Abstract: Participatory agenda in arts and culture represents a cutting-edge issue in the discourse of cultural policy. It has been seen as one which could fulfil the widening gap between the promise and failure of cultural democracy and influence democratic deficiencies that culture is facing. This paper focuses on clarification of the term participation and participatory governance in culture from its theoretical origin to its articulations and interpretations in the field of culture specifically. Methodologically, the paper builds on the analysis of literature and policy framework. In the literature analysis of the diverse conceptualisations of the participation in the field of culture, most specifically, participation in the sense of power devolution, the paper explores the repository of work by Milena Dragićević-Šešić and her contributions to the theoretical framework of the participation discussion. These contributions unravel the legacies and understandings...
of participation and participatory governance in culture and cultural policy from the perspective of (post)transitional context and countries in development.

Key words: participation, participatory governance, cultural policy, Southeast Europe

Introduction

The richness and diversity of Milena Dragićević-Šešić’s work within the cultural policy and management research were confirmed by the 2019 ENCATC Fellowship Award, the only international public recognition and award for positive changes in education, research, policy, and advocacy in the cultural management and cultural policy fields. Working for decades as a professor, teacher, trainer, and consultant as well as researcher she obtained enormous theoretical and practical knowledge in different disciplines and areas of arts and culture. Coming from the semi-periphery country, Dragićević Šešić contributed to the European and international educational and research community with examples, stories and analyses from different countries in development, from her region of Southeast Europe, over the Caucasus, Central Asia, Arab States, to India and Cambodia. Among many topics, she covered in many of her books, essays, and speeches, one of them deals with the participation – a topic that has become ubiquitous in academic and policy discourse in the last several decades.

In its essence, participation is not a new concept - it is indivisible with the democratization of culture and cultural institutions, emphasizing the importance of the involvement of citizens in cultural life, and is consistent with the cultural democracy that promotes and affirms cultural diversity by diminishing barriers between the high and low culture. At the same time, the notion of participation spreads wide towards the various levels and forms of participatory practices, such as participatory arts, participatory culture, participatory policy and decision making, participatory governance, stretching into specific and contextual participation struggles in form of arts and cultural activism that Dragićević-Šešić underlines for their relevance in the “contribution to the development of new social paradigms, raising critical awareness on nationalism, xenophobia, hatred speech which permeated official cultural scene in 90’s” in the (post)transitional Southeast Europe\(^1\). These new paradigms have been aided by a proliferation communication and technology

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development which led to the cultural shift from consumers to producers due to fast changes happening in all five stages of culture cycles (creation, production, dissemination, exhibition/reception/transmission and consumption/participation). The understanding of cultural participation can no longer be reduced to issues of supply and demand - the meaning of cultural participation no longer signifies the practice of counting number of tickets sold and range of the audience profiling and stratification. The contemporary notion of cultural participation is not a static numeric concept but a dynamic process through which the citizens actively participate in artistic creation. Namely, citizenstoday do not need the traditional bureaucratic structures to pursue their interests, and they are looking for more direct influence on various processes, creation, planning, production, and especially in policy and decision-making process – voting in political elections is not a sufficient mechanism for affirmation of democratic cultural rights and citizenship.

In the context of cultural participation, cultural policy faces significant structural and reform challenges. As Besch and Minson stressed, the forms of community participation in decision making vary “from central government initiatives to the most hierarchical private organizations, from social movements of the new Left to those of the new Right, and from childrearing to parental intervention in the school community”2. This inevitably draws the attention to the local levels as crucial for citizen participation “where people can know each other’s needs and have a real platform for discussions, while on the level of the regional authorities or the state level it has to be done through representatives who are rarely elected democratically”3. The locality and the immediate relations between the context and the citizens enable more appropriate connections for the visibility of the subaltern voices, affirming the interculturality and diversity as aspects of common identity. As Dragićević-Šešić notes “the role of cultural policy in an intercultural context should be to preserve and represent diversity, but even more to arouse interest, curiosity and respect for the other, especially minority cultures, to find a way to integrate their contributions into local narratives, and to introduce them within a collective cultural memory, as well as to incorporate their contemporary cultural practices into everyday cultural programming so as


to avoid relegating them to a folkloric, touristic (and often exotic) cultural offering”4. Cultural diversity and intercultural contributions to cultural development are directly linked to the concepts of cultural sustainability and good governance, which are crucial elements and aims of the participatory practices as it will be more elaborated in the following chapters of this paper.

**Historical Trajectories of Participation in Cultural Policy**

Participation has a long tradition in different areas of society and it operates across various geopolitical contexts and organizational settings. Dragićević-Šešić5 notes that the participation concept, as it is articulated today in its dominant form in the cultural policy theory, stemmed from Western Europe. However, in order to provide a more thorough understanding of the idea of citizens’ association to cultural policy, Dragićević-Šešić extends the analysis to the perimeter outside the dominant Western European circle. After elaborating the evolution of the big “push” for more “democratic, participative policy-making” on European scale evident in the switch from “‘cultural democratization’ (coming from above) with cultural democracy (movement from below)”, Dragićević-Šešić explains the differences in the conceptualisation of the participation processes in diverse parts of Europe, identifying participative policies as originating from the expert circles (for example, in the UK), or being linked to the “bottom-up leftist civil society movements to allow the voices of citizens to not only be heard but also listened to focusing on the European peripheries”6.

During the last century, the relation between State/public authority and citizens has profoundly changed, and many areas have developed critical reflection on dominant meanings of participation practices. However, the methods of participation depend on the political construction of countries, sectors, disciplines, etc. In the abovementioned interview, Dragićević-Šešić gave an overview of the historical trajectory of the participative nature of cultural policies in Southeast Europe. In that overview, the author unravelled lesser-known facts on bottom-up manners of cultural policymaking since the 19th century in the perpetually occupied territory of Slavic citizens where “the only possibility to have a cultural policy was participative, citizen-led bottom-up policy, creating its own institutions and programs as a form of a cultural and political

5 Ibidem.
6 Ibidem, p. 201.
resistance”. This is a legacy, a social imprint of people’s needs and mobilisation for self-organisation that has persevered to the present times. Dragičević-Šešić detects similarities in the legacy of social engagement in participation from Southeast Europe to that in Scandinavia and “the kulturkampf movement that created a network of ‘people’s universities’ (Folkehøjskole, Folkhögskola, Folkehøgskole, folkeuniversitet), fighting for the use of national languages in education and for popular education and culture as such”8. Active citizen’s approach to the cultural policy is directly in line with the human rights and cultural rights principles that imply “universal access to and participation in culture for everyone, including in decision-making”9 that represents one of the main dimensions of democratic cultural policy. This higher degree of participation in policy decision-making has implication on the sense of ownership within the culture and “contribute to strengthening civil society, including community groups, NGOs and professional associations”, while “principles of transparency, accountability and equal representation”10 within the process should ensure the final implementation of decisions.

Parallel to the right of freedom of expression, the United Nation’s Universal declaration of Human Rights (1948), defined the right to participate in the cultural life which obliged “the part of governments (at national, regional and local levels) to ensure that this right is upheld.”11. Placing participation in the context of human rights shows that “rights-based approaches to cultural policy”12 have been a key foundation across diverse understanding and practices of democratic rules in Europe and must be treated as a principle, especially in parts of Europe where citizen’s participation has become an inseparable component of cultural practices. The issue of right to participate has been challenged by the COVID-19 pandemic crisis that has accelerated and exposed the weaknesses and threats that decades of rising populism and inequality have brought on in form of declining participation, dissolution and general disinterest of the society for tending for the common public interests that

8 Ibidem, p. 203.
10 Ibidem, p. 36.
were in the core of the Welfare State’s efforts to protect and promote social well-beings of the citizens (i.e. heath system, education, culture, social security). In the field of culture, this claim is sustained with the data on cultural participation that shows how a significant part of population “does not participate in mainstream cultural activities such as going to the cinema or reading books”\(^\text{13}\). Hence, it is not surprising that Council of European Union, in many of its documents, has been emphasizing “the importance of achieving a better and fairer distribution of chance to participate in culture”\(^\text{14}\), which becomes ever more pressing issue now in the times of “new normality”. But, with the financial and economic crisis affecting many countries in last decade and the looming economic downturns that will follow the pandemic crisis, public interventions and policies are mostly focus on other fields (economy, health, national security, etc.) leaving the cultural life as well as participation in culture at the margin of public interest.

**From Participation to Participatory Governance**

Over the past three decades, participatory governance in culture has become highly topical in both academic and political debates on the global scale. The shift from “government” to “governance” is described as one of the most notable developments within contemporary social science. In both scientific and practical terms, it designates “a shift to societal decision-making processes that involve a larger number of actors, not only governmental but also from the private and non-profit sector.”\(^\text{15}\). The shift towards governance can be interpreted in a variety of ways, “from social actors wishing to be more involved in decisions, to governments wishing to be less involved, to the influence of globalization and the ways in which the rescaling of political and social actions is taking place at the present time”\(^\text{16}\). The governance implies the processes of decision-making that gather relevant actors, and it obliges governments to build a dialogue with non-governmental actors in order to include them in the decision-making process. This approach requires from both side, governments as well as

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\(^\text{14}\) Ibidem, p. 5.


\(^\text{16}\) Ibidem, p. 1.
civil society, to think strategically while developing the decision-making process with the aim of avoiding underestimation of this demanding and complex relations. As Andrew and Gattinger underline “building trust relations between participants is a necessary stage, particularly in fluid, network-based decision-making structures and this can never be an automatic process”17.

Shift to governance, and in particular to participatory governance, requires the “delicate balance of government engagement without government domination”18, which poses itself as one of the greatest challenges for the process of both decentralisation and participatory governance. In these processes, especially in the cultural field, governments should “tread lightly recognizing that the major actors are those directly involved in cultural activities”19. To this end, Dragićević-Šešić and Čopić assert that “partnering with citizens and civil society in public services provision has lately emerged as an innovative approach to the delivery of public services”20. Authors explained further that the Western society over 20th century has changed a few models of public services in order to build “more efficient, effective and responsive public sector”21. The main motive behind these changes within the public sector and way how it delivers its services to the citizens, Dragićević-Šešić and Čopić detected in fiscal policy, public budget-cutting and growing of public needs and expenditures. Those pressures motivated the government to change the traditional model of public service delivery, redefining relations not only between the State and the market but also between the State and civil society. Deconstruction of these boundaries between public, private and civil sector became an imperative of contemporary society since “engagement of different partners in the production and delivery of public services allows for more prosperous, fair and inclusive societies”22. Dragićević-Šešić wrote on the variants of new models of partnerships between the public, private and civil sectors back in 2006 claiming “that only ‘shared policies’ are legitimate ones in contemporary world”, and that the involvement of researches in sense of providing argumentative and empirically founded grounds for “complimentary enrichment” and mutual bond with the actors involved in the

17 Ibidem, p. 2.
18 Ibidem.
19 Ibidem.
21 Ibidem.
22 Ibidem.
policy cycles can “be beneficiary for the creation of new, more democratic standards in policy making”23.

Different modes and shapes of partnerships can be found in varied meanings and practices of participatory governance. In the Brainstorming Report about participatory governance in the context of cultural heritage, experts and practitioners stressed that the term “governance” refers to government, authority and organizational management. The concept “participatory” means “activities in which people take part”24. So, the involvement of participatory concept to the three mentioned aspects “implies that government, authority and management should be shared with people, with the citizens to whom the public cultural resources belong”25. Therefore, the concept of participatory governance can be defined as a sharing responsibilities in governance between many stakeholders - who have “a stake in what happens”26, such as local administrative, public institutions, private institutions, NGOs, citizens initiatives, representatives of local communities, artists, etc. or as Sani et al. articulated in the context of cultural heritage it “is a process of releasing authority on the one side and empowerment on the other, as well as the adoption of a management model, which allows for decisions to be taken by communities rather than individuals.”27.

**Participatory Practice within the Cultural Policy Arena – Examples from a Non-Western Perspective**

In the context of the dominant version of globalisation in form of neoliberal capitalism, “the combined effects of the economic crisis, demographic or migratory factors and a decline in resources, call for new development models driven by greater democracy, strengthened citizen participation and better governance based on more open, reactive and transparent institutions”28. This constellation poses profound demands and challenges in front of cultural policy. By understanding culture
beyond arts only, as a fundamental human right, a value system, belief and tradition\(^9\), culture attains a role that is central to all aspects of society from education to development, while the discourse on cultural policy and cultural development gains crucial gravity. How does cultural policy contribute to alternative visions of democracy? How does cultural policy respond to the urgency, density, diversity and demands of pressures “from below”? What kind of democratic and participatory perspectives of cultural development does cultural policy adopt?

All these tensions have had a more profound effect on the new (post)transitional democracies encompassing the countries of the former Yugoslav region. In this context, the work by Dragićević-Šešić indicates several factors that implicate the inclusion of participatory agenda in regional cultural policies. The first one is the legacy of a self-management socialist system, and the second is the internationalisation (that provided a vital counterbalance to otherwise nationalistic and state-centric politically driven cultural policy formation) which preceded the third factor involving the process of Europeanisation\(^10\). Opening towards the international arena of cooperation and European integration underscored and strengthened the position of civil society actors and their role in the “endorsement of democracy and democratic cultural policy-making”\(^31\). As explained by Dragićević-Šešić and Nikolić\(^32\), the participatory shift in cultural policy-making in the countries of the former Yugoslav region is more than challenging on the overall, yet uneven in the actual application and situation from one country to another. To this end, the analysis presented in the paper “City cultural policies and participative governance models” shows an indispensable insight into the trends and tendencies of participatory agenda of vulnerable democracies in the European South-eastern semi-periphery.

In parallel with the wider European and international trends in the world of new governance approaches, the most important actors for the development of participatory governance models in Southeast European region, most notably in the countries

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31 Ibidem.

32 Ibidem.
of former Yugoslavia, have been social movements and non-governmental and non-profit associations testing new, flexible forms of governance that effectively represent and respond to public concerns. These instances have been elaborated in a number of Dragićević-Šešić’s works, but here, we shall refer to the text that was written by Dragićević-Šešić from 2013 on the role of culture in democratic transition and the rise of civil cultural organisations in Serbia and Southeast Europe in which the author provides an analytical overview of the process of the independent culture (or “culture of dissident”) during the past twenty years in Southeast Europe. In this analysis, Dragićević-Šešić critically captured the key stages in the evolution, emancipation and strengthening of the capacities, relevance and position of the non-institutional actors that provided a counterbalance to the politically driven and artistically inert institutional setting through continuous struggles for modernisation and democratisation of the cultural system. In the process, civil society organizations have been inventing and experimenting with a range of new participatory mechanisms, including efforts to affiliate citizens and experts in new institutional formats.

The new institutional formats have been exemplified by the creation of new spaces “constructed and shaped by a different brand of social actors”33. This implies the rise of the political and social relevance of the civil society and non-governmental actors that, by questioning the legitimacy and accountability of the state, open new organisational spaces taking over public activities to “such a degree that some see them as reconfiguring public sector”34 and affecting policies of the mainstream institutions. Such developments correspond to articulations of participatory governance as a reaction to the inability of the traditional state and representative political apparatus to deal with a range of contemporary social problems or curing all of the democratic deficiencies that our political, economic, social and ultimately cultural systems are experiencing. Consequently, the cracks in the institutional frameworks of the traditional state have become a fertile ground a “proliferation of new forms of social and political association”35.

In practice, pressures for systemic modernisation and modernisation in form of participatory governance have yielded a number of independent cultural centres across the territory of

34 Ibidem.
former Yugoslavia. The quest for situating the efforts to upgrade regressive cultural policy provisions in actual physical spaces was, as Dragićević-Šešić notes, an attempt of the independent scene in culture to obtain permanent working spaces and to gather more coherent and systemic influence on the cultural change that needed, and still needs to be, achieved. The pursuit for cultural and systemic change through affirming participation and inclusion as standard of democratic cultural policy-making is ultimately a path towards needed “shared policy” that Dragićević-Šešić defines as “transparent (naturally and publicly debated and agreed); proactive, fostering innovation, stimulating non-existent areas; catalytic, initiating new programmes, projects and ideas; cross-fertilizing, involving different sectors, and ideas from artistic, scientific and other fields; coordinated within government and different levels of public policies; inclusive, for all marginal and minority groups”. The notion of “shared policy” is put forward as a parameter for evaluating the democratic levels of cultural policy, but also for attaining the democratic standards in those cultural policy contexts where those standards are low or instrumental. In the line of the actual formation, implementation and evaluation, “shared policy” represents “a model of cultural policy which implies systemic measures and existence of long-term planning; a mechanism for decision-making – detached from political bodies; a public dialogue […] all actors included (government, parliament, professional organisations, creative industries, media, public participation in the widest sense); publicly known priorities and criteria of evaluation; transparency of the whole model (from declared priorities to budget distribution); evaluation as a starting and final point of operation”.

Another example of the translation of the notion of “shared policy” from conceptual to practical level is the public-civic partnership which can show how complex and demanding the process it is. Dragićević-Šešić and Čopić describe this type of partnership not only as a way how the public sector has changed over the years in Western culture in order to become more effective in public service delivery but also as a tool for setting public interests at the centre of cultural sector by developing close connections with the non-governmental organizations that take responsibilities and carry on cultural services and activities with the purpose of safeguarding and meeting public interest. The case of developing public-civic partnership as an answer to completely eradicated public services in every area of

37 Ibidem.
policy system, including culture, comes from Cambodia, a post-genocide country. After the destruction of the public sector during the civil war, Khmer Rouge regime and foreign occupation, civil society became a key provider of public services in Cambodia while the public sector has been re-established as oversized and incompetent administration. As in many other countries where public-civic partnerships were established by a top-down approach, in Cambodia, this new type of partnership, recognised as a driver for further cultural development, was introduced by technical assistance of UNESCO. Unlike public-private partnership based on the competitive market logic, the idea behind the public-civic partnership is cooperation among public and civil actors while designing and providing public services that enable fulfilment of citizens’ interests and needs. During the implementation of public-civic partnership in the Cambodian context, one of the first clear action was raising public awareness about the importance of systemic change of policymaking and cultural practices (from audience development to the culture of memory) and educational needs within the whole cultural sector, while hierarchically organized public sector was recognised as one of the biggest risks for the sustainability of this partnership. Another important risk for further development of public-civic partnership in Cambodia, Dragićević-Šešić and Čopić recognized in “the lack of sense of local ownership”39, i.e. the fact that the dialogue and relations between public and civil sector were initiated and supported by international organizations and agencies. This top-down approach was critically reflected in many countries where the development of the public-civic partnership was instrumentalised by the neoliberal agenda of supranational organizations instead of following interests and needs of local communities. Therefore, in practices of public-civic partnership, one of the crucial tasks is “the convergence and redefinition of the roles of the main actors, from the state to public institutions, civil society organizations and community members”40 according to the local context that will allow for the sustainability of the established partnership.

Such understanding and projections of future cultural policy development indicate the times of development of an experimental platform for the “post-representative” cultural policy and institutions in the form of a “productive anticipation”,

i.e. an actualisation of more equitable and balanced, or sustainable future as a potential and a possibility (Rogoff and Schneider 2008). This calls for deliberation on creating policy and institutions that will, instead of being created “on” something and “for” someone, be created, managed and governed “with” those who the institutions stand for. Participation, in that case, “must acknowledge the fragile and unpredictable, yet intense, insistent and affectively invested as opposed to the conditioned, calculated and thereby ultimately indifferent”.

To be able to imagine and anticipate is vital for the emergence of a participatory, or as Dragièević-Šešić proposed, “shared” cultural policy and new institutional culture that, instead of reflecting what already exists, can open up new public spaces where activities can take place that have not yet been firmly defined and where the unavoidable paradoxes and the inherent uncertainty can become a dynamic driving force.

**Concluding Reflections**

The turn to participation directs to the creation of more democratic, inclusive and equal society. At the same time, the notion of participation in our contemporary society becomes new opium for people. Paradoxically, imperative to participate, which originated in the neoliberal tendency, brings us many practices which are not emancipatory and fulfilled. In many cases, participation is used to justify public spending while in many other the ideal of complex participatory practices is not fulfilled since is used just as a starting point without the involvement of requested time, resources, attention in the process of citizens engagement. The instrumentalization of participatory practices appear when the distribution of power is not implemented, and citizens are not involved in the process of decision-making but are included in the presentation of the decisions that have already been made in their name and with the assumption of their legitimacy. In the context of democratic deficits in contemporary society, the failure of participation appears in cases when the process of citizens engagement results with anti-democratic actions and raising of nationalism, xenophobia, and intolerance. In that line, Dragièević-Šešić also

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emphasized that “a ‘participative’ manner is not always the guarantee of vision, development, or new horizons”\(^45\), and she describes this statement with an example of citizens’ initiatives which reversed from emancipatory actors to conservative and nationalistic institutions (e.g. *Matica Srpska* or *Srpska književna zadruga*). Other examples of the negative side of participation that are based on anti-democratic tendencies, Dragićević-Šešić finds in populist European policies that “are also showing the extent to which it is easy to claim ‘citizen participation’ in the decision-making process when power wants to reject everything progressive, contemporary, European or universal”\(^46\) while expressing negative emotions towards migrants, foreigners or any minority groups.

The analysis presented in this paper suggests that participation is everywhere. However, participation comes in all shapes and sizes and it is necessary to emphasize a vital need to acknowledge that participatory practices are more than just any sort of engagement and partaking. Besides policy manipulation and poor levels of participation, it is also important to emphasize the critical notion of responsibility of citizens that has to be placed centre-stage for understanding cultural citizenship and its emancipatory relation and potential for the governance of culture. Today, the centrality of sharing responsibility in cultural policy, or in words of Dragićević-Šešić, a concept of “shared policy” is still obscured. Participation is not easy to acquire, from any side of the participatory equation. For this reason, the “shared policy” and its coherent and adaptable mechanisms and legal provisions should be formulated to productively activate and enable a greater extent of participatory governance practices in various cultural settings, most notably in times of wide-spread democratic crisis and lags in the democratic qualities of the contemporary policy development. In this line, the work of Dragićević-Šešić should be understood and used as conceptual and argumentative guideposts towards achieving not only better synergies between policy and research community but for creating fairer, literally more humane and visionary cultural policy of 21\(^{st}\) century.


\(^{46}\) Ibidem, p. 203.
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SHVAĆANJE SUDJELOVANJA I SUDIONIČKOG UPRAVLJANJA U KULTURI KROZ REPOZITORIJ RADOVA MILENE DRAGIČEVIĆ ŠEŠIĆ

Sažetak

Sudjelovanje u umjetnosti i kulturi predstavlja jednu od ključnih tema u suvremenim raspravama i diskursu kulturne politike. Smatra se da se sudjelovanjem u procesima donošenja odluka mogu nadomjestiti duboki procjepi između retorike i prakse kulture demokracije i uravnotežiti demokratski deficiti u kulturi. Ovaj rad se fokusira na pojašnjavanje sudjelovanja i sudioničkog upravljanja kroz teorijske artikulacije i interpretacije tih pojmova u polju kulture. Rad se metodološki temelji na analizi teorijske literature te analizi okvira kulturne politike. U analizi različitih koncepcija sudjelovanja kao raspodjele moći, u radu se istražuje repozitorij teorijskog doprinosa Milene Dragićević-Šešić u raspravi o sudjelovanju u kulturi. Analiza doprinosa Dragićević-Šešić razjašnjava nasljeđe i shvaćanje sudjelovanja i sudioničkog upravljanja u kulturi i kulturnoj politici iz perspektive (post)tranzicijskoga konteksta i zemalja u razvoju.

Ključne riječi: sudjelovanje, sudioničko upravljanje, kulturna politika, Jugoistočna Europa

Dan Perjovschi, Virus diary 2020, after lockdown, marker on paper, 2020, courtesy the artist