moze više odgovora)*

1. Na demokratizaciju zemlje
2. Na brži pad Miloševića
3. Posle njih i uticaja EU i F. Gonzalesa, Milošević više nije bio "faktor mira na Balkanu i zemlji"
4. Demonstraciama je ogoljena diktatura Miloševića
5. Opozicija je ušla u lokalnu samoupravu i zavladala Beogradom
6. Drugo

_____

_____

Ako je na Q16 odgovor NE
Q16b. Zašto demonstracije nisu uticale na promene? *(više odgovora)*

1. Opozicija je ušla u lokalnu vlast i postala korumpirana
2. Vođe demonstracija su ušli u politiku (Čeda Jovanovic, Čedomir Antić) i izdali ideale za koje smo se borili
3. Sve rezultate demonstracija (ulazak u lokalnu vlast) prisvojila je nova birokratija DOS-a i stranačke strukture
4. Korumpirana lokalna nova DOS-ova vlast je dala adute Miloseviću da pokaže kako će biti loša vlast DOS ako dodje na vlast
5. Drugo

_____

_____

Q17. Da li imate suvenire sa protesta? *(jedan odgovor)*
1.Da (idite na Q17a)
2.Ne

AKO IMATE SUVENIRE
Q17a. Mogu li da ih slikam, pozajmim, stavim na website?
1.Da (kontaktiraj me na nela011@hotmail.com)
2.Ne

Q18. Da li se sećate protesta kao kolektivnog cina Beogradjana ili kao dogadjaja iz licne istorije?

Q19. Zaokružite i navedite bitna obeležja protesta iz '96-'97. godine i demonstracija 5. Oktobra 2000 *(može više odgovora)*

Protest 96 ' 97		Demonstracije 5, oktobra 2000.	
1	Borba za ukredene glasove	1	Borba za promenu vlasti
2	Studenti su vodje protesta	2	Gradjani i radnici (Kolubara) vodje protesta
3	Vera u ideale (studenti)	3	"Otpor" (operacionalizacija promena)
4	Želja da se oslabi Milošević kroz ulazak u lokalnu vlast	4	Odlučnost da se smeni Milošević i demokratizuje zemlja
5	Uključenost samo dela urbanog stanovništva	5	Uključenost velikog broja urbanog i seoskog stanovništva
6	Drugo	6	Drugo
7	Drugo	7	Drugo
8	Drugo	8	Drugo
9	Drugo	9	Drugo

Q20. Da li je takav protest opet moguć u Srbiji? *(jedan odgovor)*

1. Da
2. Ne
3. Možda
4. Ne znam

Pojasnite

Appendix 3:

Protest participants and research contributors:

1. Organisers
Danijela Milicevic Kokica - vice president, Main Protest Council
Mira Odic Ilic – art chief of student protest
Tanja ilic
Katarina Kostic – music chief of protest

4. Students
Dragana Karapandza
Aca Stojkovic
Darko Sladakovic
Biljana Jokic
Magdalena Radic
Djordje Vuletic
Nada Miljkovic

8. Key workshop participants
Branimir Stanojevic
Snezana Zitnik Paunovic

5. Family
Dad
Mum
Taja
Tetka

6. Artists
Gorcin Stojanovic – film & theatre director
Sonja Vukicevic - ballerina
Nenad Prokic - playwright
Skart – graphic designers
Biljana Srbljanovic - playwright
Aleksandra Zdravkovic – visual artist
Ljubinka Klaric & Gordan Kicic – actors on
B92 dzingles

7. Photographers:
Emil Vas, Petar Kujundzic & Oleg Popov – *Reuters*
Dejan Vasic & Drasko Gogovic - *Vreme*
Djordje Popovic – photo reporter, *Daily Telegraph*
Zoran Jovanovic – *Vecernje Novosti* (Evening News)
Aleksandra Stankovic, Branko Pantelic, Peca Vujanovic – *Blic*
Miroslav Petrovic – *Daily Telegraph* (DT)
Zoran Sinko - freelance
Vesna Pavlovic – freelance photo reporter

3. Migrants
Zorana Piggott
Dragana Radosavljevic
Jelena Zegarac
Branislav Radeljic

Appendix 4:

Condition of research

On the entrance and in the reception area of the library, the renovation is successful – the library looks modern and stylish. After our talk on the political drudgery that drives economic downfall I look at these see-through panels and walls covered with funky graphic design as embodied corruption. In the office of one of the department leads, I hear about her Democratic Party engagement as Vesna Jovanovic reveals what my research is about. This is her way of assuring me of her competence as well as displaying compatibility with the current party in power, justifying her position in the library. Vesna warned me about this practice. The woman says she needs to search for the material I asked for. She is not sure if there is any or if she knows where, but I should come back. She, as everyone else I encounter asks me for how long am I in the country, as if they are terribly busy and will deal with what I need when they find time. What they are actually doing is avoiding doing anything now. Another way to do the same is to say: "we will speak" (cucemo se) or "we will negotiate that" (dogovoricemo se). It is like "see you later" when you know you won't. It means nothing really – a polite expression for almost "go away now". I do go away, to complete other parts of the library visit – administration – to firstly join, as a member.

I cannot use the National Library in Belgrade without an ID. I do not want to carry my passport around and the fact that it is British makes me even more uncomfortable, so I had decided to go through the always dreadful process of obtaining an ID card (licna karta) that used to be required for all administrative tasks done in Serbia. Everyone has an ID and it was shocking to find out that some people now don't as it used to be carefully stored in everyone's wallet together with a bus ticket or money. So, we all knew how long and tedious a journey it was; to get a confirmation letter of your address from the council where you queue for hours, getting the forms from the post office where you queue for hours; in one part for the bank payment form, in the other to pay the state, then you go to get your birth certificate miles away from your council, possibly even in another city; in all cases queuing for hours. The final stage of this hassle is the worst as you have to queue in the council's office which can take in only a certain number of people a day, so even if you get in the queue, you might not be served – and you come tomorrow with the same chances.

I got my ID in the winter. The queue was outside of the council office and people had arrived at 4 am to take a spot in it. I waited for 3 days – every time I arrived with the sunrise, someone would come out of the building and hand out a piece of paper. The first man in the queue I learnt was a taxi driver, he took the paper then sat in his car. One would then have to go to him to be put on that paper which acted as a register. When it reached 25 or some other number, which was enough for the day, the list was closed.

After the third day, I walked back home in the snow defeated. My aunt, who works as the newsagent couldn't take my struggle to follow available procedures anymore and obtain an ID in a regular way. It was impossible. My cousin said that her father-in-law

had brought a little chair over the summer and had sat in the queue all night to keep a spot when her family needed documents for travel.

My aunty often serves a police officer whom she asked to help me out. A day after, I was in the council with her. She brought coffee and chocolate which were sticking out of her bag as she walked in. Everyone knew that we were to give the 'presents' to the employees because that is how all come to institutions – surgeries, schools, even the post office. I get an ID in an hour.

There is a general belief in Serbia that if you bribe personnel, you will be treated differently. No one comes out of those places with the confectionary they'd brought in, I assume the public servants, doctors, professors, bankers expect that – to be treated for the jobs they do and are often well paid for and regularly – in contrast to how everyone else lives. My Romanian friend Gruia Badescu thought through this custom of 'connection'- doing something via someone you know - and claims that this no loner works in East Europe anymore. He says that he now waits until his family doctor has seen all the patients in the surgery because he is a friend; while anyone who pays the full price has the advantage. It was the other way around once, the people with 'a connection' would also have 'protection' of their time by being served first and by the best…

I pay in the library a short use fee of 3 days and then have to declare where I will sit, so my ID is put in the correct compartment. If I am to use photo documentation, I am to sit in the special section, for journals I have to be in periodical section and for the books, in the central part of the library. I went through a catalogue online whilst at home and I concluded that I should use all library sections, but I have to pick one first, so my seat matches the room number. If I am to change the seat, I have to go back to the entrance and move both my ID and seat.

The procedural saga starts there and does not end for the whole day. The staff rejects my orders as they would rather receive them electronically. I arrive to some point electronically and I am unable to complete the order because the resources appear to a certain date, yet the library online catalogue shows that they are in the repository. For everything that has an unclear reference, I go to the staff who tries to get rid of me either by saying "I do not know" or "do it yourself". In one way or another, the negotiation is over. As with my ID, you are encouraged to give up or look for the "connection" – someone who is in the position of power and can do for you what you need on the premises. I already have Aleksandra, but I cannot exhaust "my connection" so I fight with the system 'til I get tired. I am invited by the Head of Department to whom Vesna has introduced me. She "went to the dusty upstairs" and got some material for me. I pretend to take photos of it, because it is from the protest that I am not researching. There are other employees there who seem to be on a coffee break, smoking. I chat with them about my research – they throw names and phone numbers at me, reminiscing about the protest as we speak – confusingly, interested, but however friendly, they are chaotic and casual. I call a person recommended by the group, who worked as a librarian at the Faculty of Philosophy and allegedly at the time of protest, collected all the student's pamphlets. We arrange a meeting. He doesn't show up.

One of the documents I asked for arrives for me in the library. Another order comes with the note "Not in place". I ask a librarian stinking of alcohol and cigarette smoke what does that mean – I was not at the right place or the book was not at its place? "The book is nowhere to be found", he says. I go to photocopy the one I've got. The photocopying machine belongs to the private company and their staff leaves at 4. Besides, you need to put the books for photocopying into a queue and they might not get done by the end of the day. I return everything I found and go to the toilet.

There is no toilet paper and my handkerchiefs are in my bag in the cloakroom at the entrance. I go home crying and start again tomorrow morning with a schedule of friends and interviewees who will come to visit me in the library café. I send one request and go to see my friend until I am informed what has happened with it. The day passes with nothing taken out of the depot. The library system is down, the staff is nowhere to be found. I had drunk so much coffee, both my head and stomach hurt. On the third day of my visit, some books are waiting for me as they had been on order for days. A librarian looks at me reproachfully for not showing up earlier to pick them up. As we argue, a man falls from the top floor in the reading room. He was a handy man who did not suppose to walk in that part of the library. The woman says she is not going to serve anyone anymore as the man fell. I stand in front of her desk with my order material in front of me. Vesna rushes by and I tell her that I am tempted to steal it. She says it happens all the time and offers to photocopy all of it in her office. I decide to put the books in the queue for photocopying myself and come tomorrow. At home, my mum informs me that the fallen man incident was on TV.

Appendix 5:
Extracts from the selection of Interviews

Dejan Joksimovic

Tad sam bio novinar na radio Indeksu, jedna od dve radio stanice koje su bile anti-rezimeski orijentisane za vreme protesta '96/'97 i obe su bile zatvarane i signal im je ometan tokom protesta… Situacija je trazila, nije bilo dovoljno ljudi u informativnoj, i cela ekipa radija se angazovala i ceo radio je postao informativna redakcija … Takva je bila organizacija posla da je uvek islo po dva reportera koji su pratili te proteste. Ja sam bio na pocetku kolone sa studentskim liderima, nekad je tu bilo umetnika…bilo nas je vise (reportera), uglavnom su to sad ljudi koji su digli ruke od novinarstva osim Joce Palavestre.

I was a journalist then on the Radio Index, one of the two radio stations that were anti-regime orientated during the protest in '96/'97 and they were both closed up and their signal was disturbed during the protest… Situation asked, there was not enough people in the news, so the whole radio crew got engaged and the whole radio became the news department. It was such organisation of the work that there were always two reporters that followed the protest. I was at the start of the column with the student leaders, sometimes there were artists… there was more us reporters, now they are the people that gave up journalism apart from Joca Palavestra.

Cak i posle ove vremenske distance koja je skoro 15 godina, ne mogu nikad da kazem da je (protest) bilo nesto razocaravajuce - velika pozitivna energija, kao ilustracija toga je da ljudi su bukvalno dan i noc boravili sa studentima. Mi smo novinari smatrali sami sebe delom tog protesta jer smo bili-anti-rezimski orijentisani, i tu smo malo izgublili novinarsku objektivnost, u nekim slucajevima davali logisticku podrsku protestima, pozivali smo ljude da donose hranu, tople napitke, odecu kad je bilo cele noci kordon na kordon.

Even after so much time distance that is almost 15 years, I can never say that the protest was something disappointing – a lot of positive energy, as an illustration serves the fact that people literally all say and night spent with the students. We journalists considered ourselves a part of that protest because we were anti-regime orientated and we lost there a little that journalistic objectivity, in some circumstance we were giving logistical support to the protests, we were inviting people to bring food, hot drinks, clothes when it was all night cordon versus cordon.

Ljudi koji su bili u tom studentskom protestu koji su sada presli u politiku, u njih mogu da budem razocararan, ali u protest kao ideju, desavanje i svoje ucesce u njemu, uvek cu se secati sa nekim pozitivnim emocijama.

People that were at that student protest that transferred to politics now, I can be disappointed in them, but in the protest as an idea, a happening and my participation in it, I will always remember it with positive emotions.

Studentski protest je nastao kao produzena ruka politickih protesta jer su prvih nedelju dve dana ljudi koji su vodili protest bili clanovi omladinskih ogranaka iz politickih stranaka… ali su se relativno brzo povukli… mnogo je vise bilo tih nestranackih ljudi koji nisu bili ukljuceni u politiku su prosto izgurali ljude iz politike iz protesta sa tih

znacajnijih mesta, ali je i dalje ceo studentski protest bio finansiran od strane politickih stranaka.

Student protest was made as an extended hand of the political protest because the first week or two people that led the protest were the members of the youth branches from the political parties…but they withdrew relatively quickly… there was much more those non-political people who were not involved in the politics that simply pushed out from the politics in protest's main places, but still the whole student protest was financed by the political parties.

U odnosu na ovaj politicki deo protesta koji su stranke vodile, nije bilo samo studenata ili profesora sa univerziteta, nego i ljudi koji su prepoznali uslovno receno, politicku cistotu, videli su neku iskrenost u toj borbi, ne zbog politike, jer su njima oduzeta mesta u skupstini i raznim odborima, a studenti su protestovali zbog kradje glasova, istine, zato sto je pocela da se propagira lazna istina. Ja sam taj protest doziveo kao borbu za istinu.

In comparison with the political part of the protest that was led by the parties, there was not only students of professors from the university, but the people that recognised conditionally, political purity, they saw some honesty in that struggle, not because of the politics, because their seats in the parliament and in various boards were revoked and students protested because of the theft of the votes, the truth, because the fake truth started being propagated. I experienced that protest as a struggle for truth.

Nama na radiju bilo je i pretnji od strane tajnih sluzbi, odnosno drzavne bezbednosti i tih sluzbi, ljudima su upadali u telefonske razgovore, pa su svasta govorili, do toga da su ljudi koji su radili za policiju i tajne sluzbe su dolazili, prilazili ti na ulici i govorili "Cuvaj se, pazi se tamo, nemojte ovo, imao sam nekad utisak da su to najdobronamernije radili bez znanja njihovih nadredjenih, tako da je bila jedna cudna, konfuzna situacija od toga da vidis da ti neko ugrozava zivot, da ti je zivot u opasnosti i da te progone, do toga da ljudi koji rade isto za tu sluzbu ti govore sta da radis, cak i "Svaka cast kako smete to sto radite, samo napred, nastavite."

We were threatened on the radio by the secret services, state security and those kinds, they were intruding into telephone conversations and talking all sorts of things, to the people who worked for police and secret service approaching you on the street and said, "Watch out there, do not do this… I had an impression that they did it with good intension, without the knowledge of their superiors, so there was a strange, confusing situation from the fact that you see that someone is endangering your life, that your life is in danger and that they are persecuting you, to people that work for that same service are telling you what to do, even, "Good for you, how you dare to do that, just go ahead, continue."

Studentske akcije su uvek imale za temu odgovor nekom postupku rezima, kako je vlast odreagovala prema studentima, oni su sledeci dan davali odgovor na razne nacine, performansima, marsutama setnje, obilaskom institucija.…bile su mnogo svrsishodnije i smisljenije akcije od studentskog protesta nego politickog.

Student actions always had for a theme the response to some action of the regime, how the government reacted towards the students, they were the day after presenting the answer in all sorts of way –

performances, itineraries of the walks, visiting the institutions… it was much more purposeful and thought-through actions by the students' than political protest.

Secam se coveka koji je na setnje nosio prepariranu sovu.
I remember a man that on the walks carried stuffed owl.

Kao kulturni i istorijski fenomen Beograda, od toga bi Beograd mogao da ima vece koristi nego sto ima sad. Smatram to za vredan deo istorije Beograda. To je bio neki period kad je pored svih muka i problema, ljudi biji nasmejani i vrlo rado se smejali i druzili jedni sa drugima i sa potpunim neznancima…koji su mogli da sa potpunim strancima u autobusu I na ulici mogli da stanu Ii da pricaju o svemu i svacemu i da se posle toga mozda nikad ne vide ili ako se vide da se pozdravljaju kao stari prijatelji, to je jedan lep period u tom smislu da je bilo neke solidarnosti, socijalne osvescenosti ljudi, upucivanja jednih na druge…
As a cultural and historical phenomenon [the protest] it could be to Belgrade more beneficial than it is now. I consider it as a valuable part of the history of Belgrade. It is a period when besides all the troubles and problems, people were smiling, enjoying the laughter and became friends with each other, even if they did not know each other at all… they could approach a complete stranger in the bus or on the street they could stop and talk about all sorts of things and maybe do not see each other after that at all or if they do, they could greet each other as old friends. That was a nice period in the sense that there was solidarity, social awareness and directing people to each other.

Slavisa Savic – graphic designer
Ceo taj period gledam romanticarski, suvise sam to emotivno prezivljavao, bilo je tu svacega, sad mozda neki ljudi iz svog ugla drugacije vide, pa im se sve to pobrkalo, a ja ne mogu, tacno znam od datuma kad je bilo od tad do tad…
Cak nikad sa ljudima sa kojima delim te uspomene ne pricam o tome niti se ikad toga setimo, eto bilo pa proslo. Jako mi je bilo krivo kad je prosle godine bilo 20 godina 9-og marta. I tako dese se ti jubileji kao 15 godina protesta, to ne bude ni vest na tv-u… bude neko iz neke organizacije "pokazali smo Milosevicu" ne bude emisijica, razni uglovi, to je bas tuzno, pogotovo sto su to neki ljudi koji su sada na vrhu nesto tad…
I view all of that period romantically, I was surviving it too emotionally, there was so many things, now some people maybe from their angle see it differently, so all of it for them is mixed up, but I cannot, I know exactly by the date when it was to when… I never even spoke about it to people with who I am sharing those memories, nor we ever remember it, like it has happened and it is gone now. I am really disappointed that last year was 20 years of 9th of March or those jubilees happen like 15 years of protest and there is not even one line on TV – there is someone from some organisation who says, "We showed Milosevic". There is not a little programme, different angles… That is really sad, especially because some of the people who are on the top now were made then…

Trebala su nam sredstva, markeri, bojice, kamere i 'ajde kao da uzmemo neku kutiju - donacija i idemo kroz masu. Mi nismo otisli na studentski, u tu ekipu, nego smo otisli na paralelni gradjanski protest na trgu uvece i jednom smo usli nas troje, jedan od nas je nosio kutiju na kojoj je pisalo studenti i samo smo prosli kroz tu masu, nije ni 20

minuta, sporo smo isli i to je, lupam nesto kao sad 3000 Evra. Dok smo mi to prebrojali, ljudi su ubacivali po hiljadu dinara.

We needed material markers, colour pens, cameras and let's try to get a box as a donation and go through the crowd. We did not go to the students' in that crowd, but to the parallel citizens protest on the Square in the evening. Once three of us came in, one of them carried the box that had "students' written on it and we just walked through that mass, not even 20 minutes, we were walking slowly and that was, I am guessing, something like 300 Euros today. While we were counting, people were dropping thousand Dinars.

Delis letke, pa ljudi to uzmu, pa jos ja nacrtao letak, pa reakcija…
You are distributing leaflets and people take it and they react to what I have drawn!

Kad su setnje…idemo mi, ide onaj transparent, ispred nas 100 -200 metara su isli oni momci i imali su obelezeno ono 'obezbedjenje' koji su imali zadatak da zaustave taj saobracaj kad mi naidjemo i tu je bila najludja situacija kod njih.
Ti vozaci, "sta me zaustavljate – zurim", vadjenje pistolja, sve cu da vas pobijem, niko tu nije bio 'bravo studenti'.
When the walks were… we go with that banner and 100-200 meters in front of us walked those guys that has a mark 'security' that had a task to stop the traffic when we arrive and there was the craziest situation – around them. Those drivers, "why are you stopping me, I am in the hurry", taking pistols out, I am going to kill you all, no one there was, "bravo, students".

Bili su oni kordoni, ne moze da se prodje, pa je bilo nesto kao mesec dana od kordona. Bio je lep dan, prolece, tu je bila gomila ljudi u Kolarcevoj, deca crtaju kredom cvetice, pa sve nesto tako kulturni, a samo ovde na Terazijama kod robne kuce se desava sa tim covekom i kolima i ovaj besni, noz, zbunjeni, ovi drugi su jos sutirali njegova vrata,"'ajde bre skloni se majmune" i on okrenuo u smeru ka Kolarcevoj i on je tu poludeo, iznervirao se kako mu se ljuljaju kola, kako moze njemu neko nesto, nije imao kud i on je doneo odluku da ubaci auto u prvu brzinu i on je tako tom prvom brzinom krenuo i nikad necu zaboraviti taj smrad lamele i on je razvio brzinu koliko je mogao, vozio 40. To isto nije naivna brzina i on je isao ka toj masi i ja idem da ga prestignem da javim toj masi koja je okrenuta ledjima, ta deca dole crtaju da ih obavestim da na njih nailazi auto koji ce da ih gazi, ne znam kako ce da se zaustavi, sta ce tu da bude? I on je nekako usao u tu masu i ako je jako gusta i ja samo cujem…obezbedjenje koje je tu bilo je shvatilo situaciju, oni su bili jako pametni momci, oni su shvatili gde to ide a vlast je jedva cekala da se desi nesto negativno, da objave nesto, a cela ta masa je htela da lincuje tog lika. Oni su okrenuli taj auto, sutiraju, lome, taj auto je za 30 sekundi izgubio sva stakla, ulubljena mu je limela karoserija izduvane su mu gume od nogu i ruku ljudi, niko nije imao macolu ili kamen to je neverovatno sta je ljudska snaga. To nikad ne bi znao, mogao bi da gledam na Discovery dokumentarac kako 30 ljudi moze da izlomi auto nogama.
Ovi iz obezbedjenja su shvatili sta se desava i napravili su zivi stit svojim telima da odguraju masu nekih mladih ljudi jer zele da ga sutiraju. i jos neki visoki sa zastavom kao Delacroix. Ne znam kako su oni uspeli da zguraju tu masu i sve vreme 'ljudi smirite se' i oni su nekako odgurali taj ruzni ruski lada tavrija auto, gurali do hotela Balkan i bili su tu jos neki likovi da ga kao jos malo sutnu i samo su ga tamo spustili niz Prizrensku

There were cordons, you cannot go through and there was something like a month since the cordon. There was a nice day, spring, there was a mass of people in Kolarceva Street, the children draw flowers with the chalk and all like that, culture and here, on Terazije by the department store there is a happening with this man in the car who rages, knife, confused, these others were even kicking his door, "common move, you monkey" and he turned in the Kolarceva Street direction and got crazy there, got annoyed that they are rocking his car, how can someone say something to him, he could not go anywhere and he made a decision to get the car in the 1st speed and went, I will never forget that smell of the lamella and he developed a speed as he could, driving 40. That is also not naïve speed and he went towards that mass and I go to overtake him, to inform that mass whose backs were turned, those children draw, what would happen there? And he went somehow into that mass even if it was thick and I only hear…security that was there understood the situation, they were very clever guys, they understood where it was all going… and the establishment could not wait for something negative to happen so they can report it and whole of that mass wanted to lynch that man. They turned that car around, kicked it, broke it, that car in 30 seconds lost all of its windows, lamella, body, its tires were flattened by the arms and legs of the people, nobody had macula or a stone, that is unbelievable what is a human strength. I would never know it, I could watch a documentary on Discovery how 30 people can break the car with their feet.

Those from the security understood what is going on and made a human shield with their bodies to push the mass of some young people because they want to kick it and even some tall guy with the flag…like Delacroix. I do not know how they managed to push that mass and all the time "people, calm down" and they somehow pushed that ugly Russian lada Tavrija car, pushed it to hotel Balkan and there were some characters to kick it a little more and they just dropped it to free fall down Prizrenska Street where it went to Zelenjak. I remember just there on the corner where the bus stops, they let it. That enraged guy calm down a little and I remember one student who took his ID out and he said "Look, my name is, I do not know, Zoran Petrovic (John Smith) and I am going to kill you, you know. And it was about 3 – 4 from the security that moved that car down the hill and we stayed there, look at that Tavrija that freefalls down the street where the buses are coming from and it goes "uuuueeeeuuuuueeee" on its own.

I did not tell that story to anyone and that is one of the million stories. That was all dramatic, uneasy, fucked up, these were not at all naïve situations, one can die and it was funny too. All the time in that walk you are exchanging crowds and talk, these were actual themes, ideas, ideas….

To setnja je po meni najbolja turisticka tura, grad nikad ne moze da se vidi iz tog ugla kao u tim setnjama, kad ides po sredini ulice Dzordza Vasingtona, tek tad moze da se sagleda arhitektura to je potpuno drugi grad.

That walk is in my view, the best tourist tour, the city can never be seen from that angle as in those walks when you walk in the middle of the Street George Washington, only then you can realise that architecture, that is completely different city…

Pred kraj protesta je bilo one buke za dnevnik. To mislim da nikad nije bilo na planeti i nikad nece biti, da se masovno ljudi organizuju bez telefona, Fejsbuka da rade na istoj stvari, to je nesto neverovatno, ides kroz grad i svi su nesto kao reklama za mobilne operatere, prodjes pored zgrade, tip izneo bubnjeve lupa, serpe… to su bile kreativne ideje.

Towards the end of protest there was a noise for the News. That I do not think was ever on the planet and that it never will be that the people in mass organise without the phones, Facebook to work the same thing, that is something extraordinary, you walk through the city and all look as the advertisement for the mobile companies, you pass by the building and the guy got out his drums and hits it, pans… there were creative ideas.

In Mali Mokri Lug, drzi covek svinje i pazi ti kakav je on car i kako da napravi buku, usao u tor i stipa svinje, sto samo govori kako su to divni ljudi, ta kreativnost pokazuje kako su glupe price da mi Srbi nismo slozni. Tako sam nesto tad bio ponosan na ovu sredinu, kao da je ovo centar sveta, jeste odvratno ali svi mislimo isto, svi imao iste ciljeve.

In Mali Mokri Lug, a man keep pigs and check out what tsar he is and how to make a noise, he walks into the pigsty that only tells how wonderful people they are, that creativity shows how stupid are the stories that we Serbs are not united. I was so proud then on this environment, as this is the centre of the world, it is disgusting, but we all think the same, we all have the same goals…

Snezana Zitnik-Paunovic (Pika)
Kravlje zvono nije kupljeno za vreme protesta, nego smo imali u kuci… kao i pistaljke i zvecke.

The cowbell was not bought during the protest, but we had it in the house…as the whistles and rattles.

Nama se ovde toliko stvari, za nas strasnih desavalo, kako se jedno zavrsi, krene drugo i onda to drugo potisne utiske od onog prethodnog… to se sve desavalo po ulicama i nekako se sve isprepletalo...a da nam je sve to u pamcenju, mi bismo poludeli, sreca sto zaboravljamo...

We had so much happened, for us harrowing things, when one finishes, the other starts and then that other presses the impressions of the previous…that was all happening on the streets and somehow it all got interwoven and if it is in our memory, we would have gone crazy, it is lucky that we forget…

Danima smo mi setali, a krug uvek pored televizije se vikalo "bando crvena", gadjali su televiziju jajima… isla sam i ja na proteste setnje jer sam bila protiv programske politike a radila sam u skolskom programu. Na nas je to jako uticalo jer intelektualci,

ljudi koji us bili protiv rezima, sjajni saradnici, sjajni strucnjaci iz tog vremena ima i dan danas koji ljudi nece da dodju na drzavnu televiziu kao gosti, doktori, pesnici, pevaci i u nasem skolskom programu se to veoma videlo.

Kad sam se setala pored televizije nikad nisam vikala "bando crvena" zato sto sam smatrala da je to licemerje, ja radim u televiziji, zivim od toga, moja deca zive od televizije, sto da vicem kad sam napolju "bando crvena" ako ne vicem unutra, bunili smo se mi iznutra, ali nismo imali podrsku.

We were walking for days and there was always the circle around the television [station] where people would shout "red gang", they were hitting the television [station with eggs]… I was going to the protest walks because I was against the programme politics even though I worked in education programme. It affected us very much because the intellectuals, people against the regime, great collaborators and experts…since then, still today they do not want to come to state television as guests, doctors, poets, singers and in our school programme that was visible. When I walked by the television I never shouted "red gang" because I considered it hypocritical - I work at television, I live of it, my children live of it, why would I shout outside "red gang" if I do not shout inside, but we did not have the support [inside].

U to vreme televiziju su gadjali zivim jajima, ulazna vrata razbijena ne znam koliko puta puna jaja, ali treci, cetvrti, peti sprat su imali fleke od razbijenih jaja i nikome nije bilo jasno kako, cak nema ni dovoljno zaleta da bi se bacilo pa ako stane prekoputa, ko je taj covek koji ce da dobaci na peti sprat? U to vreme moje kolege su se bavile proizvodnjom jaja, da bi preziveli male plate i to je uvek bilo da u kutijama donesu kolegama jaja. Meni donesu dvadeset jaja u kutijama, ja to u torbi, ulazim u televiziju, portir trazi da pogleda i u to vreme je trazio svim zaposlenima kao obezbedjenje da vidi sta je unutra, ja izvadim dve kutije jaja i kazem nije to za napolju, nego meni za kuci, za decu. Uostalom nije mi jasno kako dobace jaja na peti sprat, a covek iz obezbedjenja kaze: "Moze moze, probao ja"

…the television [station] was shot by the raw eggs, the main door was broken I do not know how many times, full of eggs, but 3rd, 4th and 5th floor had the stains of the broken eggs. Nobody could understand because there is not enough run-up, who could be that man to even if he stands opposite, reaches the 5th floor? …At the time, my colleagues would be in the production of eggs as the salaries were small. My colleagues would bring me twenty eggs in boxes, I had that in the bag when I entered the television [station] and the porter asked to look into it…I took out two boxes of eggs and I said that they are not for outside, but for my home, for my children. Besides, I said, I do not understand how they can reach the fifth floor with eggs and the security man says: "It is impossible, I tried!"

U televiziji smo bili uvece, a cuje se fizicki napolju protest, to su palili svece za umiranje drzavne televizije, a ja kazem kolegi, molim te prebaci mi na nas dnevnik, kako ce da krene dnevnik kad je ispred televizije haos, nista nasilno. "Dobro vece dragi gledaoci, danas je Slobodan Milosevic, pa onda 15 minuta, malo inostranstva, a nista o gradjanskim protestima." U mojoj redakciji kazem "Gde ste vi na protestima?", a oni: "Cuti, cuti, kakvi protesti," a ja kazem ako nista drugo "posvadjas se sa muzem, izadjes na ulicu, izvices se, bude ti super" – kako da ih navuces da budu masa na ulici? Masa, nepoznati ljudi okolo, a ja sam toliko sigurno bila i svi smo se tako osecali, ja sam Nevenu vodila, ona je bila 8-i razred osnovne skole i svi smo imali isti cilj, treba nesto

da postignemo i ako treba da setamo, setacemo. Toliko dobre energije od svih, ljudi su decu dovodili u kolicima i na ramenima, vrlo mnogo pozitivne energije...

We were at television [station] in the evening and you can hear the noise outside, they were burning candles for the death of the state television and I tell my colleague transfer to our News, how are News going to start where there is chaos in front of the television [station] - nothing violent. "Good evening dear viewers, today Slobodan Milosevic..." and then 15 minutes, a little bit of news from abroad and nothing about citizens' protest. In my department I ask where are you on the protests?" and they say. "Shush, what protests..." and I say, if nothing else, "you argue with your husband, you get out on the street, shout it out and you are super" - how to attract them to be the crowd on the street? Mass, unknown people around, but I was so secure and we all felt that way, I took Nevena (daughter), she was in secondary school and we all had the same goal, we have to achieve something and if we have to walk, we will walk. There was so much good energy from everyone, people brought children in proms and on shoulders, abundance of positive energy...

Nevena (Pika's daughter): Secam se da smo mama i ja nosile na filozofski kiflice i pogacice.
Pika: Pocele da pecemo u 10 da bi u dva nocu bile tople da ih nosimo studentima u Kolarcevoj... Ceo Beograd je donosio hranu studentima koji su bili tu na ulici. Kafu i caj smo nosili u termosima i delili "evo ti dete", a veca kolicina na Filozofski jer su molili da se donese tamo, pa ce oni da dele...
Nevena: I remember that mum and I took rolls and muffins.
Mum: We started baking at 10 so they are warm at 2 am at night and we can take them to the students in Kolarceva Street. The whole of Belgrade was bringing food to students that were on the streets. We brought coffee and tea in thermoses and spread it around "here you go child" and the bigger quantities were taken to the Faculty of Philosophy, because they were asking to distribute it themselves.

Najlepsi docek Nove Godine na ulici je bio tad sa tom pozitivnom energijom, nepoznati ljudi nazdravljaju jedna drugima, pa se ljubimo svi, kristalne case i sampanjac na ulici i to se deli...
The best New Years Eve was in the street with that positive energy, strangers salute each other, we were all kissing, crystal glasses and Champaign on the street and it gets passed around...

U tim setnjama je zaustavljen saobracaj, ali semafori rade, pa smo mi stajali...
In those walks the traffic was stopped, but the traffic light were working, so we stopped!

Tajicka
Mi smo imali nase sire drustvo, ima jedna bandera ispred Narodnog pozorista na Trgu Republike i tu ko kako odakle dodje...i posle smo saznali da ima kamera za saobracaj i oni su tada snimali ko je tu i to smo saznali tako sto me moj tadasnji sef pozvao jednog dana i rekao, a ja sam radila u drzavnoj instituciji i nije bilo pozeljno da se ide na proteste, "Tajicka, kad ides na proteste, gledaj da stanes ne gde da te ne slikaju", a ja kazem "A kako sam ispala?"

We had our wider company, there is one street poll front of the National Theatre on The Republica Square and whenever someone comes. comes there…later on we found out that there is a camera for traffic and they were then recording who was there and we found that out because my ex-boss called one day and said (and I worked at the state institution and it was not desirable to go on protest)' "Mrs Tajic, when you go to the protests, stay somewhere so you do not get recorded." And I say, "How did I look?"

Milan Posta

Da li je takav protest opet moguc u Srbiji?
Naravno da jeste – to jeste zapravo dobra stvar i najbolja tekovina protesta – sto ovi sto sada dolaze znaju da mogu da budu skinuti, znaju kako su dosli I znaju kako mogu da budu I oterani.
Is the protest like that possible in Serbia again?
Of course it is, that is the best legacy of the protest – those who are coming now know that they could be driven away, they know how they came and how they came be driven away.

Bila je jedna reka mladih ljudi, jedna energija - dobra, gotovo festivalska i ako ce to neko mozda da smatra skaradnom, ali nesto je stajalo u vazduhu.
There was a river of young people, one energy, good one, almost like a festival even though someone might think of this now as hideous, but something was in the air…

Gradjanski protest je ono sto su oni koji su zeleli promene zeleli da proizvedu.
Studentski protest je bio svecica koja je palila motor gradjanskog protesta I zbog toga je bilo vazno da studenti uvek budu u nekoj radnoj temperaturi da bi malo po malo neke nase cale I keve, neke nase tece koje sede kuci I bas im se ne ustaje I ako ne vole Slobu (Milosevica) naterali da prvo kazu da im se ne svidja, da lupaju u lonce, pa da se skupe u mesnoj zajednici I da to negde krene.
Citizens protest is what those people who wanted the change wanted to happen. Student protest was a light capsule that lit the motor of the citizens protest and that is why it was important that the students are always in some working temperature so little by little our mums and dads and some uncles that sit at home and do not want to get up even though they do not like Sloba (Milosevic) are made to say that they do not like him first, then beat pots and pants and gather in the communal space so it all goes somewhere…

Prilika da se bude deo necega vece of tebe samog.
A chance to be something bigger than yourself.

Mada uzmi hiljadu mladih ljudi I naguraj ih na mali protest I imaces tu energiju I dan danas…to nije nesto sto je specificno za one godine…
bilo je artikulisano u neki polu-politicki stav I ako se govorilo da student nisu deo politike u stvari su bili sve vreme I izmanipulisani, dirigovarni kao I do sada vise puta iskorisceni, ali to je nesto sto se desava u svim revolucijama, pa eto I nasim.
Although, take a thousand of young people and pile them up in the small space and you will have that energy even today…it is not that specific for those years… It was articulated in some half-political stance even though people claimed that students are

not part of the politics, they were actually the whole of the time manipulated, conducted and many times used, but that is happening in all revolutions, so ours too…

Beograd kao grad, kao kulturna sredina je do odredjene kolicine dodjosa primao, a nije se menjao. Onda su ljudi preplavili Beograd I Beograd se promenio, vise nije mogao da prilagodjava ljude sebi, nego su ljudi poceli da ga prilagodjavaju Beograd sebi.Dobra strana demonstracija je osim sto smo oterali Slobu, je da su se Beogradjani ponovo povezali oko zajednicke stvari.uskomesali, uskovitlali I iz toga je izasao jedan 'gradjanskiji' Beograd.

Belgrade, as the city and cultural environment took on itself a lot of new people and it did not change. Then the newcomers overflew it and it changed as it could not do that anymore, so the people started adjusted Belgrade to themselves. The protest made those Belgraders connect again around the same thing. They floundered, stirred up and came out of it even more conscious of their citizenry.

Ne mogu da kazem da sam se razocarao, ali sam video ljude koji se razvijaiu ili u dobre ljude ili u hijene, I jedni I drugi su I dan danas to sto jesu – neki su dobri, neki su hijene.

I cannot say that I am disappointed, but I saw people developing into good people and hyenas. Both parties are even today good people or hyenas.

Mira Odic Ilic
Meni je najjace iskustvo to sto je ceo grad ucestvovao i sto je potpuno bio prilagodjen, jako su brzo reagovali na sve. Ti jako tesko kao umetnik uvuces publiku u nesto sto je vrlo konceptualno i promisljeno produkcijski i dodje ti publika koja je vec polu pripremljena, ovde su se stvari desavali dan za danom, mi smo vecinu akcija smisljali uvece za sutradan.Bukvalno svaki dan citas novine uvece, gledas sta su oni lupali – sav informativni sistem je bio kod njih.

You read the papers every evening, look what rubbish they said – all information system was theirs. To me, the strongest experience was that the whole city participated and was completely adjusted, reacted quickly to everything. As an artist, one has to do hard work to involve the audience in something conceptual and thought through production and the audience that arrives is already prepared, here the things were happening day by day and we were preparing a lot of actions in the evening for the day after.

Poenta je bila u tome sto su se umetnici aktivno ukljucili i mi smo bili vesnici toga, nama je to bilo zabavno kao ogromna kreativna platforma, nikad ti se nece dati prilika da ti sad smisljas dan za danom neke umetnicke performance i akcije.

The point was that the artists were actively involved and we were the initiators of that, we found that entertaining as a huge creative platform, one would never get a chance to invent day by day some performances and actions.

Mi smo tu Internet koristili koji je njima bio Spansko selo i ovde je bio realno u povoju. Nama je Internet bio fenomenalno orudje posto je svet vec komunicirao na taj nacin, to je bila rupa, nasa vidljivost je vec bila povecana i nije mogla da se kontrolise zbog tog momenta, jer su informacije vec bile ne lako kontrolisane zahvaljujuci Internetu i to sto smo kao umetnici bili potpuno rastereceni toga da je to trebalo da ima bilo kakav

drugi koncept, drugaciji od performerskog jer mi smo znali sta mozes sa masom, jer to mozes, u istoriji su stvari vec postojale u istoriji umetnosti kao istorija performansa.
We used Internet that was "Spanish village" (unknown) and it was really just initiated. Internet was for us a phenomenal tool because the world already communicated and that was our gap. Our visibility was already increased and it could not be controlled at that moment because the artists were totally relived of the fact that the event should have some other concept, different than performative. We knew what one can do with the mass, there were examples of it in the history of arts…

Umetnici se po prirodi ja mislim, tesko ukljucuju u takve vrste desavanja, oni nekako vole vizionarski da gledaju, pa kad se stvari desavaju, njima su se vec uglavnom desile u umetnosti, a ovde se poklopio neki trenutak da smo mogli da budemo ispred te inspiracije naroda, to se skockalo dobro, bio je neki racionalni element tih sada mladih politicara. 70% tog Glavnog odbora su danasnji aktivni mladi politicari. Za srpsku politicku elitu, to je bilo obdaniste.
The artists are by nature, I think hard to include in that sort of happenings, they somehow love to be visionary, so when the things were happening, they already had that happened to them in arts and here it was the moment so we could be in front of that inspiration of the people. That got starched in well, there was a rational element of those young politicians. 70% of that Main council are today's active young politicians. For Serbian elite, that was a nursery.

Ovi drugari sa univerziteta umetnosti su svi bili sjajni, kao neka masina, svako je pronasao svoj neki srafcic sta ce da radi, svi smo bili tu u operaciji, kad bi jedan izgubio energiju, ovaj drugi bi dodavao, preuzimao i to je bilo odlicno. I mi se i dan danas cujemo. Svi smo pronasli neki svoje izvore… I morali smo da se cuvamo, jer smo bili zgodna platforma da svasta preturis preko nas, a objektivno smo bili klinci za tu svu istoriju koju mi imamo u tom trenutku – razne backgroundove, ljude na ivici svacega. Sa vecinom tih ljudi sam i dan danas u kontaktu i odazivamo se kad god se pozovemo jedni druge. I Cedomir bi se verovatno odazvao, ali ne znas kako da ga zoves.
These friends from the University of Arts were great, like some machine, everyone found their own screw in it, what they are going to do, we were all operative, when one lost energy, the other would add it, taking it over and it was great. We were in contact even today, we all found our own sources…and we had to take care of each other because we were a useful platform to get things over us and we were objectively young for all of that history that we have at that moment, different backgrounds, people on the edge of everything…

To traje danima, ti si u tome 24 sata i jako je iscrpljujuce i tones.
That lasted for days, you are in it for 24 hours and it is very exhausting and you are drowning…

Dan posle toga sam ja predlozila da idemo da damo krv i to je bila akcija dobrovoljnog davanja krvi i ovi iz Demokratske stranke su se pridruzili. Mi smo sa Svetog Save napravili ogromnu kolonu, posto su vlasti htele da proliju nasu krv, ne moraju da prave kontramiting mi cemo je prosto dati kao vrstu performansa – ti reagujes, jer oni to hoce, pa nema problema i tu se ukljucio ogroman broj ljudi.

The day after I suggested that we donate blood and that was the action of the voluntary blood giving and those from Democratic party joined us so we made a huge procession from the Saint Sava temple. Because the government wanted to spill our blood, they do not have to make a counter meeting, we are going to simply donate ours as a type of performance – one reacts… because they want it, no problem and the huge number of people joined….

Posto su hteli da se izoluju od nas mi smo napravili zid oko skupstine, svako je spustao po ciglu posto se oni ogradjuju od nasih akcija.
Because they wanted to isolate themselves from us, we made the wall around the Parliament, everyone put a brick by brick because they were distancing themselves from our actions.

I stari su postali mladi, zivahni, nisu vise namrsteni.
Old people became young, lively and not gloomy.

Svaki put kad bi videla tu kolicinu ljudi, pun trg, nepregledno kad se popnes gore, ti ne vidis gde je kraj toga, oni stoje strpljivo u veselom raspolozenju i prihvataju svaku vrstu interakcije, kroz razgovor, sta cemo raditi, oni slusaju i rade to, meni je to fascinantno, a razlicitih backgrounda.
Every time I would see that quantity of people, the full square, not finishing when you climb up, you cannot see the end of it, they stay patiently in the cheery mood and accept every kind of interaction, through conversation, what will we do, they listen and do that. To me that was fascinating and all were of a different background.

My father, Momir Milic
Jel' se secas kad je Paja lupao u kontejner?
Do you remember when Paja was beating the container?
Najbolja je bila neka grupa koja je imala onu sirenu za specijane prilike, znas onu uhuuuuu
The best was the group of people got this siren for the special circumstance, so it went UUUUUUUUUUUBOOOOOOOOOOO
Kupio sam jednu plasticnu sirenu na tezgi u Knez Mihajlovoji kupio sam jednu za Miodraga. Koristim je ponekad danas da zovem Micka kad ne cuje telefon.
I bought one plastic siren on the stall at Knez Mihajlova Street and I bought one to Miodrag (my cousin) too. I use it now sometimes to call Micko (neighbour) when he can't hear the phone.

Jaroslava Celovic
Arhiva svoj zivot zivi i to opiranje je fantasticno, zadivljujuce, a kada se jednom sretnes sa arhivom, kad ozbiljno se upusts, ili si mlad ili radis neki rad, ti shvatis koja je to ziva vrednost.
Archive lives its own life and that resistance is fantastic, fascinating and when you face it once and seriously involve yourself in it or you are young and doing some work with it, you understand it is a live value.

Sta je uopste dokument, kakav je odnos prema dokumentu kao traganje za istinom – pronalazenje istinitosti. Istina je absolutno nemoguca uopste u formulaciji sa bilo

kojom konkretnom, prakticnom stvari. Istinitost je bliza agnocistizmu nego verovanju, a istina uvek mora da bude u sferi verovanja ne vera kao religijska nego verovanje, poverenje u neku mogucnost pronalazenja postojanja, a agnostici moraju da se uvere u to tako da dokument bi najvise bio agnosticko shvatanje, on sluzi kao svedok i provera. What is in essence a document, what is a relationship towards a document as a search for truth – the seeking of truthfulness. The truth is absolutely impossible in formulation with any concrete, practical thing. The truth is close to agnosticism rather than a belief. The truth always has to be in a sphere of belief, not as a religion, but a belief, the trust in some possibility of finding the existence and agnostics must get convinced in it so that document is mostly an agnostic understanding and serves as a witness and a check.

Sta su bile demonstracije tada '96/97?To je sad samo dokument o duhu jednom vremena, tu je interpretacija pirlicno vazna. Postoji neki sirov dokument koji smo tamo spakovali, ja sam se jako potrudila do detalja, beznacajnosti nekih u opisu sta je na tom materijalu i tu su se zavrsili protesti, nestali su, ugasili se. Posle izvesnog vremena, Karic koji je bio lukav seljak je shvatio da ima neki material i cak je nasao cak coveka koji moze da obradi taj material nekog reditelja Vlada Perovica koji je napravio dokumentarni film koji je u stvari laz o dogadjaju.On je napravio neku romansu o dogadjaju koji prevazilazi svakog kome moze licni dozivljaj da bude romansa u tome, a ne moze opsti zakljucak da se napravi.Taj material je jedino koristan, kao pojedinacni snimci. Ta upotreba je bila zlopotreba.
What were those demonstrations in '96'97? That is now only a document about the spirit of one time – the interpretation there is very important. There is some raw material that we were packing. I was trying very hard about the details, banal things in the description of what is on that material and then the protests ended, disappeared, shut down. After some time, Karic (Ljubomir – owner of BK television) who was a cunning peasant understood that there is some material and he even found a person to process that material, the director Vlada Perovic who made a documentary film that is a lie about the event. He made a romance about the event that exceeds a romance of everyone as a personal experience, but you cannot make a general conclusion. That material is only useful as single shots. That use was misuse.

Sama arhiva je dokument, jer ona moze da izvlaci teme.
The sole archive is a document because it can draw out themes.

To je sve bilo tajno, a ja sam belezila, terala one decake (Silja) da mi cuvaju to, spasavala trake da ih imam, da ne brisem nista. Meni niko nije nove trake davao, ali ja to cuvam, pa nocu pakujem.
That was all a secret, but I was recording, making those boys to keep it for me, saving tapes so I have them and do not erase anything. Nobody was giving me new tapes, but I saved (the records) and sorted them by night.

Ja sam starica koja je zeljna da isprazni te reci, ne nose se reci nigde.
I am an old women who is eager to empty those words, they are not carried anywhere.

Veca sila je bila '91, cak je imala i buducnost, ova '96/'97je vec odumirala.

There was a bigger force in '91 and it even had a future, this one in '96/'97 was already dying.

Strasno su zlocudni pokusaji umetnicki koji su losi na tu temu. Mozda su najbolji, najlepsi su oni koji su najlicniji, najdalji, slikarski recimo, koji su samo pitanje boje, tehnike, inspiracije, unutrasnje neke potrebe, mozda su oni koji imaju reci najudaljeniji od istine, istinitosti.

Those artists' attempts on that subject, if they are bad, they are uterine. Maybe the best ones are those that are the most personal, the most distanced, painters' for example that are a question of colour, technique, inspiration, some inner need, maybe those that have the words are the most further from the truth and the truthfulness.

Aleksandra Sekulic Caca

Mi smo poceli da razmisljamo s kojim pravom se studentski protesti 90-ih mogu podrazumevati kao jedan kao bilo sta sto ima iste vrednosti… Neki nikad nisu istorizovani kao sto je protest na Filoloskom fakultetu '99…

We started thinking with what right the student protests in the 90s could be taken as one or anything that has the same values… Some of them never got historicised as a protest at the Faculty of Philology.

'96/'97 se medju rezigniranim studentima gubitnicima 90-ih - to su oni koji 2000 ne mogu da dozive kao direktnu svoju pobedu jer nisu poznavali mnoge iz Otpora i nisu se prepoznavali u tome i tu pobedu, oni '96/'97 vide kao vrhunski poraz velike snage i entuzijazma od tri meseca, jedan kompromis koji je napravljen koji je upropastio dalju mobilizaciju gradjana zato sto je uspostavljen negativni primat, zato ga ljudi i potiskuju, zato sto su investirali svu svoju energiju. Sve ono pozitivno sto je ostalo u Srbiji tada se ispoljavalo i porazeno je. To je jedan gubitak koji ovde nikada na taj nacin nije ostvaren i priznat osim kao mitsko vreme a zapravo unutrasnje osecanje je bio potpuni poraz .'97 godine su bili predsednicki izbori gde je Seselj pobedio nezvanicno. Nista od tekovina '96/'97 nije ostalo u roku od 6 meseci. To je porazno. '98 imamo najmracniju godinu u Srbiji sa dva zakona o informisanju.

96/'97 is among other resigned students losers of the 90s, those who could not take 2000 (the removal of Milosevic on the 5th of October) as their own direct victory because they were not knowing many from Otpor and did not recognise themselves in it, they experience it as a top defeat of the big strength and enthusiasm of three months, a compromise that was made which ruined further mobilisation of the citizens due to the establishment of the negative primate because people supress it, because they invested their energy. All positives that were left in Serbia manifested then and got defeated. That is a loss that was here never realised and acknowledged, but only as a mythical time and the inner feeling was a total defeat… In 1997 there were presidential elections where Seselj (radical party leader) unofficially won…Nothing from the achievements of the '96/'97 has not stayed in the period of 6 months. That is defeating. In '98 we have the darkest year in Serbia with two Information laws.

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