



# TRANS EUROPA FESTIVAL







TRANSEUROPA  
FESTIVAL

4th > 27th October 2013  
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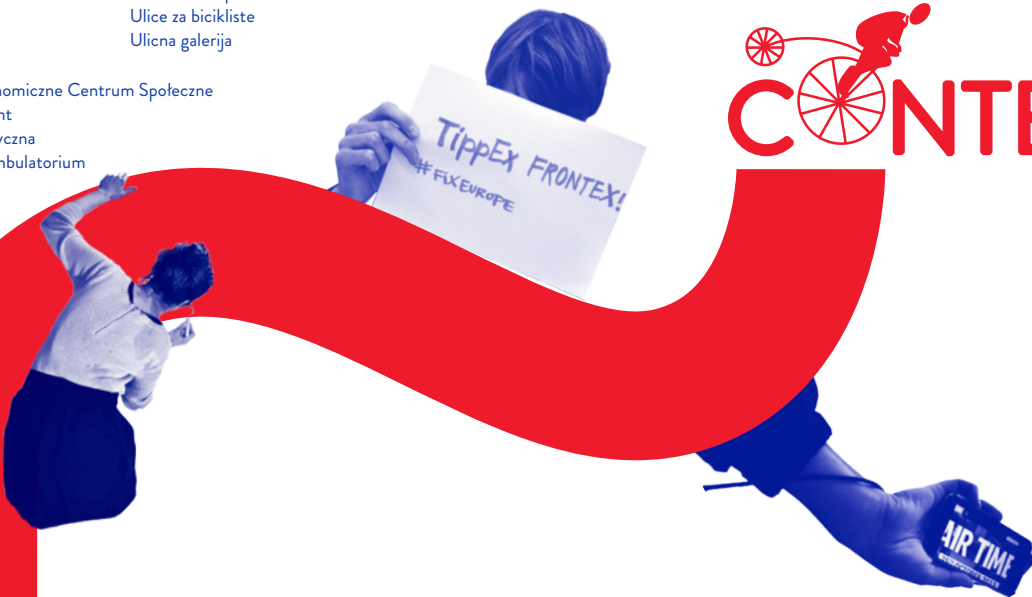
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**IMAGINE DEMAND ENACT**



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# Festival Agenda



## London

- Air Time** // Art Performance
- Facilitating Consensus and Overcoming Barriers in Horizontal Groups** // Workshop
- (Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fest
- Migrant Resistance: Protests, Art and Movements** // Debate
- Co Design: My 2020, Imagining 2020, Rediscovering the City, Making Sense of Europe, Subverting Stereotypes, Twerk Your Network** // Exhibition
- Urban Game with Bologna** // Urban Game
- Neo-nomadism and the Lifestyle Hackers** // Workshop
- Remaking the City** // Workshop
- Social Circles** // Workshop
- Rempapping the City** // Urban Game
- Asset Mapping and Opportunity Realisation** // Workshop
- A Different Economy** // Debate
- Introduction to Workers Co-ops** // Workshop

## Amsterdam

- Air Time** // Art Performance
- (Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fest
- Tour d'Europe** // Bike Tour
- Labour Migration within the EU** // Film Screening
- Journey through Europe** // Cultural Evening
- Living Library** // Living Library
- Making a Living** // Making a Living
- Europe, Economy and the Electorate** // Debate



## Barcelona

- Air Time** // Art Performance
- (Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fest
- Micromachismos** // Urban Walk
- Play and Dialogue** // Urban Game

## Bologna

- Cittadini Alla Seconda** // Debate
- Three Cities** // Urban Game
- Bike to Art** // Art Performance

## Paris

- Air Time** // Art Performance
- The Pipe** // Film Screening
- (Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fest
- Mobilisations Citoyennes et Europe** // Debate
- La Liberté de la Presse** // Debate
- En SEL(le)** // Bike Tour
- Tous Précaires!** // Living Library
- Kaimaki + Bibbesque Blues Trio** // Concert Jazz/Blues



## Bratislava

- How to Be "in"** // Debate
- Streets are Ours** // Art Performance
- Intelligent Energetics: From Dependency to Self-sufficiency** // Film Screening
- The Prodigy Child** // Theatre



## Brussels

- 'The Routinisation of Administrative Detention of Migrants and Free Movement of Citizens - Time to Explore Alternatives'** // Conference at the European Parliament





## Berlin

**Air Time** // Art Performance  
**Nikolandia** // Urban Walk  
**Community Lovers' Guide** // Bike Tour and Book Launch  
**What if there was Another Europe?** // Exhibition  
**Imagine! Demand! Enact! an Alternative Europe** // TRANSEUROPA Forum  
**Are you Uncomfortable Disrupting Normal Behaviour?** // Debate  
**Presentation of the Citizens' Manifesto** // (Mani)Fest  
**Un-conference** // Un-conference  
**Enacting Citizenship in Times of Internet Surveillance** // Debate  
**TRNSNTNL PRTY** // Party

## Prague

**Air Time** // Art Performance  
**Do Migrants Want Czech Citizenship?** // Debate  
**Migrants Photograph Migrants** // Exhibition  
**35 Months with Nataalka** // Film Screening  
**Beauty in Diversity!** // Living Library  
**Bike Tour of Hidden Prague** // Bike Tour  
**TRANSEUROPA Party** // Party

## Belgrade

**Tumbleweed** // Art Performance  
**Mikro Festival of Amateur Films** // Film Screening  
**XXXI Critical Mass with Freak Bikes** // Bike Tour  
**Potential Spaces and Possibilities for their Occupation** // Debate

## Sofia

**Air Time** // Art Performance  
**The Bulgarian Protests** // Debate  
**Fortress Europe: Migration in Focus** // Debate  
**Fortress Europe: Migration in Focus** // Film Screening  
**Transeuropa Bike Tour** // Bike Tour  
**Emotional Objects** // Exhibition  
**City Scavenger III** // Urban Game

## Lublin

**Rebel within the City** // Film screening  
**Reclaim the City!** // Film screening  
**Transnational Walk** // Urban walk  
**Women on Job Market** // Film screening  
**Precarity 25+** // Debate  
**What Citizens can do?** // Debate

## Warsaw

**Air Time** // Art Performance  
**(Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fests  
**Imagine Africa** // Film Screenings  
**Design Your Career** // Workshops  
**Social Market** // Social Market  
**City Partnerships** // Conference  
**TRANSEUROPA Walk** // Urban Walk  
**Multicultural Jamming and Living Library** // Concert and Living Library

## Cluj Napoca

**Air Time** // Art Performance  
**No Fracking Way!** // Debate  
**At Reduta in Rosia Montana** // Debate  
**Tous au Larzac** // Film Screening  
**NGOs Café on Citizens' Pact** // Debate  
**Lectures on Democracy** // Debate  
**(Mani)Fests** // (Mani)Fests  
**Migrant in Cluj** // Living Library  
**The Cha(lle)nge - Alter Communities** // Debate  
**ManasTour** // Urban Walk  
**5 Factories - Workers' Control in Venezuela** // Film Screening  
**Closer to What We Eat** // Debate  
**Concert** // Concert



IMAGINE

# editorial

Ségolène Pruvot, TRANSEUROPA Festival Coordinator

The political situation in Europe is appalling. Those who are convinced by the European ideal are trembling, and they have good reason to do so.

The litany has been repeated many times: The level of trust in European Institutions is at a record low. Eyes are turned towards the European Parliament **elections** in May 2014, and the prospects are gloomy: a potential low number of voters, especially amongst the younger generations, and a possible rise of anti-European and xenophobic **political parties**. The real risk that the UK and Hungary exit the EU in the coming years adds to the poor outlook. Economic prospects remain bleak. Levels of **unemployment** are high and the move towards another economic model remains a dead letter. **Solidarity** is under serious threat and some countries, and their citizens, are being openly stigmatised, as is the case with the ones the international press called P.I.G.S. countries (Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece, Spain), as well as Romanians and Bulgarians as they gain free movement rights. **Xenophobic discourses** are on the rise, as well as regressive attacks towards migrants and the Roma.

But this is no reason to fall into lethargy and despair, and to renounce the very humanist and progressive ideal of a **European Union** of people who together, share and shape a common future. On the contrary, this is the moment to mobilise to advance this vision.

At European Alternatives, we believe in a truly transnational Europe, in which key decisions that affect the whole of European society are not held hostage to nation-states or private interests. We are convinced that it is possible to build a **democratic Europe** in which residents have equal rights and



**DEMAND**

opportunities, and in which culture and arts can fully play their role, trigger new ideas and synergies between people. TRANSEUROPA Festival is a creative citizens-led action that has this alternative Europe as its goal. It is a new form of action, which combines political, artistic and cultural approaches to provide a common space for people who are physically apart.

The 2013 edition of TRANSEUROPA Festival had a simple three word slogan: Imagine, Demand, Enact!

**'Imagine!'** is a call for everyone to engage in creative activities that create new possibilities for action, and prefigure the emergence of an alternative Europe.

**'Demand!'** claims that demands must be articulated in order to be heard, and invites everyone to join forces beyond borders to make their demands stronger.

**'Enact!'** is a call for action and for the reinvention of the modes of actions in order to foster a bottom-up democracy on a European scale.

From Belgrade to Barcelona, from London to Bratislava, from Cluj-Napoca to Paris, people have been invited to engage in this movement while taking part in artistic performances – such as Air Time, the Festival's opening event– or in urban games, walks, bike tours, film screenings, debates, forums and workshops.

In the **14 festival cities**, participants had the opportunity to engage in creative, artistic and fun activities, as well as looking at important local issues with a European perspective, and to plan coordinated actions at the European level.

This year's TRANSEUROPA Forum in Berlin, the Festival's closing event, saw the presentation of the Citizens Manifesto for European Democracy, Solidarity and Equality, the result of a three-year long consultation process around Europe. The TRANSEUROPA Forum provided the grounds for **further actions** to be developed in 2014, 2015 and beyond.

A transnational festival taking place simultaneously in 14 cities, which encompasses several topics and activities may seem quite an ambitious and, for some, even a rather crazy project.

Indeed, each new edition of the Festival requires the year-long mobilisation of more than 200 people: volunteers from all corners of Europe, staff, partners and an enormous amount of time and energy. But TRANSEUROPA Festival is also an unforgettable transeuropean experiment, made of beautiful encounters and of the discovery of **new ideas and movements** going in the same direction. And each year, it makes the objective of building an alternative Europe feel more realistic and achievable.

A bottom-up, alternative Europe cannot emerge without huge efforts on the part of **European citizens**, and, I believe, it cannot happen without a good amount of fun and creativity. That is why TRANSEUROPA Festival is such an original and valuable project.

This catalogue invites you to discover TRANSEUROPA Festival 2013. I hope you will feel enthused by it, and it will inspire you to want to help shape its next edition by joining European Alternatives.



**AIR TIME**  
25TH OCTOBER 2012



Imagine  
Movements  
Enact  
Active Citizenship  
Creation  
Arts  
Demand  
Protest

# CREATIVE RESISTANCE





# On Air Time

**AIR TIME is an audio artwork that has been performed simultaneously across Europe during the opening day of Transeuropa Festival. In order to participate in the performance, one had to download the audio track from the Transeuropa Festival website to a smartphone or an mp3 player, and then reach the designated location at the agreed time. The track is about 40 minutes long and gives instructions to participants on how to interact with the surrounding space and people.**

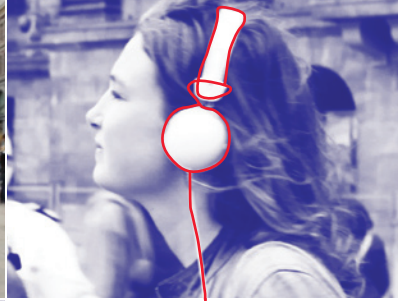
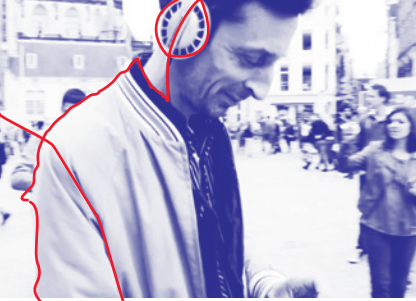
It is the result of the **collaboration among 13 artists from all over Europe**: Anna Hoetjes, Amsterdam; Jordi Ferreiro, Barcelona; Joanna Von Mayer, Berlin; Flaviu Rogojan, Cluj-Napoca; Kerri Meehan and Alex Ressel, London; Alexandre Poisson and Alice Lahana, Paris; Roman Štětina, Prague; Elisa Abela, Rome; Nataliya Todorova, Sofia; Wojciech Tymicki, Warsaw.

The production of AIR TIME was coordinated by the German artistic collective LIGNA, which specifically adapted their signature *radio ballet* performance-style to this transnational event.

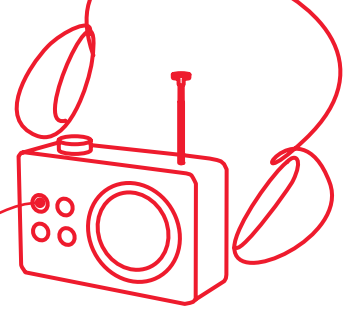
On 5th October 2013, AIR TIME took place in the public space of ten European cities: Parliament Square in London, Dam Square in Amsterdam, Forat de la Vergonya in Barcelona, Alexanderplatz in Berlin, Place du Trocadéro in Paris, Vaclavske Namesti in Prague, Tiburtina Train Station in Rome, Copernicus Monument Square in Warsaw, Piața Unirii in Cluj-Napoca, and Ivan Vazov National Theatre Square in Sofia.

A re-enactment of AIR TIME was held at Pariser Platz in Berlin, on Friday 25th October 2013, for the opening of TRANSEUROPA Forum. It saw the participation of Turkish activist Erdem Gündüz (see pages 18-19), the LIGNA collective and of more than 70 people who staged a 40-minute long **choreography** inspired by the actions and the ideas of movements of protests all around the world.

We publish hereafter an extract of the original transcription of AIR TIME.







**Read slowly and hypnotically:**

Walk around for a while as a wanderer.  
Dispersed all over the space, you're listening to a voice,  
a spectator of your journey.

...

Please stop and close your eyes,

...

Try to escape reality.  
Use your imagination as a way to travel.  
Your mind is powerful.  
You're standing without moving, leaving the  
sensations of your direct environment behind you.

...

You can now open your eyes.  
You've been standing here together with many  
other people.

...

Standing silently, listening to this voice, which is heard  
simultaneously in ten different cities over  
Europe.

You transformed the "you" into "we".  
We have created an open space together.  
You are at the beginning of your journey, evolving  
between the physical world and this intangible  
platform we've made together.  
Slowly start walking.

...

Look at the ground. Think about lying down here.  
Are you worried about the dirt? Or are you  
uncomfortable disrupting normal behaviour?  
Smell the air around you. Does it smell bad?  
If it does, take a few steps away until it smells better.  
Don't worry, we are still in the temporary  
autonomous zone here, no dirt or normalities will stop  
you. Now lie down on the street.

...

Listen further into the ground. Listen to the moving  
earth. The continental plates are shifting.  
Africa is slowly moving towards Europe. It will join and  
form the supercontinent Eufrosia.  
Millimeter by millimeter, mountain ridges are  
forming and borders are changing. The earth  
underneath you is rising up and you are catching

on as a temporary traveler.

...

Stand up and look around you.  
Look at the other people on the square.  
Now please come closer together. Yes, start walking  
towards each other so all of you are very close together,  
don't be shy you are not strangers. Please stand  
closer to each other, you are a collective so look like one,  
stand as close to each other as you can,  
do not talk to each other.

Feel the body of the collective swarm a little bit -  
you can poke,  
(now always spoken with a little pause)

touch,  
scratch,  
rub,  
shake,  
push

Feel the body of the collective.

Stay close together and do not walk away under any  
condition.

Now please listen carefully.

Now the collective starts walking.

Moving forward, with everyone.

The collective stays together, walks together and has the  
same direction. You are walking now.

Just walk, but stay together, do not spread, do not  
disperse, you are the collective.

Walk towards whatever the collective wants to walk to.

Remember, stay as close to each other as you can.

Feel the will of the collective, keep on moving.

You move as one and you walk as one.

Stay together,

let the will of the collective find a destination.

Keep on walking, find your own direction.

But walk together.

Walk a little bit more.

You have walked long enough.

Stop now.

Stay together.

Are you stopped?

Do not move.

The collective has stopped.

...



Sound effect: BANG!

Run away from each other. Run as fast as you can, until you reach the most distant point in space you can within this square.

STOP, Observe each other at a long distance.

...

Find the others and create a barricade with your body.

Try to block the walkway together with the barricade.

(Franco BIFO Berardi speaks):

“Social solidarity is not an ethical or ideological value: it depends on the continuousness of the relation between individuals in time and in space. The material foundation of solidarity is the perception of the continuity of the body in the body, and the immediate understanding of the consistency of my interest and your interest.”

Maintain the barricade.

Do not let anyone pass, unless they are innocent and in distress. Maintain the barricade.

...

Run away, disperse.

Lose the others out of sight.

Run into the side streets of the square.

...

Stop.

Stand still.

Put your hands in your pockets and look ahead.

...

Since 2010, there have been protests in over a hundred countries. Algeria, Arabia, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bolivia, Bosnia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Catalonia, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Herzegovina, Honduras, Hong Kong, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Macedonia, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Ukraine, Western Sahara, and the Yemen. Approximately 122 000 people have died from injuries sustained at protests around the world in the last 3 years. No protest is like any other. Each is singular in time and space and in relation to other phenomena.

...

Look around, you are one person in a city, who is taking part in a collective action, which is taking place in 10 cities around Europe. In each of those cities there are people listening, at the same time, to the same thing. We can't always see each other, but we know one another is there.

**-END-**

The AIR TIME performance and its parent project SHAREs – Informing Transnational Action have been supported by the Culture Programme of the European Union and by Allianz Kulturstiftung, with the additional contribution of DAZ – Deutsches Architektur Zentrum (Berlin), MACRO – Museum of Contemporary Art (Rome) and Red House (Sofia). The project SHAREs has been coordinated by Emanuele Guidi.



- Air Time • The Bulgarian Protests •**
- Rebel within the City • Reclaim the City! •**
- No Fracking Way! • At Reduta in Rosia Montana •**
- Tous au Larzac • Facilitating Consensus and  
Overcoming Barriers in Horizontal Groups •**
- Are you Uncomfortable Disrupting Normal Behaviour? •**



# Protests in the Periphery of Europe

Mariya Ivancheva

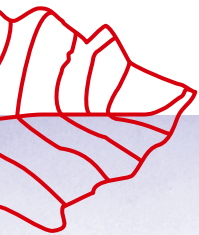
While **Europe has been shaking with protests** against austerity, the bail out of banks at the expense of taxpayers, the increasingly precarious state of labour and rampant unemployment and the suffocating crisis of political representation, **the protests in Bulgaria and Ukraine**, which have been addressed with increased surveillance and police brutality, have come with pro-European and pro-EU slogans. For EU enthusiasts, however, it might be too soon to celebrate. The pro-EU slogans in these countries should **not be used to reinforce the EU's current line of action**. On the contrary, if some clear signals from the periphery are not recognized soon, Europe risks being drowned by the floodgates it has willingly opened itself.

The mass protests in the two post-socialist countries that have been taking place over the last two years have been triggered by rather divergent circumstances. In the Bulgarian winter of 2013, protests against electricity price hikes were quickly followed by an extended wave of anti-governmental protests, which are still on-going. A return to morality was demanded together with more 'civilized', 'European' politics. Viviane Reding, the European Commissioner for Justice, was called by posters to become the new Prime Minister. What was forgotten, however, was the crucial role that the EU played in incentivising **the privatisation of public goods and services**, which cost Bulgaria hundreds of thousands of unemployed, and over a million migrants. The agreement of Ukraine with the EU that triggered the recent protest wave in 2013 contained similar requirements for subordination of Ukraine to the European market and free movement of capital at its expense. This went **without any significant guarantee for free movement of people**, which has been one of the most painful topics for this impoverished post-Soviet nation, which millions have left to work abroad. The frame of Europe conflates somewhat contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, it is **an expression of high hopes of a different future** of small nation states lingering in the periphery of a mighty empire.





The people's indignation towards the clear sense of subordination and lack of agency to have impact on national level politics is amplified by a sentiment of belonging to the Old Continent, its civilisation, values, education, and status. This is a trope of homecoming to a Promised Land, and joining, finally, the club of the rich. On the other hand, Europe's crisis has not gone unnoticed by nationals of these countries: often having at least one family member working in the EU, they have too long been dependant on financial and economic revenues to know their own subjugated position within the core EU countries. In this sense, Europe is no longer the Promised Land of welfare, but it still holds the promise of relative stability and prosperity. A promise, which, given the rhetoric of the end of history, and the reality of neo-imperial wars, refugee waves, and abject poverty, makes the periphery of Europe plan moving to the inside of Europe: **an obvious choice of a lesser evil.**



The question is, of course, should Europe be content with being the lesser evil? Or, to put it more abruptly and fit to today's reality, which expresses all but benevolence as a central term in political practices – for how much longer can Europe continue to be the lesser evil? Every day, we witness a Europe of **growing discrepancies and divisions.**

We see the increasingly inhuman policies of housing eviction, the cutting of benefits, the commercialisation of education and healthcare, of human dignity, the human body, and human life. We witness the continuous war on labour, and **the use of EU-wide inequalities** to keep a reserve army of workers always ready on the doorway. We can observe how refugees and economic migrants from other countries are kept in even more dire conditions: when left inside at all, they are left to survive

on minimal subsistence. Never really engaged in dignified and well-paid labour, they are used to pitch Europeans against non-Europeans, **reinforcing racism and feeding into the rise of the extreme right**. They are, therefore, too convenient for political elites to foster conflicts along ethnic lines, and not class lines.

Against this background, what Bulgarians, Ukrainians and further populations in the periphery of Europe need to understand, is that under these conditions, Europe will soon explore and congeal into a constellation of barb-wired and surveyed safe havens of the rich, and a wasteland for all the others. What the protest movements in these and further countries in the periphery still need to achieve, is to **revert the desires and hopes inward again**. They need to look back in their own and in the European history and everyday existence and organisation, for **alternative models** of development, community and governance. The European institutions, if they are to stay, can help by setting the standards of discipline: not fiscal discipline for the survival of the fittest, but discipline that combats these basic instincts of competition and greedy primitive accumulation and **create a society of welfare, security, and prosperity**.

**Mariya Ivancheva is a sociologist and social anthropologist working on the history and present of socialism in Eastern Europe and Latin America. She is active in European Alternatives, Social Centre Xaspel, Sofia, and the eastern European left-wing web portal *Lefteast*.**



# Standing up Against Repression. An Interview with Erdem Gündüz

by Hamza Zeytinoğlu

“I am, first of all, a dancer. When the protests happened, it wasn't so much my intellect that brought me here for this act. It was my body telling me what to do.”  
Erdem Gündüz

*On 28th May 2013, a series of protests, which are still ongoing, started in Istanbul's Gezi Park. The initial complaints were against a planned urban redevelopment project that would have sacrificed one of the last remaining green spaces in central Istanbul, and replaced it with a shopping mall and luxury flats. However, protesters took the opportunity to give voice to government concerns about increasing freedom of speech and the press, the privatisation of the commons and, more in general, against the frightening authoritarian turn that the Turkish government seems to have taken under the lead of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As the situation in and around Gezi Park quickly evolved with more protesters arriving from all over Istanbul, the police harshly repressed the demonstration leading to thousands of people being injured, and a number of deaths. In the midst of the chaos at Taksim Square on 17th June 2013, a young Turkish citizen decided to stand up in the middle of the square. He eventually stood unmoving for*

*eight hours; a brave and poetic gesture that immediately became one of the iconic images of the protest.*

## The events at Gezi Park, Taksim Square, Istanbul

I was in Gezi Park during the first days of the protest. People were friendly and kind. They tried to talk about their reasons for protest, but the government did not want to listen to them. The whole event was great. Activists are... lovely!  
On the third or fourth day of the protests, I was walking down a street off Istiklal Caddesi. There were a lot of people, maybe in the thousands, even tens of thousands. Some of them then started shouting, 'fascists are shoulder to shoulder.' At first, I questioned myself and thought, 'who are they talking about?' And then straight away, there were thousands of people

shouting, 'fascists are shoulder to shoulder.' I was there and it happened. Maybe for those people, it was the first time they were acting on something in their life, like it was for me, for example. Everything can change.

## Defending Gezi Park is important

Nature is important. Here, it is Gezi Park. Adorno would have called this artificial nature. Look, these trees are not 'natural', but they have been planted here. Nonetheless, they are very important. This is not just a matter of trees or grass. To protect these trees is to protect our liberty. For me, freedom also means having access to basic resources. We are not free, because our access to water, land and other basic elements is now under threat. **If these trees are not safe, neither am I.**

The events in Gezi Park have been

important because of the pluralism of voices. We were all individuals with our own ideas and concerns. We formed groups with other like-minded people. These groups were quite small, but together we were many. The plurality can generate from individuality in a way in which everyone could live in harmony.

There was no leader. Actually, everyone was a leader. Everyone wanted his or her own freedom. In particular, women of all ages were there, because they particularly suffer from the government's religiously inspired policies, such as the imposition of having to hide their pregnancy when in public by using multiple layers of clothes. That was too much. And that is why women are here. Women are braver than men. They want to be active in life. **People want something. If you listen, you can hear them.**





## “The Standing Man of Taksim Square”

What was my act? I went to Taksim Square and still stood for eight hours until the police eventually came and charged me. Then I stopped.

Nobody seemed to care when I was standing still there, in the middle of Taksim Square, at least at the beginning. Then people started to notice me, but they did not understand what it was all about. At a certain point, two men came and shot a video, which was eventually broadcast on TV. After that, the police came. The same people who shot the video talked to the nearby policemen and said, ‘officers, he [Erdem] is here.’ **The policemen told them, ‘stop him!’ They said in return, ‘he is not moving.’** (In Turkish, there is some word play between ‘stop’, dur, and ‘not moving’, durmak). When I saw that scene in the video, I understood how it really happened.

## Artistic Inspiration and Civil Disobedience

People at Gezi Park were doing many things: camping, yoga, singing, praying etc. They tried everything. They also tried to talk with government, but the government did not want to listen. So I decided to do something myself. Nobody told me before that this was silent protesting, this was performance, or this was activism, or activism or whatever. I cannot judge what I did by myself. **I did it, because I was there as a citizen who lives in this country.** There was not merely a single reason to still stand or do silent protest there. I simply believe in individual acts. I was alone. I did not plan it. It happened spontaneously.

Eating, drinking, walking, inhaling, exhaling and... standing still: Those are my rights. Those are normal acts. I really did not know well what sivilitaatsizlik, civil disobedience in Turkish, actually meant. I understood it after the ‘Standing Man’ performance took place. **I am not a political person. I prefer to talk about love, death or life.** Those may be basic instincts, but they are more important than money, politics or other things, because we are humans and we think and feel in relation to those basic instincts, before taking other things in consideration. Nevertheless, even if I do not consider myself a political artist, I once made a piece called ‘Wall’ that involved me trying to knock down a wall with my body by running against it, jumping on it, and slashing it again and again during the six minutes of the performance. Of course it is impossible to knock down a wall using your body. However, I have tried.

## The Power of Art

During those days at Gezi Park, people were in need of hope. My pacific gesture there was to give them one small hope. After people had watched it on television or social media, they came to Taksim Square. And they saw me. That was important, because after those first moments of excitement, there was no hope anymore among protesters. But I stood there, still. This is the power of art. Art is a big lie. The Standing Man was a lie, but people need lies. And it worked. Everything has changed after my artistic action. Or maybe nothing has changed. However, after six months – and this is

really important – people are still here, protesting. This means that if things have not yet changed, they will very soon.

## The Role of Traditional Media during the Protests

**Media freedom in Turkey is now seriously compromised.** During the initial days, media paid very little attention to the protests at Gezi Park, which were quickly spreading throughout the country. But one day, all at once, national television and other media outlets showed up at Taksim Square. Suddenly, unusual and disturbing accidents started taking place. For instance, the TV channels showed images of two persons setting a police water cannon on fire with Molotov cocktails, which were thrown from a distance of around 20 metres. Well, it was actually impossible for everyone to get closer than 80 or 100 metres to the cannons without being hit by the water. That event, as with many others over those days, had likely been staged. The government manipulates media, and those among them that dare to stand out are severely punished.

## There is No Justice

Turkish people are generally calm, peaceful and helpful. There is not just one way of thinking. There are many ways of thinking, many cultures. It is really hard to get people out to go to one place. However, two million people went out to the same place. How was that possible? How could it happen that so many people took the streets on that one night? I do not know how,

but people did it. We must not forget, however, that many people have been jailed, many people have been seriously injured, and hundreds or thousands have been spied on through social media and eventually prosecuted.

The government has been harassing the doctors that assisted the wounded at Gezi Park. Four people died in the protest, but there is nobody responsible for that. How is that possible? One person was killed by a policeman, but the government cleaned up the evidence. It is a very similar story to what has happened in the in Sivas Massacre in 1993, in which 37 people were burnt to death. This is the same system that has been present in Turkey throughout the years. The problem is not the AKP, or Erdoğan’s government. The problem is the system. The system has to change. Otherwise, it will happen again. There is no justice.

## See You Soon

**Sometimes I have the feeling that I have to do something. We have to do something before the reason comes.** Because, when the reason comes, it will already be too late to do something.

**Erdem Gündüz, better known as “The Standing Man of Taksim Square”, was interviewed by musician and dancer Hamza Zeytinoglu in Gezi Park, Istanbul, on 18th December 2013.**

ENRICH BO



democracy,  
equality,  
culture,  
beyond the  
nation state



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Active Citizenship  
Citizens Pact  
Citizens Manifesto  
Media Freedom  
Equality  
Civil Rights

# DEMOCRACY TRANSPARENCY PARTICIPATION



- (Mani)Fests • The Pipe •
- Citoyennetés, Démocraties, Europe •
- La Liberté de la Presse •
- Citizens' Pact • Lecture on Democracy •
- How to Be "in" • Micromachismos •
- Presentation of the Citizens' Manifesto •
- Un-conference •
- Enacting Citizenship in Times of Internet Surveillance •



# Imagining, Demanding and Enacting Another Europe.

## The Citizens Manifesto for European Democracy, Equality and Solidarity

Elena Dalibot

“Today Europe is facing a crossroad. [...] The forthcoming European elections need to be understood as an opportunity to decide on the kind of future we wish for our society. We need ambitious political proposals from candidates and parties and we have to be empowered to be part of the change.

**The European Union has the opportunity to be at the avant-garde of democratic reforms**, providing a new global model of representative and participatory democracy in a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural society that is able respond to the local and global challenges that need urgent and radical responses. **Europe has shown its capacity to rise from the ashes more than once and now needs to reaffirm its agency for change. The time is now.**”

The Citizens Manifesto

TRANSEUROPA Festival 2013 represented a key moment in the development of the Citizens Manifesto, as it marked the culmination of three years of participatory activities that involved thousands of people and hundreds of organisations across the continent for the elaboration of concrete policy proposals for another Europe. It helped create a transnational common space where citizens, in the broader sense of the word, got together to translate ideas into a shared new vision of the society they would like to live in, not only beyond nations, but also across generations and on a wide range of cross-cutting issues.

The process leading up to the Citizens Manifesto started in 2011, as an attempt to **bring together European citizens around issues that we believed the European Union should act on**, and in order to bridge the democratic gap between EU institutions and the people





in Europe. Citizens' panels were held across the continent from 2011 to 2013 on the following areas: work, welfare, finance, legality and the fight against organised crime, democracy, gender equality, common goods, migration, LGBT rights, the environment, Roma rights, media freedom and pluralism. A range of tools and techniques was used to ensure that participation went beyond the "usual suspects". Transnational forums on specific topics gathered academics, activists, officials and active participants in the citizens' panels to discuss collected proposals for change and frame European answers to the problems identified. In an effort to translate ideas into policy proposals, small groups of experts (practitioners, academics, activists) in EU law and on a particular topic met to develop a number of citizens-led proposals, on the basis of EU competences and of online votes for proposals. From the start of TRANSEUROPA Festival to its closing TRANSEUROPA Forum, the Manifesto went from being a collection of developed proposals to a **political narrative** on what we should change and how to reach a European society that is more democratic, less discriminatory and based on more solidarity.

The TRANSEUROPA Festival motto for 2013, "Imagine, Demand, Enact", corresponded to a large extent to the philosophy behind the Citizens Manifesto, for which citizens **imagined the Europe they envisioned and formulated demands to decision-makers** in order for these changes to be implemented at EU level. Three key actions for the Manifesto took place in the framework of TRANSEUROPA Festival: the (Mani)Fests, the drafting of the Manifesto and its public presentation during Berlin's TRANSEUROPA Forum.

The **(Mani)Fests**, as evoked by their name, were **festive events** organised around the Citizens Manifesto, in public squares, cafés, universities, theatres, etc. across Europe. Events were organised in the **public space**: rather than inviting people to come to consultations, we went to them. Innovative participatory methods, some inspired by the "Porteur de paroles" methodology, were used by the volunteers of European Alternatives. The colourful flip cards and giant dice that we use to approach passers-by were particularly effective to invite people to pick a topic among the twelve ones present in the Manifesto. They could then vote for the proposals they deemed best on



one particular area, placing a sticker labelled “What should Europe do?” on it. More than 2,000 votes were collected through this transnational and participatory exercise, from Barcelona to Warsaw, from London to Cluj-Napoca, which were later on reflected in the actual Manifesto. The (Mani)Fests were conceived, planned and run transnationally and took place in most of the TRANSEUROPA Festival cities, including in some cities which had never previously hosted citizens’ consultations. One of the most meaningful achievements of the (Mani)Fests is that they created **a space of discussion for people voiceless in the European debate**, empowering them to have a say, engage in a dialogue and express their preferences. As volunteers and organisers exchanged impressions and accounts of the activities, we realised that in many cities, migrants, teenagers, Roma, were among the most responsive and active participants: when people are given the chance to express themselves on Europe, even in the most Eurosceptic countries, a lot of ideas for change are voiced. After collecting votes from the (Mani)Fest and from the Citizens Pact website, experts and people that

had been among the most active participants throughout the development of the process gathered with the challenging task to put together three years of activity together into a narrative account of why these citizens’ demands are the way forward for Europe. The variety of perspectives inherent in the participants’ diverse backgrounds (in terms of gender, profession, socio-cultural backgrounds) gave rise to a very rich four-page document: in a context where the EU is mainly discussed either as a polity that should not be questioned (failing which you shall be classified “Anti-European”) or as a project that should be rejected altogether, the **Citizens Manifesto sheds a new light on what an alternative Europe could look like.**

The closing forum of the TRANSEUROPA Festival in Berlin offered us the opportunity to present the first version of the Citizens Manifesto to a wide international audience, and to receive reactions and comments from a diverse range of people, from artists such as Tania Bruguera to elected representatives like Member of European Parliament Gerald Häfner, high-ranking academics like Engin Isin (see pages 41-43) or activists such as Jeremie Zimmerman.

**“ The (Mani)Fest has been a great success and an excellent form of democratic inclusion. [...] A homeless (French) woman sat behind us all afternoon and went through all proposals and gave a vote per category. A couple of young Turks were really embarrassed to say that were gay and initially picked another topic to then find the courage to pick up the LGBT folder. A 9 year old girl told us that equality between men and women was the most important thing. [...] It was really obvious that everyone has something to say.”**

The Manifesto served as a basis for exchanges during the TRANSEUROPA Forum and prompted discussions that did not only focus on analyses of various issues in Europe, but built on practical proposals for action. Discussions and panels also helped identify important areas that were missing from the Manifesto, such as data protection vis-à-vis new technologies of control. One of the activities was a game organised by two European Alternatives' members, in which stories by or about LGBT people that had been collected in Bulgaria – a country where homophobia is still rife – had to be put together (they were presented in different parts, as a written puzzle) in order to obtain one of the objects mentioned in the story. Just like we went from fiction (with the story) to reality (with the physical object that was brought to Berlin) this game gave flesh to the issue of LGBT rights across Europe. It highlighted the urgency to act for democracy, solidarity and equality in Europe in a very human way. **TRANSEUROPA Festival**, through its transnational setting and its innovative, open and participatory forms of activities, **gave a new momentum to the Citizens Manifesto**. It participated in making it much more than 'yet another manifesto', as festive and original events widened the number of individuals who participated in its elaboration and gave them a sense of ownership of the document, as well as a renewed belief that if we join forces and ideas beyond nations, we can imagine, demand and enact another Europe.

**Elena Dalibot is coordinator of the "Citizens Pact" for European Alternatives.**

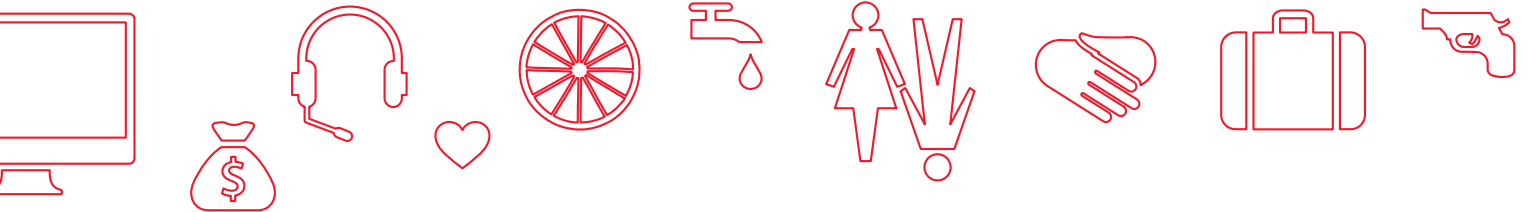
## Extracts from the

# Citizens

**We, the people of Europe**, by birth, by choice or by permanent circumstances, believe that the European Union and its Member States have failed to guarantee the welfare of their citizens and to live up to the global and local challenges that have shaken Europe in the last five years of crisis.

**We believe Europe has a common future**, but we feel that we are losing control of our destiny. Rather than relying on fractured national sovereignties, we want to be empowered to act at a transnational level. Europe can play a **strong role as a space of democracy, solidarity, and equality**, but this requires **rapid and radical changes** to the current political framework and priorities of the European Union. [...]

The biggest crises of all are not the challenges we face, but Europe's lack of ability and legitimacy to respond to them. [...] One of the most visible signs of this has been the "race to the bottom", creating internal competition between workers and between countries. This has resulted in chronic unemployment, precarity and poverty, fundamentally undermining the value of work. This needs to be replaced with a **European welfare system** that ensures a set of social and economic rights which meet people's basic needs irrespective of their circumstances





# Manifesto

and place of residence, such as unemployment and pension benefits, minimum wage or basic income.

This requires a **common and equitable fiscal policy**, which stops tax competition to the benefit of large corporations.

We refuse to see our social and economic rights being undermined, while huge amounts have been mobilised to save a financial system that has failed us.[...]

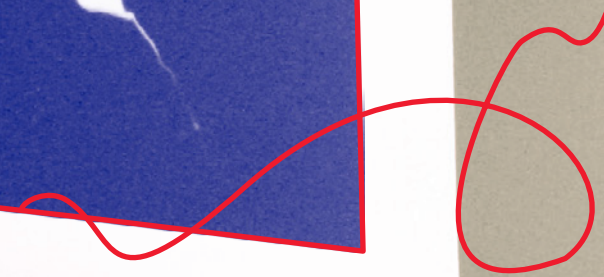
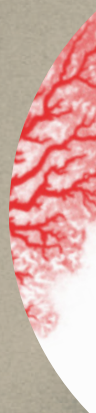
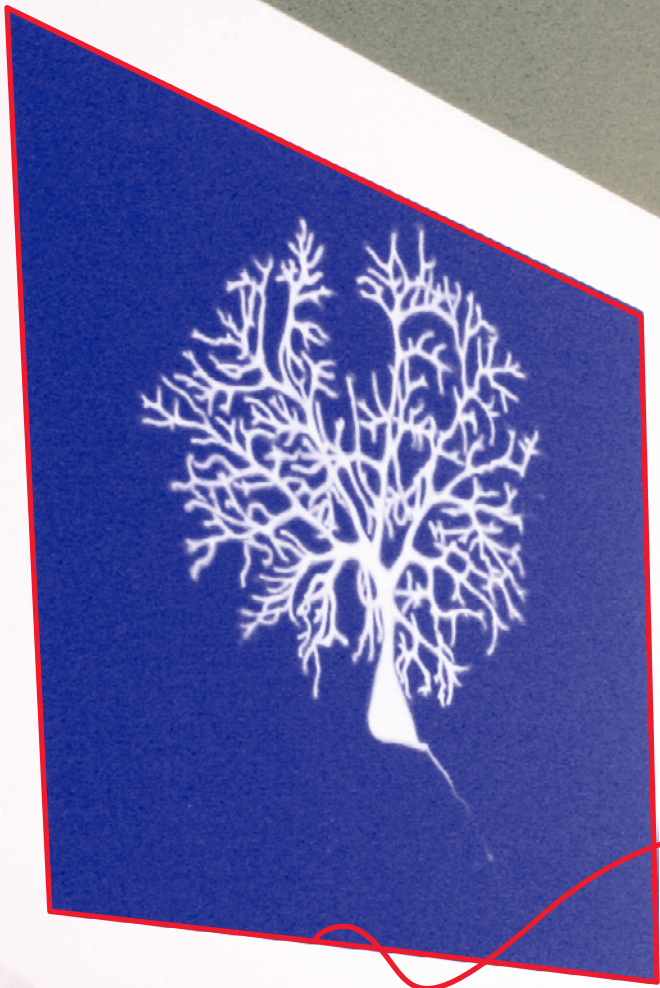
Democracy is in crisis in Europe. We need to radically transform the EU's democratic structures, for instance by creating a fully **elected European government**, by granting **full legislative powers to the European Parliament** and by introducing **transnational lists** for European elections. [...] The future that the people of Europe desire necessitates a **tangible redistribution of power**. Democracy in Europe must mean that decisions are made by all with regard to all, not by some for the benefit of the few. [...]

In particular, in times of crisis, the EU needs to live up to its ambition to **guarantee the protection of human rights**, not only within the Union, but also at its borders. The EU should ensure that migrants entering the EU see their cultural and human rights respected. Border management should be **transparent and accountable**. Administrative detention should be excluded as a standard measure and detention of children should be prohibited in all circumstances. [...]

Crises are a breeding-ground for discourses that use the fear of the “other” to identify scapegoats. Migrants and Roma people are regular targets for hate speech and hate crimes, as are LGBT people, who are often socially excluded for their differences. EU citizenship should not be an empty concept or allow first and second-class citizens. All benefits deriving from it, such as the **freedom to move** and reside in the EU and the **portability of rights**, should be enjoyed by all. [...] This does not translate to giving additional rights to some, but in ensuring specific protection of disadvantaged groups to access equal rights. [...] Today Europe is facing a crossroad. The process of integration as it has happened so far has created a political entity without an active citizenry which is able to influence its course. **We need to be made protagonists of much needed change to reform the European Union into a democratic and participative space.**

The Citizens Manifesto is the result of a three-year process of popular consultations across Europe. It has involved thousands of Europeans (by birth, choice or circumstance) who were asked to elaborate policy proposals which in their views should constitute the primary focus of the work of the next European Parliament and Commission. The Citizens Manifesto is part of the Citizens Pact initiative run by European Alternatives. The integral text of the manifesto is freely accessible at [www.citizenspact.eu](http://www.citizenspact.eu).







Transeuropean Space  
Common Space  
European Public Sphere  
Narrative  
Arts  
Movement  
Walk  
Urban Games

# BUILDING TRANSEUROPEAN NARRATIVES



# events

- Tumbleweed • Transeuropa Bike Tour • Mikro Festival of Amateur Films •
- Transnational Walk • Emotional Objects • Beauty in Diversity! • Bike Tour of
- Hidden Prague • City Scavenger III • Co Design: My 2020, Imagining 2020,
- Rediscovering the City, Making Sense of Europe, Subverting Stereotypes,
- Twerk your Network • En SEL(le) • Tous Précaires! • Streets are Ours •
- Living Library • Journey through Europe • Nikolandia • The cha(lle)nge - Alter
- communities • Living Library • Play and Dialogue • Three Cities • ManasTour
- Urban Game with Bologna • Bike Tour • Bike to Art • ManasTour Short •
- XXXI Critical Mass with Freak Bikes • What if there was Another Europe? •



# Walking through Europe

Dagna Dąbrowiecka

The **act of walking** itself, as simple and ordinary as it is, is the prime way of placing one's body in space, to effectively **connect with the public space** of the city, coming into direct contact with **the urban fabric**. In De Certeau's words, 'It is in the act of walking that persons write and rewrite the city as their space.' **The city takes shape** through these trajectories, as a crossroad of moving beings. When **enacted collectively** (in a demonstration, or in a parade), walking becomes a powerful way of transforming the surrounding space, of appropriating it and giving a **new meaning** to it. By walking collectively in many different European cities, we create a **transnational common space** through a critical, political and creative gesture. These bodies moving together produce both a set of trajectories and a form of discourse – **a discourse** about the city, about the urban experience, about Europe itself.

During TRANSEUROPA Festival 2013, Transnational Walks were staged in Barcelona, Berlin, and Warsaw, the latter detailed here.

## Walking in Warsaw

Merely 1.8% of those residing in Poland are foreigners, but as many as 31% of these foreign nationals live in the Warsaw area. **Poland is not a multicultural country, but more and more foreigners are living and working in Warsaw.** That is why we decided to focus the Transnational Walk on the issues of **migration and identity**. The starting point of the project was a fragment of "Dzienniki" (Diary) by **Witold Gombrowicz**, a Polish author who migrated to Argentina during World War II. His work describes his arrival in a foreign and unknown land – where his sense of identity was inevitably **disrupted**.



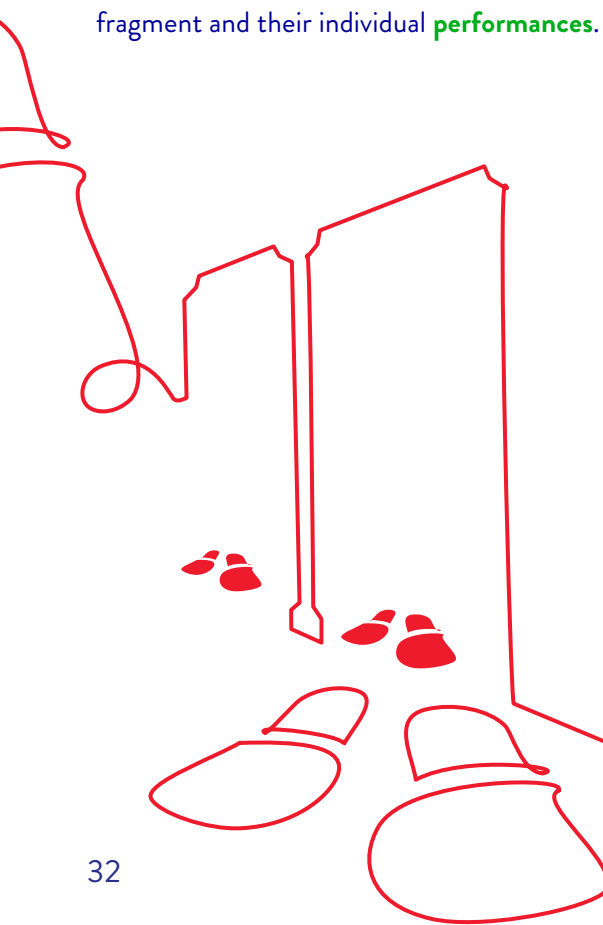
**“Then the boundaries between the countries and the tablets of commandments shattered, the floodgates of blind forces opened and ah! I was suddenly in Argentina, completely alone, cut off, lost, ruined, anonymous. I was a little excited, a little frightened. Yet at the same time, something in me told me to greet with passionate emotion the blow that was destroying me and upsetting the order I had up to now.”** W. Gombrowicz, “Diary”

Inspired by this text, which we have translated into more than **ten languages**, we organised a series of workshops over two months, which were attended by local actors, as well as some foreigners living in **Warsaw**. The workshops revolved around the **interpretation** of the idea of migration, and offered the opportunity to work on the text and its translations. Participants and organizers also travelled to the Witold Gombrowicz Museum in his hometown, Wsola. We encouraged participants not only to memorise the text and **recite it in their native tongue**, but also to develop their own interpretations of the fragment and their individual **performances**.

This initial work led into the second phase of the project, for which we organised **theatrical workshops** with actors from the “Sztuka Nowa” company. As the organisers, we were aware of the fact that a **multilingual performance** would constitute a risk, but we hoped that perfecting the performers’ ability to **express** themselves through their bodies would improve the understanding of what was being expressed verbally, and would in turn create a dramatic cohesiveness in each performance. In the final stage of the project, the performers met for three-hour rehearsals as often as four times a week.

The Transeuropean Walk was eventually presented in five **open-air locations** in the very centre of Warsaw. Together with the performers, musicians, and the participants in the event, we embarked on a unique walk from the Centre for Contemporary Art in Ujazdowski Castle through distorted **underground passages**, local parks, public playgrounds, before finally arriving at Constitution Square where we performed in Italian, French, Spanish, Polish, and Russian. We chose those particular locations knowing that they are **abandoned and inconspicuous** to Warsaw inhabitants who pass by them each day. Our aim was **to invite people** to stop in these places, look around and **explore** their city again. The public was involved in the action through the use of several devices, such as 30-metre long ropes that **connected** them with the performers. It was important for us to be able to create the possibility of direct contact and **interaction** between the artists, migrants, and participants in this event through this Transeuropean walk. We wanted to achieve **creative cooperation**, as well as a **role reversal**, as the Polish public was confronted with performances in foreign languages.

**Dagna Dąbrowiecka is a European Alternatives activist in Warsaw.**



# The Politics of Art

Efva Lilja

**We shit, spit, bleed and weep. We chat, argue, laugh and cry out loud. We provoke, activate, stimulate and initiate. We talk and we move. We communicate. We narrate. Why is the word being said? Why is the movement in motion? Why do we insist on action? These are questions about the transmission of language, the politics of listening and about the roles of representation in art. We move politically on an excursion in search of miracles.**

We live in a benevolent welfare state that has fallen on hard times. Un-necessities spread out amongst all the worry and the glitter blinds you (**spit**). With all the sparkle you become myopic and your existence narrows down to trifles (**shit**). Europe is in a financial crisis. A large portion of the European population is on the dole, in a cultural void. Cultural policies are in a state of vacuum, most often with fuzzy leadership whose actions are based on a materialistic view, where art is seen as goods and products and the artist is steered toward usefulness and adaptation to the "creative economy" (**bleed**). The journey to the many mansions of power provides a host of opportunities for reflection on powerlessness and impotence. If we want a society with creative, innovative, strong citizens that are able to apply and utilize their voices and creativity, we need a belief in our common commitments (**argue**) (**move**). The dominating political philosophy puts art into the "icing-on-the-cake" box (**weep**).  
Is this what we want?

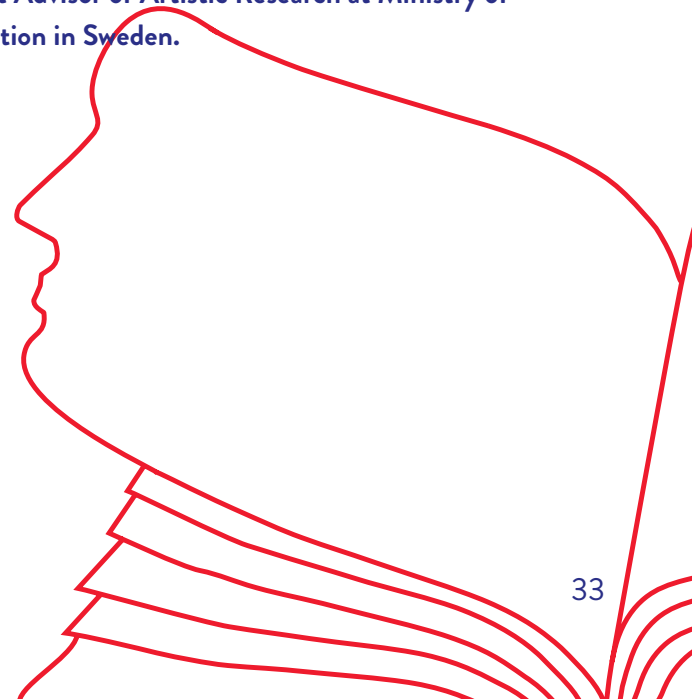
Culture is what we live, our common foundation, our societal contract. The arts are part of this culture. Through artistic expression we can both gauge and affect the state of our culture, creating our story (**talk**). Keep ignorant people on the hold! They can deprive us of the possibility of knowledge, of creativity and linguistic awareness that the qualitative experience of art can provide (**cry out loud**). They hinder the narration!

We must turn the political hierarchy upside down and work for strong cultural policies, integrated into all political areas (**communicate**). I want to see policies that don't just put survival and material wellbeing in focus, but have a good cultural climate as its ultimate goal for a long-term sustainable development (**initiate**). A decent, humane attitude to people with plenty of room for curiosity and the creativity that makes it possible to support other market forces than those that blind you (**laugh**). For that which we are after, we need policies that create possibilities for deeper artistic processes with an outlook that places us not only in Europe, but also in a global perspective (**chat**). Policies that create both understanding and legitimacy for art's specific power to contribute to a good society where we can all live in awareness, creativity and empathy as seeing humans (**stimulate**). Art simply makes it more fun, more interesting and more challenging to live.

Europe needs artists (**activate**). Art defies borders. **We are many** to work for a change. Let's do it!

This contribution is an extract of 'The Politics of Art or What do the Arts do in Relation to the Creation of a New Narrative for Europe?'

**Efva Lilja is an artist, professor of choreography and Expert Advisor of Artistic Research at Ministry of Education in Sweden.**





## The Living or Human Library

Lucile Gemähling

“In the context of the (economic) crisis that affects Europe, precariousness is a topic on which many European Alternatives groups have worked. For a reason! 26 year-old interns, damned artists, eternal students, idealist NGO workers, creative class or IT freelancers, working travellers, school drop-outs, those without degrees, unambitious jobbers, unadapted rebels, unintegrated foreigners... Even when everyone we know seem to fall under the precarious category, the doubt seems to remain: structural collapse or personal failure?”





A living library aims at providing an opportunity to question prejudices and stereotypes and let real stories emerge. A **living library is a real library**, as it does contain books, catalogue titles, and even librarians.

But **the 'living books' are individuals**, ready to respond to their readers' questions with the utmost sincerity. This rather interactive event has been conceived for transcultural dialogue. It is a simple, effective concept for a collective, yet intimate exchange on any given topic. Through the familiar frame of interpersonal conversations, political or social issues, topics or conflicts are addressed at the individual level, but they are still clearly framed into a **shared social and political context**. For these reasons, TRANSEUROPA local organisers had used the concept of 'Living Libraries' during previous editions of the Festival.

TRANSEUROPA Festival organisers in this year were looking for ways to address the **topic of the economic crisis and its impact on European youth**, to go behind the somewhat overused headline of 'precariousness' and shed light on the concrete ways in which young individuals work out the possibilities of life in today's European countries. The interest in precariousness emerged from the 'Making a Living Project', carried out by European Alternatives groups in London and Amsterdam, which highlighted local, individual and community-based responses to a crisis happening on a large geographical scale. With the economic crisis 'providing' the transnational context, there is a real potential for exchange on that topic between individuals from different European countries.

And so **living books' were invited to share their stories with local individuals** during TRANSEUROPA Festival. They engaged in discussions about how they had, so far, managed to articulate their goals, desires and values, to connect with others and identify or shape spaces where their skills are valued and they can engage with the world in meaningful ways – all the while sustaining themselves financially. But not all, maybe none, of these were plain success-stories - because searching for such **spaces and companionship** along with material security is a challenging task for young Europeans.

It is also one that demands not only individual effort, but a certain amount of (unequally distributed) **cultural capital** as well. If we want to change that, we need strengthened and wider connections, and, if we want them to grow, we need narratives and places to share and debate them. This is one thing we try to achieve with TRANSEUROPA Festival.

**Lucile Gemähling is a member of TRANSEUROPA Festival coordination team.**





Migrants Rights  
Freedom of Movement  
Human Rights  
New Migration Policy  
for Europe  
European Citizenship

# CROSSING FRONTIERS



**Do Migrants Want Czech Citizenship? ●**

**Migrants Photograph Migrants ● Imagine Africa ● Tour d'Europe ●**

**Fortress Europe: Migration in Focus ●**

**Routinisation of Administrative Detention of Migrants – Time to Explore Alternatives ● Labour Migration within the European Union ●**

**Cittadini alla Seconda ● Migrant Resistance: Protests, Art and Movements ●**

**35 Months with Nataalka ●**



# Migrant Rights across Europe

Anna Lodeserto

On October 17th an international conference on **human rights** violations and alternatives to **administrative detention**, organised by European Alternatives and the Italian campaign *LasciateCIEntrare*, took place at the European Parliament as part of *Transeuropa Festival 2013*, under the title ‘The Routinisation of Administrative **Detention of Migrants** and Free Movement of Citizens: **Time to Explore Alternatives**’. It succeeded in bringing together representatives from national governments, the European Parliament and civil society in order to explore ways in which the detention of **migrants, asylum seekers and refugees** can be prevented at the European level. The conference focused on long-term objectives, such as advocating for a stronger role for European institutions in **safeguarding and protecting** the free movement of citizens, including third-country nationals, as well as pushing for the adoption of European Union legislation in this field, setting clear standards of liberty of the person’s residence and **freedom of movement**.

The October conference at the European Parliament followed a request for a hearing submitted by the coalition to the European Commission about the transposition of the EU’s ‘Return Directive’ (2008/115/EC) in the Member States.

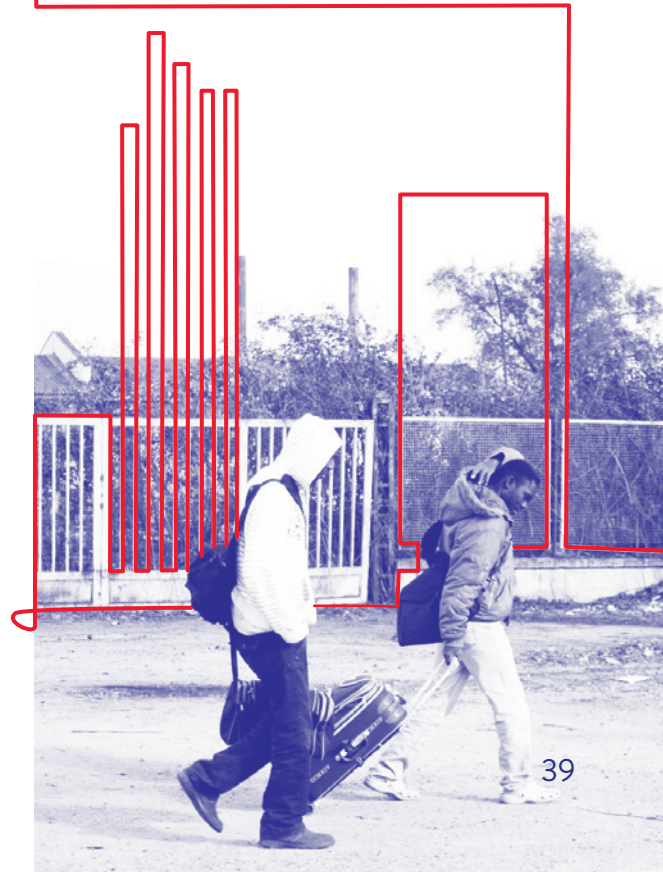
The conference hosted the Italian Minister for Integration, **Cecile Kyenge Kashetu**, Members of the European Parliament, Silvia Costa (S&D), Marie-Christine Vergiat (GUE NGL), H el ene Flautre (Greens/EFA), as well as activists and academics from all over Europe. They advocated for **a radical change to migration policies** in Europe, which persistently cause tragedies such as the widely publicised tragedy of Lampedusa, which deeply shocked public opinion in Europe. Taking place in this very sensitive context, the conference pushed forward clear **alternative proposals** to the routinisation of administrative detention of migrants, and the obstacles to free movement of citizens.

Over the last few years, European Alternatives has been working



‘Detention centres imprison people who are ‘guilty’ of moving and travelling; people who are considered ‘guilty’ of being pilgrims and travellers. But travellers are the energy of humanity.’

Erri De Luca



intensively to defend migrants' rights, the free movement of citizens, and against the politics of detention, notably through the campaigns **Open Access Now**, launched in 2011 with **Migreurop**, and **LasciateCIEntrare** and a broad coalition of associations. The campaign calls for journalists and civil society organizations to have access to migrants detention centres, and fights against the suspension and restrictions of basic European civil rights, such as the right to have access to **independent and free information**.

European Alternatives has thus far worked towards contributing to a reasoned policy change to better address all areas of migration within European institutions, as well as towards implementing its short term programme, entitled 'A New Migration Policy for Europe.' European Alternatives and its partners have also organised several other projects related to migrant's rights, such as the 3-year-long process that resulted in the **Citizens Manifesto**, and specific advocacy actions in light of the 'Return Directive' revision. European Alternatives played an active role in the **European Year of Citizens Alliance** – EYCA 2013 – a working group on European and **inclusive citizenship**. This followed a research and consultation process aiming at identifying key policy areas where European advocacy can be promoted, while building greater **collaboration** amongst relevant European actors.

European Alternatives and other member organisations of the Open Access Now campaign are actively participating in the process promoted by **Melting Pot Europe**, and many other civil society organisations, in the aftermath of the Lampedusa tragedy, which is leading to the development of a more comprehensive proposal: '**The Charter of Lampedusa**' adopted on 2nd February 2014 and the quest for **democratic legitimacy** of EU migration policies.

**Anna Lodeserto is Campaign and Participation Manager at European Alternatives.**



# Lampedusa: A Tragedy in Four Acts

Engin Isin

The tragedy of Lampedusa unfolds in three acts. All three are **acts of citizenship**. A fourth must come.

The first and the originary act is the embarking on a journey to the other shore. When a group of several hundred primarily Somalis and Eritreans got on board a ship **they became migrants**. Why 'migrants'? By seeking better lives these Somalis and Eritreans were subjecting themselves to a regime of truth that rendered them as migrants because their journey crossed frontiers. This was their act of citizenship. For more than 300 on 4th October 2013 it became the ultimate sacrifice for it. In another regime of truth, they could have been heroes.

The second act was the announcement by the Italian Prime Minister Enrico Letta that those who lost their lives were to be given posthumous citizenship. He declared, 'The hundreds who lost their lives off Lampedusa yesterday are Italian citizens as of today.' The day was also declared an official day of mourning for the victims. Was it an act of hypocrisy to give posthumous citizenship to those who were no longer 'migrants' but **had become 'victims'**? Why not give citizenship to those who survived? Instead, those who survived were now 'illegal immigrants' destined to be charged, detained and deported. In another regime of truth, they could have been patriots.

The third act was when the Italian city of Treviso joined a network of 200 cities granting honorary citizenship to the children of foreigners born in Italy. It is an important act 'to award honorary citizenship in a spirit of solidarity with their neighbours and frustration with rules that refuse to acknowledge modern Italy's multi-ethnic social fabric' (Davies 2013). Still, I wonder if this 'gesture of hope' falls well short of granting what all those who arrive at the frontiers of Europe themselves hope for:



European citizenship. Instead, implicitly this act strengthens the rule of autochthony, birth and status. Yet what it recognizes is the principle that **those who remain and establish themselves in the social fabric of the city do have a claim on citizenship.**

This may be a symbolic act of citizenship albeit with far reaching consequences. Why are Somalis and Eritreans not given what they demand: European citizenship? If citizenship is about a chance to make ourselves anew, to begin something new, what better way to recognize them than with European citizenship? Not Italian citizenship, not Greek citizenship, not Spanish citizenship, not European citizenship as a benefit of national citizenship, but **non-derivative European citizenship** (e.g. not dependent on prior citizenship of one of the 28 Member States of the EU). This would be a recognition of the fact that our common humanity deals us a citizenship as birthright lottery (Shachar 2009). Nobody is born under circumstances of their choosing. Somalis, Eritreans and countless others risk their lives for a chance to prove themselves, a chance to make a living for themselves and their families, and overcome what that birthright lottery has dealt them. That one can die in the act is the tragedy, as those nearly 20,000 deaths at European frontiers can attest.

If Europe cannot give those who arrive at its frontiers an unconditional citizenship it can offer a conditional citizenship. Europe has a history of conditional citizenship. **The condition is about contribution**, taking that chance and making a new beginning. For a long time European cities granted citizenship to anyone who stayed in the city for a year and a day. Being granted citizenship meant receiving the liberty of the city, hence the German saying 'the city air makes one free'.

It would be folly not to recognize the complexity of global migration. There are many scholars who study aspects of this complex issue and its equally complex history. There are disagreements about approach, methods, data, findings, and interpretations. There are journals dedicated to migration studies and its many dimensions. There are more books on migration than any scholar can follow let alone read. Yet, can we not summon a fraction of the courage of migrants to draw one conclusion: as global inequality spreads (something to which Europe contributes massively and disproportionately) it creates **more pressure on millions of people to migrate**. Can we not accept that migrants are people who are seeking better lives for themselves and their families? Isn't **dividing them into economic and political migrants** as cruel as dividing the poor into deserving and undeserving





(Bosniak 2006)? Migrants are citizens not by fortune but by deed (McNevin 2011). When such pressure is met with frontier security regimes of surveillance, deterrence and detention, the **risks of crossing frontiers become higher**. The more migration becomes intractable, the more it spawns further security measures (Guild 2009).

The nation-state citizenship, which the European Union both sanctions and strengthens, is in a vicious death cycle. Unless Europeans commit the Member States and the EU to reducing global inequality and offering conditional but non-derivative European citizenship, the frontiers of Europe will engender more death, more suffering, and more tragedy.

As a final (redeeming) act of this tragedy, Europeans must now establish **a European network of cities that grant European citizenship to those who arrive at the continent's frontiers**.

Each city can decide on a period of growing into the social fabric of the city, learning and following local customs, norms, and sociability, and democratic deliberation with the network. This act would honour not only the dead but also the living. It would also honour **a particular European history** of citizenship.

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*Cleaning*

*Gardening*

**SUGGESTIONS**



Social Innovation  
Precariousness  
Making a Living  
Creative Solutions

# LIFESTYLE HACKERS



# events

- Design Your Career • Women on Job Market • Precarity 25+ •
- Potential Spaces and Possibilities for their Occupation • Neo-nomadism and the Lifestyle Hackers • What Citizens can do? • Making a Living • Social Circles • Closer to What We Eat • Intelligent Energetics: From Dependency to Self-sufficiency • 5 Factories - Worker Control in Venezuela •
- Europe, Economy and the Electorate • A Different Economy •
- Remaking the City • Rempapping the City • Asset Mapping and Opportunity Realization • Introduction to Workers Co-ops •



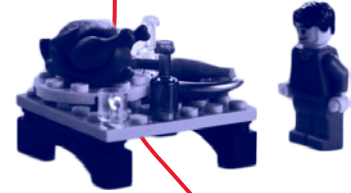
# Making a Living

Noel Hatch

“In occupying a social centre you challenge private property and create **free and open spaces for culture** and exchange... in boycotting multinationals you decide to **buy locally**, creation and destruction can happen simultaneously.”

When across Europe people are struggling to cope and struggling to hope, it's important to help people imagine new ways of **making a living**. Talking about “**coping**” brings to the surface a deeper discussion about the crisis – putting in the spotlight the stories of how people feel about their situation and how they act to survive. It also reveals a wider issue that too often the public debate focuses either on numbers or on stereotypes to represent the crisis. It rarely focuses on the psychological impact on **citizens and communities** of trying to survive. Talking about coping also hints that traditional social institutions such as the state haven't been able to offer a sufficient response to tackle the crisis, let alone put the building blocks in place for a more social economy. This often leaves individuals and groups to face the crisis alone. Indeed, there are people who are **mobilising** their friends, their family and social connections to not just help them cope better but create new ways of making a living. But how can we connect these practices so people develop **common platforms** from which to share and campaign for a **better economy**? What better platform than a **transnational festival** to facilitate these flows of people and practices between the different cities. So that people taking part in the festivals taking place in each county can see that these aren't just a collection of random unconnected behaviours, but a **vision in motion** of what a more cooperative and social economy looks like.

The Festival is a platform, but it's also a process. Through interviewing over a hundred young people from **street markets in Transylvania** to rural **villages in Andalucía** across Europe to uncover their work situation, their expectations, how they cope psychologically and practically as well as how their work situation



affects their attitudes on their relationships to each other to politics to Europe.

### Empathising with the Present to Imagine the Future

Building on research, we designed imaginary characters which help people put themselves in the shoes of the different ways young people cope. Through **designing** these activities, young people developed exciting activities to help people **understand** how they're coping and help them imagine **new ways** of making a living.

This sparked the imagination of young artists, designers & performers to help **imagine and enact** how people might live in 2020 – from bringing imaginary characters to life through role play in **London** to developing the skills of the future citizen in **Amsterdam**. From getting people to rediscover their city by bike and foot in **Paris, Barcelona, London** and **Bologna**, to uncover the different forms of **social economy** around them, from “Le poireauargile” community gardens to ASAT food producers. From the Manastur neighbourhood in **Cluj** to creating **public art** galleries in the streets of **Bratislava** to those of **Belgrade** via the Wymiennik social exchange in **Warsaw**, alternative communities are surfacing to help people **reclaim** a sense of ownership and belonging. The practices they use from open source finance hacking to lifestyle improvisation helps people understand how you can **remix cultures** & methods from different **walks of life** to cope. But we shouldn't forget that as well as the hidden assets, we need to uncover the **hidden forms of precarity**, from mapping these in the neighbourhoods of Amsterdam to putting the spotlight on how women and the over 25s are coping with the crisis in **Lublin**.

### Enacting the Crisis to Demand a New Society

To connect these **different practices**, we invited young people to **travel** from city to city to **share** their stories of trying to cope with the crisis, through “living libraries”. Imported from Paris, Amsterdam and London, quadrilingues unpaid **interns**, researchers or journalists sentenced to temping jobs, the **nomadic** workers or the rebellious **misfits**, the “living books” have all experienced

insecurity, but have also **developed** solutions away from the traditional models of employment. Helping organise Borders to Cross in Amsterdam, we brought together **civic entrepreneurs** from across Europe to showcase and share methods and better work out together how these are trying to reshape democracy.

The festival is a platform, **it's a platform** for putting in the spotlight the **practices & principles** that people are using to help people **imagine, enact and demand** a different Europe. It's also a platform for working together to use the energy and innovation in the different cities to develop proposals and projects between groups and between cities. From participants in London developing concepts for how we develop the **infrastructure for wellbeing** for nomads who travel across borders to people in Warsaw who focused on areas ranging from practical ways to collaborate between employers and universities to creating more **co-working spaces**, where young people can examine their business ideas and present them to eventual business partners.

By imagining new ways of living, they opened up their imagination of what the **future** would be like. By enacting it, they could take part in **rehearsing** it and by demanding it, they could **mobilise** others around common causes.

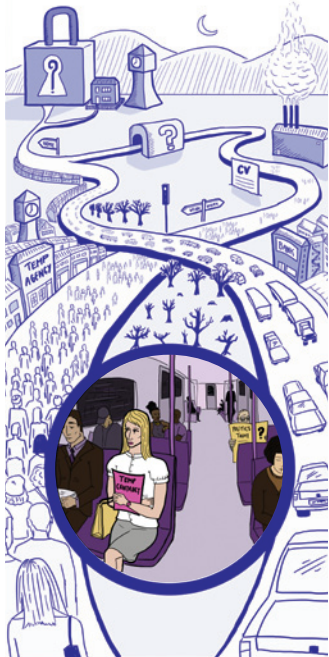
**Noel Hatch is a member of European Alternative's Transnational Board.**



SCHOOL



### ZOMBIE GENERATION



### INVISIBLE CITIZENS



### MILITANT OPTIMISTS



### LIFESTYLE HACKERS



# Enabling the City. An interview with Chiara Camponeschi

by Noel Hatch

Chiara Camponeschi works at the intersection of interdisciplinary research, social innovation and urban sustainability. Her latest project, *The Enabling City*, can be found online at [www.enablingcity.com](http://www.enablingcity.com).

**Noel:** I wonder how **communities** can learn from each other, not just how an urban farm in Bologna can learn from another urban farm in London, but how they can actually learn from initiatives which are in very different settings?

**Chiara:** Recognising that humans are vulnerable today might be an issue of urban agriculture or resilience, or it might be a question of self-sufficiency or independence. These concerns about resilience or creative participation are really three-dimensional, so these case studies that I present are just a tiny part of what we could tackle. Recognising that some of the initiatives don't entirely work locally, it's more a different way of thinking about an issue that might not concern us today, but may do

in the future. It's just that idea of being more open to the challenges people are currently facing. All in all, the **diversity** that they contribute builds the strength of a network that becomes bigger and more international.

It means that if one day, a particular community is in need, there is a way people can reach that community and can show their solidarity. This takes place in different ways. There's a series of strategies for overcoming obstacles that can be universal. So it's learning not just from the success stories, but also from the struggles and the drawbacks. These can all contribute to a more flexible understanding of **what it means to be an active citizen** and how we can participate. It's all about the exchange,

exploration and imagination and they can quickly see different examples of how people are doing it in their own way.

**What are the ways that communities where initiatives don't exist, rather than copy the latest innovation they've heard about and trying to impose it on their communities, can try and spot what the needs and assets are?**

It can be through other ways of **sharing knowledge** – like the Trade School model or open culture. It's through that that we are more informed and confident. Joining local NGOs or social innovation hubs, or even universities because they are big actors and they should be more critically minded, more in the front line of this movement,

providing opportunities for funding local assets. The community could start an action plan, or even rethink the current infrastructure, whether it's a day-care centre or a community space for the arts or public libraries that turn into maker labs or just having periodic crowdsourced events or event project twinning. What about a program twinning projects – like between a project in a city with a completely different city as a way of exchanging ideas, and having a transnational perspective on the same issue and then involving other actors outside of the network of concerned residents to include municipal actors, universities or other funders.

We need to start thinking more systematically about what it takes





to champion co-production and how to make it feasible, because **it really isn't volunteerism**, it takes a lot of resources and challenges assumptions about collaboration. But with the current situation of public spending cuts, they will never be as successful as they could be. It's not just about replicating ideas, but really developing the potential and capacity for residents to start finding their voice for their community.

**Is that what you mean by resilient thinking?**

Absolutely, starting from a scientific definition, but it's also about **emotional** resilience as well as **physical** resilience, how the ecosystem of our lives works.

**With the research we've been doing with European Alternatives' project Make a Living, we've identified different personas of young people, including "lifestyle hackers" who have been through periods of change and have used resilient thinking, making use of their different local assets. Then we've got people in the same work situation – unemployed or underemployed – but don't have strong enough networks that can connect them into these initiatives and that way of thinking. How do you move beyond the "usual suspects"?**

It's about finding entry points, recognising that there will be more than one, depending on the context of the place and starting with what they already have and know, acknowledging they are working in a difficult situation, from there finding what matters to people and if there is a pressing concern with their wellbeing and how that can create bridge to larger audiences of more holistic participation or an understanding of resilience. That's about creating a bond of trust to be able to cooperate with them. That's really about empowerment that builds resilience. It has to be facilitated with openness.

There are different paradigms of youth participation. We

have different models for what constitutes citizenship. You have the dutiful citizen model – "I pay my taxes, I write letters to the editor, I do the orthodox stuff of being a citizen". So if you look under these indicators, of course you'll see a massive decline in participation and an interest in the democratic process, especially among **young people**. But if you shift to the actualising citizen model, where affirmation matters, you can see that young people are not writing letters to the editor but instead, they're mobilising online or raising awareness on particular issues in unusual places.

**That's fascinating, because institutions at best focus on trying to support the dutiful citizen and their rationale for action is based on what the dutiful citizen values in terms of the way they have their say about how the city is run through voting. The way that assets get distributed is through using tax to have civic services delivered to you. But then, you've got the actualising citizens, who themselves are creating new forms of citizenship, whereas previously, it was the institutions that did. What role can social institutions – like the state or civil society – play to enable those initiatives and indeed the actualising citizen model?**

This is definitely reflected in the intentions we see today, with cities embracing co-production and participative governance. Concretely though, when you investigate more closely, it's why I talk about civic innovation – to extend the invitation, because often the actualising citizen model is discounted because it's not really recognisable or it doesn't really resonate as a way of doing things. For institutions, it can be terrifying to open up, the fear of giving up too much power. In instances where it is already celebrated, where it's part of the organisation's official vision, we are seeing encouraging initiatives. But we

have more invitations than we do implementations. We're not quite implementing feedback from the citizens.

Taking a look at **how we remunerate citizen participation** would make it possible for residents to invest their own energy for an extended period of time so that they don't burn out, that they feel valued and they actually do have a say. So that co-production becomes more than just consultation. This is true too of co-governance as a wider mandate for local, national and transnational institutions, really shifting how we run the city together. We have these structures that contribute to the wellbeing of people so how do we provide greater job security or how do we have a say on what we pay our taxes for?

There are still a lot of grey areas that aren't being systematically looked at in our governance. Uncovering them would also enable us **to look beyond the dutiful citizen model** and start to really acknowledge and give legitimacy to these other people participating.

**Chiara has been interviewed by Noel Hatch. The full interview can be read online at [www.euroalter.com](http://www.euroalter.com).**

# TRANSEUROPA FESTIVAL

## A Cultural and Artistic Approach to the European Polity

The Idea of Europe, translated in political and technical terms as the European Union (EU), seems to have lost its attractiveness for Europeans; it is increasingly difficult to imagine discourses around the 'European dream' or 'ideal of Europe'. Back in 2007, the London Festival of Europe was created as a response to this lack of an imaginative dimension to the European project. It aimed to open up a space for creative conflicts and another form of engagement with Europe, by approaching it from a cultural and artistic perspective and not a narrowly bureaucratic, technocratic or economic one.

The Festival invited intellectuals and artists to present their work and interact with a diverse public. It proposed informal and engaging activities, such as *f*âneries around London, outdoor movie projections in underused spaces or salons in public cafés. It became TRANSEUROPA Festival in 2010, moving from a one-location to a multi-location Festival. It engages with citizens and artists all around Europe and promotes cultural and artistic projects, which shape the emergence of a transnational space and make creative proposals on how to build a common future.

### London: the Archetype of the European City?

Is it ironic that London – the capital city of a country which refuses to recognise itself as European – was the original birthplace of TRANSEUROPA Festival?

We – the originally small group of young Europeans who had put together the 1st edition of the Festival – thought that London was representative of a position many a European throughout the continent had vis à vis the EU. A position in which one lives happily with the benefits the EU brings, without being aware of them, but which goes hand in hand with a high level of frustration as regards to a Union that appears to be an institutional and economic construction, made against or regardless of the will of Europeans instead of by them. The living contradictions and contestations inherent in a cosmopolitan world-city like London seemed to open up a space from which another idea of Europe could emerge from the highly technocratic image of the European Union:

London, the city many young people from around Europe go to find work;  
London the major financial hub of Europe; London, the capital of a euro-sceptic country; London the city which has hosted the Polish, Ethiopian, Yugoslav, Belgian, Czech, Greek, Luxembourgish, Dutch and Norwegian governments in exile, and political leaders and thinkers from Bolivar to Marx; London, the world economy which dominates over the economy of the country of which it is capital;



London a cultural and artistic centre; London the city in which the poet John Donne wrote in 1631: ‘No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less’.

## Openness to the Other: A Founding Principle for Europe and a Key for its Future

The idea of Europe – and the construction of the European Union – have the potential to bring changes that nation-states today are not in a position to accompany: freedom of movement for its citizens in an extended area, joint economic development and influential political position on the global arena, the possibility to defend values such as civil, human and social rights both within and outside its borders. Europe opens up the possibility to bring people together at a large scale so that they share common ideals and to change the logic of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ that dominates national thinking and is so unfit for a globalised world. The idea of Europe allows a different approach to questions of identity and culture, and nurtures openness and permeability to new influences and ideas and to ‘the other’.

## Culture and Arts are a Key Components of What Europe Is

**‘So long as there are coffee houses, the ‘idea of Europe’ will have content’.** As George Steiner writes in ‘A Certain Idea of Europe’ part of what defines Europe is to be found in the cultural habits of Europeans, whether they be in walking through and appreciating historic cities or frequenting cafés – by excellence places of creation, exchange between people and a crucible for the development of new ideas. Rather than by ‘predominant’ cultures, Europe is made of intertwined cultural influences; and artists have always played an active role to integrate them and blend them in new movement of thoughts, that have influenced politics and representations of society. Poets, painters, intellectuals and musicians have played a crucial role in allowing Europe to psychologically work through the atrocities of its recent past and to think further along the lines of peace and reconciliation. As much as activists or politicians, artists and intellectuals can bring useful outlooks to think of

Europe’s present and future. It would therefore be dangerous and possibly futile to try to create a new political space, – a ‘European polity’ – without their active involvement.

## Calling In Artists to Define Alternatives for Europe

**‘Art is a tool to enact ideas that seem impossible’**

Tania Bruguera, TRANSEUROPA Forum, 2013

From the beginning of TRANSEUROPA Festival, we considered that the arts play a social and political role and that their transformative power is probably as powerful as politics and economics to give a shape to the European ideal, even if it is less tangible.

Many renowned intellectuals, artists and activists have supported this approach and contributed to its development by taking part in various editions of the Festival. Artists and poets such as Dan Perjovschi, Tania Bruguera, Stefano Boeri, Danielle Arbid, ORLAN, Cai Yuan and Jan Jun Xi, Casimiro de Brito, George Szirtes, Fiona Sampson, Marcelo Exposito, Ma Yongfeng, Hiwa K and Oliver Ressler have brought their creations and art projects to the Festival. Key thinkers of our times such as the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, philosophers Franco Bifo Berardi, Bernard Stiegler, Etienne Balibar, Marc Crépon, Genevieve Fraisse, Michela Marzano and Jelisaveta Blagojevic, academics such as Kalypso Nicolaidis, Engin Isin, Saskia Sassen, Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, Rosi Braidotti, or art critics and curators such as Hans Ulrich Obrist and Steven Wright have shared their ideas and proposals during Festival events.

## A Rich and Diverse Artistic Programme

To stimulate debate, ideas and action on some key European issues such as poverty, discrimination, democracy or civil rights, exhibitions, theatre plays, music performances, readings, films screenings, workshops and public space artistic performances compose the programme of activities in each city (see page 52). The particular form and concerns of these engaged artistic actions often vary depending on the specific city, but reflect universal concerns shared throughout the transeuropean space. In Lublin for instance the Festival was the opportunity to challenge gender perspectives and attitudes towards gay and



*The Madonnas* by Katarzyna Hołda. Curated by Magdalena Linkowska.  
photo by Diana Kolczewska. Labirynt Gallery in Lublin, 2011 ▲

Tania Bruguera reading the Manifesto of Immigrant Movement  
International, in front of Saint Bernard Church. Paris, 2012 ▼



Boczny Theater *Not From Here* based on Lukasz Chotkowski's work.  
Director Karol Rebisz. Choreography Pawel Kotbus. Music Maciej Polynko.  
Appearance Malgorzata Saniak, Paulina Polowniak, Pawel Korbus. Lublin, 2011 ▼



lesbian communities. The issue was the main thematic of theatre plays (*Not From Here* and *Collapse*), exhibitions such as *The Madonnas* and *Love is Love*, which inspired the exhibition *Pulse, within the Veil* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 2012) and public space artistic performances.

## Sharing Common Art Programmes between Cities

Beyond inviting people to think Europe differently, TRANSEUROPA Festival aims at creating a shared space between people located in different countries and cities, where they can think and act together, a transnational space, where the feeling of belonging to one community is not linked to territoriality or nationality only.

Since 2010, TRANSEUROPA Festival creates artistic programmes that are shared between the cities of the Festival, inviting the Festival audiences to see, experience and react to the same art pieces, all around Europe.

As part of this transnational programme, the film **'What is Democracy?'** by Oliver Ressler was screened and discussed in the four cities of the Festival in 2010. In 2011, the **'On-board (short movies) programme for the modern traveller'**, curated by Emanuele Guidi and Tobias Hering, invited participants to 'embrace what happens apart, and to eventually cross the distance which reason, budget and physics force us to keep'.

In 2012, in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings of 2011 and to stimulate reflexions on bridges between democratic movements in Europe and in the Mediterranean, the short movies programme **'Histoires'** curated by Cinémathèque de Tanger presented movies by Arab filmmakers and artists made before 2011. Through artistic approaches and different techniques, such as intimate stories, video art and documentary, the movies showed different faces of Arab societies. The programme was screened in partnership with renowned cultural institutions such as Kriterion Cinema in Amsterdam, CCCB in Barcelona, Grad in Belgrade, Cineteca di Bologna, Kino Arsenal in Berlin, Institut Francais in Cluj Napoca, Iniva and Amnesty International in London, Institut des Cultures d'Islam in Paris, Kino Svetzor in Prague, Teatro Valle Occupato in Rome, Social Center Xaspel in Sofia, History Meeting House in Warsaw.

## Shaping the Transnational Space

Every year, artists and collectives have been invited to reflect directly on what 'transnational space' and 'transnational collective' mean.

In 2011, with **'The ground was divided, we jumped'**, Can Altay – an artist born in Turkey – created a bridge between the 4 cities of the Festival by designing the home of the Festival, a place for encounters that hosted Festival events. This place was at the same time different and similar in each city.

**'Visualising Transnationalism'**, a collaborative research-based process articulated through meetings and public workshops gathering artists, graphic designers, architects and activists led to visualisations, in the form of diagrams, maps, new cartographies of non-geographic representations of space and common European struggles. Posters and postcards of the visuals were distributed in all Festival cities at the occasion of discussions with the artists.

**The Transnational Walk**, the opening of TRANSEUROPA Festival in 2012, took people along the streets of their cities, accompanied by the telling of stories curated transnationally. Theatre groups and art collectives, such as Stalker/Osservatorio Nomade in Rome, led the walk in each city.

**Air Time** – an ambitious audio-performance, created collaboratively by ten young artists from different cities – opened 2013 Festival with a simultaneous art performance in ten European cities (see page 8-13). This art project resulted from the common participation of artists, art institutions, European activists and the public. It raises questions on what 'the collective' might be and thereby embodies well what TRANSEUROPA Festival is and strives to be.

TRANSEUROPA Festival and European Alternatives are **experiments in transnationalism, which create bridges between artistic, cultural and civic organisations and groups all over Europe**. They have developed jointly; they are two faces of the same project.

TRANSEUROPA Festival is a moment of synergy and openness; a moment of gathering and a place from which it is possible to develop new perspectives and imaginaries. It is the moment for European Alternatives to reaffirm its commitment to **putting culture and arts at the centre of its vision of Europe**. It is a key milestone in European Alternatives' efforts to bring about democracy, equality and culture beyond the nation state in Europe.



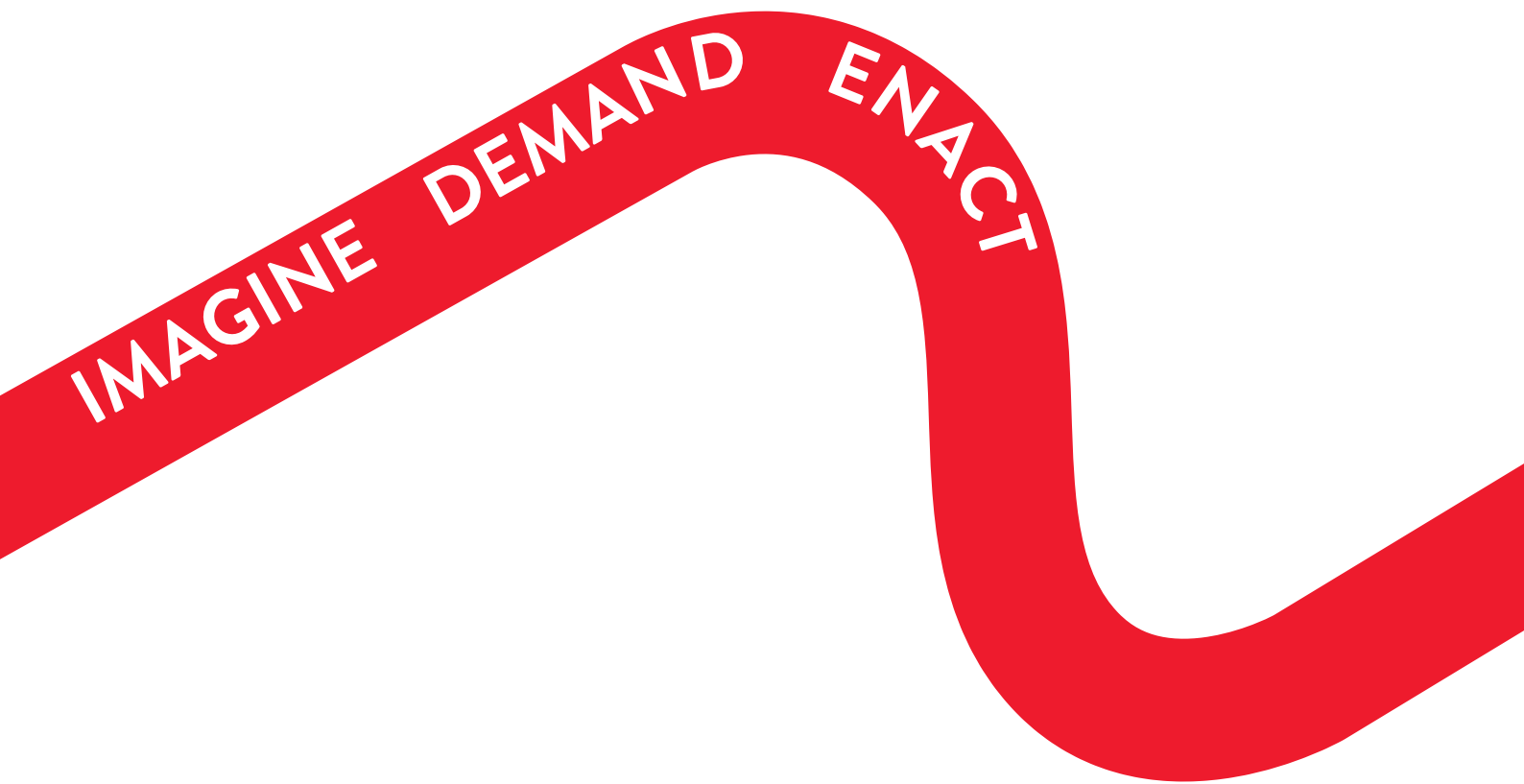
▲ Michela Marzano. ORLAN, Geneviève Fraisse, Paris, 2010

▼ *The ground was divided, we jumped*. Can Altay, London, Paris, Cluj-Napoca, Bologna, 2011



▼ Ma Yongfeng, Bologna, 2012





IMAGINE DEMAND ENACT

What does TRANS EUROPA FESTIVAL mean to Your City?





**London**



**Amsterdam**



**Berlin**



**Prague**



**Brussels**



**Paris**



**Bologna**



**Barcelona**



CONTEXTO





Lublin



Cluj Napoca



Bratislava



Belgrade



Sofia



Warsaw



## PARIS

Sara Spagnuolo

*TRANSEUROPA est un phénomène endogène qui se produit partiellement dans le futur, un des plusieurs greffes nécessaires pour maintenir le système lymphatique de l'Europe vivant et évolutif. C'est une idée collective portée par des individus convaincus que les frontières ne sont souvent que mentales, et capables de construire des alternatives durables et intégratives.*

TRANSEUROPA is an endogenous phenomenon that occurs partly in the future, one of the several grafts necessary to keep Europe's lymphatic system alive and evolving. It's a collective idea conveyed through the action of individuals who are convinced that, most of the time, borders are merely mental, and who prove capable of constructing sustainable, integrative alternatives.



## BARCELONA

Mara Gabrielli

*A través del arte, TRANSEUROPA Festival busca apoyar la reflexión sobre las sociedades en las que vivimos y cómo podemos cambiarlas de manera activa como ciudadanos y ciudadanas. Buscamos promover el intercambio cultural y político de quienes vivimos en Europa en el seno de espacios comunes de debate y acción para intercambiar y experimentar sobre nuestras formas de participación ciudadana y sobre nuestros derechos en las sociedades europeas.*

Through the arts, TRANSEUROPA Festival promotes a reflection on the societies where we live and the ways we can actively make changes as citizens. We try to encourage cultural and political exchanges between citizens that live across Europe about our rights and our participation as active citizens of the European societies within a common space of debate and action.



## BERLIN

Vanessa Buth

*Organisiert im Rahmen des TRANSEUROPA Festivals machte ich an einer Fahrradtour durch Berlin mit. Es war ein fantastischer Weg, sich von den besonderen Ideen des alternativen Miteinander und der kreative Gestaltung des sozialen und auch politischen Lebensraumes der Gemeinschaften inspirieren zu lassen.*

As part of TRANSEUROPA Festival, I joined the bicycle tour through one of Berlin's neighbourhoods. It was a fantastic way to gain inspiration from the creative ways in which people transformed their environment into alternative, community-fostering and political living spaces.

## AMSTERDAM

Nicky Lejtens

*Ik zag namelijk honderden harten kloppen voor Europa in Amsterdam. Of het nu ging om een fietstour, een culturele avond, een debat over financiën of een filmvertoning: ze waren er. En ik kon de harten horen kloppen. Hard, zacht. Maar hoe dan ook: kloppend. Voor een week was Amsterdam hét centrum van Europa. Een ander Europa. Een speeltuin voor de verbeelding. Een speeltuin voor nieuwe perspectieven. Een speeltuin waarin we allemaal kunnen meespelen.*

I have seen hundreds of European hearts beating in Amsterdam. Whether it was a bike tour, a cultural evening, a debate on finance or a film screening; they were there. And I could hear their hearts beating. Hard, soft. But still beating. For a week, Amsterdam was the centre of Europe. A different Europe. A playground for imagination. A playground for new perspectives. A playground in which we all can play.

## BOLOGNA

Martina Lamacchia

*Seguo le attività del TRANSEUROPA Festival da diversi anni, qui a Bologna. Il gruppo di European Alternatives in città è uno dei più attivi nel campo della cultura e della politica. E' stata per me un'esperienza formativa senza pari, che mi ha aperto gli occhi al mondo.*

I have been following TRANSEUROPA Festival in Bologna since a few years. European Alternatives' local group is one of the most active in town in the cultural and political areas. It has been a matchless formative experience, which has opened my eyes to the world.



## CLUJ-NAPOCA

Iulia Sandor

*TRANSEUROPA Festival creează un spațiu și timp speciale în oraș, în care alternativele la nivel politic și cultural călătoresc prin fața ochilor noștri, în timp ce promovează acțiuni și proiecte de colaborare în vederea unei viați mai bune. Cred că acest festival este foarte important și necesar, în principal din cauza tematicii acestuia. Îmi place acest proiect pentru că este realizat în funcție de interesele locale, fiind aproape de oameni și comunități. În același timp, este o provocare pentru voluntari fiind un festival politic, artistic și cultural în același timp!*

TRANSEUROPA Festival creates a special space and time in the city where political and cultural alternatives, collaborative actions and projects for a better life are promoted transnationally. I believe this focus makes the festival very important and necessary, and really brings it close to the concerns, people and communities on a local context. As a political, artistic and cultural festival, it's also a great challenge for the volunteers!



## SOFIA

Dara Krstic

*Място, на което можеш да бъдеш себе си, където можеш да споделиш своите идеи и да имаш възможността да промениш и хората около себе си. Фестивал, който променя нещата...*

*Mesto gde možeš podići svog glas i biti saslušan, gde možeš podeliti svoje ideje i gde imaš mogućnost da pomoću tih istih ideja, promeniš sredinu u kojoj živiš. Festival koji donosi promene u svakodnevnom životu.*

A place where you can raise your voice and be heard, where you could share your ideas and you do have the possibility to make a change in the society that you live in. A festival that does make a change.

## WARSAW

Natalia Szelachowska

*Najbardziej istotnym aspektem tegorocznego festiwalu TRANSEUROPA było prowadzenie działań we współpracy z innymi miastami, dzięki czemu możliwe było podjęcie tematów wspólnych dla całej Europy, przy zachowaniu lokalnej perspektywy. Taki sam nacisk został położony na realizację wydarzeń artystycznych, jak AirTime oraz Transnational Walk oraz działań społecznych w postaci Mani(fest)ów oraz dyskusji wokół Citizens Pact. Festiwal starał się poruszać ważne i aktualne kwestie stawiając za priorytet interakcję z mieszkańcami w zróżnicowanej przestrzeni miejskiej.*

The most important aspect of TRANSEUROPA 2013 was the development of collaboration between different cities on real issues for the whole Europe, while maintaining the local perspective. The same effort was put in the organization of both artistic events and social activities. The goal of TRANSEUROPA was to bring up important and current matters, prioritising interaction with citizens in the diversified urban space. TRANSEUROPA Festival in Warsaw enabled dialogue on different levels – between inhabitants of the capital (regardless of their status), between individuals and organisations, and also between artists and audience, when concentrated around common topics like migration, partnerships and democracy.

## BRATISLAVA

Peter Vittek

*Európa potrebuje priestor, v ktorom budú môcť ľudia komunikovať, diskutovať o svojej spoločnej identite, hovoriť o svojich potrebách a spôsoboch spolupráce. Festival takýto priestor poskytuje. Chceli by sme zdôrazniť, že sociálna zmena sa môže uskutočniť „zdola“, že ľudia sú schopní čeliť súčasnému výzvam, keď použijú svoju kreativitu a vôľu spoločne zobrať svoje osudy do vlastných rúk.*



Europe needs a space, where people can communicate, discuss the meaning of their common identity, talk about their needs and ways to collaborate. The festival is one of these spaces. We wish to emphasise that social change can be made reality from 'below', that people are able to face up to challenges of the present days when they use their creativity and will to collaboratively take their own concern into their own hands.



## LUBLIN

Magdalena Luczyn

*Lublin jest miastem pełnym energii, wypełnionym społecznymi i kulturalnymi działaniami. Jest także jednym z miast skupiających się na tematach ważkich społecznie takich jak: prawa pracownicze, prawa uchodźców, prawa kobiet, emancypacja osób LGBT, prekariat, gentryfikacja itp. Poruszanie tych tematów jest możliwe głównie dzięki staraniom osób aktywnie uczestniczących w życiu społecznym i kulturalnym miasta. Festiwal TRANSEUROPA ma wyjątkowy charakter przede wszystkim dlatego, że daje możliwość docierania z różnymi tematami i poprzez urozmaicone działania, do rozmaitych odbiorców. Naszym celem jest dotarcie do jak największej grupy osób. Jednym z przykładów takiej wielotorowości przekazu jest zorganizowanie w ramach tematu LGBT warsztatu, wystawy i dyskusji. Dzięki temu skierowaliśmy nasz przekaz do osób o zróżnicowanych stylach uczestniczenia w życiu społecznym. W minionym roku festiwal odbył się w Autonomicznym Centrum Społecznym Cicha!*

Lublin is a vibrant city full of cultural and social activities. It is one of the cities focusing on crucial issues such as labour rights, refugees' rights, women's rights, LGBT rights, precarity, and gentrification, among others. This is possible mostly through the effort of activists strongly involved in culture. But TRANSEUROPA Festival is unique in the sense that it gives the possibility of address certain topics through different activities, getting more people interested in our actions. Last year, the festival was hosted by Autonomous Social Center Cicha4. One of the examples of exploring multiple paths is the theme of LGBT rights around which we organized a workshop, an exhibition and a discussion. We were able to address people with different ways of participating in social life.

# WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE FESTIVAL

## MARINA LEWYCKA

Novelist, United Kingdom

For me TRANSEUROPA Festival was a wonderful way of connecting with people I would never otherwise have met, and feeling part of a wider European culture.

## SANDRO MEZZADRA

Professor of Political Philosophy  
University of Bologna, Italy

TRANSEUROPA Festival is an important step in creating a trans-European public sentiment and stimulating media and cultural interest around Europe's present and future challenges.

## IKER BARBERO

University of the Basque Country, Euskal Herria

If we believe that another Europe is possible, we need to propose alternative ideas based on principles of real democracy and solidarity, and this is precisely what European Alternatives proposes and enacts.

## DONALD SASSOON

Professor of Comparative European History,  
Queen Mary University, London, United Kingdom

I was impressed by the enthusiasm of the young participants as well as the way in which they were 'naturally' Europeans, at ease in a complex world of multiple identities. I felt privileged to take part and make my contribution.

## ROBERT BIEDROŃ

Member of Parliament and LGBT activist, Poland

People often are amazed how diverse and colourful is their city, region, or country. It is TRANSEUROPA Festival which helps them discover it. TRANSEUROPA invites us to discuss fundamental issues and encourages us to be active citizens of our communities. I am proud to work with European Alternatives building a better Europe!

## BRUNO KAUFMANN

Falun City Government, Sweden

Fascinating. What makes Europe so unique among other world regions? It is a serious attempt to bring popular sovereignty, constitutional democracy and transnational solution - finding into a common framework. TRANSEUROPA Festival is an essential contribution to make all this possible.

## ENGIN ISIN

Professor of Citizenship, Open University  
United Kingdom

European Alternatives has been amongst the most effective, exciting, and creative acts to build a solidaristic and democratic Europe open to people and ideas. Its activists have been tirelessly organising events, staging creative actions, and through art and philosophy, calling forth European citizens to imagine and act together for an alternative Europe.

TRANSEUROPA Festival 2013 symbolises and expresses all that is radically creative about European Alternatives and the networks they have been able to cultivate through European citizens from Sofia and Cluj to Belgrade and Bologna. If you want to experience the future of Europe now, look no further than Transeuropa Festival.

## UGO MATTEI

Professor of Civil Law, University of Turin, Italy

European Alternatives, with its flagship TRANSEUROPA Festival, is a much-needed transnational political actor giving a meaning to European active citizenship and the struggle for fundamental rights.

## JEROME PHELPS

Detention Action, London, United Kingdom

It is exciting to work with an initiative that actively involves citizens around Europe in thinking creatively about migration. Citizen activism can be a powerful force to open up secretive national and regional practices to democratic scrutiny and debate.



