Do it Together.

Practices and Tendencies of Participatory Governance in Culture in the Republic of Croatia

edited by Dea Vidović

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Kultura Nova Edition

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I. In lieu of an introduction: "Kultura nova" foundation and participatory governance in culture — Dea Vidović and Ana Žuvela

Kultura Nova Foundation is a public body whose role in the Croatian cultural system is to strengthen civil society organizations for work in contemporary culture and arts and to participate in building their organizational and programme capacities. The Foundation achieves its mission through grant-giving activities and the implementation of development programmes related to research, education and policymaking. In doing this, the Foundation invests efforts in continuous monitoring of organizational needs and in finding adequate responses applicable in various contexts and adaptable to local circumstances.

While providing financial support to advocacy platforms created to develop socio-cultural centres based on the participatory governance model and public-civil partnership, the Foundation has recognized the relevance of these initiatives and the need to provide additional support besides financial support. In this new generation of cultural centres which are being developed through a participatory approach to governance and collaboration between the public and civil sectors, the Foundation has found potential for developments which may contribute to:

→ solving issues related to securing spaces for civil society organizations' work in contemporary culture and arts;
→ sustainable use of abandoned, neglected and/or not adequately used spaces owned by the Republic of Croatia and/or local and regional authorities, as well as laying foundations for the development of good governance of public spatial resources
→ opening the decision making process for participation of various stakeholders and strengthening the community for participation in these processes
→ realizing the shift from passive cultural participation to the most advanced possible aspect of active participation — participatory governance in culture
→ developing new governance models in the cultural system
→ revalorising and affirming the concepts of democratization of culture and cultural democracy
→ nourishing, protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expressions
→ promoting, affirming and developing democratization of the cultural system and thus helping reformation shifts toward modernization

The mentioned list of some of the key cultural policy aspects and indicators that participatory governance in culture can influence indicates that this is an extraordinarily complex issue. However, it is also a topic that has not been sufficiently researched in the field of culture and cultural policy. There is no empirical data on the way in which cultural policy rhetoric on participatory development, contained in different documents (supranational and national), is transferred into practice. Nor are there analyses of institutional and legislative solutions offered by national cultural policy as a response to the bottom-up practices created by initiatives of citizens, artists, nongovernmental organizations, private companies and others. New forms of cultural organization and governance directly dealing with challenges

and/or failures of democratic values in a contemporary cultural system demand the creation of open, participatory, efficient and consistent processes as well as the support by the policy and decision makers. Such an approach and support provide conditions for experiment and the development of advanced collaborations, as well as for the creation of the concept of contemporary cultural development based on the values of freedom, equality and parity, diversity, openness and inclusiveness.

Actively researching, participating in, listening to and reflecting on the processes which are going on in practice and on the ground, the Foundation makes an attempt at 'productive anticipation' (Rogoff and Schneider, 2008), i.e., to contribute to the development of innovative cultural policy by pointing out solutions which will secure a better future not only for the civil but also the entire cultural sector in Croatia. Therefore, in order to become familiar with the practices which are being developed in different parts of Croatia, to strengthen stakeholders involved in the processes and improve their capacities for further development of cultural resources based on participatory governance models and public-civil partnerships, as well as to encourage the creation of new initiatives, the Foundation, in its capacity as a public body that responsibly approaches argument-based policy and decision making, in the framework of the project 'Approaches to Participatory Governance of Cultural Institutions'[001], commenced research on the existing and emerging practices of participatory governance in culture which are realized through various socio-cultural centres in the Republic of Croatia.

The research covered the levels of active engagement by relevant

stakeholders (public authorities and institutions, civil society organizations, artists, cultural workers and representatives of local administrations) in the processes of initiating, advocating, planning, programming, decision making, monitoring and evaluating which take place in relation to cultural resources based on innovative models of co-governance by different stakeholders. The focus was also on understanding the activities and positions of actors involved in the cultural policy discourse, the levels of their interaction, confrontation, inclusion and exclusion, the levels of representation and access to the decision making process in cultural policy, as well as on the development of new forms of governance and institutions which are driving and/or resulting from cultural policy change. Placing the participation of various stakeholders in the centre of decision making and including non-institutional actors in the process of governance of public spatial resources inevitably poses the question of the reconfiguration of relationship between the one who governs and the one who is governed, hence changing the key subject from singular to plural, i.e., moving from the question of who is the one who decides to the question of who are the ones who decide?

The Foundation involved research experts from various fields and also practitioners because it considered that the auto-ethnographic method of analysis through personal experience can provide insights and knowledge not discoverable through objective researchers' optics (Ellis and Bochner, 2003). By applying a 'deliberative policy analysis' approach, i.e., interactive relation towards phenomena and manifestations of participatory governance in culture and cultural policy, it attempted to examine, interpret and understand the way in which bottom-up initiatives can influence the creation of instrumental solutions and the formation of political will to change public policies (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003: 13). The research team consisted of: team leader Ana Žuvela (research assistant in the Department for Culture and Communication at the Institute for Development and International Relations/IRMO) and associates Davor Mišković (sociologist, manager of association Drugo More from Rijeka), Mirko Petrić (senior lecturer in the Department of Sociology, University of Zadar), Leda Sutlović (Ph.D.

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001 Kultura Nova Foundation implemented the two-year project 'Approaches to Participatory Governance of Cultural Institutions' (Cro. 'Pristupi sudioničkom upravljanju kulturnim institucijama' between 20 March 2016 and 20 March 2018 supported by UNESCO International Fund for Cultural Diversity. More information is available online at: http://participatory-governance-in-culture.net/ (07/03/2018).

student in the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna), Petra Čačić (graduate student of sociology and ethnology in the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb) and Nancy Duxbury (senior researcher of the Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra, Portugal). Dea Vidović, the director of the Foundation, was involved in all aspects of the research, thus additionally emphasizing the Foundation's role in conducting the research not only as the institution commissioning it but also as an active interlocutor. The researchers' work was coordinated by Tamara Zamelli, the head of the Department for Research and Development.

The methodology used in the research, the range of literature and theoretical sources covered a wide theoretical spectrum and encompassed various academic fields, various perspectives, questions, meanings of and approaches to cultural participation, access to culture and participatory governance in culture, decentralization, local cultural planning and development and changes of cultural policy, convergences of public policies related to cultural development, etc. While literature on cultural participation and access to culture is abundant (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001; Bunting et al., 2008; European Agenda for Culture, 2012; Bollo et al., 2012; NCK, IRMO and Interarts, 2013), participatory governance in culture is still under-researched, with only a handful of academic articles (Nagy, 2015.; Sørensen, Kortbek and Thobo Carlsen, 2016; Jancovich, 2011, 2015, 2017; Bonet and Négrier, 2018). Therefore, the concept of participatory governance often has to be understood within the framework of a wider range of participatory approaches to cultural policy. For this reason, the key theoretical foundation for understanding participatory governance in culture is located outside the direct field of culture, primarily in the works of Frank Fischer (2006, 2012), Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (2003), the authors who created influential concepts and theories of participatory governance linking them with reflections on contemporary forms of democracy. Democracy was not a direct subject or focus of research interest, but the research indirectly followed up on a whole range of forms and ideas of (liberal) democracy as the basis for emancipation of groups lacking equal positions in or access to decision making processes

in cultural policy. In that respect, participatory governance in culture and, in general, participation practice is seen as one of the solutions to improving the quality and level of democracy of a cultural system and to securing a better quality of implementation of cultural democracy. The categorical apparatus used for reading practices of participatory governance in culture also included numerous theories from social and humanistic disciplines. The research encompassed analysis of public policies through desk research of relevant legislative frameworks, operational and action documents and reports on national and subnational levels, as well as the analysis of various documents created through participatory governance practices which were the subject of the research. In order to analyse a wider context, the research included relevant documents created within the public-policy framework of the European Union and other global international and supranational organizations. In such a manner, the research encompassed three types of discourses: theoretical, policy (cultural policy discourse open to participation as a policy principle) and practical (concrete efforts to establish and/or implement participatory governance of cultural resources).

The research on participatory governance of cultural resources in the Republic of Croatia included the creation of seven case studies comprising seven different models of participatory governance of socio-cultural centres that are being developed in different parts of Croatia: Lazareti Socio-Cultural Centre in Dubrovnik, Community Centre Čakovec in Čakovec, Socio-Cultural Centre in Karlovac, Molekula in Rijeka, Rojc Community Centre in Pula, Youth Home in Split and Pogon — Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth in Zagreb. The seven socio-cultural centres were selected because they represent seven different practices which the Foundation recognized in the Croatian context as publicly most visible and also as those which are at different levels of development and, hence, can serve as examples of different developmental stages, as well as the levels and models of participatory governance of cultural resources and forms of public-civil partnership.

An embedded case study comprising seven sub-units acting as multiple units of analysis was used (Yin, 2007). With respect to its purpose, the conducted case studies are exploratory and instrumental because they were conducted with the purpose of gaining in-depth knowledge and understanding of possible applications of the concept of participatory governance of cultural resources, i.e., socio-cultural centres. The research framework for conducting the studies included several methods of data collection: the observation of the involved stakeholders (formal and informal); semi-structured interviews with the representatives of civil society organizations who are members of the alliances established for the purpose of governing socio-cultural centres (28 interviews in total) and the representatives of local and regional administrations (20 interviews in total); and a questionnaire filled out by the representatives of local communities in socio-cultural centres — audience, future users of the space, immediate neighbours (366 respondents in total). For the purpose of conducting each case study, desk research was done of relevant strategic, operational and action documents and reports, various documents produced through advocacy and participatory governance practices, as well as other relevant literature and available statistical data, and in addition, a large body of scientific, expert and other relevant literature was examined and analysed.

The following members of the research team participated in the creation of the case studies: Ana Žuvela, Davor Mišković, Mirko Petrić and Leda Sutlović, while Petra Čačić conducted semi-structured interviews with the representatives of civil society organizations. Although the seven case studies were created by four researchers, each with their own specific insights on the analysed cases, all case studies are structured in the same way. In key aspects, they all give insights into the social, economic and cultural contexts of the local environments in which the observed and analysed participatory governance practices are being developed. Along with the overview of the historical development of participatory governance in each city, the case studies also provide the analysis of the participatory governance models which show the specificities of the governance and the public-civil partnerships established for socio-cultural centres. They also give an overview of the existing situations in the socio-cultural centres, the way in which the space is used, its purpose, financing and the like. The core of each case study is the alliance of associations founded by the organizations' users of the spatial resources governed in a participatory way, which advocate further development of such a governance model, public-civil partnership and reconstruction of the space for their further use. The analyses also comprise the outline of efforts which the users of the spaces have invested in the transformation of programmes and governance into contemporary socio-cultural centres. The case studies reveal key stakeholders' views of the existing situations, key problems and challenges. All case studies conclude with the outline of perspectives for further development of socio-cultural centres.

The research also included e-mapping conducted as a transversal analysis (cross-sectional analysis) in order to provide insights into similar practices of participatory governance of cultural infrastructure outside Croatia and to complement the comparative overview of participatory governance in culture beyond Croatian borders. In addition, the researchers also gained insights by being included in other activities of the Foundation's project on participatory governance in culture, particularly in the international and interdisciplinary conference 'Participatory Governance in Culture: Exploring Practices, Theories and Policies. Do it Together'[002].

The research was governed by a series of research questions: What is the role and nature of participatory governance in general and particularly participatory governance in culture? What participatory approaches can be found in Croatian cultural policy? Are there initiatives for participating in decision making processes related to cultural resources governance and who leads those initiatives? What are

002   More information on the conference is available online at: http://conference.participatory-governance-in-culture.net/ (09/03/2018).

the main reasons for those initiatives? What is the role of local and national authorities and cultural actors in enabling and/or hindering new models of cultural governance based on participatory principles? What are the examples of participatory governance of cultural resources in Croatia? In what contexts do they emerge? What models of participatory governance are represented? How do existing and new examples of participatory governance in culture influence the changes in cultural policy on local and national levels? How do the practices of participatory governance in culture contribute to the sustainability of cultural development on local and national levels?

In line with the questions, the general objective was to lay foundations for better understanding of the nature and role of participatory governance, while the specific objectives of the research were to: outline the dominant practices of cultural governance in Croatia; establish and collect evidence of the development of the practices of participatory governance of cultural resources; determine characteristics of the practiced or emerging participatory governance models and public-civil partnerships; identify the cultural, financial, organizational and spatial resources used for the development of socio-cultural centres and how they are being used; assess the models of participatory governance of spatial resources; assess the participatory governance effects on the development and governance of the programmes produced by the actors involved in the participatory governance processes; recognize values of the existing and emerging practices of participatory governance for the sustainability of local cultural development; find out the main hindrances in creating policies for the development of participatory governance and public-civil partnerships; and identify necessary steps for cultural policy changes in order to enable the development of participatory practices and partnerships between public and civil sectors on cultural resources governance.

Based on all collected data, conducted analyses and gained insights, this book containing notes for cultural policy was created as a joint work of the researchers and the director of the Foundation. The book

has multiple purposes. According to the Foundation's role as intermediary or matchmaker, which it assumed and developed during this project, the book should serve stakeholders involved in practices of participatory governance in culture to improve their capacities and build mutual trust for further collaborative governance. It may additionally serve as the foundation for all those who recognize the values of sustainable and good participatory governance of cultural resources and hence create new initiatives. The book can also be used in future research and continuous analysis of this topic in local contexts and on national and international levels. Considering that the Foundation is a public body acting on the national level, during the project implementation and the research itself, we attempted to find a balance between a top-down approach and stakeholders' needs, to be open enough and ready for the diversity and fluidity of local situations, and to define activities and conduct the research in accordance with the changes and stakeholders' needs. Independent of this, the Foundation's objectives and intentions are clearly defined and shaped so that the *notes for cultural policy* should serve the Foundation and all other creators of public policies and decision makers in further improving the institutional and legislative framework for the development of participatory governance in culture as the basis for further democratization of cultural policy and the cultural system in the Republic of Croatia. Consequently, this publication adds to the initiated discussions with the aim of creating a concrete and compatible contribution to the necessary changes in Croatian cultural policy, particularly in the areas of decentralization (of responsibilities) and participatory approach to cultural governance and development.

II. Key terms and concepts for under- standing participatory governance in culture

—— Dea Vidović and Ana Žuvela

1. Cultural participation

Cultural participation has a long tradition in different fields and sectors; it emerges in different geopolitical contexts and organizational forms. Many authors (Bollo et al., 2012; Virolainen, 2016; Jancovich, 2017; Primorac, Obuljen Koržinek and Uzelac, 2018) mention the United Nations *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* from 1948 as the first document which stipulates in Article 27, Section 1 that 'everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community'[001], thus binding the governments to secure this right for everyone (Bollo et al., 2012). The issue of cultural participation has found its place since the 1960s in many documents of international and supranational organizations (United Nations, UNESCO, Council of Europe) and has been one of the key issues of cultural policy worldwide. Many researchers in different disciplines point out 'equality in access to and participation in cultural activities' (Kangas, 2017: 11).

Participation, hence, is not a new concept in cultural policy. Since the 1960s, there have been efforts to democratize culture using various measures which facilitate distribution and access to works of art, projects and products. Since the 1970s, through a cultural democracy approach, cultural diversity has been affirmed and promoted and efforts have been made to eliminate boundaries between high and popular culture. In time, other concepts were added, such as access to culture, cultural animation, mediation, local cultural development,

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001 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is available in Croatian on the website of the Official Gazette where it is published as *Decision on Publication of Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which contains the text of the Declaration (Official Gazette 12/2009): https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/medunarodni/2009_11_12_143.html (09/03/2018).

audience development and the like. It is evident that cultural participation belongs to 'many areas of cultural policy' (Bollo et al., 2012: 8) and that these issues inevitably turn the cultural policy focus to the formulation of it 'in relation to the cultural needs of the population in their everyday lives' (Kangas, 2004: 24) instead of it being defined in relation to external aesthetic standards' (Kangas, 2004: 24). Hence, cultural policies are directed to the issue of 'equal access and participation in cultural activities' (Kangas, 2017: 12).

However, the term 'cultural participation' has changed through time, and definitions then as well as now have depended on authors and contexts in which participation is discussed. The traditional understanding is that participation is attendance at cultural events and consummation of cultural contents, and in 'most developed countries as counting visits to museums, galleries and various kinds of performance' (Bollo et al., 2012: 8). Over time, the concept spread across the borders of high and institutionalized culture and included, as pointed out by Kangas (2017), active (e.g., playing) and passive participation (e.g., listening to the concert). The development of information and communication technologies further influenced the diversity of cultural participation, due to which it is possible to say that technologies contribute to building democratic standards in culture (Kangas, 2017). Technological progress has increasingly changed and affected types of cultural participation, so citizens gradually 'take production tools, rely on "do it yourself" principle and begin to create culture for themselves and others as well as to promote production emerging from their own resources' (Vidović, 2017: 484). This type of participation is defined by a group of Australian experts as 'creative participation', which combines creation, production and facilitation of art (Bollo et al., 2012), while some authors consider that cultural participation may include, depending on the level of individual engagement in the creative process, all aspects of art from creation and performance, through organization, to individual experience and ambient art participation (Brown, 2004). Such an understanding implies ambiguity of the term and its different usages, including the understanding of the two already mentioned basic approaches and expanding

the understanding of the second. The first approach refers to enjoying culture through passive participation, i.e., content consummation such as reading books, watching movies, visiting museums, listening to the radio and the like, while the second approach understands active participation as wider than creation and production because it also includes various forms of participation in decision making bodies and processes (Anheier et al., 2017).

Here, we touch upon some fundamental changes in the field of culture and its connection to the social context. For instance, cultural participation, which surpasses the division of active creators and passive observers, questions the dominant economic model of culture which (still) favours the offer and not the demand that is based on formed preferences and cultural capital (Bonet and Négrier, 2018). Participation based on cultural rights introduces increased inclusion of the demand in creating cultural content, which can cause the collapse of this economic model and consequently of that type of creation whose communication, concepts and meanings do not accommodate dominant mainstream ideas of culture. Cultural development inherently includes developmental tendencies that are based on the qualifications of excellence and competition, particularly on the level of creative expression and production. It is difficult to connect these qualifications with principles, rules and mechanisms of participation, which are inevitable elements of cultural democracy, without 'at the same time loosing or compromising the meaning of the cultural content of cultural policy or politics of culture' (Žuvela, 2017: 13). In that sense arise the questions as to what degree democratic elements are maintained in cultural development and how much participation and cultural democracy legitimize cultural development which, due to the imperative of creative economy and digital technology, finds the means for its expansion in entertainment, pure consumerism and creative instrumentalism (Ahponen, 2009). In other words, opening cultural policy towards participation as an acting principle does not imply an 'anything goes' and 'everything is culture' discourse because, in that way, the field of culture and cultural policies will lose their essence, sense and basic rationality (Pyykkönen, Simanainen and Sokka,

2009). Maintaining the field of culture as the key element of the social state and promoting greater democratization through cultural democracy, access to culture, cultural rights, etc. simultaneously with maintaining autonomy in the sense of critical, engaged, hermetical, diversified and inspirational cultural practices, are demanding challenges for advocating and implementing cultural participation. Maybe the greatest challenge for cultural participation is how to affirm cultural rights and how to introduce inclusion and deliberation tendencies in cultural decision making processes and, at the same time, avoid populism or reproduction of antidemocratic tendencies. Furthermore, this opens up the issue of clarity and dynamics of action directed at creating cultural participatory practices in a society which is increasingly sliding towards sharp divisions and inequalities. How should the frameworks for participation in such a context be set? How should participation as (one of the) acting and decision making principles be introduced and avoid contamination by the original power relations? Which and what kind of elements of participation should be secured for free and purposeful inclusion of the excluded? Finally, if participation can cause changes in the democratic quality of cultural policy, what changes will this cause in the wider social and political contexts? What does this, for instance, mean in the field of human rights?

Emphasizing cultural participation in the context of human rights indicates that the 'right to culture' should be one of the foundations and key instruments of cultural policy, particularly in Europe where citizen participation has become an inseparable part of cultural practices. Since the existing 'data on cultural participation shows that a significant part of the population still does not participate in mainstream cultural activities such as going to the cinema or reading books' (OMC, 2012: 5), it is not surprising that the Council of the European Union in many of its documents emphasizes 'the importance of achieving better and more just distribution of opportunities for cultural participation' (OMC, 2012: 5). However, with the financial and economic crisis, which affected many countries in the past years, public interventions and policies have been mainly focused on other areas (social and health services, national security, etc.), hence leaving

cultural life as well as cultural participation on the margins of public interest, which is synonymous with 'maintaining elitist vision of culture' (Laaksonen, 2010 in Bollo, 2012: 69).

There is an increasing number of studies and reports by the European Commission, European Parliament, Council of Europe, UNESCO and other international institutions and organizations that point out the importance of focussing on and investing more in various forms of cultural participation because it is recognized that cultural participation, by contributing to higher levels of tolerance and trust, directly influences democratic security and creation of an inclusive society (Anheier et al., 2017) as well as the development of cultural democracy through respect for cultural diversity, equal access to cultural resources, participation in cultural policymaking and active participation in artistic practices (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2017). Therefore, in the context of cultural participation, cultural policy is faced with significant structural and reformation challenges. In this respect, it is important to become aware of the fact that only the participatory principle in the development of cultural policy and cultural governance implies the highest level of participation based on the idea of de-etatization and decentralization of power structures, i.e., on establishing higher democratized models based on sharing responsibility and common decision making. Explained in the words of art historian Nora Sternfeld (2013), participation does not imply only joining in the game but also the rules of the game, i.e., the conditions under which the game is played. Understanding these rules and the possibility of creating them make the key difference. Participation in this case becomes a tool for positive changes.

2. Participatory governance

Participatory governance contributes to the improvement of democracy. Participatory institutions are established in order to realize changes in the context in which they emerge. They can be established top-down — initiated by international organizations, foundations, agencies and institutions as well as public bodies, or bottom-up — through engagement of citizens, civil society and other organizations. Participatory governance is based on the synergy of actors from public institutions and civil society initiatives and organizations. Thus, participatory governance enables citizens to enter decision making processes by building their capacities for the use of democratic instruments in order to transform institutions and 'improve the quality of democracy' (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 3). Therefore, in such new approaches the most relevant actors are nongovernmental and non-profit organizations as well as informal citizens' initiatives which test flexible forms of governance in order to react and respond to public issues and needs, influence local development and reshape local policies. Great efforts are invested in the processes of experimenting with new participative methods in order to connect various stakeholders in these new governance models and institutional formats. In these processes, civil society organizations attempt to improve relations and communication models between public authorities and citizens, which represents one of the key elements for developing a better quality of democracy.

The concept of participatory governance can be defined as sharing governance responsibilities among different stakeholders who have 'a stake in what happens' (Wilcox, 1994: 5). The stakeholders can be local administrations, public institutions, nongovernmental organizations, civil initiatives, local community representatives, artists and others. A participatory governance model implies a process of granting authority and capacitating all involved for collective decision making; decisions are not made by an individual but by a collective (Sani et al., 2015: 10). The central point of the concept of participatory governance is power relations. The issue of 'redistribution of power' (Arnstein, 1969: 216), as pointed out by Sherry P. Arnstein in her influential work on citizen participation in planning in the United States of America at the end of the 1960s, is particularly important for capacitating citizens because it enables them to purposefully and intentionally be involved in making decisions on their future. In her typology of citizen participation, Arnstein defined eight rungs on the ladder of participation, where each one includes different participation levels from manipulation and therapy through tokenism (informing, consultation and placation) to citizen power (partnership, delegated power and citizen control). Following the mentioned rungs, only the last one, the eighth rung which offers citizens a possibility of the highest level of participation, can be understood as participatory governance because it provides citizens with an opportunity to share control and power with the others, which represents a guarantee that they will be entirely included in decision making processes.

Arnstein's basic model of theoretical explanation of participation was upgraded by David Wilcox (1994) in his *Guide to Effective Participation*, where he elaborates ten key ideas on participation. The first idea introduces a five-rung ladder of participation which includes information, consultation, deciding together, acting together and supporting independent community interests. The other nine ideas cover key points in the participatory model development: initiation and process — participation does not just happen, it is initiated; control — the initiators of participation decide on the level of participation of others; power and purpose — redefinition of power in the sense of its redistribution for the purpose of empowering citizens and the community; role of the practitioner — refers to those actively involved in participation processes; stakeholders and community; partnership — the emphasis is on the fact that all involved do not need to have equally developed capacities, resources or confidence, but it does not mean
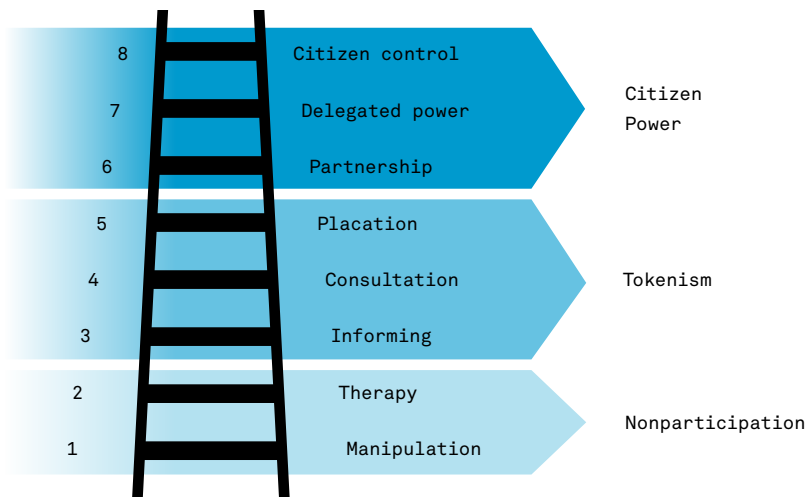
Image 1. The ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969)

that partnership cannot be developed or that partners do not complement each other; commitment — is interpreted as an antonym for apathy and refers to engaged interest and wish of the people to commit to a certain goal; ownership of ideas — ideas can but need not be the result of collective work; confidence and capacity — participatory governance depends on the ability of the involved, with their capacities and confidence, to open new democratic patterns of behaviour, functioning and relations in the public sphere — from political decision making bodies, institutions and organizations to the idea of the public as a process of collective planning and decision making (Wilcox, 1994: 4–5).

Participatory governance application is connected to the inability of the representative political democratic apparatus to independently improve democratic institutions, solve problems faced by contemporary society and secure the sustainable use and governance of public resources. Co-governance practices appear in relation to public issues — governance of public resources, distribution of city budgets, local development planning and the like. Their implementation affects process transparency, empowers citizens for decision making

on public issues, and enables them to become familiar with the ways in which the public sphere functions, increases the public authority's understanding of the needs in the local community and changes the ways of policy and decision making. Some of the key positive effects of participatory governance practices are recognized in creating new values, more equal distribution of public resources and sharing responsibility in decision making processes (Wampler and McNulty, 2011).

Following Hajer's reflections (2003), theorist Frank Fischer considers that in the circumstance of 'institutional void' of the traditional state, participatory governance practice is reflected in 'a proliferation od new forms of social and political association' (Fischer, 2006: 20). Namely, it is expected that participation could help in overcoming democratic deficits faced by political, economic, social, ecological or cultural systems. Participatory governance, as a subgroup of the theory of governance, has contributed to the creation of new spaces which are 'constructed and shaped by a different brand of social actors' (Fischer, 2006: 20). This implies the rise of political and social importance of civil society and nongovernmental actors which, by questioning state legitimacy and responsibility, open new organizational spaces by taking over public activities to the degree considered by some as reshaping the public sector and influencing the policies of major institutions (Fischer, 2006).

One of the key characteristics of participatory governance is the creation of new institutions based on a participative approach and policies that can support them. The theory of participatory democracy is the origin of participatory governance, that is, public democratic engagement realized through deliberative processes where decisions on political and public issues are made collectively (Fischer, 2012). This aspect of participatory governance is most profoundly elaborated by Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (2003) through the concept of Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG). For Fung and Wright, EPG represents one of the solutions to the erosion of democratic vitality, political passivity and withdrawal into social privatization by using strategies which may promote values such as egalitarian

social justice, community and solidarity as well as individual freedom in combination with people's control over collective decisions. The concept is based on the idea of connecting action with deliberation, resulting from the commitment and capacity of ordinary people to participate in decision making processes and to make sensible decisions. (Fung and Wright, 2003: 5). Empowered participatory governance is part of a wider goal to find and imagine more open, participative and efficient institutions than the familiar formulas of political representation and bureaucratic administration. In practice, it transforms formal ways of governance. As opposed to civil society organizations and citizen initiatives which attempt to influence decision making processes on national, regional and/or local levels through external pressure but do not succeed in reshaping the existing institutional formats, the empowered participatory governance approach — based on the principles of participation, practice and reflection — makes possible the very reformation of official institutions. Therefore, Fung and Wright consider the empowered participatory governance practices more lasting and widely available because they rely on state resources (Fung and Wright, 2003: 22).

Participatory governance has become a very popular topic in the past three decades. As pointed out by Wampler and McNulty (2011), it has taken root in tandem with the so-called 'third wave' of democratization where a significant emphasis has been placed on the issues of decentralization and participation. Many new democracies that have developed worldwide — in South America, Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe — have not succeeded entirely in implementing reforms, and in the transition period the process was characterized by a series of negative phenomena, from corruption and crime to the creation of new political elites. In an attempt to find a solution 'to cure the ills' (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 7) of these dysfunctional democratic societies, researchers, theorists, politicians and activists have begun to advocate the participatory governance approach as the one which would solve these problems through more direct participation of citizens and civil society. Numerous international institutions, such as the World Bank, United Nations, USAID and others, have invested

billions of dollars over the decades in order to prompt local authorities in developing countries to apply a bottom-up approach and collaborate with civil society and citizens, as well as to create conditions for experimenting with participatory governance. This approach has given rise to the criticism of participation as the tyranny of developmental processes (Cook and Kothari, 2001) with colonial and instrumental character, which relates to the manipulation of a neoliberal agenda implementation by supranational organizations, under the umbrella of constructed participation, and to the coercion of local communities, mainly in developing countries. However, it should be emphasized that the criticism of participation as tyranny mainly referred to the practice of participatory development that uses participation as rhetoric rather than content, which is different from participatory governance aimed at the convergence and redefinition of the roles of the main actors, from the state to public institutions, civil society organizations and community members.

Participatory governance practices have spread gradually even to developed European countries, Canada and the United States of America, 'especially in the areas of participatory budgeting and planning' (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 15). Not only do various contexts become the places for establishing participative practices but also numerous international and supranational institutions' documents suggest the significance of participation in and opening of the decision making processes. One of the more relevant examples of participatory governance recognition on the global level is the recent emphasis that the Sustainable Development Goals[002] place on efficient governance

002 At the Summit held on 25 September 2015 UN members adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Agenda contains 17 sustainable development goals and targets, whose purpose is to eradicate poverty, fight inequality and injustice, as well as solve climate change issues. Sustainable Development Goals are available online at: http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals (13/03/2018). Sustainable Development Goals do not include culture as an area in which the targets can be realized, despite the global campaign run by numerous relevant world and (...)

as the basis of sustainable and more equal development, formulated under target 16.7., which aims to 'ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels'. The implementation of the mentioned target recognizes the significance of collective actions of governments, civil society and local communities, that is, citizen engagement and inclusion. However, due to insufficient data and research in this area, it remains unclear to what degree the stipulations from this and similar documents are implemented by national, regional and local policies. It is to be expected, as pointed out by Wampler and McNulty (2011), that participatory practices will be developed in countries with strong governments and active civil societies rather than in those with democratic deficits, weaker states and underdeveloped civil sectors.

3. Participatory governance in culture

We read connecting culture, development and participation in the light of the interpretation given by Amaryta Sen, who described it as a process of expanding real freedoms that an individual has to the freedoms one should have, so that individuals could live according to their wishes (Sen, 2000). Sen's idea of freedom as an integrative process implies individuals' ability to participate in the processes of community and society development, in the capacity of autonomous subjects who are a part of the context. Development without participation has been proven to be counterproductive and detrimental to the democratic health of a society, while many contemporary conflicts result from unequal opportunities and access to participation. Public policy language defines freedom as the goal of development and also as the instrument for its realization. This means that states and their authorities should allow development through participation of individuals and communities and not impose regulations which will turn them into more useful labour or resource units for achieving general development, particularly economic development.

Participation, as a means of participatory governance or of sharing authority, rights and responsibilities in establishing and maintaining culture and governance thereof, has become a very popular word in discussions on cultural development in the past 20 years. Unfortunately, there are still not many enthusiastic examples of its implementation. In cultural policy research there are few theoretical analyses of participatory governance in culture in the direct sense of the concept, i.e., sharing the responsibility of governance among various stakeholders. These are mostly analyses focussed on various forms of participatory

(…) European networks and organizations (IFACCA, Agenda 21 for culture, IFCCD, Culture Action Europe, Arterial Network, IMC and ICOMOS). *Declaration on the Inclusion of Culture in the Sustainable Development Goals* states that culture can play an important role in the implementation of the participatory approach in public policies. The *Declaration* is available online at: http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default /files/files/documents/en /declaration-culture-sdgs-post2015_eng.pdf (02/02/2018).

approach to culture, arts, participatory decision making in culture and participatory governance of the projects of European Capital of Culture (Nagy, 2015). A prominent work is published by Scandinavian scientists in *The Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy* from 2016, which up to now is the only issue of a scientific journal entirely dedicated to the topic of participatory approach in culture. Drawing on the Scandinavian perspective and thus on the context of developed democratic behaviour, editors Anne Scott Sørensen, Hjørdis Brandrup Kortbek and Mette Thobo-Carlsen (2016) open the floor to critical reflection on the participatory turn in cultural policies from national to local levels. Systematic analyses of this turn give an outline through several scientific disciplines (from philosophy to sociology, cultural theory, art history, museology and political science), thus additionally underlining the inherent interdisciplinarity of cultural policy research but also the diversity of approaches to the interpretation of participation. Key questions that we come across in this opus on participatory approach in culture are in compliance with the research preoccupations and issues that are the basis for this conducted research, such as the question of how much participatory approaches in culture contribute to the democratization of public culture and the redefinition of public cultural institutions. The Scandinavian researchers started a discussion on participatory approach in relation to democracy because they recognized, due to failures of democratic processes, the importance of intervention and orientation toward a radical approach to democracy in order to ensure more collaborative, participatory and co-creational relationships. What can be understood as common to all the authors in this issue of the *Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy*, despite their differences, is what Sørensen, Kortbek and Thobo articulate as the need and belief in 'challenging the representative, identity-borne and consensus-typified democracy/community in favour of a lived, diverse and also paradoxical and agonistic or dis-sensual togetherness' (Sørensen, Kortbek and Thobo-Carlsen, 2016: 9). The ability to imagine and foresee is of vital importance for the emergence of new institutional culture which, rather than reflecting what already exists, can open new public spaces for activities not firmly defined, where inevitable paradoxes and inherent insecurity become dynamic driving forces.

British expert Leila Jancovich, while analysing decision making in British cultural policy, approached participation by reflecting on it through the prism of 'participation myth'. Drawing on cultural participation, Jancovich questions participation as an imperative of cultural evidence-based policy, which implies numbers as high as possible in order to justify the invested public funds in cultural institutions and organizations. Such an approach, emphasizes Jankovch, empowers the positions of cultural elites and limited processes of cultural policy innovations, thus creating a greater crisis of legitimacy and democratic deficits in cultural policy (Jancovich, 2017). Therefore, Jancovich points out the importance of the shift toward participatory decision making which would not be open only to cultural experts but would ensure the inclusion of users, i.e., those who participate in cultural programmes as audience. This approach will lead to changes in decision making in culture and cultural policy and 'against the power of a cultural elite' (Bevir and Rhodes, 2010 in Jancovich, 2017: 4) because inclusion of users in decision making processes ensure not only that their voices will be heard but also that they will have a visible influence over final decisions too. In other words, participation in its present form of application is most commonly connected to top-down decision making, where the one having authority makes it possible for someone to participate in decision making processes. It is often the case that the advocates of participation are at the same time the ones who are allowed to participate but, naturally, with clear limitations. However, participatory governance and public-civil partnerships include a very demanding condition, which is to define a common goal and agenda not only related to individual buildings but also having a strong influence on a wider community, thus leading to new perspectives of local cultural policy development and, indirectly, national cultural policy.

On the European level, the partnership between public, civil and private sectors is increasingly discussed because all three need to be in constant dialogue in order to ensure balanced cultural development. This shows that expanding the concept of participatory governance has taken place not only geographically, from less developed to more developed economic and democratic political contexts but also that

it has begun to be implemented in different areas, including culture. Consequently, in the first two decades, on the supranational and international levels, various documents which contributed to opening the discussion on participatory governance in culture were created and adopted. These documents informed national, regional and local cultural policies, giving them guidelines on how to lay down the foundations and framework for empowering and supporting participatory endeavours that take place on the ground, either through top-down implementation or bottom-up initiatives. However, explicit articulation of participatory governance is primarily connected to cultural heritage, but in many documents this topic can be discerned more from some implicit formulations. For instance, in 1995, the World Commission on Culture and Development, founded by UNESCO and the UN in order to strengthen the links between culture and development, presented the report *Our Creative Diversity*. In 1998, for the purpose of generating conclusions from the mentioned report, UNESCO organized the *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* in Stockholm where *Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development* was adopted. The *Plan* presented the principles and goals of the policy, which would be adopted by national governments in collaboration with participants on regional and local levels. At the same time, the *Plan* emphasized the importance of extending participation in cultural life, recognized the role of civil society in the democratic framework of cultural policy and confirmed that cultural policy has to respond to lasting issues, as well as to new needs (UNESCO, 1998). *The Action Plan,* in its point 2 of Objective 2 dedicated to creativity and participation, pointed out that cultural and urban policies need to ensure 'the development of a local, creative and participatory cultural life and pluralistic management of diversity' (UNESCO, 1998: 4). The document *In from the Margins. A contribution to the debate on culture and development in Europe,* published in 1998 by the Council of Europe, does not explicitly use the term 'participatory governance', but it stresses the role of culture in sustainable development and the encouragement of the discussion on making cultural policy from governance margins. It additionally elaborates the topic of inclusiveness as the basis of cultural policy, realized through an individual's active participation in development.

As already mentioned, within the European cultural policy framework, participatory governance in culture is mainly connected to cultural heritage and museums as the institutions which preserve it. There are numerous documents and conclusions of various supranational bodies on this topic that can give guidelines for understanding the term in the context of cultural heritage and its role in cultural development. The discourse on participation in cultural heritage has been developing since the beginning of the 2000s, and one of the first documents is *The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*[003] adopted in 2003 at the UNESCO General Conference. Article 15 stipulates that every country has to ensure the participation of communities, groups and individuals in the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage by means of their participation in creation, maintenance, transfer and management. The most important documents include the *FARO Convention*, i.e., *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society,* adopted by the Council of Europe in 2005. Relying on the right to cultural participation, defined by the *General Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 and guaranteed by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, the *FARO Convention* emphasizes the approach to cultural heritage and democratic participation of the public as well as to sharing responsibility, while it puts particular accent on the development of 'legal, financial and professional frameworks which make possible joint action by public authorities, experts, owners, investors, businesses, non-governmental organisations and civil society' (Council of Europe, 2005: 5). Common responsibility and participation of the public stresses the need for greater inclusion of different actors and stakeholders in defining cultural heritage, its management and its use as the resource of sustainable development and of cultural diversity affirmation. As such, cultural heritage becomes a significant point of democratic engagement and citizen inclusion, both on the levels of individual and collective responsibility.

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003   *The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* is available online at: https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (01/03/2018).

Even though it does not explicitly mention either cultural participation or participatory governance, the European Agenda for Culture (Commission of the European Communities, 2007) is an important document since it introduces two new tools in the area of culture: a special method of developing dialogue among EU member states, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC)[004], which brought to the table the topics of access to culture and cultural participation[005] as well as participatory governance[006]; and structured dialogue between the European Commission and civil society, which included the topic of participatory governance too. The result of the work of experts in the Open Method of Coordination was the publication of the document *A Report on Policies and Good Practices in the Public Arts and in Cultural Institutions to Promote Better Access to and Wider Participation in Culture.* It is primarily concerned with the issues related to access to culture and participation, and the understanding of those issues through the optics of a population's passive participation, in 'in mainstream cultural activities such as going to the cinema or reading books' (OMC, 2012: 5). However, it also opens up the term 'participation' to mean active engagement of

004 Open Method of Coordination makes it possible for EU member states to work together in order to encourage a common understanding of issues and to help build consensus on best solutions and their practical application. Through this specifically designed method are defined common goals of member states' social policies, national action plans and common indicators. OMC gathers experts suggested by EU member states, and every four years EU member states agree on OMC's work themes, taking into consideration the European Council Work Plan for Culture. More information is available online at: https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/strategic-framework/european-coop_en (01/03/2018).

005 The themes of access to culture and cultural participation are a part of the Work Plan for Culture 2011–2014. The Conclusions of the European Council and government representatives of member states on the Work Plan 2011–2014, adopted at the meeting held in Brussels on 18–19 November 2010, are available online at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/117795.pdf (01/03/2018).

006 Participatory governance is a part of the Work Plan for Culture 2011–2014. The Conclusions of the Council and government representatives of the member states who convened within the Council on the work plan for culture 2015–2018 are available online at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/hr/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014XG1223(02)&from=EN (01/03/2018).

the audience in planning and creating cultural offers, at least on the level of consultation. Hence, the *Report* understands cultural participation as an operational, conceptual and interpretative foundation for better realization of cultural human rights, which are based on policies encouraging social inclusion and transformation.

The shift toward participatory development is evident in the report on participatory governance of cultural heritage (Sani, 2015) and the manual of good practices of participatory governance of cultural heritage (Sani et al., 2015) commissioned by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture, in order to serve as a foundation for the first meeting of the Open Method of Coordination on this topic. In 2015, structural dialogue between the European Commission and cultural-sector representatives on participatory governance of cultural heritage was organized into the format of *Voices of Culture*[007]. As a result of these dialogues within *Voices of Culture,* the *Brainstorming Report on Participatory Governance of Cultural Heritage* was prepared (Voices of Culture, 2015). Said reports define the scope of participatory governance of cultural heritage and arguments on why participatory governance is needed and important for cultural heritage, while the document *Brainstorming Report* suggests a series of preconditions for establishing participatory governance of cultural heritage, including 'trust, ethics and respect, political will (no tokenism), professional and social will, a legal framework, transparency and access to information, education/training for all the actors involved, funds for promoting true participation' (Voices of Culture, 2015: 12).

007 *Voices of Culture* is a process which makes possible the creation of the framework for discussion of cultural issues between EU civil society organizations and the European Commission. The need for this process stems from the European Agenda for Culture which recognized the absence of systematic dialogue with cultural-sector representatives. Therefore, the key goals include ensuring the channel which will make it possible for creators of EU cultural policies to hear different voices of the European cultural sector but also strengthen the advocacy capacities of the cultural sector for policy discussions in the EU. More information is available online at: http://www.voicesofculture.eu/ (01/03/2018).

Prior to the articulation of the interconnectedness between participatory governance and cultural heritage through the work of the Open Method of Coordination and structured dialogue between the European Commission and civil society, there had been a series of documents which prescribed action in that direction. In all documents, cultural heritage is recognized as the strategic resource for sustainable Europe, its social dimension is acknowledged, and the importance of synergy of various stakeholders in the procedures of heritage valorisation and safeguarding is emphasized. The importance of transparent and participatory systems of governance which will be shared with citizens to whom heritage belongs was also recognized. Following the adoption on 21 May 2014 of the Council of the European Union conclusions on cultural heritage as the strategic resource for sustainable Europe, the European Commission made the announcement *Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage for Europe* on 22 July 2014. At the end of that year, the Council of the European Union adopted the document *Council Conclusions on Participatory Governance of Cultural Heritage*, followed in 2015 by the opinion given by the European Committee of the Regions and the report *Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage for Europe,* issued by the European Parliament Committee on Culture and Education (Diaconu, 2015). In its opinion, the European Committee of the Regions pointed out the significance of encouraging all stakeholders to participate in decision making processes, as well as of promoting participatory governance anticipated by the Committee in the 2009 document *The White Paper on Multi-Level Governance* and later in the *Charter for Multilevel Governance in Europe*, adopted in 2014.

The Council of the European Union Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage from 2014 invites member states to promote long-term policies based on data and citizen inclusion, points out the significance of establishment of cultural governance which will be 'more open, participatory, effective and coherent', and invites 'member states to promote participatory approaches to cultural policy-making' (Council of the European Union, 2014b: 1). The *Conclusions* anticipate implementation of these approaches in specific

EU programmes. Therefore, the application of the approaches to cultural heritage which include citizens is prescribed for research programmes within *Horizon 2020*[008], community projects aimed at local development supported by the European Structural Funds, as well as for the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage. The participatory approach also becomes the commitment for European Capitals of Culture. The *Report* of the European Parliament Committee on Culture and Education emphasizes that the Committee welcomes the Council of the European Union initiative to make 'guidelines for the new participatory governance models for the field of cultural heritage' (Diaconu, 2015: 8) which would be based on the promotion of 'resource sharing' and connecting all levels (local, regional, national and European). The Committee also invited all EU member states to ensure the foundation for the implementation of new models of cultural heritage governance in all segments of its safeguarding and preservation, which would be based on community inclusion and civil society participation. However, due to the subsidiarity principle, these guidelines and the invitation to the member states to prepare the foundation for participatory governance may remain only on the level of recommendations because there are no mechanisms which could exert influence on national and local cultural organizations to implement participatory approaches to cultural development.

A contribution to the articulation of participatory governance in culture, but outside the discourse on cultural heritage and outside the European Union framework, can be found in *Agenda 21 for Culture*, the first document that, on the global level, deals with the cultural development of cities and local governments. It includes, among other things, respect for human rights, cultural diversity, sustainability and participatory democracy. The document was adopted in

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008 In the context of finding solutions to challenges faced by Europe, the expert group for cultural heritage explicitly mentioned the *Council of the European Union Conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage* in their report *Getting cultural heritage to work for Europe*, created within the programme *Horizon 2020* (European Commission 2015).

Barcelona in 2004 at the 4th Porto Alegre Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion which was held during the first *Universal Forum of Cultures*. Global network United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) also approved the *Agenda* as the reference document for its cultural programmes. By formal adoption of the *Agenda,* local administrations state their intention to ensure, together with their citizens, that culture is placed in the centre of urban development, which secures the long-term vision of the role of culture as the pillar of development. Article 5 of this document defines good governance not only as transparent but also as the governance which includes public participation in cultural policies, design and decision making, as well as in evaluation of programmes and projects, while Article 19 deals with citizen participation in all public cultural policy processes.

The document that also involves the global level and is important for the topic of participatory approach in culture, is the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*[009] adopted in 2005 at the 33rd session of the UNESCO General Conference. The *Convention* was adopted as the means of protection and promotion of cultural production and as a reaction to recognized global monopolization of production, due to which fewer owners than ever govern the cultural market, which is detrimental to the direction of cultural development from the human rights perspective (Obuljen and Smiers, 2006). The reduction in the number of owners and in the diversity of choice is also considered 'a threat to democracy, since a rich diversity of voices and images is essential for democratic discourse' (Obuljen and Smiers, 2006: 3). The significance of the *Convention* for the development of democratic and participatory programmes and models of cultural policy is especially related to Article 11 which deals with civil society participation. The role of civil society in policy shaping and implementation is emphasized for the purpose of the imple-

mentation of sustainable systems of governance for culture, resulting from the leading principles of the *Convention* (UNESCO, 2015). In order to monitor the implementation of the UNESCO *Convention,* the *Global Report* was conceived. Its first issue defined the methodological framework for monitoring the implementation through four objectives, the first of which to 'implement policies to promote the diversity of cultural expressions that are based on informed, transparent and participatory processes and systems of governance.' (UNESCO, 2015: 21). Participatory and collaborative governance is seen as an important direction in innovations of the policies under the UNESCO *Convention* jurisdiction. Baltà Portolés stressed the changes in this area in the second issue of the *Global Report.* On the basis of four-year *Periodic Reports* submitted by the countries' signatories at the *Convention,* he stated that 'participative policy making and consultative procedures involving civil society, as well as local and other subnational governments, have become more frequent' (Baltà Portolés, 2017: 38). In these processes, as pointed out by Baltà Portolés (2017), the role of civil society in innovation and implementation of programmes of public interest is evident. The same *Report* contains several examples of participatory governance which imply that there is not a perspective of democracy and sustainability in cultural policy without citizen participation. Therefore, national policies should contribute to building participatory approaches in cultural governance systems. Firmin stresses that the first objective, defined in the first issue of the *Global Report*, 'The goal can only be achieved if civil society is able to play a strong role, because civil society offers a key vehicle for people's participation and can be pivotal in asserting accountability and demanding transparency, which together make it more likely that cultural policies and measures reflect and serve the needs of citizens' (Firmin, 2017: 87).

It is evident from this outline of some key European communications, reports, opinions, conventions and declarations, as well as from those on the global level, that participatory governance is recognized in culture, but due to the lack of comparative analyses, it is still not well known how much the guidelines and recommendations of such documents are applied in practice in national and particularly in regional

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009 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* is available online at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php -URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (01/03/2018).

and local cultural policies. Citizen inclusion, from audience development to decision making processes, is a part of the evolution of cultural policy paradigms. As pointed out by Bonet and Négrier, 'one of the specificities of the field of cultural policy is that these paradigms, rather than substituting one another, tend to be comulative' (Bonet and Négrier, 2018: 65). In other words, changes in cultural policy should not exclude and negate previous practices but evolve and continue so that 'the emergence of a new paradigm does not eliminate the previous ones' (Bonet and Négrier, 2018: 65). Therefore, steps toward participatory governance must not be understood as an echo and/or reinterpretation of the past but as imagining and creating the new and the future. Similarly, participatory governance in culture should not be interpreted as a model which will abolish every idea and structure within cultural policy and cultural systems. Rather, the changes in the direction of participatory governance in culture, in the context of Croatian cultural policy, can contribute to the development of 'cultural pluralism (aesthetic and multiethnic), creative autonomy, the increase and diversification of sources for financing culture, polycentric cultural development, encouraging cultural participation and co-operation' (Primorac and Obuljen Koržinek, 2016: 4), which are stated as general goals of Croatian cultural policy in the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe.*

4. Decentralization and the city as the source of cultural development

Polycentric cultural development and the focus on regional and local levels of cultural policy have stemmed from the subsidiarity principle of cultural policy, democratic values of openness and diversity, as well as from the necessity for local communities to keep and develop cultural values of minorities and various subcultures, unrecognized by the dominant, representative and institutionalized culture. In thinking, analysing and discussing new models of governance in culture as the consequences, i.e., evolutionary steps in cultural policy development, and the responses to the crisis of democracy and society, it is impossible to avoid the issue of decentralization and local cultural development. Therefore, they become an unavoidable part of the discussion on participatory governance in culture.

Decentralization is defined as a dynamic process where the authority and responsibility for public resources and services are transferred from the central authority to lower levels. In developed countries, decentralization implies better connection and access to governance models, developmental orientations, and political stability. Localization of social resources and services is one of the consequences of welfare state dissolution, which, in post-transitional countries, marks one of the main steps in the shift toward a managerial logic of governance and the introduction of market principles to govern local public resources

(Bird, Ebel and Wallich, 1995). Drawing on the work of Manor, Petak divides taxonomies of decentralization into three categories: deconcentration, fiscal decentralization and devolution (Manor, 1999 in Petak, 2006) and points out that the forms of decentralization also include other categories such as privatization, denationalization and deregulation. In the area of cultural policy, decentralization is also explained in three independent categories, pointed out by Kawashima (2004): cultural, fiscal and political decentralization. Cultural decentralization refers to inequality in cultural opportunities and rights of citizens; fiscal decentralization deals with financial disparities, while political decentralization marks the distribution of political and administrative power over processes and procedures of decision making. In the context of participatory governance in culture, Petak's (2006) and Kawashima's (2004) categorizations are very important, bearing in mind that devolution as well as political decentralization are particularly prominent in the idea of power sharing and creating a framework for innovative forms of institutional pluralism and democracy in cultural policy.

Conventionally speaking, popular meanings of decentralization used in political jargon imply territorial and geographical distribution of public resources, service and then authority, but without sharing the political retention of power. This kind of decentralization is based on a (nominal) subsidiarity principle, that is, on exercising the right to decide, 'formulate policies and make decisions on financing in a certain field' (Primorac, 2017: 4), including the field of culture. Yet, the subsidiarity principle implies the relationship between central and local governments, but it does not refer to the inclusion of nongovernmental actors (Kawashima, 2004). However, the level of success of the decentralization process does not depend either on vertical distribution or on the creation of polycentric financial dependence. Rather, the real success of decentralization depends on the horizontal model of decision making processes (Katunarić, 2003; Petak, 2006, 2012). In culture, Katunarić connects the lack of horizontal dispersion to the tendencies of cultural policy centralism, which is 'intimate with building national state', and to ensuring permanent state support for the institutional ideal of the national culture, since the care and existence of

public culture 'cannot be trusted to any other arrangement, including market and civil society organizations' (Katunarić, 2003: 1).

Such tendencies are contradictory to cultural policy development from the 1980s up to today and to the changes in 'power relations' and relevance between the national and the local. A large body of literature on cultural policy deals particularly with these problematic issues of de-etatization of cultural policy, analyses of power relations and opening critical discourses on the deconstruction of representative culture, contentious cultural values, multiculturalism, cultural participation, cultural democratization, cultural democracy etc. Revealing these issues in cultural policy has produced a shift in the direction of the cultural policy formulation itself, causing it to turn toward citizen needs in their everyday lives instead of being formulated according to the imposed aesthetic standards and ideological value systems and interests. Due to the progressive decrease of the state's role in culture, there is a reciprocal increase in the role of nongovernmental organizations as the key players in culture and the city as 'a strategic site for understanding some of the major new trends reconfiguring the social order' (Sassen, 2012: xxiv). Throughout history, cities have served as magnets for social, cultural and financial capital and have been the sources of cultural dynamics, innovativeness, developmental tendencies and orientations. The city is a structure specifically equipped for preservation of the civilization's assets, the symbol of the possible, the utopia which animates realities, offers openness to the new, innovative and different. For Katherine Sarikakis (2012), the central role in creating connections that link the world, from Antic polis to modern metropolises, on political, social, economic and cultural levels has always belonged to cities. However, in the past few decades, with fast globalization processes, cities have become the world's main headquarters no longer determined only by national geopolitical borders but rather, they have assumed an expanded, complex, international role (Sarikakis, 2012).

The development of contemporary cities is characterized by the role of culture, which caused changes in the processes of creating and

adjusting public policies — from urban planning to economic and educational policies and to cultural policy. Globalization processes, led by market logic of the dominant economic order, caused stereotyping of development concepts, linearity of strategic orientation and de-contextualization of development plans. In other words, the effects of globalization have coincided with and made possible dispersive growth of an urban regeneration trend as the paradigm of cultural development. Urbanization of cultural policy has consistently followed the predominance of economic and managerial logic in cultural governance, as well as in the key terminology of cultural policy language. Consequently, cultural policy users nowadays are not nations, communities and citizens, but entrepreneurs, private organizations and individual consumers. This shift from the public good principle to the logic of private interests and market transactions represents another important change in cultural policy. Therefore, Bell and Oakely (2015) warn of the importance of monitoring policy changes in culture because it is easy to imagine the formation of a system based on market logic where legal regulations will be reduced to a minimum, or the decision making will not be in our interest, even if it would be presented as such. The case studies illustrate in the Croatian example how living urban complexes are permanently changing and are being commodified in compliance with market demands, and they thus profoundly dissolve local cultures, while access, social inclusion, cultural rights, participation and public ownership are becoming increasingly problematic.

III. Participatory governance in culture in the Republic of Croatia

— Dea Vidović, Ana Žuvela and Davor Mišković

1. The trajectories of culture and cultural policy in Croatia as the basis for the development of participatory governance in culture

The development of culture and cultural policy in Croatia should be viewed in the perspective which, like a kaleidoscope, condenses the constructs of nondemocratic heritage, transition, war, financial instability, social dissolution, new sovereignty, geographic, linguistic and political periphery, etc. The gap that currently defines Croatian social space exists between the attempt toward affirmation in the international and particularly the European context on the one hand, and on the other the absence of tangible clues and modus of democratic behaviour in public policies, from their formulation to evaluation, just like the rules of socio-political behaviour in general. The tension of crossing paths between heterogenization and homogenization is the basis of the discussion about cultural context (and the entire social condition) in Croatia. The condition is characterized by tensions between internalization as well as insistence on identity-related symbolic articulations of the importance of culture and the need to dissolve that narrative by expanding, turning to dialogue, exchanging and penetrating the exterior. The tense condition of Croatian cultural policy is explained by Katunarić through Held's categorizations of globalization: globalism — which is oriented toward opening society and Western influences; scepticism — which refers to anti-globalism and is oriented toward preservation of cultural traditions on local or national levels; and transformativity — which enables the continuation of development by providing that a society or culture takes elements of globalization selectively (Held et al., 1999 in Katunarić, 2010: 106).

The Croatian cultural field is absorbed by institutional forms of cultural activities in the public sector, which exist not necessarily for the quality of their work but for the fact that they are a part of the public system whose existence is legally guaranteed. In this way, one of the main issues — governance in culture — is partly solved too. In cultural practice, governance is a process which resides in established straightforward processes of top-down decision making. Hence, in Croatia we presently have a burning issue of egregious politicization of culture, especially on local levels, where practices show deep systemic 'wounds' as the consequence of uniform political ideas and the creation of the atmosphere of 'commanded' culture. Consequently, the cycles of cultural policy, cultural trends, and decision making are mostly placed in the hands of certain groups, while the 'external' circle of cultural actors have a limited access to their influence.

If we take a look from the perspective of cultural policy paradigms[001], as defined by Bonet and Négrier (2018), in Croatia the tra-

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001 Bonet and Négrier define four cultural policy paradigms: cultural excellence, democratization of culture, cultural democracy and creative economy. All four paradigms overlap in their integral conceptual postulates (Bonet and Négrier 2018, 65).

ditional-conventional approach to the elaboration and application of cultural policy is still used, in the sense that cultural policy is implemented in compliance with the paradigm of democratization of culture. This implies making available access to cultural goods and services for as many people as possible, which cannot be realized without support from public sources. Democratization of the cultural system in Croatia is characterized by strictly divided roles of cultural producers and cultural consumers, similar to a clear political and/or expert conditioning of decision makers. In this context, in the Republic of Croatia, the expert position in decision making processes in culture is reduced to an exclusively advisory capacity via membership in the cultural councils on national, regional and local levels. Even though, for instance, Article 1, Section 3 of the Law on Managing Cultural Institutions[002] (Official Gazette 96/2001) stipulates the expert influence on managing in such a way as to appoint into management boards of public cultural institutions members who are 'eminent cultural workers and artists', the majority of management boards in culture are appointed from the files of political parties, which oppose the principle of democratization of culture and expert influence on decision making processes. Furthermore, chronic cuts of public funds for culture have caused democratization of culture to be gradually undermined and turned into a certain type of creative economy, even though creativity as a resource is treated only occasionally by the cultural normative framework relating to, for example, audio-visual arts. Since Croatia is ethnically (and religiously) a rather homogenized country, the discourse on cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue has never become a cultural policy priority, while the issue of cultural rights is tackled only on the level of academic and/or activist movements.

The development of the discussion on participatory governance in culture in Croatia can be observed as a consequence of an inadequate level of inclusion of a wider circle of actors in the discussions and decision making processes. We connect this to the idea of inclusive democracy, where formal expressions of equality of all groups and individuals to be included in political processes are left behind, while special measures are taken to remedy inequalities of the social system (Young, 2002). Therefore, participatory governance in culture in Croatia can be observed as the development of an attempt to systemically overcome inadequate inclusion of civil society and citizens in decision making processes. Hence, we view participatory governance in culture in the same way in which it is viewed by Kadlec and Friedman (2007) in their critique of deliberative democracy: the power of decision making is kept by the elites with structurally dominant positions and significant influence over decision making processes and directions, which raises the question — why would excluded groups and individuals trust participation in the processes of 'rational dialogue' with those whose primary interest is to keep and perpetuate structural disbalance? The experience of cultural policy decentralization in Croatia points exactly in that direction. Harmonization of legal frameworks of administration and culture have caused the transfer of the majority of the cultural sector, life, income and expenditure to subnational levels, mostly cities. However, as mentioned by Katunarić, even when decentralization and autonomy are supported by the legal framework, counter-tendencies of 'structural centrism' take over the old cultural system hierarchy. Hence, along with authority, the modus of functioning and decision making is transferred from national to local levels (Katunarić, 2003), which is typical of decentralization in the countries of the supposed 'vulnerable democracy' (Petak, 2012). The excluded are still excluded, the power is still kept in political positions, only nominally no longer by the state but by the local authority.

Decentralization in the Croatian cultural system is thus present as structural centrism, which causes politicization to trickle down from the national level to regional and local levels, i.e., to function as the transfer of de-etatization into local politicization. The main reasons for this failure and deficit of the decentralization process initiated in 2001 in Croatia stem from inadequate respect for opinions, indifference to arguments and distrust of civil society which relentlessly

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002 The Law on Managing Cultural Institutions is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr /clanci/sluzbeni/2001_11_96_1611.html (02/02/2018).

advocates more horizontality, openness and transparency. Here, we encounter the decentralization paradox, which is identical to the participation paradox: depoliticization and de-etatization are key preconditions for polycentric local development, which is one of the necessary preconditions for participatory governance. However, polycentric development is dependent on political decisions. Consequently, decentralization, just like participatory governance, in our circumstances should be interpreted as an instable process with uncertain outcomes. This particularly relates to the decentralization of the cultural system itself, i.e., the introduction of new hybrid forms based on participatory governance. Speaking in very current vocabulary of the Croatian reality, what we actually talk about when we talk about institutional pluralism or participatory governance, in the context of cultural institutions, are reforms of cultural policy and the pertinent system. The reform impulse in thinking about new models of governance in culture, emerging institutions and their social mandate happens in the shift from the widespread understanding that 'institutions exist so they can work FOR people' to the understanding that 'institutions exist so they can work WITH people'. This shift is slow to being realized not only in Croatia. The situation is similar on the European level where, according to the mapping conducted during the research, in the majority of cases, the participatory model of governance is still present on lower margins of the cultural system but is on the rise in many countries (such as Italy, Spain and Belgium). In Croatia, the process of opening cultural policy is realized through the introduction of the participatory meritocracy principle in decision making processes, by establishing cultural councils and by diversified and decentralized ways of financing culture through public bodies such as Croatian Audio Visual Centre (HAVC)[003]

and Kultura Nova Foundation[004] on the national level, or Pogon — Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth[005] on the local level. This approach ensured certain preconditions for decentralization of the cultural system and the introduction of the participation principle in cultural governance.

However, while different approaches are used to solve the issue of pluralism in Croatian cultural policy through inclusion of a wider cultural sector, at the same time very problematic issues remain, such as cultural participation, audience development and education, access to culture, right to culture, etc. All these issues are treated by the cultural policy only implicitly. Moreover, in the sense of development, the issue of culture is always related to infrastructure but without mentioning how it would be connected to the community, not only pertaining to participation in cultural activities but also pertaining to governance. Therefore, Croatia chronically lacks the real decentralization of cultural policy in the context of real devolution of power. The meaning of cultural participation in Croatia still boils down to counting ticket sales and the range of audience profiles. However, as earlier shown, cultural participation is perceived by contemporary understanding not only as a numerically valorised term but also as a permanent dynamic process which allows the audience to actively

(...) and https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni /2011_08_90_1930.html (02/02/2018). More information on the work of HAVC is available online at: https://www.havc.hr/ (02/02/2018).

004 Kultura Nova Foundation was founded by the Republic of Croatia, based on the Law on Kultura Nova Foundation (Official Gazette 90/11), adopted by the Croatian Parliament on 15 July 2011. The Foundation's mission is to promote and develop civil society in the field of contemporary culture and arts in the Republic of Croatia. More on the work of the Foundation is available online at: http://kulturanova.hr/ (02/02/2018).

005 Pogon – Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth is co-founded by the Alliance Operation City and the City of Zagreb as a nonprofit cultural institution which is co-governed by the Alliance and the City of Zagreb, based on the public-civil partnership model. More information is available online at: http://www.pogon.hr (02/02/2018).

003 Based on the Law on Audiovisual Activities (Official Gazette 76/07), on January 1 2008, the Government of the Republic of Croatia founded Croatian Audio Visual Centre with the mission to promote audiovisual creation in Croatia. The Law and its amendments (Official Gazette 76/07, 90/11) are available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2007_07_76_2398.html (...)

participate in passive consumption of cultural content and in the design of the framework within which that content is created, either through direct engagement in the community or through civil society organizations. Concretely put, the audience must become active stakeholders in cultural content creation through the methods of participatory governance, public consultation, systematic education and collaboration with actors from the cultural sector. Therefore, in the context of audience development and cultural participation, cultural policy is facing great structural, reformative challenges to further development, or as succinctly put by Katunarić: 'In a small country such as Croatia, the logic of power or economic development in which only the strongest survive is not the most appropriate. Croatia should retain, and again pay attention to its cultural heritage; it should develop its cultural identity in a more symbolic and artistic manner, resist drowning in global and hegemonic streams which demand it to lose its specificity and distinction' (Katunarić, 2007: 254–255). Equally important are breakthroughs toward cultural diversity which will be, as stressed by Katunarić (2007), outside of understanding cultural policy as being exhausted exclusively in preserving national culture and understanding culture only as cultural heritage.

2. Croatian regulatory framework for the development of participatory governance in culture

The regulatory framework of the Republic of Croatia explicitly prescribes little in relation to cultural participation. Thus, it is mostly about implicit formulations which can be interpreted as bearing on some aspects of cultural participation. The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia[006], in its capacity as the founding document of the Croatian state, is the document which defines cultural rights. They form a part of the Constitution which stipulates economic, social and cultural rights, while the foundations of cultural democracy are concretely expressed in Article 69 which guarantees the freedom of cultural and artistic creation, state support for the development of culture and arts, and protection of moral and material rights resulting from

006 Consolidated text of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia (Official Gazette 56/90, 135/97, 8/98, 113/00, 124/00, 28/01, 41/01, 55/01, 76/10, 85/10, 05/14) is available online at: https://www.zakon.hr/z/94/Ustav-Republike-Hrvatske (01/03/2018).

cultural and artistic creation. Thus, the already mentioned Article 27 of the *General Declaration of Human Rights,* which deals with cultural rights, is reflected in the Croatian context by means of its Constitution, but the term 'cultural participation' is not explicitly articulated.

Only two legal documents pertaining to cultural policy explicitly state stipulations which refer to cultural participation, but neither document defines the responsibilities of public bodies and administration, which would ensure the basis for citizen participation in decision making for the creation and implementation of cultural policies, either on the national or on regional and local levels. In the Bylaws on selection and allocation of public needs in culture (Official Gazette 55/2016), Article 7 explicitly states, among evaluation criteria for submitted proposals, that there should be 'promotion of programmes for children and the youth' and 'participation of the disabled in the programme, and the programmes' suitability for the disabled'[007]. Cultural participation, in the sense of audience development and support for attracting new audiences, is explicitly mentioned as the task of the Directorate for cultural and artistic development in the Directive on the internal structure of the Ministry of Culture, adopted in 2017, which is an improvement in comparison to earlier directives.[008]

Legal acts in the Republic of Croatia, which stipulate the rules for establishing various types of public bodies and other types of organizations (public institution[009],

public company[010], foundation[011], cooperative[012], association[013]) allow for their establishment by different stakeholders, while only the Law on Institutions explicitly stipulates partnership, in the context of establishing institutions, between the public sector (local and/or regional administration) and other natural and legal persons. However, it does not directly mention the establishment of a public institution in culture, or any other sector, as a mixed institution co-established by public and private/civil sectors because the Law on Institutions does not contain necessary definitions of the public institution in culture (or in any other sector), while the Law on Management of Cultural Institutions does not explicate when such institutions can be established, for what purpose, who can establish them, etc. Rather, it deals with the ways of management after the public cultural institution has already been established. Legal regulations in culture provide for the

007 Bylaws on selection and allocation of public needs in culture (Official Gazette 55/2016) is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci /sluzbeni/2016_06_55_1434.html (01/03/2018).

008 The tasks of the Directorate for cultural and artistic development are defined in the Directive on the internal structure of the Ministry of Culture (Official Gazette 17/17), which is available online at: https://narodne-novine .nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/full/2017_02_17_394.html (01/03/2018).

009 Based on Article 7, Section 1, Point 3 of the Law on Institutions (Official Gazette 76/1993), a public institution can be established by local public administration and natural and legal persons if it is explicitly allowed. The Law is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci /sluzbeni/1993_08_76_1548.html (01/03/2018).

010 Article 68, Sections 1 and 2 of the Company Law (Official Gazette 152/2011) stipulate that a public company is the company in which two or more persons are joined, and the company members may be any natural or legal persons. The Company Law is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci /sluzbeni/2011_12_152_3144.html (01/03/2018).

011 Article 3, Sections 1 and 2 of the Law on Foundations and Funds (Official Gazette 36/95, 64/01) stipulate that the foundation can be established by one or more Croatian or foreign natural or legal persons. This Law does not provide for the establishment of public foundations, even though in practice they are established on the national level pursuant to laws of each individual foundation passed by the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia and on regional and local levels pursuant to a special act passed by the county or city assembly. The Law is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/ sluzbeni/1995_06_36_722.html and the Amendments to the Law at: https://nar-odne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001_07_64_1051.html (01/03/2018).

012 Pursuant to Article 6, Sections 1 and 2 of the Cooperatives Act (Official Gazette 34/11, 125/13, 76/14), the cooperative may be established by no less than seven persons having full capacity to exercise rights, or by a legal person. The Act is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci /sluzbeni/2011_03_34_764.html (01/03/2018).

013 Law on Associations (Official Gazette 74/2014) stipulates that the association may be established by no less than three natural or legal persons, but it does not prescribe the legal form of legal persons. The Law is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2014_06_74_1390 .html (01/03/2018).

possibility of establishing public museums and galleries[014] in partnership between different sectors, while the same or similar inter-sectorial participatory principle is not provided for the establishment of other public cultural institutions, for instance, theatres or libraries. Thus, possibilities for the development of participatory governance practices in the context of a legislative framework for culture reflect the lack of interest in this topic on the part of regulators. But, at the same time, they indicate that for certain types of institutions there is a legal basis. Besides, national cultural policy includes some additional measures, relating to cultural inclusion and participatory governance development, which are most evident in the form of support for audience development[015] published in the Ministry of Culture's public calls, implemented within the Operational programme 'Efficient Human Resources 2014 – 2020' for culture and the youth[016], culture and the elderly[017], inclusion of

marginal groups in cultural and artistic activities[018] and development of public-civil partnership[019]. Other cultural policy measures that acknowledge the topic of cultural participation are related, as noticed by Primorac, Obuljen Koržinek and Uzelac, to providing support to 'the development of cultural infrastructure' and 'production and distribution' (Primorac, Obuljen Koržinek and Uzelac, 2018: 19) and/or financing artistic and cultural programmes and projects.

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014 Pursuant to Article 15, Section 4 of the Law on Museums (Official Gazette 110/2015), 'public museums and galleries may be jointly established by the Republic of Croatia, county, City of Zagreb, city, municipality and natural and legal person, while mutual rights and obligations of the founders are defined by the agreement'. The Law is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2015_10_110_2121.html (01/03/2018).

015 In collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, the Ministry of Culture initiated the programme A Backpack (full of) Culture in 2013, whose main purpose is to 'encourage children and the youth to understand and embrace culture and art'. More information is available online at: http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=9344 (01/03/2018). In 2017 the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia for the first time published the Public call for support of programmes which promote audience development in culture in the Republic of Croatia for 2017. More information is available online at: http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=18965 (01/03/2018).

016 At the end of 2016, the Ministry of Culture for the first time published the Public call for project proposals on 'Art and culture for the youth', to be financed through the European Social Fund. More information is available online at: http://www.esf.hr/natjecaji/socijalno-ukljucivanje/umjetnost-i-kultura-za-mlade/ (01/03/2018).

017 In mid-2017, the Ministry of Culture published the Public call for project proposals on 'Art and culture 54+', to be financed through the European Social Fund. More information is available online at: http://www.esf.hr/natjecaji/socijalno-ukljucivanje/umjetnost-i-kultura-54/ (01/03/2018).

018 The Annual plan for publication of Calls for project proposals within the Operational programme 'Efficient Human Resources 2014–2020' for 2018 foresees that the Ministry of Culture will publish the Public call 'Community inclusion of marginal groups through cultural and artistic activities' in the second half of 2018. The Annual plan can be found online at: https://strukturnifondovi.hr/indikativni-godisnji-plan-objave-natjecaja/ (01/03/2018).

019 At the end of 2017, the Ministry of Culture published the Public call for project proposals on 'Culture in the centre – support for the development of public-civil partnership in culture', to be financed through the European Social Fund. More information is available online at: http://www.esf.hr/natjecaji/dobro-upravljanje/kultura-u-centru-potpora-razvoju-javno-civilnog-partnerstva-u-kulturi/ (01/03/2018). Kultura Nova Foundation proposed this project to be included in the Operational programme 'Efficient Human Resources 2014–2020'.

3. The shortage of space as the incentive for participatory governance in culture

One of the unchangeable aspects of Croatian cultural policy is inequality of work and development opportunities between institutional and non-institutional cultural sectors. Numerous analyses, research, texts, reports (Švob-Đokić, 2004a, 2004b, 2010; Katunarić, 2003, 2004, 2007; Vidović, 2012, 2014, 2017; Mišković, Vidović and Žuvela, 2015; Vidović and Žuvela, 2016; Žuvela, 2016; Barada, Primorac and Buršić, 2016) and political documents (including national and local annual budgets), as well as official and unofficial discussions with artists, cultural workers and official cultural administrations, repeatedly indicate that the Croatian cultural system has not been able to overcome the obstacle of the 'glass ceiling' in cultural development, which refers to the limited space for establishing the balanced development of institutional and non-institutional cultural sectors. The problem of disbalance of the space for development includes concrete physical space (inaccessible and inadequate spatial infrastructure for cultural and artistic activities) as well as financial space (stagnation or decrease of the public financing allocated for cultural and artistic activities). However, it also includes the space for action, dialogue, influence, participation and inspiration. The absence of reform of the way in which the cultural system functions has been, at least partially, remedied by establishing and operational functioning of Kultura Nova Foundation, which, however, affects only one part of the non-institutional cultural belt — the one operating through civil

society organizational formats, associations and artistic organizations in the field of contemporary culture and arts. Despite the introduction of this new financial instrument into the cultural system, the scope of the support for these organizations still remains limited and insufficient, just like it is insufficient, after all, for the entire cultural sector in Croatia. Or, as pointed out by Tomislav Medak, the existing positions of institutional and non-institutional actors are fixed; hence, the growth of either public institutions or new organizations is not possible because they neither possess adequate resources nor can they access them in the public sector (Medak, 2011/2012 in Vidović, 2017).

Spatial resources, furthermore, can serve as the measure of the actors' status and position in the cultural system. Notwithstanding the fact that numerous buildings house diverse institutionalized cultural activities, spatial infrastructure is one of the key shortcomings of the civil society organization's work in contemporary culture and art, as shown by earlier conducted research on spatial capacities of organizations (Buršić, 2014; Kardov and Pavić, 2007; Barada, Primorac and Buršić, 2016: 43). The most recent research has shown that as much as 40.9% of organizations do not have any space at all for regular work (Ibid., 43). The shortage of spatial resources affects the stability and long-term sustainability of organizations and simultaneously causes their insufficient visibility in the public sphere, as well as contributes to the perception of their activity as abstract and their position as marginalized. (Vidović, 2014). At the same time, we are witnesses of many abandoned and unused spaces in Croatia owned by the state, counties and/or cities, for which the political structures and accompanying public administrations do not find sensible purpose that would be beneficial for citizens, local authorities, society and the country. On the initiative of the Government Office for Cooperation with NGOs, there was the implementation of the decision[020] on allocation of spaces owned by the

020 *Decision on criteria, measures and procedure of the allocation of spaces owned by the Republic of Croatia for use of civil society organizations for the purpose of the implementation of programmes and projects of public (…)*

Republic of Croatia to civil society organizations in the period 2013 to 2018, but there have been only two calls on the national level resulting in the allocation of 24 spaces to civil society in total.

Civil society organizations have recognized the system's sloppiness and by organizing themselves into platforms have commenced advocacy campaigns for the allocation of spaces for their work, while some of them have even moved into the abandoned spaces which could provide at least a semblance of life. The fact that local administrations have mostly supported those initiatives and that the state, as already mentioned, has secured some funds for participatory governance through the European Social Fund corroborates the fact that despite mistrust between public and civil sectors in Croatia, on the one hand we find civil society ready and able to act for its interests and shape the implementation of a participatory approach to public resources governance, while on the other hand, national and local authorities respond to those needs, even though we also find negative examples of rejection of long-term cooperation[021]. Thanks to these positive approaches, in Croatia there have emerged examples of participatory governance which have developed the application of that model through the cooperation of a number of organizations, sharing of governance responsibilities, common use of resources and the establishment of public-civil partnerships. The common denominator of these governance practices has been found in the concept of the socio-cultural centre.

(...) *interest*, adopted by the Committee for the disposal of the real estate owned by the Republic of Croatia on 3 October 2013, is available online at: https://imovina.gov.hr/UserDocsImages//arhiva/2013/10/3listopad%202013// Odluka%20o%20kriterijima%20mjerilima%20i%20postupku%20dodjele-prosto-ra-na-kori%C5%A1tenje-organizacijama-civilnog-dru%C5% A1tva_3102013.pdf (08/02/2018).

021 One of the important examples of failed partnership between local public authorities and cultural civil society organizations can be found in the case of repurposing of the former garrison Samogor on the island of Vis. In the process of repurposing emerged the initiative of three cultural organizations (European association of students of architecture [EASA], Association for the development of culture and Multimedia Institute), which organized *Otokulti-vator – ljetna škola kulture (summer cultural school)* and other activities in Samogor garrison from 2001 to 2003. However, being unable to establish a sustainable agreement with the local authorities, after trying for three years, the organizations gave up the intention to use Samogor garrison long-term for cultural and artistic purposes. In this case it turned out that 'the local authorities did not recognize the capacities of civil society in culture, nor the potential of cooperation with those organizations which successfully implemented cultural and artistic programmes in Samogor.' (Kardov, 2014: 194).

4. The vision of socio-cultural centres

The idea of socio-cultural centres is inspired by two tendencies that have emerged in Europe since the 1950s. The first is the widespread practice of opening cultural centres, backed by the idea of universal access to culture and the citizen's right to enjoy cultural excellence. According to André Malraux, the first Minister of Cultural Affairs of France, cultural centres or homes of culture are defined by the audience that constitutes them. Cultural centres introduced the idea of the cultural location as an accessible place of multipurpose socio-cultural activities, where the synergy of different levels of ability and experience, artistic formats and possibilities, amateurs and professionals, young and old, cultural diversities/multiculturalism, multimedia art and crafts, local and national networks, etc., are created. The ideal of the cultural centre includes three key aspects: 1) polyvalent socio-cultural activities open to various categories of audience; 2) flexibility achieved by responding to changing cultural needs and demands of the local community; and 3) promotion of local activities, encouragement and development of cooperation and exchange on national and international levels (Evans, 2001). In Croatia, cultural policy was a part of this European trend, so houses of culture and youth cultural centres were opened throughout the country, and they have remained active purveyors of cultural life in many places, even up to today. The second European tendency that is important for understanding the idea of socio-cultural centres is the emergence of social centres and squats. Unlike cultural centres, the idea of which was formed by the political elite, social centres and squats have emerged as an expression of citizen self-organization, primarily subcultural groups and activists. In social centres various activities have developed, such as programmes of resocialization of prisoners and drug addicts and support to migrants and refugees. There have been organized cultural activities, concerts, exhibitions, lectures and discussions, as well as the distribution of cultural content through cinemas, bookshops and libraries, etc. In Croatia, this tendency found its expression primarily in the work of youth cultural centres and magazines for youth culture. Notwithstanding the fact that they were formed by the political elite, the activities of youth cultural centres were significantly shaped bottom-up by the youth themselves. That was the reason for conflicts and bans that occurred.

During the war in Croatia, there was a transformation of houses of culture, cultural centres and youth cultural centres, but their work has not disappeared; rather, they have continued to work in new circumstances. Many cultural centres, which transformed into popular open universities mainly in smaller towns, have continued to sustain cultural life by managing libraries, museums, cinemas and theatres. The infrastructure they managed dictated their activities. But it was the time of scarcity and completely different priorities, so the infrastructure was neglected and programmes abandoned. At the same time, the framework for civil society activity was created, opening the space for initiatives in various areas, and thus civil society organizations emerged in all spheres of life. A segment of civil society organizations became very active in the organization of cultural life and public life in general, often using the cultural centres' infrastructure. After 2000, the majority of former cultural centres were structurally dissolved, libraries and museums were separated and continued to function independently, and popular open universities focussed on educational programmes, despite the fact that some of them still maintain a strong cultural component in some cultural areas such as theatre, music and film.

At the time, the majority of spaces run by civil society organizations active in contemporary culture and art were opened, largely in abandoned public infrastructure. Croatia thus follows the European practice of reshaping former factory, army and hospital complexes and

similar spaces into spaces for culture. Besides, these spaces also include European trends of cultural production that step out of strictly defined media domains, and in them are organized public events of very diverse profiles, judging from the traditional media optics, but also of a very clear profile, judging from the perspective of socio-cultural activity. It is the culture that reacts to the immediate context. Here are created programmes that deal with the space, technology, ideology, media, science, and so on. In short, the programmes are continuously implemented by European social centres and a fair share of cultural centres throughout Europe. But Croatian reality is still far from European socio-cultural centres because in Croatia, the mentioned spaces of civil society organisations in culture are inadequate in every sense. On the other hand, the remaining cultural centres and popular open universities have remained the hostages of their own infrastructure and the need for its maintenance, so that there is not much room for programme development. The space, as already pointed out, begins to foster the connection of civil society organizations, and the need to manage larger spaces leads to the creation of the model of common and participatory governance. In such a way, socio-cultural centres are established.

All these centres combine social and cultural action in a wide array of activities. Public events and cultural production are organized, and social justice, ecological standards, rights of the disabled, resocialization of various marginalized groups are advocated. Actually, it is impossible to list all the things done under the mentioned initiatives because they react to social processes and their reactions result from the contexts in which they work. Naturally, the initiatives are also the result of affinity and knowledge of the people and organizations that constitute them. Therefore, these initiatives differ in their activities from city to city. They are made up of civil society organizations, but with them are active artistic organizations and companies working on social entrepreneurship principles. These initiatives are mainly organized in a network structure, which provides them with flexibility and work dynamics. Organizations active in these networks, just like the networks themselves, are poorly financed, have scarce technical

and human resources, and the spaces in which they work are inadequate. Their work rests on enthusiasm, project financing and adaptation. Figuratively speaking, members of those initiatives can survive for months without water, food or shelter. At the same time, they are capable of absorbing great amounts of resources in a short time. This makes them maybe the most resilient species in the cultural system.

In creating the vision of socio-cultural centres, besides the mentioned cultural and social centres in Europe, a crucial role is played by already existing similar centres dispersed throughout Europe, which are commonly developed by a number of organizations and governed in a participatory way. These centres have different names and functions, organize public events and aid to vulnerable groups, provide access to knowledge and information as well as implement some kind of business activities, the profit of which is used for further work of the centre. What is common to all those centres is placing the local community in the centre of their interest. This is realized through the implementation of programmes that are relevant for the community. The choice of activities, topics and methods is very diverse. The survey conducted during this research included 31 cultural centres in Europe and indicated their diversity. With respect to the types of activity, the centres deal with everything from performing arts to environmental protection and cultural heritage, including health care, programmes for children and youth, and all types of art. The typology of space also indicates similar diversity. Most of them have spaces for meetings, workshops and lectures, galleries, and a large part has performing arts space, concert space and ateliers. Some have living spaces, a hostel, restaurant, music studio and cinema. Their names are very different, even though the name usually contains the words 'art' or 'culture', but they use names such as creative centre, educational centre, co-working centre, social centre, community centre, residential centre, etc. The spaces are of different sizes, some only four-square meters, while others spread over 23.000 square meters. The situation is similar with respect to the number of employees, which varies from one to 115 employees, but on average they have 10 to 20 employees.

The diversity points to the fact that such types of centres are not like other cultural institutions, which are organized according to a different model, have different typology of space, and differ by audience size and reach (local, national, international). Isomorphism of cultural institutions is a phenomenon which points to the fact that the shape of a cultural institution is far more affected by the morphology of other cultural institutions than the context in which it works. When it comes to socio-cultural centres, it simply is not the case. As already mentioned, they are primarily shaped by the context in which they work and by those who create that context. This fact definitely represents the advantage of socio-cultural centres in relation to other cultural institutions because it enables them to establish the primary relationship with the community in which they work (neighbourhood, city, region), while the relationship to the expert community is secondary in their case. Other cultural institutions have inversely listed priorities. The primary relationship is the one with the expert community, while the relationship with the community in which they work is secondary, despite their public purpose.

From this arises the problem of locating socio-cultural centres in the cultural system, of determining the category to which they belong. In other words, a cultural system is dominated by the division into artistic fields; hence cultural institutions are not categorized according to their association with the community and governance models but according to the artistic field that is catered to by their work. Since socio-cultural centres cover various fields, not only artistic ones, we need different classifications for them. Because of socio-cultural centres, but also because of the total change of the role of culture in the society, cultural policies acknowledged the need to supplement the cultural system with organizations whose primary role is creating relationships with the community and specific social groups, rather than with artistic fields. Consequently, in the cultural policy realm, for a long time we have dealt with concepts such as youth culture, community culture, culture of national minorities, culture of sexual minorities, etc. All those cultures within the framework of the cultural system aspire toward creating stable forms and institutions which will valorise, produce and distribute them.

Socio-cultural centres belong to that area of cultural activity; they build their relationships with the communities in which they work and combine different tendencies of activities of such communities.

Thus, socio-cultural centres cannot be defined with respect to the artistic or social domain of activity, but rather with respect to the relationships the people who work in them build in the community. They do not really build the relation, they are the relation itself. Precisely for this reason, for socio-cultural centres the key aspect is the community participation in the work of the centre. That participation may range from governance of the centre to enabling the articulation of the community's needs and interest through implementation of concrete programmes. In this, one should not have illusions that one centre can combine all needs and interests that exist in a neighbourhood, town or city. Interests and needs in every community are both contradictory and conflicting, but the fact that there are so many of them is a far greater problem. Therefore, socio-cultural centres have a certain profile of activity which naturally depends on the context. In some cases, they will focus on the relation to new technologies, while in another they will cater to communal needs and environmental protection. Of course, it significantly depends on which area of activity determines the social relations of a certain community, what is important for that community and what problems and challenges it faces. Socio-cultural centres exist in order to articulate those questions in a way which is not directly political, in the sense of advocating the implementation of certain norms, but the articulation takes place primarily through symbolic act, the act which states, provokes and imagines. The profile of socio-cultural centres is, hence, determined not only by the topic they deal with but also by the way in which it is articulated. The way in which they speak about certain topics is as important for socio-cultural centres as the topic itself. That discourse depends on the composition of the socio-cultural centre, on the people who constitute it, their experiences and knowledge, aesthetic preferences and creative abilities. The point of intersection of the community's needs and interest with expressive form used by the members of the community makes up the profile of the socio-cultural centre.

However, apart from these two dimensions, the understanding of socio-cultural centres is significantly influenced by the varied spaces in which they are located. Citizens experience the city through their habits of being in the city, through expectations they have of the buildings, spaces and parts of the city. The architecture of the spaces housing socio-cultural centres also determines their functions and types of activities that will take place there. In Croatia, the initiatives for establishing socio-cultural centres have emerged slowly by inhabiting neglected spaces, and they have been inhabited by those who saw in them the potential for the realization of their programmes' ideas. In such a way, the spaces have had a significant role in shaping those initiatives. The space itself was one of the first criteria, though certainly not consciously set, for shaping alliances, networks and initiatives which have created socio-cultural centres, and on which the idea of socio-cultural centres relies. But the influence of the space reaches farther than the initiatives, prompting the reflection on future socio-cultural centres. Local administrations which have accepted and attempt to respond to the need for establishing socio-cultural centres in their environments also frequently start from the spaces they own, the spaces which could be actualized and given purpose through activities which will make a coherent whole in the future. It is mostly spaces which are unfinished, abandoned, dysfunctional for commercial use or for the needs of administration and public services, in short, spaces which are neglected.

Hence, we see socio-cultural centres through three dimensions: space in which they are located, community needs and interests, and forms of expression and symbolic action of the community members. Because of this, socio-cultural centres should be considered discursive spaces. 'They are located in physical spaces which determine them to some extent, but not completely; the element of sociality which situates them though in a spatially limited, but still not static, community. Socio-cultural centres cannot be separated from the space they are located in, they cannot be separated from the community they work in. They relate the space to various forms of communication and documentation, artistic works, texts, activism, entrepreneurship. Their model of work is more like an itinerary than a map, and this sets them apart from other cultural institutions, which primarily map what is important in their field of work. Differently from the map which provides an objective image of a certain field, itineraries are a subjective view of the reality. In the case of socio-cultural centres, this means that they look from the perspective of the community they work in, attempting to give answers to the questions: where are we as a community going, how will we get there, and how long will our journey last. They create a narrative made up of fragmentary sequences of events and actions which take place in the space. This narrative is imprinted with their hopes and fears, interests and needs. Socio-cultural centres are discursive spaces in which the meaning is created through statements, symbols and actions, a construction whose elements are not fixed but transitive, following one another, depending on the changes of the context they work in. And that context is their content'. (Mišković, 2015: 17–18).

The programme level of activity established in a few focal points in Croatia have spawned initiatives for the establishment of the socio-cultural centre. The initiatives aspire to a specific type of institutionalization in the Croatian context. Their programmatic activity is fluid, dependant on social changes and the changes of cultural and artistic forms. The institutionalization of any, no matter how dominant, programmatic situation would lead to the neglect of a series of other production and programmatic possibilities. Since Croatia is not rich in financial resources for maintenance of cultural institutions, it would be irrational to establish institutions for different cultural and artistic forms that developed in the past two or more decades and that are positively valorised in the field of culture and arts and the society itself. It is not the case of exclusively newer forms that are used as artistic media such as computer/smartphone games and web pages, practices such as speculative design and inter-sectorial work which use digital and analogue tools to create artistic works, but also of more traditional forms such as performance and installations, experimental music, dance and theatre. Although the existing institutions are interested in many of these forms, they do not

currently have either production or interpretative capacities to enable the development of such forms. Their interest is exhausted in canonization of the best practices and the integration of such forms into the corpus of contemporary art, which is their primary role anyway. But in that way, the emerging culture which takes place in the crossover of amateur and professional work, between different disciplines, remains on the sidelines. It is particularly this cultural practice that is the focus of programmatic interest of the initiatives for socio-cultural centres. The institutionalization of such practices is the task of socio-cultural centres.

The purpose of socio-cultural centres is the stabilization of the conditions for development of relatively new artistic, cultural and social practices, their valorisation and the transfer of produced meanings and values to the community and the society at large. Socio-cultural centres are focussed on understanding contemporary processes which affect artistic and cultural creation and our social life. Their role is to direct the cultural production, which valorises such processes, toward a wider circle of users, and to exercise a positive effect on the citizen's quality of life. The quality of life is reflected in opening new positions for action and possibilities for citizens' active participation in social life.

Socio-cultural centres are a tool, such as a hammer or neural networks. And the tool does not decide its purpose; we decide what we will do with the tool. Wherever socio-cultural centres emerge, people who live in those environments should decide how they will use them. Certainly, the freedom of decision takes place in a certain framework, between given choices. The framework in which socio-cultural centres function is made by the society we live in, the community to which we belong. Socio-cultural centres represent the space of reflection on the society and the community, and the reflection on society creates culture which influences the formation of the society. They are, thus, the tool which enables us to turn personal reflections into common action. The way in which we act depends on what we know and want to achieve, while in order for the action to be common, we have to

make a common decision on it. Therefore, participatory governance is the key value of socio-cultural centres; it is expressed through democratic decision making of those who are affected by the decisions and through participation in governance and action. The governance model, hence, greatly differentiates socio-cultural centres from other institutions present in our cultural system.

5. Analysis of the participatory governance models on the examples of socio-cultural centres

As already mentioned, in order to provide answers to the posed research questions, seven case studies were conducted on the development of seven socio-cultural centres: Lazareti Socio-Cultural Centre in Dubrovnik, Community Centre Čakovec in Čakovec, Socio-Cultural Centre in Karlovac, Molekula in Rijeka, Rojc Community Centre in Pula, Youth Home in Split, and Pogon — Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth in Zagreb. Based on these studies, practices and tendencies of participatory governance in the Republic of Croatia were analysed. The seven socio-cultural centres were chosen because they represent seven different practices which the Foundation recognized in the Croatian context as publicly most visible but as being on different development levels, and therefore they may serve as the examples of different developmental stages, levels and models of participatory governance of cultural resources. Additionally, from the territorial perspective, the seven centres cover most of Croatia, from the farthest south to the north to the Istrian peninsula. The absence of some parts of the country (for instance, eastern Croatia) indicates the situations and differences in regional and local cultural development levels. It invites serious consideration of the general,

often neglected, question of (territorial) balance of cultural and cultural policy development in Croatia. At the same time, it confirms the need to respect intra-national differences with respect to orientations, types, affinities and approaches to cultural development.

In line with this, the seven analysed cases are different in every sense, from the way they emerged to the space they use or want to use, the number of organizations involved to the type of established partnership with local authorities. A common characteristic of all of them is that they are bottom-up initiatives, hence initiated by civil society organizations in order to commonly use abandoned and/or insufficiently used public resources and to govern them in a participatory way, sharing responsibility and advocating or nourishing the partnerships with the local authorities. In all the examples we found some forms of public-civil partnership, except in the case of Molekula where the prominent characteristic is the practice of common governance of the common good (Ostrom, 2006), where local authority participation is minimal or almost entirely absent. Yet, even in Rijeka's Molekula, the model of public-civil partnership and the establishment of the socio-cultural centre are recognized as the practices which may contribute to better inclusion of various stakeholders and to empowering citizens and the community for participation, which is an important aspect of further development, particularly having in mind the context of the project of European Capital of Culture Rijeka 2020. The need for participatory governance in the analysed cases of socio-cultural centres results from the fact that the customary management rationale is insufficient for governing such a complex system for which there is no prescribed or habitual 'profession', or professional standards, and furthermore, is the domain of activity that is not stable but in constant change.

The fact that the leaders of the initiatives for the establishment of socio-cultural centres are mainly alliances of associations, and not individual associations or other organizations active in culture, results from the circumstances and the orientation, and not some natural will for creating such structures. Also, the association of non-profit

organizations, which we followed in the process of the research of the Croatian examples of participatory governance in culture, are complementary to the blossoming of alliances of cultural organizations throughout the West, as mentioned by Kircher, Markowski and Ford in their qualitative and empirical analysis of the phenomenon of non-profit cultural organizations forming alliances in the United States of America (Kircher, Markowski and Ford, 2018). Permanent functioning under the threat of insufficient financing, chronic lack of work resources, particularly physical space, and narrowing of the survival possibilities are just some of the reasons why the practice of forming alliances of civil society organizations grows in number and quality. By widening the organizational framework through the formation of alliances, the organizations attempt to create conditions for sustainability of the independent cultural scene and the perspective of balanced cultural development.

In the Croatian examples, we found that the main impulse for the creation of a common platform of action was the space. Neglected spaces inhabited by associations have been and still are mostly far larger than the programme and human capacities of those associations. In the first examples of settlement, the buildings had a series of premises which served as offices of associations, working spaces and spaces for the presentation of public events. But aside from those premises, a part of the space was commonly used and it demanded common care. This led to creating a model of management of the common space which served as the impulse for further cooperation. Besides that, the very physical proximity, or neighbourhood, prompted the creation of mutual relations which do not occur when organizations are scattered around the city. The neighbourhood and the need for common management of the common spaces, therefore, were the first impulse for creating a kind of alliance or platform for common action. In other cases, the reasons for forming the association were equally pragmatic and related to strengthening visibility and capacity, even networking with organizations outside the cultural realm in order to commence and run advocacy campaigns for the use of abandoned and/or insufficiently used public resources for their activities.

At the same time, in the world of organizational practices and theories, this period is characterized by the strong emphasis on the transfer from stable institutional forms to fluid networks, structures, clusters and other formats of association (Castells, 1996). The origins of advocating network organization could be and still are found in different areas of human activity such as war, business, culture and art, while theories of social capital and democracy claim that deep social, economic and political problems of communities may be solved only through strengthening network structures (Putnam, 2002). In an organizational sense, we really live in the era of networks, which does not mark the end of state authorities and structures as such; but they demand their redefinition outlined in open processes, experimentation and acceptance of diversity as a rule (Rhodes, 2000). Networks were also recognized as a desirable format by Croatian foundations, the European Commission, and state and local bodies that financed programmes of the associations working in the spaces of the emerging socio-cultural centres. An omnipresent narrative on network organization as a desirable model of action, combined with the support for the creation of networks, is the second important element which encouraged the creation of alliances of associations.

The creation of network organizations was followed by a certain type of formalization of relationships through the organization of alliances. The Croatian legislature does not recognize networks, clusters and platforms as a separate organizational format. In the non-profit sector, they are treated as associations whose members are legal persons. Therefore, from the legal point of view, alliances of associations are associations like any other, the only difference being that their members are legal and not natural persons. The framework for governance and decision making in the alliance of associations is thus the same as in associations, and it is regulated by the Law on Associations. This law stipulates that the association is governed by its members on the basis of the decisions adopted by the majority of present members at the general assembly, which is the highest organizational body. The governance basis of the alliance is its membership and not its assets, or property that members invest in the alliance, as in the case of companies. This

fact influences the relationship of the members and the alliance, so that the members transfer to the alliance the functions and activities beyond the scope of their activities, while they continue to implement the activities and programmes that are crucial for their survival and that represent the primary interest and purpose for which they were created. In practice, it usually means that the alliance assumes the tasks of governance of the common space and development of activities which are not the basis of any member association. In the opposite case, the alliance itself would become a competitor to its members, which is not what any member organization wants. Thus, a system where the majority of programme activities are implemented by the associations is created, while the activities of common interest are implemented by the alliance. The alliances, in that sense, are limited in programme development, but that is why member organizations have no structural limitations. In this system, the alliance is as strong as its members. The key role of the alliance is, therefore, the regulation of member organizations' interests with regard to common resources.

The original situations in individual environments evolved in different directions, depending on the situation. The alliances implemented activities such as a festival representing the work of associations, dealt with social entrepreneurship development and started companies for that purpose, managed the programme of the common space, etc. Not in a single case did they stay at the level of technical maintenance of the space, but they have become instruments for further development of the spaces they emerged from or for which they were created. Besides, they have played another important role: they have empowered the position of their members and affirmed the idea of common action in their local contexts. From the practice of common work, they have developed the initiatives for establishing socio-cultural centres. The existing horizon of similar centres in Europe has certainly contributed to that idea, but the articulation of the basic structure and the content of work of each initiative is based primarily on local contexts relating to the spaces in which they emerged, needs and interests of the community from which they stemmed, and the forms of cultural and artistic expression present in that community.

Participatory governance models of socio-cultural centres are the interception or the point of convergence of three different interests and thus provide the answer to three different problems. Local administrations should have interests in making the neglected spaces functional in the way which will benefit citizens. The interest of alliances and associations is directed toward ensuring adequate spaces for use and stable conditions for realization of their programmes, while the interest of citizens should be to satisfy their cultural, artistic and social needs. The mentioned interests lead to the establishment of socio-cultural centres as new institutional types in Croatia which are based on co-management of the involved stakeholders. The interests are similar but are articulated by different actors. The actors differ with respect to their position in the social structure, hence with respect to the resources they have, the influence they exert, the possibilities to articulate and satisfy their needs, and in accordance with the type of social responsibility they have. As long as they behave in compliance with the constitution and legal framework, citizens are accountable primarily to themselves and the community they belong to, and alliances and associations are accountable also to those for whom their programmes are intended and to those who make it possible to create programmes. Local administrations have the highest degree of accountability because they are accountable to the citizens and other actors in the social structure. Their primary role is to ensure the good life of the citizens through various functions they perform, organize and regulate such as education, culture, communal services and urban planning. The responsibility for the functioning of socio-cultural centres cannot possibly be assumed entirely by the local administrations because that functioning depends on the degree to which different actors, primarily programme producers and users, are involved.

From the local administration perspective, this is a winning combination on another important level. This move solves the problem of one or more neglected spaces. So far, we have been aware of the fact, which is often emphasized when we talk about the manner in which civil society organizations manage neglected spaces, that civil

society organizations efficiently manage the spaces, finances and programmes. But there are a few facts which overshadow this dazzling quality. The spaces are not repaired; they just stopped being neglected. The finances managed by the civil society organizations are still very modest, and the programmes they organize sometimes lack artistic excellence, social reach and involvement in economic activity (or self-financing). Thus, on the one hand there is a positive tendency, and on the other problems which prevent full actualization of that tendency. Therefore, it is necessary to create a framework for functioning in order to give incentives to the realization of the full potential of the already existing tendency. In such a framework, opportunities could be created for development of new public cultural spaces, new institutions and programmes, social reach could increase and organizations could become involved in economic activity. In the opposite case, we choose the *status quo*, entrenchment of the positions and hope that some force majeure will cause the change. This method has been tried, and its results are resignation, emigration and despair.

In Croatia, there are different and often very complex programme situations which are difficult to profile due to the characteristics of the spaces where they occur and also to the divergence of the organizations inhabiting the spaces, that is, organizations involved in the alliances or other initiatives for socio-cultural centres. In such cases, the very function of maintaining the space becomes more complex than keeping the space safe, clean and adequate for programme implementation. Therefore, in all the analysed cases there are certain mechanisms for the management of those aspects. Thus, all examples show that there are efforts to ensure common care of the space, if it does not already exist. The ways in which the space is used are aligned with the objectives of their tenants and/or users, which means that they defined purposes for which the space is used by other subjects and, naturally, the control mechanisms to implement that decision.

The research shows that a kind of 'fixation' on certain spaces exists

in the examples such as practices of use which began by squatting (Rojc), advocacy campaigns for allocation of certain spaces (Youth Home), signing of long-term contracts for the use of a part of larger complexes (Lazareti) or by institutionalizing the activity (Pogon). However, in the case of Pogon, the spaces currently managed by Pogon, the first Croatian example of a hybrid institution founded by a network of civil society organizations and city administration, do not meet the spatial needs of their members. The organizations in Karlovac, Čakovec and Rijeka, in the history of their use and advocacy, have not been tied to only one space but, according to needs, possibilities and recognized opportunities, have changed where they situated the idea and/or the practice of participatory governance of socio-cultural centres. Each change of space was echoed in the internal management structure and the participatory governance model because each model is specific and consequently connected to the space itself and its configuration. In that sense, adaptability and openness to the rules of the game have proved to be very important because sometimes formal procedures did not completely match the everyday routine and the daily activities and/or changes on the ground. Besides, when talking about the spatial aspect, it is evident that there are problems with inadequacy and lack of safety of the space which is governed in a participatory way. On the one hand, the spaces have unsolved basic safety issues, such as securing passable exits, firefighting access and the like. Since the majority of organizations using the space produce and distribute various artistic content, in most cases the available spaces do not meet the professional and artistic standards of performances and exhibitions. At the same time, regardless of the fact that the role of the socio-cultural centre is seen through cultural and social activities, in many of them it is evident that the question of balance between artistic credo and the chosen socio-cultural mission is very sensitive.

Some socio-cultural centres have more services for use. Such a situation is present in the centres which do not have sufficient spatial resources to house all organizations, so the organizations share the spaces according to some established procedures. The examples of

this are Pogon, Croatian Home and Scheier building, while the Youth Home and Rojc, as well as Lazareti and Molekula to a certain extent, offer enough space for housing a larger number of organizations which are then not only the users of the space but can be treated as tenants of socio-cultural centres, since they have their offices in those spaces. The majority of the spaces, regardless of individual or common use, are multifunctional, not because of the spatial diversification and adaptability to different needs and technical resources but because of the flexibility of the organizations themselves and often because they ignore the existing professional and artistic standards. However, in all cases where a certain number of organizations 'occupy' usable spaces and do not practice common use of the space, that is to say, where spaces are not for services, there is a possibility that spaces will be exhausted and thus become closed to new users. Therefore, common governance proves to be a good solution for the management of common goods which are limited because common goods are depleted by consumption. That is why the questions of institutional rules and their application for collective action, as well as the management type, are very important for the use of common goods (Ostrom, 2006). Even though currently in Rojc, Youth Home, Lazareti and Molekula, the available premises are not completely used up, soon all the premises could be inhabited. Therefore, in order to secure the flow of organizations' users, the platforms devise clear procedures, criteria and rules of use which will ensure openness.

The relationships between the alliances and city authorities are different in all seven cases, from institutional solutions in the case of Pogon to the formalization of relationships via contract and the intent to institutionalize the practice in the case of Lazareti, through formal responsibility sharing in common management bodies in the case of Rojc, Croatian Home and object Scheier, and the contractual relationships in the case of the Youth Home. In any case, Pogon, with its institutionalized participatory governance and the model of public-civil partnership, or as it is also called 'public participatory governance' (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 14), represents the example that all want to follow in some way, not so much with respect to its structural sense

of organization and basic purpose of the space but with respect to the idea of institutionalization of collective action, which is seen as a guarantee of long-term sustainability and formal sharing of responsibility for governance between public and civil sectors. Thus, concrete examples indicate, as Fung and Wright (2003) consider, that empowered participatory governance can be a permanent and widely available solution, particularly because it relies on public-sector resources.

Among numerous obstacles that the socio-cultural centres face, a considerable one can seem completely trivial because it does not relate directly to programme content, spatial and technical conditions or governance. For the spaces that can be established as the points of encounter and exchange, the issue of bar and catering is very important and even crucial for keeping the audience and visitors, or for casual and spontaneous visits of new visitors who may indirectly become interested in the content produced in the socio-cultural centres. A special challenge for all spaces is the fact that they combine very different artistic and social activities governed by very different rules of functioning. The crucial challenge, articulated by some stakeholders in the participatory process, is connected to the fear that the institutionalization of participatory governance practices through establishing public-civil partnership eliminates the independent position of civil society organizations. This view utterly neglects the fact that all stakeholders in the participatory governance process maintain their autonomous positions, interests and needs and that decisions are made in the process of discussion and negotiation, all for the benefit of the governed common resources and not individual interests.

Even though the participatory governance model should ensure equal participation and equitable share of responsibilities of all involved, the research showed through interviews, observation and analysis of relations that all stakeholders are not equally interested in participation, nor are they familiar with the idea of participatory governance. They understand the concept itself as well as their role in the process in different ways. Despite the fact that it was civil society

organizations that initiated the idea of establishment of participatory governance of cultural resources, in all cases the basic lack of understanding of the terms and concepts on the part of the involved actors was noticed. The example of Rojc shows that some actors assumed the role of the *backseat driver,* the one who does not drive but profits from the ride and comments on all the driver's moves. It also appeared that potential conflicts between member organizations are caused by the fact that they are in a competitive and rival relationship with respect to resources (human, financial, spatial, technical, material and other). At the same time, the involved public-sector stakeholders show either distrust toward the civil sector or serious misunderstanding of the participatory governance concept. Furthermore, they see only problems, but they neither discern the solutions nor do they attempt to perceive them.

Croatian examples lean on the efforts of civil society and public administrations throughout the world which invest in ensuring better cooperation and create the basis for active citizen engagement. The improvement of dialogue and the level of cooperation on the part of various involved stakeholders result from the fact that, during the process of common decision making, sharing of responsibilities of governance and continuous contact, they learn from each other and raise mutual trust. In that manner, they create new interactions, new relations and new ways of engagement for all the involved parties, and their social network of contacts expands. For this reason, participatory governance has the potential to induce positive changes in its immediate and wider environment and to reshape the society by creating new values and distributing public resources in a much more appropriate way by providing wider access to different groups and individuals. The described examples show that participatory governance practice provides the involved stakeholders with transparent realization of their goals and the achievement of results as well as the improvement of democratic processes. Therefore, socio-cultural centres should not be temporary but permanent solutions. In that sense, it would be desirable to ensure conditions which will make it possible for them to be long-term and sustainable places of

encounter of different expressions and interests. However, it is important to be aware that participatory governance is not a model which should solve essential problems relating to cultural participation in the entire system, but it should be understood as a model which will improve the ways in which citizens can participate in decision making processes (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 14).

Up till now, the organizations active in the initiatives for socio-cultural centres and the initiatives themselves have realized thousands of programmes, as well as become connected to each other in Croatia and to similar centres in Europe. Their activity contributes to the employment of mostly young people, the start of new endeavours, cultural production, the development which is not harmful for nature and society, and the integration of various marginalized groups into the social mainstream. This is their contribution so far, and by institutionalization of such activity, there is an attempt to increase that contribution and make it permanently present. The institutionalization of the initiatives for socio-cultural centres thus creates a recognizable and visible knot of actors' programme activities that define the socio-cultural centre itself. That framework is defined by the space and its content. Institutionalization is necessary in order for the space of the socio-cultural centre to become the space not used but governed by them and in order to ensure the dynamics of programme content. Institutionalization increases governance capacities of both the local administration and alliances and associations which enter the process of the establishment of the institution and finally become its founders. Local administrations increase the scope of their care for citizen needs and participate in the creation of the response to the needs through mechanisms of governance of socio-cultural centres. Alliances and associations, on the other hand, get an opportunity to govern the space in which they implement their programme activities, including its design.

6. Final considerations

Despite all negative aspects of the demonstrated practices of participatory governance, the mentioned new formats of co-governance show that in Croatia civil society organizations are recognized as an important partner because in all analysed examples they have established intensive and dynamic interaction with local public authorities and have achieved concrete and measurable results. If we stay on the basic postulate of socio-cultural centres, which is that they are inherently multidisciplinary, i.e., that by their nature, scope and the way of implementation of activities, they are completely indeterminable, all certainty of the survival of such organizational formations, particularly in the light of the trends of instable and precarious labour in culture, rests on the idea of stability of the public-civil partnership as the foundation of the new direction in cultural development.

The conducted research shows that new socio-cultural centres are not the only issue which belongs in the register of cultural policy, but it transversally stretches through urban planning, minority issues, social equality, education, labour, etc. It lingers longest in the domain of urban and cultural planning, as urban planning defines the purpose of infrastructural objects which are then filled with public programmes, that is, cultural content and activities. Certainly what is missing in this chain, where it can be discussed to what degree spatial design and cultural development are not only participatory but also socially correct and stimulating, is the segment on the evaluation of cultural engagement of the space and the cultural and social communities which gravitate to that space. The development of socio-cultural centres, as now interpreted from the examples in Croatia, is based on socio-cultural practices which are on the ground and respond to immediate needs and influences of the micro-community within which they emerge.

The research shows that it is a complex but rich topic full of transformative potential which, therefore, brings certain optimism for the establishment of new institutions and innovations in cultural policy. The examples studied by the research indicate that there have been established new ways of interaction between local public authorities and civil society organizations. However, the research shows also that public authorities frequently take and apply participation in a ritualistic manner, and in doing that, they may be more manipulative than sincerely engaged in empowering those who should be participating in participatory governance processes. New forms of cultural institutions based on the participatory governance model face struggles for power (Katunarić, 2004), resulting from the lack of trust and respect between key stakeholders. The lack of mutual trust is the most evident on the level of the relationship between local public authorities and civil society actors, which is a serious obstacle for the attempts at responsibility sharing. Local administrations in general are not very inclined to open modalities of functioning and the establishment of partnerships which are not politically instructed. Also, there is a general confusion and discord, even a lack of awareness of what art and culture may be in the context of local cultural development, particularly in the sense of sustainable development. Said issues have greater significance in several locations where cultural resources are overexploited for tourist industry purposes and market speculations of real estate. A lot of effort has been invested in reaching city authorities in all seven cities and in gaining their interest in the project. Usually, they are not well informed on participatory governance, different models of public-civil partnership, the importance of sharing responsibility of usage, as well as on the management of spaces under their jurisdiction, and the role that active engagement of local community in management, programming and production of cultural and artistic content may have on cultural democracy, social inclusion and sustainable development of the city. City authorities almost identically perceive exclusively the problems surrounding the process of public-civil partnership instead of their solutions, often blaming strict legal rules. They describe their position as 'disabled to act', without understanding that it is they who can initiate some changes.

The conducted analysis and its findings and observations point to a great challenge, not only for future planning and shaping of cultural policy but also for reflecting on future directions of cultural policy research. The process of research presented here revealed numerous questions and problems in the area of connecting participatory governance practice to and the significance of local levels in decision making and in shaping and implementing cultural policy. In the process of conducting the research, the introduction of appropriate principles, rules and mechanisms of participation, representation and responsibility, i.e., what David Held called 'the appeal of democracy' (Held, 2006: 261), faced unshakable and omnipresent conviction about the power of political hierarchy. Besides the fact that decision makers and politics are conditioned by political agendas, the level of citizen self-confidence in responsibilities and opportunities, in the sense of their public power, can be assessed as crushing. This does not relate only to a legally defined, cultural policy mandate which creates permanent tensions between hierarchical and horizontal approaches in its structure but also to the lack of citizen power in the studied Croatian cities and local communities. The concept of participation is closely related to sustainable cities, culturally sustainable development of the places as creative, inclusive neighbourhoods (Hristova, Dragičević-Šešić and Duxbury, 2015: 3) which create their own developmental logic within the city itself, creating more diversified cultural offerings and services both for citizens and visitors which spread beyond the city limits. These emerging forms of governance, which outline new possibilities for the upcoming forms of power, suggest 'productive anticipation', which implies 'a state which is both reflective and participatory' (Rogoff and Schneider, 2008: 347). In the system which is still democratically immature, the advance of the culture, as emphasized by Rogoff and Schneider (2008), has to include imagined transformations and consideration of things before they actually exist in time.

7. Recommendations

Creating perspectives for the democratization of the cultural system and the establishment of new governance models based on the participatory principle calls for the reconfiguration of current procedures, models, settings, logical foundations and meanings of culture and cultural policy. This includes thinking about the connection between the meanings created in the cultural field and the accompanying system with the meanings generated in the state system in which the cultural system functions (Yanow, 1996). For that purpose, we should emphasize the words which constitute the (new) language of cultural policy and carry the possibility of inclusive meanings by means of which the meanings can be located not only in the text or author's and/or commissioner's intentions but also in the experience which the words carry over from living practice. It is necessary to break silence and prevalent understandings in public discourse of the cultural sector as 'budgetary pest', which, in order to avoid the uncomfortable processes of revealing the real situation, make difficult the way for reconstruction and new tendencies of cultural development.

→ Trust and understanding:

trust and understanding are essential foundations for the establishment and maintenance of democratic values of the society and social systems. Trust has a tangible role in all governance processes in as much as the lack of trust leads to inevitable collapse of the system and inefficiency. High levels of trust and understanding are connected to the high degree of collaborative practices and tolerant behaviour, while low levels of trust and understanding are connected to a permanent condition of counterproductive tension and resistance. In the area of formulation, implementation and

evaluation of cultural policies, trust is an omnipresent ingredient, particularly in the segment of (public) responsibility, capacity building and strategic thinking, along with the establishment of balance in asymmetric power relations, cooperation and professionalization (Cerna, 2014).

→ Support:

ensuring financial and expert support in the creation of participatory governance may be crucial for successful implementation of advanced governance models. Furthermore, it is necessary to provide the balance between induced and organic approaches, where the rules of the game will be open enough so they can be defined depending on each individual location and case, that is to say, the needs and interests of the stakeholders involved in governance. Besides, expert support may directly influence the sustainability of the participatory governance model.

→ Regulations:

designing governance of socio-cultural centres is not the task of administration or government bodies. It is something that emerges from practice itself and stems from previous decisions of the individuals or organizations involved in the initiatives for the establishment of the centres. However, the role of administration is to prevent tendencies that could monopolize socio-cultural centres for the needs of the few and to maintain and promote pluralism, participation and quality. Therefore, it is necessary to create rules and a legal framework, which will set the boundaries and promote desirable activity. The purpose of the rules is not to limit the activity but to guide it toward the desired goal. Rules need to be established collectively in collaboration between the administrations and civil society organizations that initiated the establishment of the socio-cultural centres.

→ Knowledge:

creating and sharing knowledge on participatory governance among all relevant stakeholders (policy and decision makers, public authorities on national, regional and local levels, civil society organizations, private sector, local community) will make it possible to keep the existing participatory institutions and practices and establish new ones.

→ Visibility:

all those directly or indirectly involved in participatory institutions must work on increasing the visibility of the importance of participatory practices for building democratic values and improving the quality of functioning of state, regional and local authorities, empowering civil society and contributing to building an inclusive society.

→ Research:

creating an analytical foundation for decision making, planning and operational functioning in culture is one of the key tasks of cultural policy. The continuation of research on participatory approaches to cultural development, therefore, is necessary so as to ensure better understanding of different variations and manifestations of the described processes and their possible reaches, influences and effects, either positive or negative, forms of decentralization and local cultural development.

→ Fluidity and change:

in the cultural policy context, one of the greatest challenges is to open the space for changing a policy and, at the same time, to secure the stability of the policy itself. We follow cultural policy development in Croatia as the path dependency approach, that is, as cultural policy

dependence on previous processes of decision and policy making, which makes the possibility of change more difficult. New tendencies and ideas are accepted slowly, while the majority of changes relate to the creation of large (institutional) frameworks in the attempt to satisfy as many political interests and public needs as possible. By creating new, more porous cultural policy frameworks and directions to encompass the existing tendencies and anticipate future ones, present features limited by the structures that were set up in earlier cultural pre-transitional and transitional policies can be overcome (Šinko, 2016). The fundamental change that has been awaited in the cultural policy of the Republic of Croatia refers to fluidity and opening of the processes of political decision making on cultural issues and problems to a wider circle of nongovernmental and informal actors.

8. General guidelines and key assumptions for establishing the model of participatory governance of cultural resources

The possibilities of shaping organizational structure for the model of participatory governance of cultural resources are vast. There is not a single blueprint or model or best practice which would be applicable to all situations. The choice and definition of the model depend on a series of elements: the size of the space which is governed, the number of organizations which inhabit and/or use the space, programme orientation, the interests and level of support provided by the public sector and local administration, the cultural diversity of the local community, the size of the city where the resource is located, mutual trust of all involved stakeholders, etc. It is necessary to realize that participatory governance models present a new set of tasks for all stakeholders, in which all or the majority need to participate. Considering the fact that these tasks are an addition to their earlier practices and customs, it can represent a kind of ballast. Therefore, it is far more useful to think about guides and guidelines that will comprise the following elements, based on which it will be possible to tailor the model to the local needs.

Allocation of responsibility:

an important aspect for defining the participatory governance model is the allocation of responsibility. Socio-cultural centres are simultaneously a very complex system and a flexible organization. In both cases, responsibility is easily lost. It is necessary to make sure that decision making authority is always linked to the responsibility for the taken decisions. Participatory governance demonstrates the problem where the responsibility is distributed to infinitesimal units until it is completely gone. In order to avoid this situation, it is necessary to build in the very structure precisely defined authorizations and responsibilities of each body. If not, a series of bad decisions will follow, and the motivation for participation in governance will die out.

Interest:

there is not a general interest of people in engaging in the management of the affairs that concern them. Their engagement in such affairs depends on their motivation, calculation between individual cost (expressed in time, social relations, material gains, etc.) and individual share in the achieved common good gained through such engagement. That is why alliances of associations and associations are certainly more motivated to engage in governance processes than programme users or consumers. Their interest in participation in governance are completely different. Having this in mind, it is necessary to organize a different type of forum for users which will influence the orientation of activity but will not demand great engagement. On the other hand, civil society organizations, cultural actors and public-sector representatives will be more willing to engage, and their engagement should be used in accordance with that. In any case, the level of motivation of all involved can be a critical element in the model design because every positive effect may influence the number of those who want to join, and vice versa; negative experience may be

an incentive to exclude oneself from the process. Naturally, interests are discussed and negotiated, and one should be ready to participate in these processes.

Conflicts:

considering the fact that participatory governance practices gather different stakeholders with different interests, it is necessary to design mechanisms for recognizing and overcoming conflicts which can arise during common governance and decision making, because consensus is not always a possible option.

Control mechanisms and sanctions:

diversity and number of different purposes, usages and users require designing very clear and transparent control mechanisms for the use of spatial resources and monitoring of all commonly defined rules of the game, as well as a set of sanctions which can follow should disrespect and breaking of commonly adopted rules occur.

Network structure:

when designing management structure, attention should be paid to the development of new programmes and talents in the organization itself. In other words, the tendency toward petrification of programmes and organizational structure should be avoided. One of the fundamental questions of every organization is how to make organizational design sufficiently flexible to respond to the needs of its environment. A possible answer is network structure, which provides autonomy of network members when choosing preferences of their own activities. In this way, a higher degree of adaptation to the

environment of the entire network is achieved. Hence, it is extremely important that socio-cultural centres remain network organizations, so that they do not turn into huge institutions, since this is the only way in which they will manage to keep a dynamic relationship to the environment. This typically means that socio-cultural centres have to find mechanisms for maintaining penetration, inclusion and exclusion of actors who produce the programme of the socio-cultural centre.

→ Failure is a part of the process:

the complexity of participatory governance model assumes potential failures in the implementation processes, and they should be taken as the basis for learning and improving the system in order to achieve more successful implementation in the future (Wampler and McNulty, 2011: 35).

→ Expectations:

it is necessary to anticipate the need of governance in line with the expectations of all involved stakeholders and to set realistic expectations (Wampler and McNulty, 2011.).

→ Creating bodies:

participatory governance represents a type of governance which allows direct engagement in the decision making process of the actors to which decisions apply. Since socio-cultural centres have three types of actors — public sector, civil society organizations as well as cultural and social actors and the local community — it is necessary to find the model of their engagement in the governance mechanisms by creating various bodies in line with legal possibilities

and, naturally, by finding solutions which will satisfy the interests of all involved. The governance body adopts activity guidelines and elects operational bodies. The composition of the governance body should reflect the balance of the already mentioned three types of interests. The motivation of the local community to participate in governance structures should be taken into account. Therefore, the possibility of their participation should be open so that they can be organized in the user councils or similar bodies which can nominate their representatives to the governing bodies. If this interest is absent, other ways for their participation should be found, which can be achieved through forums where they can express their interests and influence programming and other decisions. Participatory governance also assumes a certain ratio of those involved on the professional level and those who volunteer, which are the aspects that should be considered when planning and setting expectations of all included.

→ Openness:

only the principle of openness can allow for exclusion of the old and inclusion of the new stakeholders in the process.

→ Political support:

participatory governance assumes a connection to the political structure because they make decisions on the level of local governments. Therefore, the political leaders who want to take advantage of the entire process and dominate it in order to utilize it for political points in political matches can be detrimental, just like those who, due to fear of losing control over the decision making process, will not want to subscribe to building the models which will be open for different stakeholders outside the public sector to commonly decide and create the future of an individual resource. In that case, excuses may be very different, from logistical complexity to insufficient human,

technical, financial and other resources and capacities, corruption, cronyism, assumed role of public authorities which should not have direct connection with governance and the like. It is necessary to foresee possible solutions for all mentioned possibilities in order to ensure political support.

→ Commitment:

among key assumptions for a successful implementation of participatory practices is the commitment of all those who are involved, either as professionals or volunteers.

→ Procedures:

considering different programme contents and fields of activity of the actors which inhabit and use the spatial resource, it is necessary to create procedures for space usage, keeping programme profiles and space maintenance.

→ Process:

orientation toward the process and its successfulness in the participatory governance model are more important than the results because it is through the process that interactions and relationships between stakeholders are established, and they can learn from each other and build mutual trust through participation.

→ Resources:

human, technical, material, financial and all other resources are crucial for the establishment and efficient coordination and administration in participatory governance processes.

→ Participation of stakeholders:

the participatory governance model assumes the participation of all interested stakeholders in compliance with the set rules of the game. Any limitation of participation, that is, the domination of a certain number of groups or individuals who dictate and direct current and future actions, can have far reaching consequences for successful implementation of the model. Participation itself empowers all those involved in the processes.

→ Common language:

having in mind that 'participation, like democracy', as stated by Brian Batson, 'has meant many things to many people', it is of crucial importance that 'all those involved have a common understanding and share a common language' (Batson, 1994: 1). In order to establish a common understanding that will lead to successful practice of participatory governance, it is necessary to create conditions for facilitated dialogue, define tools and techniques for overcoming obstacles and identify solutions.

1. Lazareti Socio-Cultural Centre in Dubrovnik — Ana Žuvela

Lazareti is idiosyncratic in many respects; specifically, the context of the city in which Lazareti is situated and the fact that Lazareti has a long-standing tradition as a space of socio-cultural activity. Accordingly, the first part of this case study gives an overview of Lazareti's context. The second part provides a more in-depth analysis of the existing model and emerging tendencies in the development of the Lazareti socio-cultural centre.

i. Contextual setting of Lazareti Socio-Cultural Centre

The context of Dubrovnik may be self-explanatory, because it signifies a globally recognisable picture-postcard image of a historic city which attracts millions of tourists annually. It is one of the few global cities with UNESCO's universal value status of tangible and intangible cultural heritage[001]. Commercial exploitation of a rich pool of cultural heritage resources for tourism has been the foundation of local economic progress; today, Dubrovnik is the second most developed city in Croatia, right after the capital city Zagreb, with the average personal

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001   The historical core of the city was included on the UNESCO World Heritage
      List in 1979, while the Festivity of St. Blaise was included on the UNESCO
      Representative List of World Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2009.

income being even higher than that in Zagreb[002]. Development based on heritage resources and narratives is substantiated with the highest national index in cultural tourism (more than 30 % of tourists visit Dubrovnik for cultural purposes), as well as with the highest cultural investment per capita[003]. Consequently, the meaning of 'culture' in Dubrovnik is articulated as a synonym of 'heritage' and heritage is understood as an identity marker and an asset for economic gain. This creates a steep dichotomy that defines Dubrovnik in the context of abundance of resources, and the scarcity of new and contemporary strata of local identity and resources, as observed in the text written about Dubrovnik's candidacy for European Capital of Culture 2020: 'Dubrovnik is a city that is endowed with high cultural visibility and substantial resources for culture. Simultaneously, it is marked by substantial deficits in artistic creation, along with the deficits in dynamics of cultural production, cultural exchange and wider cultural cooperation. Local cultural resources are not managed in a sustainable way, while the dominant models of cultural consumption based on commercial exploitation of cultural goods diminish the access and right to culture' (Dubrovnik, 2020, 2016: 5).

As such, Dubrovnik is a very challenging setting for innovative cultural policy models and new institutional frameworks in participatory governance in culture. Here, we shall underline some of the key factors which are determinants of the context in which cultural planning should enable perspectives for the development of more democratic and participatory governance methods and approaches.

These key factors include:

→ *Geographical positioning as a marker of insular mentality* The city is situated at the far south-east corner of Croatia, completely isolated from the rest of the country by the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the west and north, Montenegro to the south-east and the sea border with Italy. This is the only sovereign European Union (EU) soil that is cut-off from the rest of the EU territory[004] (Dubrovnik 2020, 2016).

→ *Declining numbers of citizens and the issue of citizenship:* According to the National Population Census from 2011, the City of Dubrovnik has 42.615 inhabitants, which indicates a decline of 2.58 % when compared with the census from 2001 when the number of inhabitants was 43.770. The decline in the number of citizens is juxtaposed with the influx of seasonal workers. According to the report from Dubrovnik's branch of Croatian Employment Service, the number of seasonal workers has continuously increased since 2007 and reached its highest peak in 2013 with 3.700 seasonal workers. The numbers for more recent years are not attainable, but it can be speculated that they have continued to rise. Vigilant observation of the fluctuations in the city's population are crucial for an understanding and analyses of notions of community, citizenship and urbanity; i.e., the sense of cultural capital (in the wider framework of social capital) needed as a fundamental resource and strata for creation of socio-cultural centres based on participatory governance.

→ *Transformation from city to destination:* The most profound change that Dubrovnik has experienced in the past decades is a definite shift from urbanity and 'city-ness' towards tourist resort or destination. This is corroborated by the huge disproportion between the number of citizens versus the number of tourists, which now stands at

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002 Data has been taken from www.gradonacelnik.hr/od-10-najrazvijenijih
-hrvatskih-gradova-cak-7-morskih (04/03/2018)

003 Dubrovnik's cultural investment per capita is by far the largest in Croatia and amounts to 1.730 HRK (233 Euro), while national expenditure on culture is 535 HRK (72 Euro) per capita. While allocations for culture from the city budgets in other Croatian cities average 6.18% and the level of the state allocation is approximately 0.71%, Dubrovnik sets aside more than 15% of its overall budget for culture. The information on ratios and levels of public cultural investment were obtained from the City of Dubrovnik's Department of Culture and Heritage.

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004 The city is not connected by motorway and is intensively covered by air-traffic only in the months of the tourist season, which adds to the logistic and financial demands on cultural and artists' mobility and cooperation.

42.615 citizens to 1.036.402 annual tourists[005]. For illustration, the density of tourists in Dubrovnik, in relation to the size of the city and the number of local citizens, is significantly higher than in Venice and Barcelona[006].

→ *Misbalanced concentration of city's reconfiguration with cultural content and activity:* Most cultural institutions have their premises in the Old City, which only nominally withholds the status of the city centre. It has been speculated that there are no more than 800 inhabitants in comparison with 2.000 inhabitants in the 2000s. The issue of concentration of cultural infrastructure and offering in the rapidly depopulated and increasingly commodified historical core of the city is one of the main points made by the city's cultural administration and by most of the interviewees in this case study. It is considered that the future development of much-needed inventive artistic and cultural work should happen in the areas outside of heritage and tourist-centred zones. Questions were raised about the purpose of public cultural institutions that are increasingly oriented towards the tourist market in the central part of the city. It has been noted that declining numbers of local citizens participate in cultural activities;

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005 The stated information refers to the number of tourists in 2017. The data has been taken from https://dubrovacki.slobodnadalmacija.hr/vijesti/turizam-i-gospodarstvo/clanak/id/461218/dubrovnik-lani-posjetilo-vise-od-milijun-turista-a-broj-nocenja-se-popeo-na-37-milijuna (07/02/2018).

006 According to the research findings provided by the civil society organisation Placa, a collective for spatial research, impact on the historical city centre due to the annual number of tourists is more dense in Dubrovnik than in Venice or Barcelona. To explain, Venice has 22 million annual visitors on 11 km² of historic city, which results in an impact of 2 million visitors per km². Barcelona has 7.8 million annual visitors on 4.37 km² of historic city, resulting in density of 1.8 million of tourist per km². Dubrovnik has 2.1 million annual visitors on 0.18 km² of historic city which results in a staggering impact of 11.6 million visitors per km². The data refers to tourist numbers from 2016 and include the number of visitors from cruise tours from the Dubrovačko-neretvanska county area, considering the fact that the data for Venice and Barcelona refers not only to the narrow city areas, but to the metropolitan areas.

they perceive the city centre as an overcrowded and overpriced tourist zone. In addition, the commodification of the historic core is endangering traditional and ambient cultural activities (i.e., the Dubrovnik Summer Festival programmes) and the use of open public space that is no longer open and accessible for culture.

→ *Local cultural policy:* Dubrovnik has developed *The Strategy of Local Cultural Development of the City of Dubrovnik 2015 – 2025*. In line with the mentioned dichotomous nature of the local articulations and values of culture, the strategic document on local cultural development underlines the need for sustainable models of cultural governance and management, especially with regard to heritage, as well as preservation of space and development of new (or re-activation of old) cultural infrastructure. The 'hardware' aspects of cultural development (i.e., that of cultural infrastructure) serve as a grounds for attaining the central goals of addressing the 'software' deficits through developing cultural creativity and cooperation, with emphasis given to encouragement of public participation in the development of culture (Obuljen Koržinek, Žuvela, Jelinčić and Polić, 2014).

→ *Local cultural sector:* Local cultural infrastructure consists of twelve public cultural institutions established by the City of Dubrovnik with over 300 permanent employees; six public cultural institutions founded by the state and the county; over one hundred cultural civil associations, encompassing regional and local branches of the national professional associations; branches of national institutions; and networks and international associations. There are no cultural centres in Dubrovnik or any type of diffuse forms of cultural activities gathered in a single physical organisational entity. This lack of cultural infrastructure in the form of a cultural centre is addressed in the strategic document for cultural development. With regard to creative industries, Dubrovnik is quite impoverished and dependent mostly on the creative industry sector that functions as a support service to the tourist industry, especially in the sense of design and architecture. The situation changes for the better in the domain of IT and computer programming. From the local educational sector, we must mention Luka

Sorkočević School of Arts, the Inter-University Centre (IUC) and the International Centre of Croatian Universities as important stakeholders of cultural life. In addition, religious organisations actively participate in cultural life and in the promotion of inter-religious tolerance and intercultural dialogue.

→ *Financial resources for culture:* In absolute terms, the planned budget for culture in the City of Dubrovnik for the year 2018 is 135.8 million kuna (€18.3 million). Out of this amount, the income from cultural resources is 108.5 million kuna (€14.4 million)[007]. More than three-quarters of the annual budget of the City's Department of Culture and Heritage goes to funding 12 cultural institutions founded by the City, including their capital expenditures. Capital investments from other departments of the city administration are related to reconstruction and purchase of valuable historical buildings and the maintenance of monuments. The purchasing and renovation of the infrastructure for culture is not substantiated by analytical assessment and does not have proper planning directives. This causes vulnerability in cultural planning cycles and often leaves decision making to ad-hoc political interventions and one-off solutions that seldom become permanent, but are inadequate models for cultural governance[008].

→ *Local structures for governance and managing culture*: The City of Dubrovnik's administration has a Department of Culture and Heritage, which is the main administrative unit for governing the local cultural sector. The local trends in cultural governance have considerable

issues around and resilience towards participative, depoliticised and decentralised modes of governance. To illustrate, Dubrovnik was one of the last cities in Croatia to introduce Cultural Councils in decision making procedures in 2009 and has repeatedly obscured the full legal potential of Cultural Councils' contribution to more participatory decision making. Specifically, since 2013, Dubrovnik has had a single Cultural Council. The decision to re-introduce five Cultural Councils was made in January 2018, but with three members per council only. This scarcely widens the scope of inclusion and participation of the cultural scene in the decision-making processes, and it limits the number of individuals that can be involved in the policy decision-making processes. Overall, the local governance system 'often surcomes to excessive politisation that is helped i.e. made possible by the law-given authorities of the City Council and the Mayor' (Obuljen Koržinek, Žuvela, Jelinčić and Polić, 2014) and is highly politicised and characterised by cronyism that is adverse for the introduction and implementation of open, inclusive, equitable and sustainable modes of governance.

The context of Dubrovnik poses a great challenge for non-institutional, non-traditionalist cultural expressions, as well as for the development of new institutional and organisational models that will critically address and work with the (regressive) socio-cultural environment. Context as a place of departure for such an engagement in arts and culture is perseveringly present in the work of the arts-led initiative run by the heritage complex of Lazareti; from heritage space it created the permanent place of cultural action in Dubrovnik.

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007 The stated data includes income from the tickets to the city walls (62 million kuna/€8.4 million); income from Dubrovnik Card (12.5 million kuna/€1.7 million); income from tickets to Dubrovnik museums (10 million kuna/€1.3 million); and income from EU funding for Lazareti project (24 million kuna/€3.2 million).

008 One of the best examples is the use of the Revelin Fort that was first envisaged as a multifunctional cultural centre with its primary purpose focused on multimedia cultural information services, an archaeological museum, (...)

(...) as well as a performing arts and folklore venue; the Dubrovnik Museums, folklore ensemble Linđo and the Dubrovnik Summer Festival were to be its primary users. The erratic and unsystematic governance and management of the fort by the City led to the fort being rented to local entrepreneurs who then converted this heritage monument into a nightclub entitled Culture Club Revelin. Today, a heritage fort renovated with public funds from the Ministry of Culture and the City of Dubrovnik is a privately-run nightclub, which is the main use of this heritage site.

ii. Lazareti: From artistic-led cultural space to socio-cultural centre

The Lazareti[009] Complex consists of ten interconnected buildings with five inner courtyards that trace their origin to the 17th century. This heritage complex is situated right at the east gate entrance to the Old City and is one of the few historical quarantine sites in Europe and the Mediterranean that has remained intact in its original shape. Its original function was a health institution, where all people and goods coming to Dubrovnik had to spend 40 days (lat. *quaranta, forty*) in order to prevent the possible spread of diseases (Žuvela, Jelinčić, Tišma and Šulić, 2015). Throughout the centuries, public authorities (which changed their structures and configurations according to the socio-political transformations) provided support for the functioning of Lazareti, and this has been sustained until today. The City of Dubrovnik is the owner of the space and hence holds ownership rights, responsibilities and duties in maintaining the space, investing in its upkeep, utilities, etc., as well as in making decisions about leasing and renting the space to temporary or more permanent users.

The genesis of Lazareti as a space for arts and culture

The Lazareti space has had numerous functions and purposes — from storage to a slaughter house, from military barracks to farmers' markets and bars, etc. At one point, during the 1960s, there was a plan to build a hotel complex in Lazareti with a winter wellness centre (Žuvela, Jelinčić, Tišma and Šulić, 2015). This plan was dismissed and since the last decades of the 20th century, the key concept of free, open space for artistic expression and cultural activity with a critical, inspirational and discursive edge has remained consistent as an overall ethos, necessity and ideal approach for use of Lazareti. The space has the memories and heritage of a youth centre in the times of socialism.

However, a period before and during the 1990s was of defining importance for the development of Lazareti. The year 1988 marked the beginning of the Art Workshop Lazareti (AWL)[010]. AWL is one of the most famous organisations in the field of contemporary arts and culture on the local, national and international level. Since the 1980s up until today, AWL opens up the space and works intensively on the presentation and development of contemporary artistic practices. It operates inside Lazareti and with numerous partner organisations it co-creates the only cultural-artistic centre in Dubrovnik with a year-round programme that includes contemporary arts exhibitions, performing arts, artistic residencies, talks, open discussions, workshops etc. AWL was founded upon the return of a number of young artists and thinkers to Dubrovnik after completing their studies in other cities and countries. Fully aware that the era of socialism was coming to an end and in light of the chronic lack of radical and contemporary arts, they embarked on creating a space of artistic action and socio-cultural agency. Separation with the conventional norms of the socialist regime and the turbulent period of the 1990s marked by nationalist ideology, cultural homogeneity and antagonism towards difference and otherness, set the new era for the development of Dubrovnik's contemporary scene around the nucleus of AWL (Asturić, 2017, V). Occupation of the space in the 1990s was less concerned with the physical dimensions and more with addressing the 'urgency for difference'[011], different modes of cultural existence seeking alternative activation of the space that could enable this 'difference' to be realised and anticipated anew.

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009 Included on UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1979, along with the Old City of Dubrovnik and Fort Lovrijenac.

010 You can find more information on AWL and its activities at http://www.arl.hr/hr#naslovnica (24/12/2017).

011 'Urgency for difference' were words used by renowned Macedonian theatre director Slobodan Unkovski in conversation with the author of this case study when he was explaining why he, along with his colleague, initiated the struggle to discover, activate and maintain a space for 'different theatre' in 1990s Skopje. For the author of this case study, 'urgency for difference' is relevant to and resonates with the context of the entire Southeastern 1990s and post-1990s experience, especially in the cultural field.

The narrative of the very beginnings of AWL reveals the conceptual rationale behind Lazareti as an arts-led space with public purpose — a place in which non-homogenised artistic expression and cultural activity has the freedom to happen and develop. Over time, the so-called *Dubrovnik Scene* of contemporary conceptual artists formed around AWL and Lazareti (Asturić, 2017). Renowned Dubrovnik-born conceptual artist and one of the key figures in the founding of Art Workshop Lazareti, Slaven Tolj recalls that the intention behind Lazareti was to form a recognisable, visible and accepted point of contemporary arts that was subversively juxtaposed towards social and institutional frameworks (Tolj, 2005). Great accentuation was given to the parallel processes of artistic work and theoretical thought that served as a critical and reflexive backbone to defining and (re)thinking the position of AWL and Lazareti in local, national and international contexts. Towards the end of the 1990s, the work of the AWL was recognised by the administration led by the Croatian Peasants Party who approached Tolj with the suggestion of institutionalising the work of AWL and solving the puzzle about the use of the entire Lazarti complex. AWL declined the offer regarding institutionalisation, but they proposed a project that would use the entire complex of Lazareti, which was accepted. Based on this, in 2000 AWL signed a contract with the City for use of three buildings and two terraces for a period of 25 years. Up until the 2014 restoration[012] of the 7 remaining bays out of 10 existing in the complex, the remainder of the space in Lazareti was used as storage for a number of cultural institutions and as an ad-hoc community space.

What followed during the 2000s and up until now was a permanent dispute with the local administration (regardless of political changes). The dispute has been fuelled by the rapid increase in economic value

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012   From 2012 to 2015, 7 out of the 10 buildings were completely reconstructed and renovated as multifunctional spaces and designated for cultural purposes and activities, which have yet to be defined. A total of €4.5 million Euro was invested by the City of Dubrovnik in the restoration and reconstruction works.

of the Lazareti space, but also by a deep misunderstanding of the value of cultural activities that have been created in Lazareti during the past three decades. The artistic backbone as a driving and affirming aspect of Lazareti is still present, yet the backlash from mainstream traditionalist and conservative notions and interpretations of what culture in Dubrovnik is and should be perpetuates the crisis; as a result, Lazareti cannot reach the level of affirmation and full potential of an arts-led space with a strong community orientation. This became obvious in the interviews with the representatives of the city administration who use somewhat pejorative intonations when reflecting on the cultural activity in Lazareti. In parallel, the organisations that work in Lazareti note that representatives or members of the city administration seldom attend the artistic and cultural programmes which AWL produces. The gap between the different perceptions creates space for prejudice which is one of the main obstacles in establishing needed partnerships, mutual understanding and trust as the foundations of participatory governance design that should be implemented in the case of Lazareti. This claim comes both as a result of the efforts invested so far by the tenant organisation, as well as the straightforward progression of the cultural policy movements in Dubrovnik that indicate participatory governance as the only plausible model that can be used to comprehensively conceptualise and activate the potentials of the Lazareti complex.

The re-conceptualisation of Lazareti from an arts-led space towards a socio-cultural centre is (partly) due to a growing number of civil-society organisations (CSO) that 'inhabit' the space of Lazareti through collaboration with AWL. This has been provoked by shrinking opportunities for physical localisation of CSOs' activities in Dubrovnik. The inhabitation of Lazareti by CSOs has led to diversification of programmes in the originally arts-centric place. The programmes run by the organisations and institutions that reside in Lazareti are frequented by over 24.000 visitors and programme participants on an annual basis, which is more than half of Dubrovnik's entire population. The community component of Lazareti derives from the space being positioned between two local high schools that have enrolled over 1.400

young people from the ages of 10 to 18. Creating relationships with this population is one of the main challenges and tasks for the current occupants of the space.

The gradual transformation from an arts-led to socio-cultural centre in Lazareti is foremost a bottom-up response to the profound distortion in the local context, which is inseparable from the changes on the global and national scales. Therefore, alterations to Lazareti's concept have been compliant with enticing more democratic and open institutional decision making formats in culture on national and international levels. Yet, even in this respect, the aspect of differentiation should not be omitted. In other words, the arts-led character of Lazareti as the only space in the city of Dubrovnik that still signifies a free and open zone that is open to anticipating new configurations and directions about what arts and culture could become, should not be diluted in the attempt to comply with the socio-cultural centre typology. However, the strong social dimension in the cultural and artistic programme of Lazareti is already evident[013]. These encompass socially responsive programmes in Deša (predominantly engaging vulnerable social groups), contemporary arts programmes in AWL, amateur folk dancing in Linđo, amateur theatre in Lero, dancing classes for children, numerous workshops for the community, etc. All of these activities are entirely unique insofar as AWL is the only organisation in Dubrovnik that produces, co-produces and hosts local, national and international contemporary arts programmes, while Linđo is the only cultural institution that has a programme entirely reliant on the work of amateurs and that mobilises hundreds of young people from Dubrovnik and its vicinity. Hence, although the primary vision and orientation of Lazareti is in the direction of contemporary arts and crit-

ical socio-cultural practices, there is evident potential for Lazareti to be dedicated in part to more wide-spread socio-cultural actions.

This division between artistic credo and socio-cultural mandate is a sensitive and complex issue, accommodated at present in succinct initiatives with clear orientation. In light of the constant disputes with the local authorities and the efforts that the initiatives should be moved from the uncertain marginal edges towards more stable functioning conditions, there is a noticeable decline in the intensity of enthusiasm for artistic rebellion and drive for pushing the social, political and cultural boundaries (Asturić, 2017). For this reason, the policy deliberation on new modes of participatory designs, new organisational and institutional models, and new configurations of partnership should endeavour not to additionally endanger what is already chronically endangered.

The space and its people: present status
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A section consisting of 5 out of the 10 bays at the complex in Lazareti is occupied (AWL, NGO Deša, Lero Theatre, Linđo Folk Arts Ensemble) while the remaining five bays are still open for new socio-cultural purposes. Contracts for the use of space have been given to AWL for the period 2000 – 2025, which was the first example of such a long-term contract made between the local authorities and civil society organisations in Croatia. A second contract with the duration of five years has been made between the City and folklore ensemble Linđo[014], a local public institution in culture (Žuvela, Jelinčić, Tišma and Šulić, 2015). The AWL included two additional CSOs in their contract as users of part of the space: student theatre LERO[015] and charity

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013   The long-standing commitment by AWL towards socio-cultural work in La-zareti and its contribution to the framework of local and national so-cio-cultural development was recognised with the Award for Social Integration by Erste Foundation in 2009. More information can be found at the kulturpunkt.hr site, at the following address: www.kulturpunkt.hr/content/dubrovčani-su-marginalizirani-građani (07/03/2018).

014   More information on Linđo and their activities is available at their website http://www.lindjo.hr/ (24/12/2017).
015   More information on LERO student theatre and their activities is available on their Facebook page at https://www.facebook.com/LERO-Theatre -169495556540/ (24/12/2017).

organisation DEŠA[016]. In addition to permanent users, the space is shared with a number of local non-governmental organisations, programmatically ranging from audio-visual amateur activities to ballet classes for children and citizen initiatives[017]. Both permanent and temporary users have formed Platform for Lazareti as an organisational supra-arrangement for deliberation, negotiation, collaboration and decision making on the activities that are being carried out in the space at Lazareti[018]. Platform for Lazareti is expected to formalise its status for the purposes of negotiations with the city administration and define the role of its members in the future participatory set-up of governance in Lazareti socio-cultural centre.

Governing schemes
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The founding of the socio-cultural centre in Lazareti is embedded in *The Strategic Plan of the Development of City of Dubrovnik 2015 – 2025* and associated *Action Plan* (Obuljen Koržinek, Žuvela, Jelinčić and Polić, 2014: 67). Accordingly, in November 2016, the City Council adopted the *Management Plan for the Heritage Complex of Lazareti* (Žuvela, Jelinčić, Tišma and Šulić, 2015). The main aim of this *Plan* was to secure more coherent, informed and open processes for planning for the cultural amenities and development in the micro-location of Lazareti. The process of consultation while devising the *Management Plan* indicated that there was an evident danger for Lazareti to become disowned from the community and used for the purposes of 'entrepreneurial' endeavour which would irreversibly transform and take over the sense, image and purpose of the space. The *Plan* was created

in participation with the key stakeholders (the 'tenants' of the Lazareti space, the City of Dubrovnik, the representatives of the cultural sector of the city of Dubrovnik, etc.) and according to the UNESCO's methodology for heritage management plans. However, along with a focus on the heritage aspect and value of the space of Lazareti, the *Management Plan* lays out some comprehensive guidelines for the establishment of a socio-cultural centre based on the principles of participatory governance. Participatory governance is introduced at the level of management of the heritage site, as well as at the level of the socio-cultural centre. Governance is determined through collaborative decision making between the existing occupants of the space and representatives of the City administration.

In alignment with the national framework and legislative possibilities, the *Plan* proposed three models for the organisational format of a socio-cultural centre: the public institution in culture, the public foundation and the public company (LLC). All three options allow for the adoption of the participatory principle in the governance structure of institution, foundation or company. Upon adoption of the *Plan*, the city council gave a period of three months for the city administration and users of the space to deliberate and choose between the options. An advisory body consisting of representatives from the city and representatives from the organisations and institution operating within Lazareti took on the responsibility to decide on the model that would be most appropriate. In a process of dissonant yet participatory decision making, the advisory body engaged many experts and had consultations with the Kultura Nova Foundation team and national and international research associates. The consensual decision was to establish a socio-cultural centre in Lazareti as an institution, but the decision was brought before new administration and a new mayor who opted for the model of a public company. In the city council meeting in August 2017, the public city company Dubrovnik Heritage LLC was entrusted with the governance and management of the Lazareti complex in accordance with the previously adopted *Management Plan* for the period until the end of 2019. This period encompasses the implementation of the EU-funded

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016   More information on DEŠA and their activities is available online at http://desa-dubrovnik.hr/o-nama/?lang=en (24/12/2017).

017   The Lazareti space served as a platform for the evolvement of a citizen initiative SRĐ JE NAŠ (Srđ is Ours) that yielded the first ever referendum in Croatia on the basis of citizens' demand.

018   Information obtained from interviews with the representatives of the tenant organisations in Lazareti, as well as from non-formal participation and observation at consultations and meetings of Platform for Lazareti.

project entitled 'Lazareti — Creative Quarter' that received €3.2 million from the operational programme *Competitiveness and Cohesion 2014–2020*. This project is led by the Institute for the Restoration of Dubrovnik with organisations that use the space in Lazareti as project partners[019].

The governance scheme of Lazareti is currently being decided upon within the framework of the decision for Dubrovnik Heritage LLC to take over the city's authority in managing the space. Dubrovnik Heritage LLC has already appointed a director who agrees with the inclusion of the participative principles in the governing structure of Dubrovnik Heritage LLC. According to the legislative possibilities, this can be achieved by appointing representatives of the occupants of the space onto the supervisory board of Dubrovnik Heritage LLC, as well as in the establishment of a joint programme board for Lazareti. In his interview, the Director of Heritage showed interest in complying with the *Management Plan of Lazareti* and with the participative design, but only in accordance with the legislative framework. The matter of an inadequate legislative framework for the introduction and application of participatory governance design is a matter for discussion with the Head of the Culture and Heritage Department. The Head noted that our legislative system is not 'mature enough' to sustain that level of democratic power-sharing. This was corroborated in interviews with the city officials that showed that the participatory design and principles as a method of governance are still somewhat confused with collaboration or cooperation. In addition, the levels of mutual trust, understanding and antagonism between the city administration and the organisations from Lazareti are in a state of flux (more often on the negative side of the pendulum), which is potentially detrimental for the future development of the socio-cultural centre, as are the intermittent breaks in and lack of communication.

iii. Development perspectives as concluding reflections

At the writing of this case study, the situation at Lazareti has not been definitively resolved. Currently, according to the implementation timetable of the EU project for Lazareti, preparations are underway for the renovation of the last three spaces. This implies that the permanent occupants will have to move temporarily to the newly renovated part of Lazareti for the period of the next 18 months, after which they will return to their space. It is planned that the coming 18 months will be used to configure the participatory framework of the legal entity that will result in the founding and operating format of the socio-cultural centre in Lazareti. What is expected, planned and prescribed is that the entire governance structure will be equally divided between the representatives of the organisations occupying Lazareti and the city administration.

In the meantime, Platform for Lazareti has applied to the European Social Fund *Culture in the Centre* programme in partnership with the public cultural institution Dubrovnik Summer Festival and with the remote partnership of the City of Dubrovnik. It is required that applicants explain the development of participatory designs and public-civil partnership[020], as well as the capacity building of the relevant stakeholders and partners. In the case of Dubrovnik, this is an urgent necessity. Local authorities, much like the local cultural sector, are generally aware, but still lack informed proficiency in participatory governance, different models of public-civil partnership, and the importance of sharing responsibility in usage as well as governance of spaces which are under their jurisdiction but they still lack the needed knowledge and skills. The city authorities almost systematically perceive problems around the processes of public-civil partnership rather than solutions, often blaming the strict legislative rules

019 More information on the project is available online at http://dubrovnik.hr
/clanak.php?a=12917 (04/01/2018).

020 More information available online at http://www.esf.hr/natjecaji
/dobro-upravljanje/kultura-u-centru-potpora-razvoju-javno-civilnog
-partnerstva-u-kulturi/ (03/12/2017).

and describing their position as 'unable to act', without awareness that they could initiate some changes. In general, the issue of legislation as a stumbling block for planning and implementation of shared governance schemes and models requires synchronisation of various trans-policy frameworks and legal provisions between, for example, legislation on local and regional (self)authorities and legislation in culture, as well as legislation on ownership and fiscal responsibility, etc.

Finally, the canonised nature of Dubrovnik's cultural profile — which is, paradoxically, prosperous yet stagnant — defines the inner logic and modes of functioning of the entire local cultural sector. This results in resistance to new ideas and new approaches in cultural planning, governance and programming. As stated by the representatives of the city, there are not many, if any, new initiatives coming from the cultural sector in terms of developing more open collaborative and participative governance schemes. Quite the contrary; even the level of collaboration is conditioned by rising professional endogamy between the cultural actors. It was repeatedly mentioned during the interviews that the local cultural sector is missing new nexuses for reflection and deliberation on how the cultural sector should operate in the future, as well as people who would mobilise the discussion on new perspectives of cultural development. The representatives of the city administration have stated that the local authority is more than welcoming of new ideas and initiatives for much-needed modernisation and democratisation of the local cultural system. Yet, examples stated in this case study indicate that collaboration with the public authorities on the pracitcal level is not entirely fluid, productive and based on establishing cooperation and trust. Moreover, the presented case study indicated that it takes a lot of effort as to bridge the gap between political rhetorics and fundamental views and the perpetual real situation of a status quo.

The concept of participation is closely interrelated with sustainable cities; i.e., culture-based sustainably developing places that create their own developmental logic within the city itself, but often go

beyond city 'walls' by expanding their regional, national and international networks, thus offering more opportunities and cultural services for both citizens and visitors. This can be seen as the starting point of a common agenda for the development of a socio-cultural centre in Lazareti. The development of a socio-cultural centre or any form of institutional/organisational entity in culture based on principles of sustainability and participation allows a perspective for experimentation in new hybrid governance models of culture, establishing inter-culturalism as a backbone of the increasingly depopulated tourist city. In this way, the transient nature of the seasonal workforce and tourism can become a driving force for creating new forms of citizenship which will become the connective tissue of intercultural planning. Aside from equality of opportunity, this implies critical respect for other cultures; reflecting cultural diversity in public policy, public space and institutions; provoking pluralist transformations of public space, institutions and civic culture; and allowing for the development of policies that will prioritise support for projects and initiatives where different cultures intersect, contaminate each other and hybridise.

2. Čakovec Community Centre in Čakovec — Leda Sutlović

i. The profile of the city: Čakovec

The city of Čakovec is located in the extreme northwest of Croatia, in the central part of the Međimurje County, and has a total area of 77.74 square kilometres. It is oriented in a north-south direction, the northern part being located on the plateau, the central and southern parts located in the Drava River basin. the south side of the city is surrounded by the reservoir of the Čakovec Hydroelectric Power Plant.

According to the 2011 census, the city of Čakovec, including the surrounding settlements[001], has a population of 27.104 inhabitants, with approximately 17.000 inhabitants living within the city borders. With 15 % of inhabitants aged 65 and above, the city's average age is 40.2 years, Čakovec's population is that of an aging population. In terms of gender, 52.1 % of the population are female, while 47.9 % are male. As regards nationality, 93.75 % of inhabitants are Croats, 3.83 % Romani, 0.50 % Serbs, 0.43 % Albanians and 0.30 % Slovenians. In terms of religion, 87.66 % of the inhabitants identify themselves as Catholics, 5.83 % as atheists, 0.90 % as Protestants, 0.83 % as agnostics and

skeptics, 0.50 % as Orthodox Christians, and 0.41 % as Muslims. In terms of education, the population consists of 4.269 highly educated persons, 12.086 persons with high school education, 4.003 persons with primary school education and 176 persons who did not receive any formal education[002]. According to data from May 2016, there are 1.169 unemployed persons in Čakovec[003]. The largest Romani population in Croatia is located in Međimurje County, consisting of approximately 5.000 people or 31 % of all Croatian Romani (Alivojvodić, 2015).

Čakovec, also known as the 'the city of the Zrinski family', experienced an economic boom after being given the status of a free royal city in 1848 and opening the first railway line to pass through Croatia in 1860, which connected the city with the main centres of the time — Budapest, Vienna and Trieste. The city's growing industry was accompanied by a new middle class of merchants and wealthier citizens, who gathered at the so-called *Commercial Casino* (Trgovački kasino), one of the best-preserved buildings in Čakovec today. The city's Jewish community opened many shops and factories, thus creating the foundations for the economic growth of the city. Soon, the city introduced electric street lighting, founded the Association for the Development of the City and opened one of the first cinemas in Croatia — Zrinski, situated in the Scheier building. After World War II, a number of cultural institutions were established that are still operating today, such as the 'Nikola Zrinski' City Library and the Museum of Međimurje and Kino-poduzeće, which became the city's Cultural Centre in 1981.

Although primarily known for its economic development, the city of Čakovec also has a protected cultural and historical complex, consisting of the city's fortifications, the Old Town, St. Nicholas' church

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001 There are 14 settlements in the city of Čakovec: Čakovec, Ivanovec, Krištanovec, Kuršanec, Mačkovec, Mihovljan, Novo Selo Rok, Novo Selo na Dravi, Savska Ves, Slemenice, Šandorovec, Štefanec, Totovec and Žiškovec.

002 Croatian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011. More information on the website: https://www.dzs.hr/Hrv /censuses/census2011/results/censustabshtm.htm (15/09/2017).

003 Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the Croatian Employment Service, Čakovec Branch Office. More information on the website: http://www.hzz.hr /UserDocsImages/CK_Bilten_2016_05.pdf (15/09/2017).

(including a Franciscan monastery) and a number of Historicist and Art Nouveau buildings. In addition, a protected area between the rivers called the Mura-Drava-Danube Transboundary Biosphere Reserve is located right next to the city and has been added to UNESCO's World Network of Biosphere Reserves. In addition to this heritage, the city's geographic closeness to neighbouring countries and its cooperation with them constitute a potential for a considerable development, which, obviously, includes the cultural aspect as well.

In *The Development Strategy of the City of Čakovec for the Period 2016 – 2020*, culture is primarily embedded in the context of cultural tourism and, to a far lesser extent, in the context of increasing the quality of life of citizens. Fostering the development of culture for the purpose of tourism can be perceived the stated 'symbiotic relationship between tourism and protection of cultural, historical, and natural heritage' and the usage of historical and cultural resources in order to improve the city's tourist amenities (Strategy, 2016: 66). Such development should be achieved through the reconstruction and revitalisation of the Old Town and the Zrinski Park, as well as by enhancing the offer of tourism-related events and 'adapting the city centre to tourists' needs' (Strategy, 2016: 72).

Increasing the citizens' quality of life by means of an improved cultural offer should be achieved through a programme of cultural and infrastructural development. Some of the activities within the said programme include prioritising the allocation of resources in the field of culture to associations and civil society organizations, their co-financing, and supporting and promoting the cultural values of the city of Čakovec. When it comes to infrastructure, Čakovec's Cultural Centre is a priority. The plan is to convert it into a modern multi-functional venue ideal for film screenings, exhibitions and concerts. Part of the plan is also the construction and/or reconstruction of community centres and the development of the Čakovec Community Centre.

The Development Strategy also aims at improving the quality of life of specific social groups, which should be achieved through the integration of socially disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, by improving the

living conditions of persons with disabilities, by introducing multiculturalism programmes and by providing a safe house and a family centre. However, there is no explicit mention of the Romani minority, nor were they specifically targeted, which is interesting considering that this county has the largest Romani population in Croatia.

Although the *Strategy* recognises civil society organizations as important partners in social development, as evidenced by the emphasis placed on the Čakovec Community Centre, the support required to deliver the objectives has not always been comprehensive and well-timed, as will be seen in the following analysis.

ii. Čakovec Community Centre: Programme and management aspects

Historiographical overview of the development

It has been more than twenty years since civil society organizations[004], active individuals and the local community of the city of Čakovec had an adequate space for organizing cultural, social and social-entrepreneurial programmes and activities. During the 1980s and 1990s, north-western Croatia had a well-developed independent scene, featuring youth clubs, music and art centres, independent publishing and fanzines[005]. In the early 2000s, there were some

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004 According to the Register of Associations of the Republic of Croatia, there are 471 active organizations in Čakovec in all fields. There are 49 registered organizations operating in the field of culture and art. Some of the more prominent examples of cultural organizations are School of Animated Film, established in 1975, and the theater company Pinklec, which has been active since 1987. Some of the most prominent organizations operating in the area of Međimurje County are assembled in the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre.

005 Čakovec library *Tabula rasa*, which is part of the ACT Group, was the one who made an archive of fanzines, which were produced in Croatia in the 1980s and 1990s. The archive is available on the following website: http://www.fanzini.hr (08/02/2018).

initiatives dealing with the development of non-institutional culture, but in the last ten years or so we can only observe inactivity and collaborations falling apart (Ciglar, 2014). Today the cultural scene has again gained momentum, which is most visible in the creation of the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre, an union of associations advocating systematic and sustainable solutions for abandoned and unused public spaces in the city of Čakovec and Međimurje County[006].

Čakovec differs from other Croatian cities in the fact that until recently there were no unused public spaces owned by local or regional authorities. The change occured in the summer of 2007, when the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Croatia transferred the ownership of the 'Nikola Šubić Zrinski' barracks, extending over an area of about 55 hectares, to Međimurje County. Soon, the Regional Development Agency, Međimurje, with the support of the County authorities, started an initiative for repurposing the former barracks, thus preventing it from being sold or left to decay. The development of the *Centre of knowledge* project started in the barracks' premises, with the aim of gathering a variety of institutions important for the economic development of Međimurje County in one place. The Centre of knowledge[007] currently includes development and educational institutions. the plan is to build a student dormitory, a sports hall and to renew the park. However, the predicted project does not encompass the entire area of the barracks. On the edge of the complex there is a land plot covering a total area of 23.920m² and built-up land of 1.585m², which

were used by the informal citizens' initiative 1729/2[008] to initiate the development of Čakovec Community Centre in 2014 (PZDCč, 2016) as a complementary project to the Centre of knowledge.

However, the project was cancelled because Međimurje County were required, when they took over the plot, to build 10 warehouses and provide 350 m² of office space for the Ministry of Defence by the end of 2011, otherwise the Republic of Croatia would take its facilities back. Since the County believed that by fulfilling these obligations it would be placed in an unequal position compared to other local and regional authorities, which were mostly granted such facilities without any compensation, the County asked for the former military space to be ceded to them without fulfilling this condition, citing the debt accrued for public utility charges, which had accumulated in the meantime, as an argument. The arrangement between the Ministry of Defence and the County failed, and the barracks was awarded to the City of Čakovec (Mrakovčić, 2014). Although to date different institutions have moved into the barracks, the previously mentioned debt was finally settled in early 2017, which created conditions suitable for planning the further development of the complex[009].

In 2015, the 1729/2 initiative was formally established, thus creating the aforementioned Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre[010].

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006 More information on the website of the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre: http://drustvenicentar.hr/o-nama/ (08/02/2018).

007 So far, four buildings haven been made operational due to investments made by Međimurje County, the World Bank and funds from EU pre-accession programs, and they are now home to the Polytechnic of Međimurje in Čakovec with three study programmes and about six hundred students; Regional Development Agency Međimurje REDEA; Technology Innovation Centre Međimurje with a business incubator serving 17 mostly IT companies and Međimurje Energy Agency – MENEA, MIN – Međimurje, investments and real estate; and Međimurje County Tourist Board. More information on the website: http://www.redea.hr/dan -otvorenih-vrata-centra-znanja-medimurske-zupanije/ (22/12/2017).

008 The initiative is named after a plot located within the barracks complex, which is the only unused public space owned by the local and regional authorities in Čakovec.

009 Reportage on the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre, *Croatian Radiotelevision*. Available at the following website: http://magazin.hrt .hr/375620/platforma-za-drustveni-centar-cakovec (22/12/2017).

010 Members of the Platform are as follows: ACT Group, Youth Centre Čakovec, Zora Association, Fotografija – Photographic Culture Association, Croatian Association of Visual Artists in Međimurje, Pokret plus Cultural Association, Međimurske roke association, Association of Physically Disabled People in Međimurje, Međimurje Čakovec Speleological Association, MURID – Association for Early Childhood Intervention Međimurje, Multimedij – Association of Audiovisual and Multimedia Culture.

This initiative brings together around twenty civil society organizations, social and cultural activists and citizens. Key elements of the Platform's activities are non-profitability, participation, inclusiveness and solidarity, the main idea being to preserve public spaces, many of which have already been turned into private properties due to the commercial policy of the public authorities. Therefore Platform promotes and advocates democratic and participatory practices in designing public policies, creates conditions for the development of participatory democracy, for the participation of citizens and civil society organizations in decision making processes at the local level and, as already mentioned, addresses issues related to the use of public spaces in the city and the region. Consequently, the Platform is aimed at creating spaces for social exchange and cultural activity, places where citizens are able to discuss the rights and responsibilities of living together in a city, and finally, to participate in its development.

The organizations needed space for work, production and presentation, so the Platform needed to be formally established. Some seventy associations are in fact situated within the premises of the so-called Barake, a former construction combine, which is also home to the Prostor club, the only space for independent culture in the city. Although woefully inadequate as a workspace, most of the Platform's members use the space for their programmes. The City allowed the associations to use the Barake for free. Overhead costs are borne by the associations, while the City of Čakovec pays the rent for the Prostor club, which can be interpreted as a significant contribution to the development of the local independent scene. Taking into account that the Barake space does not meet the diverse needs of members of the Platform and that it represents only a temporary solution, an advocacy process has been initiated with the aim of establishing the Čakovec Community Centre as a space that would be able to meet the diverse needs of civil society organizations.

The advocacy process included mapping the potential activities of the Centre and making a conceptual design that would include *hosting*

the space for social enterprises, a social entrepreneurship incubator and *co-working* space, a centre for training, vocational rehabilitation and the employment of persons with disabilities, an independent cultural centre, a community library, a bookstore, a local community foundation, a seed bank/library, an all-in-one bike shop (sales and repairs), a *hacklab*, a tool library, open/closed studio spaces, studio apartments for accommodation within residential programs etc. (Ciglar, 2014). In view of the aforementioned, the objective of the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre, as far concerns its program, is to connect various content areas, from art and culture, social services, sports activities, games and organized leisure time to social entrepreneurship activities.

Međimurje County recognized the importance of the Platform's activities for the common good and gave it a temporary license to use the barracks. In addition, the Platform began its cooperation with the City of Čakovec, and all three parties — the Platform, the County and the City of Čakovec — signed a tripartite Partnership Agreement in 2015 expressing interest in preparing and implementing the Čakovec Community Centre project (Ciglar, 2014). Unfortunately, neither the City of Čakovec nor the Međimurje County have complied with their obligations. The City dropped out of the project, and the County gave the Platform a meadow on which to build a new building at the Platform's own expense, although the complex consists of buildings in decay[011]. After a series of activities, advocacies, communication with the local community and all the effort that was put into the implementation of the project, the project (despite the Partnership Agreement) ended unsuccessfully due to political and private interests. To date, the Platform has continued to search for other available spaces for the socio-cultural centre (for example, the building of the former MTČ factory), but to no avail.

011 'There are around fifteen buildings in decay across Međimurje, some of them are cultural goods', interview with Sebastian Brumec, assistant to the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre. *7Plus regional weekly*.

Due to the length and complexity of the process of entering the barracks' premises and of its further development and due to one of the stakeholders leaving the project, the actors had to search for alternative solutions. In the meantime, the idea emerged of developing a so-called multi-location model as a solution for the infrastructural needs of the Čakovec Community Centre, which would involve developing the centre in several different locations, each of them satisfying some of the centre's functions. The Platform recognised the Scheier building as one of the possible locations for such a dislocated Centre. The so-called 'Šajerica', a building of high architectural value which was built in the late 19th century in the centre of Čakovec, was the centre of the city's cultural and entertainment life until the Second World War. There was a coffeehouse and a reading room on the ground floor and a luxurious hall upstairs that hosted balls and film screenings in the Kino Zrinski, as well as stage productions, dance schools and other formal meetings[012]. Today, the building consists of the Scheier gallery on the ground floor and the Zrinski hall on the upper floor, which compasses about seventy seats and a stage with lighting and small sound system, as well as additional rooms. Although old, the building is in rather good condition and meets the minimum technical requirements; however, further investment is necessary.

In early 2017, the Platform started advocacy activities with the aim of establishing a public-civil partnership with Međimurje County, seeking to apply the joint management model to the Scheier building, which is owned by the County. The *Agreement* was signed in September. According to the *Agreement*, 'public-civil partnership represents a joint and cooperative action and a dialogue between organizations of the public and the civil sector in view of achieving a better, more effective and

more efficient management and use of public resources as opposed to conventional and traditional approaches' (PZDCČ, 2018a). The model of participatory governance for the so-called 'Šajerica' building starts with the establishment of a Coordinating Committee, which is composed of two representatives of Međimurje County and the Platform, respectively. This body then elects a manager at its first meeting. The manager announces an annual competition for proposing programmes and collects applications from interested parties, subsequently drawing up plans for the use of the space he/she is managing. The Coordination Committee draws up *Rules and price list concerning the use of space*, which the manager applies in his/her work. In financial terms, the County provides the funds for overhead expenses and the salaries of technical workers, while the Platform primarily provides programme funds, as well as for the manager's salary and programme workers' salaries. The income arising from the lease is paid to the Međimurje County account and used exclusively for the Scheier building to cover running costs, programme activities, refurbishment, equipment, etc.

In the context of transforming the space into the Community Centre and taking into account the programme and functional diversity of the previously mentioned mapped content (i.e. community needs), the new purpose of the Scheier building primarily constitutes the intensive use of the building as a multimedia centre in which it is possible to conduct two programmes simultaneously and a general adjustment to today's technical standards. Some of the interventions might include the instillation of sound insulation in the building, the creation of access paths for persons with reduced mobility, and adapting and equipping the space for concerts, contemporary dance performances and short dramatic pieces. Other interventions include improving the conditions for production, such as installing light and sound control devises in the space[013]. However, due to the spatial limitations of the Scheier building, only some of the previously planned programmes will be implemented.

012 More information on the Scheier building on the website of the Platform for Čakovec Community Centre: http://drustvenicentar.hr/vijesti/scheierica -kao-drustveni-prostor/ (22/12/2017).

013 *Prostorna provjera: postojeće zgrade 'Šajerica' (kuća Scheier) za potrebe funkcioniranja društvenog centra (Spatial analysis of the existing (…)*

When the development of the Community Centre in the premises of the former barracks was being advocated, the idea of a centre, in terms of infrastructure and programme came to be as a result of real needs and possibilities. It included work and presentation spaces with different functions. However, the size of the city and the lack of human and spatial resources required a space that would encompass different activities. The space was envisaged as having commercial facilities, in the form of accommodation and hospitality facilities that would encourage the comprehensive development of the Centre, (i.e. the development of new programmes, such as artist residencies, internships and the like (PZDCč, 2016). Although successful, due to the above-mentioned reasons, the Agreement on the use of the Scheier building can be considered as a partial solution. In addition, taking into account the implementation of the Platform's programs through the participation of its members and the integration of different program aspects, as well as their implementation in the different locations of the Platform's members, some of which are still operating in rented spaces of private ownership, the plan for 2018, in line with the idea of a multi-location Community Centre, is to continue to 'advocate a model of joint management and jointly manage the following underused public spaces: the Scheier building, Prostor, Stari hrast[014], Ladislav Kralj Međimurec's house[015] (PZDCč, 2018b: 2).

(…) *'Šajerica' building (Scheier) for the purposes of a community centre).* Please find more information on the website: http://drustvenicentar.hr/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Scheier_ProstornoProgramskaAnaliza.pdf (08/02/2018).

014 The Stari Hrast building is also located within the complex of the former construction combine, along with the so-called Barake, which is housing a number of organizations. On the ground floor of Stari Hrast there is a hospitality facility, while in the rooms on the first floor, among other things, members of the Platform sometimes carry out their activities.

015 Ladislav Kralj Međimurec's house, located in the city centre, along with the Memorial Collection, falls under the Museum of Međimurje. The Memorial Collection includes furniture, artist's personal belongings, awards, painter's studio and a gallery. The garden of the house is used for cultural events in order to familiarize the people with the life and work of Ladislav Kralj Međimurec and art in general. More information: https://mmc.hr/info/memorijalna-zbirka-ladislava-kralja-medimurca/ (13/02/2018).

iii. Development perspectives from the key stakeholders' point of view

Similar to other examples of participatory governance in Croatia, the key stakeholders in the case of Čakovec Community Centre are the representatives of civil society organizations as the users of spatial resources for work, production and the distribution of cultural and social activities, local and regional authorities as the space's owners and representatives of the local community (audience, future users and the immediate neighbourhood).

Users
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While trying to respond to the need for a working area, and after a series of various efforts and attempts to resolve this issue, civil society organizations proposed, as a possible solution, the idea of establishing participatory governance. The Platform's rationale for choosing participatory governance as the management model for the future centre lays primarily in the fact that the project involved dealing with public spaces which are everyone's responsibility. therefore, the platform considered it necessary to invest sufficient energy and resources in the effective management of such spaces. In addition, the Platform recognises participatory governance as a model that is most appropriate to specific features of a dynamic and colorful independent production. In fact, due to this variety, it is actually impossible to find a single person who would possess the diverse array of knowledge in different areas, which is necessary for proper management of such production. Thus, the previously mentioned diversity of the independent production's features requires the management of a group of individuals with various profiles i.e. it can only be the result of cooperation between people who are equally involved in the governing structure and the decision making processes. Finally, the selected model of participatory governance relies on the similar efforts of civil society organizations in the field of culture in other Croatian cities. Recognised as a model that includes both the public sector and the local community in the process of managing local resources, participatory

governance emphasises the fact that such resources belong to the community, not to the (current) authorities, as is the case in many local communities. Thus, the members of Platform see the example of their managing of the Čakovec Community Centre as an educational platform that could lead to similar instances of cooperation in other areas. However, they see the fluctuation and lack of employees in the local and regional authorities as a key obstacle to the development of participatory governance.

Local and regional authorities
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Representatives of local and regional authorities have a fairly broad, but vague vision of participatory governance, defining it as mainly consisting of various 'conventional' types of cooperation with associations, such as allocating space and funds and establishing programmes. They also consider that, as a society, Croatia is not currently mature enough for such an inclusive type of management, citing that, in order to fuction well, participatory governance requires that all stakeholders have high-quality human resources, which is currently not the case. They consider the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre and their 'proposal to enter into management partnerships' as an example of participatory governance, which is generally seen as a positive thing. Some public administration representatives believe that citizens should be involved in the management processes through public calls, which, they say, would need to have clear criteria. However, they identify the lack of public spaces in Čakovec as a negative aspect. They consider the barracks' space to be extremely valuable, stating that, unfortunately, 'due to politics and other interests it has sunk into oblivion'. However, some public administration representatives do not consider the barracks' issue to be over, and see that space as the home of the future Community Centre. Also, representatives of local and regional authorities see the Scheier building as a high-quality space in the city centre; however, the building does not have enough capacity to satisfy every need. Regarding the Scheier building, some representatives consider entering into a partnership with the associations to be the first step in establishing the so-called polycentric Community Centre.

Public administration representatives see associations as actors who can respond more quickly and adequately to the needs of the community and, accordingly, consider the issue of their finding adequate space one that should be resolved as soon as possible. Also, they believe that the associations should be situated within one centre, in order for the community to make progress. Representatives of the Management Board, just like the members of the Platform, recognise the lack of human resources, especially in the administration, as an obstacle in establishing the Community Centre. According to the representatives of the Management Board, some of the problems encountered by this initiative are legal obstacles, which are primarily related to the Local Self-Government and Administration Act. This Act does not adequately define the power-limitations to which people in leading positions are subject, which is why local communities are often left at the mercy of local leaders. The failure to adopt a cultural strategy, to highlight the need for compliance with the professional rules and to involve experts in the processes, (which is currently often not the case) are also stated as obstacles.

But even though representatives of the public administration acknowledge the need for a socio-cultural centre in Čakovec, they are not sure of the possible positive and negative consequences of such an institution. They also think that the problem is the idea that the future centre will function as a space specifically for young people, which neglects other social groups (for example people aged 50+, or the Romani population). Due to the issues of emigration and the city's aging population, they believe that a centre which is aimed at a more general population would have more success.

Local community
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That the Community Centre's programmes are intended for the local community, hence encouraging their inclusion in the management process through the implementation of participatory governance, is one of the elements most important to the further development of the model. A survey conducted among the local community who attend

events organized by Platform's members has revealed that visitors (notably in the Prostor club) are mainly young people aged 15 to 29 (53 %). They are followed by middle-aged people (30 to 45) who represent 36 %, and then by those aged 45 – 60 who represent 10 % of the visitors. Most of the visitors are women, almost two-thirds (64 %, while men are at 36 %). Most of the visitors describe themselves as audience members (47 %), a smaller portion designated themselves as from the neighbourhood (15 %), and 36 % see themselves as potential users of the space. The remaining 8 % of visitors listed education, workshops, concerts, Međimurje Volunteer Office, Youth Centre, etc. as reasons for visiting. In the past year, 29 % visited Prostor more than 15 times, 10 % visited 6 – 15 times, 41 % of users visited Prostor 1 – 5 times, and 20 % never visited the venue. Familiarity with the concept of participatory governance was divided: less than half of respondents (47 %) had heard of it, while 53 % were not familiar with the term. However, despite that, 59 % were interested in learning more and educating themselves. Also, 65 % of visitors were interested in being involved in management, programming or counseling in relation to the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre.

iv. **Conclusion**
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The City of Čakovec and Međimurje represent a specific area known primarily for their successful economy and excellent position with respect to neighboring countries. Čakovec is also known for one of the most successful social enterprises in Croatia, ACT Group[016], which was one of the initiators of the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre. Another specific feature of the city of Čakovec is a shortage of

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016   The ACT Group consists of: ACT Autonomous Centre, ACT Printlab d.o.o., ACT Konto d.o.o., Cluster for eco-social innovation and development – CEDRA Čakovec, Social Cooperative Humana Nova, Centre for home assistance in Međimurje County, Social agricultural cooperative Domači vrt, ACT Press d.o.o., Volunteer Office of Međimurje – VUM and Tabula Rasa Library. More information on the website: http://act-grupa.hr/hr/ (08/02/2018).

unused public spaces owned by local and regional authorities, which, in combination with a variety of political and other interests, represents a major obstacle to establishing a Community Centre. With the city being squeezed between two rivers, the state of limited spatial resources creates an unstable situation in a propulsive region, which is subject to frequent reversals and changes of mind. In such circumstances, the Platform for the Čakovec Community Centre sets as its initial value a public space, as well as the preservation and responsible use of shared resources.

Civil society organizations in Čakovec and Međimurje, especially in the field of culture, have a long and active history, their work being known in other parts of Croatia too. Individuals belonging to such organizations have been looking for a place to work for twenty years or so. So far they have only found partial, but not necessarily adequate solutions to the problem. Therefore, signing the *Joint Management Agreement* with the County represents a great success and an incentive to work on establishing a multi-location Community Centre. The people attending the programmes, which are jointly carried out by ten organizations in different locations, are mostly young people, the majority of which see themselves as potential users of the space and have an interest in being included in the work of the Community Centre. On the other hand, representatives of local and regional authorities generally have a positive opinion about the idea of establishing a centre, seeing the financial viability of the project and their own capacity as obstacles. Therefore, apart from the interconnection of different interests and influences, the issue of financial viability is the main obstacle to establishing the Community Centre. In addition, it is concluded that the Platform should work on including representatives of the local community, who generally show interest in the processes of participatory governance (at least at the level of acquiring information and knowledge about the specific features of this type of management concept).

In the case of the city of Čakovec, the limitations in terms of space and other resources resulted in limitations being imposed on the establishment of a socio-cultural centre, which is also seen as an

economically unviable activity. However, one should not ignore the fact that the Čakovec Community Centre puts great emphasis on various social and social-entrepreneurship programmes. Such programmes combine civil society activism, responsible business practices, social awareness and entrepreneurship, thereby creating a wider basis and the potential to produce a certain degree of self-sufficiency in a relatively short period of time. However, taking into account the *Joint Management Agreement concerning the Scheier building* and the participation of the Community Centre in the city's development strategy, it seems that the years of advocacy, uncertainty and fatigue have come to an end, and that the concept of participatory governance and the establishment of a public-civil partnership has been recognised as valuable to the management of public resources, which is why we can expect that the development of a multi-location Community Centre is yet to come.

3. # Socio-Cultural Centre in Karlovac — Leda Sutlović

i. The profile of the city: Karlovac

The city of Karlovac is located at a point where the lowland and highland regions of central Croatia meet, at the intersection of the Kupa, Korana, Mrežnica and Dobra rivers, taking up an area of 401.7km². Only some 50 kilometres away from Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, Karlovac is located on an extremely busy route connecting Central Europe and the Danube region, as well as Eastern Europe, with the Adriatic traffic route. According to the most recent census, the city of Karlovac has a population of 55.705[001], which is mostly made up of women (53 %), while 47 % of the population are men. As regards to the level of education at the regional level, the largest part of the population has a high school diploma (56.488, i.e. 43.82 %), whereas the highly educated make up 5.30 % of the total population of Karlovac County[002]. At the end of 2015, there were 3.696 unemployed people in the city of Karlovac, and in Karlovac County there were 9.592 people (i.e. 21.6 %,) registered as unemployed (Vuljanić, 2016). The age structure of the city's population exhibits a small share of children and the young (18.2 %), while persons over the age of 60 make up 26.8 % of the population. The average age is 43.8 (Karlovac County, 2011), while

001 In comparison with 1991, in 2001 the population of the County had decreased by 42.790, from 184.577 to 141.787, with a significant change in the structure of population by nationality (Turk 2015).

002 According to the 2011 census, there are 128.899 people living in Karlovac County. More information is available at: http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses /census2011/results/censustabshtm.htm (15/09/2017).

the natural population increase of the city in 2015 amounted to 1.075 inhabitants (Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). As regards nationality, the larger part of the city's inhabitants declare themselves to be Croat (88.21 %), while 9.8 % are members of one of the national minorities: Serbs (8.01 %), Bosniaks (0.45 %), Albanians (0.43 %), etc. (City of Karlovac, 2013).

The city of Karlovac was founded on July 13, 1579. Built in the form of an ideal renaissance, star-shaped city, it is one of the rare European examples of this kind[003] of city planning. Its location at the intersection of various waterways and roads has contributed to the development of trade, and has shown itself to be crucial to the development of the city (Maradin, 2009). At the end of the 18th century, Karlovac had the reputation of being the richest of the Croatian cities. The citizens of Karlovac paid the highest taxes in the country, the wealth of economic activity at the time being illustrated by the city's 120 inns and boarding houses. The city's cultural activity was illustrated by the 1804 foundation of a music school, the oldest in Croatia. At the same time, the city's limits expanded outside the city Star towards the Kupa River, where a neighbourhood better known as the Jewish ghetto was founded and various crafts were practiced. In the mid-19th century, Karlovac became one of the centres of the Illyrian movement[004], it being this movement that encouraged the establishment of the city's first library in 1838, named 'Ilirskog čitanja društvo'. Shortly afterwards, other public cultural institutions, many of which are still operating, were established, such as the City Library, 'Zorin dom', the City Theatre, the first Croatian singing society, named 'Zora' and the Karlovac City Museum. How developed and rich the city was, is evidenced by the appearance of the then luxuriant Vrbanić gardens, next to the Korana River, and the city's bathing and recreational facilities, which exist even today.

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003 Other such cities are Palmanova in Italy, Nové Zámky in Slovakia, Zamość in Poland and Neuf-Brisach in France.

004 Some of the movement's most important leaders lived in Karlovac: Ljudevit Gaj, Dragojla Jarnević, Vjekoslav Karas and Ivan Mažuranić (Matanić and Metež 2015, 26).

Post-war reconstruction also marked the systematic development of Karlovac as an industrial city, often based on the pre-existing foundations and tradition of the industrial sectors. The largest firm that ever existed in Karlovac, Jugoturbina, had a great impact on the development of the city, and has left behind as a legacy an educational and scientific apparatus in the form of the Jugoturbina Institute and the Metallurgy School Centre, which is currently the Vocational University (Treskanica, 2015). Due to the collapse of the socialist system, many large firms went under, and many industrial plants as well as a large number of city-owned facilities were destroyed during the Croatian War of Independence. In the protected complex of the city Star, over 110 facilities suffered severe damage. During the war, 70 % of the County was devastated, leaving behind a great number of mined areas (5 % of the County, out of a total area of 3.664km²). Nowadays, due to various natural and social characteristics, over 65 % of the Karlovac County area is included in the areas of special state concern category. During the Yugoslav and war period, the army maintained a constant presence in the city. This military presence ended in part in the mid-1990s, when the army handed over large military facilities in the centre of the city Star into the permanent ownership of the City of Karlovac. Some of them, such as the Armory on the central square, or the large army barracks, have remained empty to date, having no purpose and being in a bad condition (Matanić and Metež, 2015: 36). Due to different reasons (the consequences of war, unsolved property-legal affairs, lack of care, neglect), a major part of the city's cultural heritage is in a bad condition, while several facilities are classified as being at substantial risk. This is why the revitalisation and reconstruction of the city Star, as well as of the city's entire cultural heritage, is of paramount importance for the city of Karlovac.

Based on an inquiry into the cultural needs of the city's citizens, *The City of Karlovac Cultural Development Strategy 2014 – 2024* depicts the social structure of the population, revealing that a third of the surveyed population has no personal income and therefore no access

to certain activities[005]. This is why the high number of people visiting public cultural institutions, such as the City Library (74 %), the 'Zorin dom' City Theater (67 %), and the City Museum (67 % of visitors), is not surprising. The citizens of Karlovac consider the city Star, the old town of Dubovac, the 'Zorin dom' City Theatre and the city's riverside promenades to be cultural symbols of the city. When asked: 'What would be on your agenda in Karlovac?', they suggested the revitalisation and reconstruction of the city Star. Apart from revitalisation of the city Star, the *Strategy* also envisages the improvement of infrastructure of the most visited cultural institutions in the city, as well as the reconstruction of the 'Edison' cinema, the Railway station and the building of Croatian Home, 'to be further used as a place where cultural events of regional significance take place' (Strategy, 2014: 75). On the other hand, the *Strategy* acknowledges the various civil society organizations that are actively involved in the field of contemporary art and culture as relevant stakeholders in the social dialogue. Moreover, 'providing space for independent culture' (Strategy, 2014; 29: 77) is one of strategic goals of the project. Nevertheless, it is hard not to notice that the two stated goals, the reconstruction of the Croatian Home building and the provision of space for an independent scene are not directly connected, despite the fact that in reality they are connected, which is shown by this case study. An absolute strategic priority is therefore the activation of the rich cultural heritage of Karlovac, which is mostly neglected and not utilised, by both restoring it and making it functional. However, extremely high costs of such a restoration are not in line with the economic situation of the city, having affected the direction in which the city's culture develops, which is to a certain extent incompatible with the expressed social needs of the community. *The Cultural Development Strategy* reveals a vision of culture as an economic initiator that would contribute to the solving of

the different (livelihood) issues that both the city and its citizens face through the instrumentalisation of the city's heritage for tourism purposes. Enhancing the quality of life is also one of the planned goals of both the development of cultural programs and the improvement of the city's infrastructure. However, it is also viewed as a consequence of development for tourism purposes, which is seen exclusively in a positive light. Through the depiction of the city's advantages and disadvantages, as well as the consideration of realistic possibilities in the given circumstances, such as the consequences of war destructions, economic crisis and emigration, the *Strategy* seeks to offer solutions for all the above and represents a concerted effort to take all perspectives into account. One such perspective is that of the civil society organizations that are active in the field of contemporary art and culture, which are recognised not only as strategic goals, but also as relevant stakeholders in the socio-cultural development of the city.

**ii. Mala Scena of Hrvatski Dom (Croatian Home) –
Programme and governance aspects**

Historiographical overview of the development

For years now, just like in the majority of Croatian cities, civil society organizations involved in contemporary culture and art in Karlovac have been faced with the problem of a lack of space, whether for administration and management, the distribution and presentation of art and cultural practices, or for education and archiving. Prompted by the need for a long-term solution to the lack of space, but also by the advocacy in the field of local cultural development for the creation of adequate work conditions for the cultural civil sector, a great

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005 The survey was conducted for the purpose of drawing up The City of
     Karlovac Cultural Development Strategy 2014–2024 (Strategija kulturnog
     razvoja Grada Karlovca 2014.–2024.). Among the citizens surveyed, 69% were
     persons aged 26–60, 29% were young people, and 2% were persons over (...)

(...) the age of 60 (Strategy 2014, 46–51). The finding that about a third of
       the respondents have no income is, therefore, to a certain extent, also
       in line with the dominant characteristics of the age structure of
       the sample.

number of the cultural organizations in Karlovac gathered around an informal initiative[006], which was later formalised by the KAoperativa Federation of Associations[007]. Through research and the mapping of their needs, the non-institutional cultural scene has started regarding available, abandoned and/or inadequately used spatial resources in public ownership as suitable for development, the platform's representatives recognising Croatian Home as a prospective place for the development of a socio-cultural centre. The model of managing such a centre would be based on the participatory and collaborative distribution of responsibilities among the included stakeholders and on a public-civil partnership between the City of Karlovac as the owner of the building and the civil society organisations as the users of the space.

Croatian Home was designed by Aleksandar Freudenreich and built in 1926. From its conception, the building was intended to be used for

006 The informal initiative included the following organizations: Domaći, Studio 8 and Poluga. At the end of 2012, the initiative was joined by another two organizations (Carpe diem and F.R.E.E.D.A.N.C.E.), which together created an informal platform named KAoperativa. The informal platform was later joined by other organizations: Art Root, Eko Pan, Infinitum and Izvan fokusa. Credit for numerous events held in Karlovac, such as Karlovac Dance Festival, LED Fest, Riječno kino event, Four River Film Festival, KAbina, PickUp festival, Udar groma Festival, volunteer camps, Artika, Youth Photo Week, etc. goes to the gathered associations. More information is available on the following website: https://kaoperativa.org /kaoperativa/ (03/11/2017).

007 KAoperativa Alliance of Associations was founded in 2014 with the aim of developing cooperation with the City of Karlovac and Karlovac County, city institutions and companies in their field of work, and especially in development and joint governance of the Karlovac socio-cultural centre. Members of the Alliance of Associations are the following organizations: KA-MATRIX, Karlovac Cinema Club, Polka, Poluga, Studio 8 and Carpe diem. More information is available on the following website: https://kaoperativa.org/kaoperativa/savez-udruga-kaoperativa/ (08/02/2018). Unlike the above mentioned informal platform carrying the same name, whose purpose is primarily to advocate, the Alliance of Associations is a formal organization, founded with the purpose of managing public spaces.

recreational and cultural programs (Platforma 9,81, 2015)[008]. The building is situated in a protected cultural area, in the immediate vicinity of the city Star, the Vrbanić gardens and the Korana River, which makes it especially attractive. The building is monumental, with a floor area of 2.600 m². It reveals the needs of the period in which it was built, when Karlovac was an industrial city and had nearly twice as many inhabitants as it has today. Both during and after the 1950s, rock concerts and disco nights were organized in Croatian Home. Afterwards there was a gym, a taekwondo club, student service centre and a recording studio; an independent theatre group resided in the space, spaces for band rehearsals were opened, film screenings and jazz concerts were held and famous Croatian musicians performed in the central hall (KA-MATRIX, 2014). After the 'large hall' stage was closed in the 1980s, Mala scena was established, which, up until the 1990s, became a popular hang-out for alternative music genre fans. From 1994 to 2005, Mala scena was managed by the Radić Brothers Student Cultural Centre (SKUC). At the same time a disco was held in the basement. After the expiry of the agreement on space usage between SKUC and the private owners, and due to a lack of vision and initiative, a process of degradation began, depriving the independent scene of its popular meeting place (KA-MATRIX, 2014).

Such a state of affairs lasted until 2013, when certain associations which were active in the field of contemporary culture and art started to put pressure on the city authorities, requesting that the space be refurbished. The City of Karlovac soon started the refurbishment of Mala scena. At the same time, the above mentioned associations organized themselves into the KAoperativa Alliance, which provided

008 At the beginning of the 20th century, a new type of social facilities, under the name 'Croatian Home', was introduced in Croatia. According to Platforma 9,81, these places had a purpose similar to the modern-day concept of the socio-cultural centre. Even though it is not protected as cultural property, owing to its cultural historical value, purpose and location, the building of Croatian Home can be considered one of the city's buildings with an ambient significance in relation to its surroundings (Platforma 9,81 2015).

an advocacy platform for the development of adequate conditions for the activities of independent culture, as well as initiating an open dialogue with the public. KAoperativa also participated in the refurbishment of the space, in which it invested its own resources as well, being both the user and events manager from 2013 to April 2016. At the time, despite KAoperativa's advocating the creation of a governance model including an umbrella organization of associations, a slightly different governance model was established. The initial model included appointing Mladost (a company which was generally in charge of maintaining and managing the city's sports facilities) as both the manager and coordinator of activities of Mala scena and the Program Council (composed of representatives of the City of Karlovac as well as representatives of civil society organizations) as the predominant users of the space. Soon, however, this model proved to be inadequate and was abandoned, mostly because Mladost showed no interest in the arts agenda and the association was not satisfied with the work performed by the company. Following negotiations between City and Federation representatives, a pilot project was signed, whereby the City entrusted the governance of the space to an independent manager, KAoperativa, on a trial basis. After such a governance proved to be adequate, a public-civil partnership was established, within which the model of participatory governance was created.

The model of the participatory governance of Mala scena is defined by *The Rule Book on Governance*[009], defining the City of Karlovac as the owner of the space and an association or an alliance of associations as the manager of the space. The role of manager of the space, which lasts for a two-year period, is awarded to an association or an alliance of associations through an open

tender[010]. In the period 2016 – 2018, the role of manager was awarded to KAoperativa Alliance of Associations. According to the governance agreement, the City of Karlovac provides the resources necessary to cover overhead expenses, while KAoperativa, as the manager, provides the resources for programmes. Part of the expenses is covered by a user participation fee paid to the City of Karlovac for the use of the space. The programme is created through user online applications[011], the tender is announced by the City of Karlovac and the evaluation is carried out by the Mala scena Program Council, which is composed of one representative of the City of Karlovac, one manager and three members of selected youth associations, which are chosen through an open tender[012]. The manager is in charge of the continuous work and functioning of Mala scena, their duty being to offer the best possible conditions for the use of the space. The stakeholders of participatory governance communicate via reports, a financial report being submitted every three months, and a narrative report every six months. The manager communicates with the users personally, through mailing lists, social media and in regular meetings.

The current condition of the space

The largest part of the Croatian Home building the multifunctional hall, with a standing capacity of approximately 1.000, as well as

009 *The Rule Book on Governance, Use and Activities of Mala scena of Croatian Home* (Pravilnik o upravljanju, korištenju i radu Male scene Hrvatskog doma) is available on the official website of the City of Karlovac http://www .karlovac.hr/UserDocsImages/2016/dokumenti/GGK6-2016.pdf (18/12/2017).

010 *Open tender for Mala scena manager in 2016* (Javni natječaj za upravitelja Male scene u 2016. godini) is available on the following website: http://www.karlovac.hr/natjecaji-javni-pozivi-obavijesti/natjecaji-javni -pozivi/javni-natjecaj-za-upravitelja-male-scene/4098 (08/02/2018).

011 The application of program for Mala scena of Croatian Home can be submitted via an online form which is available on the following website: https:// kaoperativa.org/mala-scena/prijava-programa/ (18/12/2017).

012 *Public call for proposing candidates for the members of Mala Scena of Croatian Home Program Council in Karlovac* (Javni poziv za predlaganje kandidata za članove Programskog vijeća Male scene Hrvatskog doma u Karlovcu), published in 2017, is available on the following website: http://www.karlovac.hr /UserDocsImages//2017/dokumenti%20članci//JAVNI%20POZIV%20ZA%20 KANDIDATURE%20PROGRAMSKOG%20VIJEĆA%20MALE%20SCENE.pdf (08/02/2018).

several smaller accompanying rooms. However, the entire space is not statically stable, so no activities are currently hosted in this portion of the building. The building as a whole only partially meets the contemporary technical standards of buildings used for the purposes of cultural events. At the moment, only Mala scena meets the minimum technical requirements for work, while the entire building needs extensive reconstruction (Platforma 9,81, 2015). Mala scena consists of a space separated from the big hall, behind the stage, and a basement with two rooms. The space has a total floor area of approximately 300m², of which 160m² is the floor area of the main hall. The rest of the space consists of offices, several service rooms, two spaces for band rehearsals[013], sanitary facilities and halls. As regards the type of cultural space, Mala scena is defined as a club in which not only concert activities, but workshops, meetings, forums, quizzes, shows, literary evenings, etc. are also held.

As the project is a part of the city's cultural strategy, the refurbishment of the building is in the interest of its owner, the City of Karlovac. At the request of the City of Karlovac, the architectural collective Platforma 9,81 drafted a model for the development of Croatian Home as a socio-cultural centre (Platforma 9,81, 2015). The design presented a space for both cultural programmes and the social interaction of different age groups. The basic idea of the refurbishment is to return the building to both its original purpose and to refurbish it as a new multipurpose space, in line with the modern-day needs of the culture and art scene, as well as wider civil society. However, taking into account the poor condition of the building, its dimensions and how demanding the project is, for the time being, the refurbishment is only possible if European or other funds are to be employed.

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013 The smaller space for band rehearsals costs HRK 500 and the bigger one HRK 800 (13m² and 22m² respectively), while a participation fee of HRK 500 is charged for the hall if the event offers hospitality services or includes entrance tickets. The collected amount is used for covering additional overhead costs.

Programme

The mission of the space is to offer opportunities to actors in the field of contemporary culture and art, as well as other social activities, to produce, spend time and create in the Croatian Home building, as well as to enable such actors to contribute to the entrepreneurial image of the city and, thus, improve the city's quality of life through culture. In line with this mission, the building's program, which is created on the basis of an annual public call, reflects the interests and needs of both the users of Mala scena and the local community. At the moment, the following programmes and activities are carried out regularly or occasionally in the space: band rehearsals, concerts, audiovisual and performance art, different events associated with electronic music, presentations and conversations with artists, exhibitions, literary evenings, board-game themed get-togethers for young people, workshops, round tables, debates and lectures, projections, flea markets and handicraft fairs. Among the values that the space promotes, KAoperativa lists transparency, collectivity, progressiveness and cooperation. The activities are primarily aimed at young people, but also at everyone who lives in Karlovac. All the actors involved in such KAoperativa projects are rewarded by witnessing the revitalisation of the area surrounding Croatian Home, as well as the very cultural scene whose sustainability and unhindered work they strive to enable.

Representatives of KAoperativa believe that it is through the management and programming of a socio-cultural centre in the Croatian Home building, along with several other city locations, that the platform would meet its main objective, which is to address and ensure the needs of the independent cultural scene when it comes to space: providing club space, band rehearsal space, atelier, gallery, performance space a dance studio and several offices (KAoperativa, 2016). The platform intends to keep Mala scena open during the entire day, expand upon existing programmes and additionally include high school students, college students, volunteers and citizens aged over 35 (KAoperativa, 2016: 5). By refurbishing Croatian Home and expanding

into other spaces in the building, the aim is also to discard the exclusively 'alternative' image of the space, which is currently the predominant public perception of Mala scena. By offering better production conditions, the aim is not only to create a hang-out space, but also to expand activities to include the fields of social entrepreneurship and cooperatives, co-working spaces and residencies, as well as hospitality facilities, such as art cafés and hostels.

iii. Development perspectives from the key stakeholders' point of view

As stated earlier, the designed model of participatory governance for Croatian Home includes the users of the space, i.e. civil society organizations and local and regional authorities as the space's owners. However, it could also include representatives of the local community, which could be defined as the audience, future users and the immediate neighborhood.

Users

In the city of Karlovac, there are 78 active associations in the field of culture and art[014], with some of the more prominent ones being members of the KAoperativa platform. KAoperativa sees the further development of participatory governance as being attained through the improvement of existing activities, enhancing the quality of events, and investing in activities that inhere the potential for space refurbishment and development. Expanding into other spaces with the purpose of undertaking activities, which are currently limited due to the particularities of the Mala scena space, would arouse interest and result in the inclusion of new people. As the basic preconditions for the development of the participatory governance model, KAoper-

ativa's representatives state the need for perseverance and patience, as well as the simultaneous development of different fields, such as dialogue between stakeholders, development of the programme and of relationships within the platform.

KAoperativa's representatives primarily specify time (that is, waiting too long for something to happen with regard to either the space or financing) as an obstacle to the further cultural development of this model, as well as the entire socio-cultural centre. Little or no progress has been the main cause for abandoning the development of Croatian Home as a socio-cultural centre. The emigration of young people and a decreasing interest in culture are pointed out as strong, demotivating elements. Also, despite their being good communication and cooperation with the City of Karlovac, there have been a lack of concrete steps forward in the revitalisation of Croatian Home, as well as the further development of the partnership regarding the participatory governance of the building[015]. On the other hand, in addition to the cultural meaning and location of Croatian Home, collaboration with the City of Karlovac is stated as the main impetus for the development of a socio-cultural centre. Representatives of the platform see the management of Mala scena as an example of good practice, which could have a positive impact on the development of the city and a change of the local community.

Local and regional authorities

Representatives of the local and regional authorities generally have a very positive view of participatory governance, their experience of working with civil society organizations on the Mala scena of Croatian

014 The register of associations in the Republic of Croatia is available on the following website: http://registri.uprava.hr (21/12/2017).

015 The said issue was discussed during a meeting of Kultura Nova Foundation with KAoperativa platform representatives, which was held on May 12, 2017 during the implementation of the project on participatory governance in culture. More information is available on the project website: http://participatory-governance-in-culture.net/hr/read/meeting-with-kaoperativa (18/12/2017).

Home project having been crucial to this perspective. Through the joint development of the concept of managing Mala scena, the roles and responsibilities of participants, the management of the space and the programming of the activities were defined. Representatives of The City of Karlovac believe that, for a successful establishment of participatory governance, there has to be a clear governance structure in the form of a defined and elaborate model, while everything else must be subject to open tenders. Among the positive aspects of The City of Karlovac's cooperation with civil society organizations, the City states the advantages of working together in an environment where everyone contributes their own specific types of knowledge and creativity. Representatives of the City believe that the participatory governance of city spaces is a good model, while civil society organizations believe that the City needs to define its priorities and, through transparency, demonstrate that it is ready to cooperate. The results arising from the very act of connecting and networking with stakeholders in culture, which reflects the quality of the programme, are also positively evaluated.

As obstacles to the development of participatory governance, they state the limitations of working in the civil sector, which primarily relates to the lack of human resources and a considerable fluctuation of people. The establishment of a close partnership between the City and the associations requires a continuity regarding not only membership and leadership but also the inclusion of new, young people. As another obstacle, they state the Associations Act which, they believe, too rigidly defines certain obligations. If organizations' lack of resources for administration is to be taken into account, such an Act would require a certain level of flexibility in its application. As regards to the programme, they believe that the tendency of focusing on youth-activities, which is shown in the case of Mala scena, is a limiting factor. Therefore, they believe that it is necessary to create more diverse programmes that are intended for everyone, especially because European competition practice covers different age groups. When it comes to the development perspective, they see the refurbished Croatian Home building as a multipurpose building, where

activities associated with music, dance and big concerts can take place, where there will be co-working spaces and business incubators, rooms for workshops aimed at different age groups and a space for the alternative, independent culture scene.

In the development of participatory governance practices, the City of Karlovac considers the primary interest to be the restoration of the city's cultural heritage, which inheres great potential for development and growth, and that, following such a restoration, it is necessary to know how this heritage should function. Public institutions in the field of culture would be in charge of such a utilisation, while a cooperation through participatory governance with interested stakeholders would create new, modern activities, aimed not only at the young but also at wider society. In line with the above, programmes with the aim of including a larger number of people interested in all aspects of cultural development will be encouraged, whereby the City sees culture primarily working for tourism.

Local community
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The managers of Mala scena believe that their audience and programme users are primarily young people, high school students and college students. However, the audience age varies depending on the event, so visitors can also be people aged up to 50 who share an interest in rock music, electronic music and alternative theatre, as well as certain types of alternative recreation, such as juggling. They believe that the spectrum of users is wide, but it is mostly connected to alternative culture, which is also, to a certain extent, the perception held by the public. Therefore, KAoperativa seeks to contribute to the development of Mala scena as a space for all the city's citizens (KAoperativa, 2016).

A survey conducted among the local community has confirmed perceptions of audience characteristics, showing that visitors to Mala scena are mostly persons of a young or middle age — 52 % aged 15 – 29, 43 % aged 30 – 45 and 5 % aged 46 – 65 — and that both men

(47 %) and women (53 %) are almost equally represented. The largest portion of the survey described themselves as audience members (46 %), a small portion as residing in the neighbourhood of the Centre (7 %), and 45 % declared themselves as potential users of Mala scena. The remaining 10 % of the visitors stated their attending workshops and other events, residencies and performances as the reasons for their visit. Some of the people surveyed are participants or business partners of the programme, or use the spaces for band rehearsals. Over the last year, 39 % visited Mala scena 15 times or more, 14 % users visited 6 – 15 times, 35 % 1 – 5 times, while 12 % respondents didn't visit Mala scena at all. Among the surveyed visitors, 45 % of them had heard about the notion of participatory governance, while 54 % were interested in learning more about that topic. Finally, as much as 60 % of visitors have an interest in being included in the governance, programming or consultation processes of Mala scena.

iv. **Conclusion**
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In nearly every aspect, be it historical, urban, economic, transportational, cultural, or in terms of the application of participatory governance, the city of Karlovac is a unique place. Exploring the development of the participatory governance model through conversations with key stakeholders — representatives of local self-government, civil society organizations and through the surveying of local community, has shown that all stakeholders have positively evaluated the established cooperation. The fact that it is a city with a rich cultural heritage which is in need of prompt restorative action, has likely contributed to the initial positive consensus among the stakeholders and provided the momentum for action. Regardless of the above, the case of Karlovac shows the enthusiasm and determination of civil society organizations, as well as that city authorities are open and ready to cooperate. The established model of participatory governance is a result of a process of consultations, workshops, meetings and negotiations between the City and the associations, as well as the local community. Through this process, individuals from the city

administration and the local community were able to learn about participatory governance and public-civil partnership, while civil society organisations in the field of culture have increased their capacities. Communication between stakeholders has been established, responsibilities and roles have been clearly defined, and procedures have been established. Nevertheless, that the end of the processes for establishing this model is not very near has been indicated by a lack of real progress in the revitalization of Croatian Home and the continual development of the partnership with the City. Such a halt may demotivate organisations and, ultimately, cause a decrease in the number of their employees. However, this is a problem which is recognized by local self-government as one of the obstacles to the development of the cooperation.

Despite gathering around a common cause (i.e. the revitalisation of Croatian Home as a socio-cultural centre through the use of participatory governance and a public-civil partnership), the research has indicated a certain incompatibility between the stakeholders' expectations. The expectations that civil society organisations have are directed at the refurbishment and expansion of the space, enhancing the quality of activities and including new users and visitors. On the other hand, the expectations of the local self-government are aimed at bigger activities and events which would attract a larger audience of all ages. They strive for the development of entrepreneurship through culture and see tourism as the purpose of cultural development. Therefore, citizens themselves recognize the necessity of renewing the sociability of the space as complementary to the material reconstruction of its facilities. This perspective is visible not only in the results of the survey, but also in the deliberative, consultative processes regarding the future of the city Star, which has shown that citizens are interested in the revitalisation of the city's historical core. The existing procedure for establishing the program of Mala scena organically reflects the needs of the local community, which at the moment, is predominantly comprised of persons of a young and middle age. Therefore, the creation of a programme aimed at all generations can only result from the expansion of the space and an increase

in the number of activities. The case of Mala scena of Croatian Home in Karlovac is a representative example, which can be followed in other such cases and which encourages similar actions elsewhere. However, its full scope has yet to be seen.

4. Molekula in Rijeka — Davor Mišković

i. Profile of the city: Rijeka[001]

Rijeka is located in Primorje-Gorski Kotar County in western Croatia, 131 kilometers southwest of Zagreb, on the northern coast of Kvarner Bay. It occupies a relatively small area (44 square kilometers), reflected in the fact that not only Croatia's largest cities such as Split and Osijek but even some municipalities in Rijeka's surroundings cover a larger surface area than Rijeka itself. Given its relatively small spatial area and its isolation from the hinterland, Rijeka faces certain problems pertaining to urban planning. As a result, the built area of the city is already crammed with new shopping malls and lacks green surfaces. Moreover, every construction intervention in the city fabric seizes public surfaces from its citizens, regardless of their landscaping conditions.

According to the 2011 census, Rijeka has 128.624 inhabitants, a figure that increases to 191.641 when the city's surrounding area is included[002]. The population of Rijeka has been in a state of continuous decline since 1991, and the rate of natural increase is consistently negative, amounting to -6.31 in 2015, while the vital index (the number of live births per 100 deaths) is 53. Therefore, Rijeka belongs

001   The data for the drawing up of the city profile was downloaded from the following sources: Integral Physical Planning and Traffic Study of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County and the City of Rijeka (IGH Institute, 2011); Development Strategy of the City of Rijeka for the 2014–2020 Period (City of Rijeka 2013); Development Strategy of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County 2016–2020 (Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, 2015).
002   These are the local self-government units that were part of the former Rijeka Municipality: Kastav, Viškovo, Grobnik, Kostrena, Bakar, Kraljevica and Klana.

to the group of so-called *shrinking cities*: cities experiencing population decline and that are not attractive to inhabitants because they are unable to ensure their future existence. In spite of this population decline, at an average of 2.925 inhabitants per square kilometer Rijeka nevertheless has the highest population density in Croatia.

As regards Rijeka's ethnic composition, the majority of the population comprises Croats (82.5 %), followed by Serbs (6.5 %), Bosniaks (2 %), and Italians (1.9 %) and other minorities. The average age of Rijeka's inhabitants is 41.2 years, which accords with the Croatian average of 41.7 years. The age structure of Rijeka's population is skewed towards older groups: 35.205 (27.3 %) inhabitants are older than 60, whereas only 14.966 (11.6 %) inhabitants are younger than 15. The educational structure of the population of Rijeka aged 15 and older is as follows: 24 % of the population is highly educated; 56 % of the population has a high school diploma; 15 % of the population has completed primary school education; and 5 % did not receive any formal education. Computer literacy, which indicates the number of persons aged 10 or older who use the Internet and e-mail and who know how to process a text, reveals that 73.000 (56.8 %) people in Rijeka are computer-literate, above the county and national averages.

In 2011, 54.340 (48 %) of Rijeka's inhabitants were economically inactive (pensioners, housewives and househusbands, school and university students), 50.494 (44 %) were employed, and 8.761 (8 %) were unemployed. Data from September 2016 recorded 10.876 unemployed persons, suggesting a rise in unemployment. The number of people employed in economic activities in 2015 was 30.433, thus 12.5 % lower than the figure in 1995. Moreover, since 1991, the number of persons employed in economic activities has been steadily declining.

Available data regarding the economic trends of the city are deficient, but based on data of economic trends in Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, some conclusions can be made about the state of the economy in Rijeka. In 2013, the gross domestic product (GDP) of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County was HRK 28.86 billion, equating to a per capita GDP of

HRK 97.924. According to both of these indicators, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County occupies second place in Croatia, close behind the capital city, Zagreb. However, the per capita GDP makes up only 49 % of the average European Union (EU) GDP.

According to the National Classification of Activities, the most important economic activities in Rijeka comprise processing, mining and other industries, which collectively account for one third of the county's GDP, followed by trade and hospitality (which has been significantly affected by coastal and island tourism), which accounts for almost 22 % of the county's GDP. At the county level, the most important industries are shipbuilding, wood and pharmaceuticals, with the shipbuilding and pharmaceutical industries primarily located in Rijeka. According to the number of employed persons and realized revenue and expenditures, Rijeka is dominated by trade, with a share of 45 % of income and 27 % of employed persons, followed by the processing industry, according to data from 2007.

Given these circumstances, it is particularly interesting to scrutinize the budget of the City of Rijeka because it has been created in extremely tight spatial conditions, reduced employment and population, and within a context of unfavorable economic trends throughout the country. In 2015, the City's budget amounted to almost HRK 685 million, and expenditure approximately HRK 696 million, resulting in a deficit of approximately HRK 12 million (Fičor, 2015). Since 2007, expenditure of the budget has every year exceeded revenue and in 2016 the accumulated liabilities exceeded HRK 200 million.

Tax revenue accounts for the majority of revenue in the city, amounting to HRK 352 million, of which HRK 316.8 million comes from personal income tax (46.2 % of revenue in the total budget). Income from the City's property is a significant source of revenue, amounting to HRK 112 million (16.3 % of the budget), primarily in the form of income from the lease of spaces (HRK 90 million). Another important item is revenue from administrative fees (HRK 125.5 million or 18.3 % of the budget), of which revenue from public utility charges amounts to HRK 106 million.

Other revenue comes from assistance from abroad and from entities within the general budget, income from the sale of non-financial assets, fines, administrative measures and other sources.

Expenditure by the City of Rijeka's administration departments reveal that in 2015 the Department of Culture had HRK 74.45 million at its disposal, accounting for almost 11 % of the total budget. Of this total, approximately HRK 4 million was allocated to a program of public needs in culture, 2 million of which was intended to cover previous years' debts. Therefore, the budget amounted to HRK 2 million, with an additional HRK 1.77 million available for institutional programmes, equating to a total of HRK 3.7 million allocated to culture or 5 % of the budget. Even considering the debts from previous years, a modest 7.7 % of the budget is thus allocated for culture. The rest of the budget is directed to employee expenses, material costs, and the overhead expenses of institutions and spaces managed by the City of Rijeka. In total, in 2015 the expenses of the institutions amounted to HRK 60.8 million or 81.7 % of the budget for culture.

Other items in the budget refer to expenses pertaining to the management of cultural facilities managed by the City of Rijeka: HRK 2.5 million for capital investments in cultural facilities; HRK 2.9 million for capital assistance donations, mostly for restoration; HRK 3.2 million and smaller sums for other items, such as the functioning of the cultural councils, preparation of studies, EU projects in which the City is involved and the preparation of proposals for the European Capital of Culture programme and so on.

The cultural policy of the City of Rijeka is defined in the *Cultural Development Strategy of the City of Rijeka 2013 – 2020*, a strategic document adopted by the City Council in 2013. This document defines 13 general strategic goals of the cultural policy of the City of Rijeka to be achieved by 2020.

The key instrument of implementing the city's cultural policy is funding. In 2015, 188 programmes were financed through the public

needs programme, equivalent to HRK 3.7 million. According to the proposed budget, decisions regarding the funding of programmes are reached by cultural councils. The City of Rijeka has seven cultural councils and each council has three members. The tenure of cultural council members is four years, and the members are appointed by the City Council at the proposal of the mayor. According to our knowledge, cultural councils are autonomous in their work. They function on the principle that the City of Rijeka determines a financial framework within which they must incorporate the programmes that will be supported, and so they independently determine the amounts of funding, which must be kept within the existing budget's framework for each activity. The composition of the cultural councils compared with Croatia as a whole is favorable because they seek to combine experts in specific fields at the national level with people who are familiar with local circumstances, and together they endeavor to make constructive and effective decisions. This practice of assembling cultural councils has been present in Rijeka since the introduction of the decision making system through cultural councils. Prior to 2013, councils consisted of five members, but today they only include three. This reduction is justified by the achievement of financial savings without (it is argued) compromising the decision making system.

Aside from funding, the management of spaces intended for cultural events and the role of the City as the coordinator between different stakeholders in culture are also critical to the implementation of cultural policy. This is reflected in the realization of projects of particular interest for the City of Rijeka. The *Strategy* defines cultural projects of high priority, as well as special strategic goals and measures, and the majority of the document itself is dedicated to their elaboration. These special strategic goals and measures are primarily distributed among the areas of cultural activity in order to cover the protection of cultural heritage, visual arts, performing arts, new media art, and so forth. For the most part they are defined very generally and almost invariably state that their implementation is contingent on circumstances and financial means.

The Cultural Strategy of the City of Rijeka specifies the prioritization of everything that is already happening in the cultural life of the city, which means that there are actually no priorities. Everything in the field of cultural policy can be interpreted as being executed in accordance with the defined priorities; in contrast, activities that are not undertaken can be justified by 'unfortunate' or unfavorable circumstances and a lack of financial means.

Since 2015, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County has worked to adopt a cultural strategy for the entire county. Several discussions have taken place regarding different aspects of the county strategy. According to these discussions, the priorities of the county strategy are twofold: to encourage the development of cultural industries and to encourage cultural programs in smaller communities, especially on the islands and in Gorski Kotar. A conversation with the county head revealed that the aim of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County is to develop programmes of cultural activities throughout the entire territory of the county, in accordance with the needs of its inhabitants.

Primorje-Gorski Kotar County has one cultural council, consisting of nine members, which decides on all programmes. Five types of programmes are financed via the public needs programme[003]. Although the theme of creative and cultural industries dominates priorities, the cultural council's composition is such that none of its members work in these fields or industries, while funding decisions completely fail to reflect the priorities established in the call for applications for the public needs programme. In 2015, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County allocated HRK 2.18 million for the programme of public needs in culture. This budget is modest and scarcely affects Rijeka's cultural life, except through supporting the work of the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Littoral and the Natural History Museum.

Even the County's relatively significant financial assistance to the Croatian National Theater represents only a small portion of the Theater's budget.

Rijeka was chosen as the European Capital of Culture for 2020. It represents the largest cultural project in Croatia and involves the construction of infrastructure through the restoration of cultural heritage sites. For instance, the former factory complex Rikard Benčić will be transformed to accommodate the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, the City Museum, the City Library and a new institution called the Children's House, which will provide artistic and cultural programs for children. In addition, the ship Galeb will be reconstructed and placed under the management of the City Museum, hosting a museum collection, a conference hall and a number of commercial facilities. The European Capital of Culture programme is divided into seven programme lines. However, aside from the cultural and artistic programme, the European Capital of Culture programme will also help develop the local cultural community's capacities, including audience development, marketing activities, programmes for the community and numerous other activities. Without factoring in construction (i.e. investment into infrastructure) the budget of the European Capital of Culture is EUR 30 million.

ii. Molekula

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Development overview[004]

In the first few years of the twenty-first century, several cultural associations in Rijeka actively implemented their programmes in spaces such as cultural institutions and abandoned factory premises, but also in other public spaces, for instance underpasses and squares. A

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003 Programmes are focused on the preservation and fostering of cultural heritage; encouraging creative and cultural industries; cultural events; collaboration of creative and cultural industries with schools; audience development.

004 The overview of the development of Molekula is based on two publications: Memento Molekula (Mišković 2006) and Memento II (Batarelo 2015).

number of associations rented spaces from the city in order to perform their activities. These included the following associations: Spirit (predominantly musical activities and the organization of concerts and music workshops), Otvorena scena Belveder and KUC Kalvarija (management of amateur theaters, each in their own spaces), and Drugo more (organized programmes in a very small space on the second floor of a building in the city centre). Another important space in the city comprised the Palach premises, managed by the company MMC (Multimedijalni centar), which also housed part of the programme of the independent cultural scene. At this time, more programmes existed than the spaces required to accommodate them. In 2005, Drugo more initiated the *Molekula* project with the intention of uniting some of the associations under one project, and renting and arranging a space that could be used jointly by those associations. The first step in this unification project consisted of moving the Filmaktiv and Infošop Škatula associations into the premises of Drugo more. This increased the scope of the programme that had previously been held in that space, but also led to the establishment of the first forms of common space management. This resulted in a need for a new, larger space, and in order to obtain this space, the existing organizations were required to connect with newer counterparts. This process occurred over time, resulting in the establishment of the Molekula Alliance of Associations, which consisted of six organizations[005]. In 2007, the Alliance finally moved to the premises of the former IVEX and was active there until 2014, when its growth (by this time to nine organizations)[006] necessitated a further move to the premises of Filodrammatica and Palach in 2014. It was additionally offered access to the premises of Hartera (Marganovo).

005   The Molekula Alliance of Associations was founded by the organizations
      Drugo more, Filmaktiv, Infošop Škatula, Katapult, Prostor plus and Trafik.
006   Associations Infošop Škatula and Katapult left the Alliance after their ac-
      tivities ceased, and in 2014 the Alliance was expanded with the associations
      Delta 5, Distune, Drugo more, Filmaktiv, Hotel Bulić, Klub ljubitelja buke,
      Prostor plus, Škatula and Trafik operating within it. Later, in 2015, the as-
      sociation RiRock also joined the Alliance.

Upon entering the premises of IVEX, Molekula Alliance of Associations developed a model of common space management, in which all its members participated. Within this model, each member has retained full autonomy regarding the production of its own programme. The programme was produced by members of the Alliance rather than the Alliance itself, which assumed responsibilities for space management. The Alliance did not possess any programme to offer the organizations financing the programmes, but instead ran the space, which became distinctive as the programme centre. Shortly after moving into the premises of IVEX, the public started recognizing Molekula as a place where various programmes, exhibitions, lectures, concerts, dance workshops, and theatrical performances are held. Each association that was a member of the Alliance has maintained its subjectivity as a programme organizer, with Molekula simply the place where the programmes are held. Although the Alliance did not tend to organize programmes, Molekula started to become recognized as a centre for cultural life. By looking at this dynamic from the perspective of understanding the cultural system, it is interesting to recognize that the audience or the public associates programmes with spaces, and not with the organizers.

The members of the Alliance decided that the funds for programme realization should be raised by individual associations, members of the Alliance, who were also the ones implementing the programme. Only exceptionally would the Alliance participate in competitions, and only in those competitions where individual members were prevented from participating or they were not interested in participating. However, such a situation occurred very rarely. As a result, the members of the Alliance developed a financing system for the Alliance itself, that is, its administrative costs, the costs of the lease of the space, and its maintenance. For this reason, a model was created to distinguish between three categories of space: private, public and common. The price of each space is determined by multiplying the number of square meters of the space with a specific coefficient. The coefficients were determined as follows: 3 for private spaces, 2 for public spaces, and 1 for common spaces. The

costs of the private spaces were covered by the associations using those spaces for offices, according to the formula 'number of square meters x 3.' The costs of the public spaces were covered by the associations that benefited most from them. The costs of the common spaces and the administrative costs were distributed equally among all associations. This resulted in an asymmetrical cost-distribution structure that accounted for the fact that some members of the Alliance enjoyed greater benefit from the spaces it ran. A decision was also made stipulating that the external users of the spaces — those who were not members of the Molekula Alliance of Associations — would be given the space in order to realize their programme, free of charge. This model proved functional because it was how the Alliance operated from 2007 to 2014, and so most of the associations who were members of the Alliance were enabled to grow their programmes.

The Molekula Alliance of Associations was managed by its members. In spite of the asymmetrical cost distribution, all members enjoyed an equal share when it came to governance. The basis for decision making was not property or expenses, but membership. This model of governing the Alliance through indirectly governing the space by its members is an example of the institutionalization of collective governance of a common good (Ostrom, 2006).

Entering the premises of Hartera (Marganovo), Filodrammatica and Palach in 2014 was less the result of a need than of an opportunity. The City of Rijeka announced a competition for the three premises for the realization of the independent cultural programme. Several circumstances influenced the stimulation of that opportunity: pressures to secure a more efficient management of premises at a national and city level; expiration of the agreement with former leases in Palach that did not show any interest in the renewal of the agreement; and the general depletion of the cultural sector and reduction of the number of programmes on the premises of Filodrammatica and Hartera, as well as the possibility of establishing new means of financing cultural infrastructure

participatory governance[007]. A combination of negative and positive factors influenced the City's decision to hand the governance of these premises to cultural civil society organizations. The Molekula Alliance of Associations won the competition and was granted use of these spaces. Given that this was a novel situation, a decision was reached to expand the Alliance with new members in order to improve the Alliance's capacity to govern these spaces. The Alliance has duly grown to nine members.

Situation analysis[008]

From the very beginning, Molekula was primarily focused on space and was founded as an organization to govern the spaces used for other organizations' programmes, other members' programmes and programmes of organizations of similar programme affiliation. It is feasible that some of the members aspired to create their own spaces and to tie their identities to them, but at the time when Molekula was established, this was extremely difficult to accomplish. The founders of Molekula are primarily organizations whose purpose is the production of programmes, and they have forged their identities in these programmes. Therefore, the establishment of Molekula added much needed value to all those involved, which they were unable to accomplish on their own.

The programme profile of Molekula can most easily be categorized as a contemporary art and activist culture, and based on the production of programmes by independent cultural organizations, associations

007 New funding forms of participatory governance refer to the competition of the European Social Fund, which will support some forms of participatory governance (primarily collaboration between civil society organizations and public administration).

008 The situation analysis is based on the direct insights of a researcher who was the project manager for the Molekula project of the Drugo more Association and the manager of several programmes at Drugo more and on interviews with representatives of the Molekula Alliance of Associations and its members.

and art organizations. From the outset, the space itself had been open to the programmes of organizations outside of Molekula as long as those organizations suited Molekula's programme profile. This led to the creation of a place that attracted a number of stakeholders who could now realize their programmes exempt from any fees. In a seven year period, thousands of programmes, organized by numerous individuals, initiatives and organizations, were realized. Some of the programmes were held on a continuous basis (such as training sessions, regular meetings, lectures, workshop cycles, and gallery programmes), whereas others occurred once (such as concerts, parties, and various visiting events). This created a special dynamic and atmosphere on the premises of Molekula, which could be transformed for different purposes. The ease of transformation of the space represented a crucial part of the premises' significance and appeal.

From the start, the premises at IVEX were conceived as a work space in which public programmes could be held on an occasional basis. However, the quantity of public programmes caused confusion amongst the public, whose expectations of the space, which was also called Molekula, were very different. Indeed, some of their expectations were connected with the work of the Alliance itself, including the production of artistic content, training and education, whereas the remainder of the public expected the space to function more as a club. For years, Molekula has had to balance these conflicting expectations and has attempted to reconcile the varied interests of its members, other organizations pertaining to the independent scene and the cultural public itself. Consequently, the space has received considerable criticism from dissatisfied groups and individuals, even as the space has functioned as per its original purpose.

From the very beginning, Molekula as an organization had a simple but challenging task: to provide a space for the work of its members whilst also providing space for the realization of a wide range of programmes in the local independent scene. Based on one's perspective and expectations, Molekula's performance as an organization can be evaluated quite differently regarding its basic task. However,

it is first important to acknowledge the structural limitations of the organization and the reasons why it was unable to meet all expectations i.e. why it functioned under its capacities. Every organization that operated as a founder or member of Molekula had and still has certain interests in the Alliance's activities. Associations joined Molekula assuming that it would promote those interests, especially the provision of a space for its members' performance of basic activities, and secondarily the improvement of the cultural system through securing better conditions for work in the independent cultural scene. From today's perspective, the establishment of Molekula seems to have been a rational move because the organization helped to achieve the interests of its members. However, the fact is that in most cases, the individuals or the organizations did not take any actions to achieve their interests. The reason for a lack of action can be ascribed to the fact that the achievement of any interest also entails certain costs: it requires time, money, and effort. These costs pose a crucial obstacle to taking any kind of collective action, especially one that requires continuity (Olson, 2009). Consequently, the very establishment of Molekula required its stakeholders to individually calculate their costs and define the realization of their interests through Molekula. Before the formal establishment of Molekula, Drugo more implemented the Molekula programme, with the aim of connecting stakeholders in the independent scene, and through that programme, the first activities that eventually led to the establishment of the Alliance were financed. This was critical because some of the costs were covered, which meant that all of these individual calculations of the cost/performance ratio were based on costs reduced by perhaps the most scarce resource: money. Nevertheless, the important costs of work and time remained, even if these individual calculations within the total calculation, which included all involved stakeholders, the six associations that founded the Alliance concluded that joining a new organization and taking certain collective action might enable them to realize their interests.

Experience has taught us that the start of every action entails the highest costs. Much greater effort (cost) is required to achieve the

first results than is true of every subsequent achievement. In the case of Molekula, the premises were disproportionately expensive in their first year, but the cost decreased each year. This cost does not only imply money, but also the investment of effort and time. The cost of the first year of the IVEX premises should also include the activities that lasted for two years, including numerous meetings, correspondence, the publication of various forms of literature, and public promotion involving a large number of people. Without these, there would be no premises. After attaining the premises, the cost dropped dramatically, and has continued year on year simply thanks to the adoption of the management routine. Abandonment by members and the reduction of programmes at Molekula, which happened by the end of activity at the IVEX premises, did not result from the internal dynamics of Molekula, but rather from external circumstances that cut the organizations' budgets by half. Indeed, the members of Molekula that ceased their activities or persisted by reducing all of their redundant costs, including the costs of the space.

The members of the Molekula Alliance of Associations lacked the motivation to further develop the Alliance either as an organization or as a space, because the costs were too high for all members. Larger member organizations were granted as much space as they needed, and any further investment would mean that their costs would increase disproportionately to their potential profit. On the other hand, smaller members would reap the same profit as their larger counterparts, and this seemed to them the maximum possible profit. They did not possess sufficient funds for new activities, and they also eschewed them because the results of such actions were questionable and the costs imminent. Therefore, primarily due to this institutional model, Molekula was instigated to perform its activities suboptimally. Certainly, the institutional model, in which the distribution of costs was not exactly proportionate to the additional benefits, was problematic. Optimum organizational performance is only possible in cases where the ratio between the distribution of costs and benefits is completely equal. But this can only be achieved in laboratory conditions.

Nonetheless, although the Molekula Alliance of Associations operated suboptimally with regard to its potential, it took an important step in positioning the independent cultural scene in Rijeka. Naturally, the space could have functioned better, but due to structural problems this was unfeasible. Today, following its enlargement, Molekula is comprised of nine organizations and manages four city spaces. This of course represents enormous potential, but it also renders the issues of its internal structure paramount. The costs of Molekula's operation are today completely covered by external stakeholders through a space development programme implemented by Molekula itself, while the city of Rijeka partially covers the overhead costs. This means that progress in space utilization and its recognition could easily be achieved because the calculation of all those involved is again positive, and the costs are very low for all members. However, such achievements have not occurred. The reasons most likely lie in Molekula's structure: its members have achieved their interests regarding space and are not motivated to develop it further. Instead, they seek to improve their own programme activities.

At least two reasons can be proffered for such a situation. The first is the same as during Molekula's operation on the premises of IVEX. The second reason lies in the fact that today the members of Molekula no longer see immediate benefit from the Alliance itself. Ten years have passed since winning the competition for their first premises at IVEX, and the space itself is no longer considered a problem. It is a resource that Molekula has had at its continuous disposal for ten years and so the members no longer deem the space as something of value and that should be defended. Thus, the space itself is no longer a motive for action. If the loss of space were to become imminent, the situation would radically change; the space would again be regarded as a valuable resource and this would probably result in organized joint action. In the new configuration of space distribution, the members of the Alliance operate within three spaces (IVEX, Filodrammatica and Palach), and each member is focused on the space in which they work. When the Alliance operated in one space, this represented a basis of communion. The members of the Alliance are complementary when

it comes to their programmes, but they deal with different things and have different interests and problems. What connects them is their position in a social structure, and this is insufficient to generate solidarity except in the cases when their position is at risk. When people working on their programmes met every day through sharing the same space, and so the space became somewhere that connected interests and problems, a sense of community was created. Today, in contrast, when people and organizations are dispersed among multiple spaces, the whole becomes invisible (except, of course, to the persons who run the operations of the Alliance). Members now seek to avoid problems that fail to concern their immediate interests, in this case, the space in which they work. In short, the relational rent, the benefit that results from the very act of networking, is no longer visible. Organizations associate with one another in order to achieve a certain competitive advantage, and the achievement of this advantage is called relational rent. Simply put, it is a benefit generated in exchange for relationships between different organizations (and due to those relationships) that cannot be generated by any of the organizations individually. Relational rent is the result of a synergy effect in a partnership network and is the property of the network: it belongs to the partners. What constitutes a relational rent for the present-day Molekula? Only the space itself, but the space is dispersed and diverse. The members of Molekula predominantly use only one of the spaces run by Molekula. Other spaces are neither used, nor considered their own. In the current configuration, even the relations amongst members are lost, and those relationships are instrumental for the exchange and sharing of resources and knowledge. The number and diversity of partners has significantly diversified the interests within the Alliance. Each of the spaces governed by Molekula has its own rules, and the larger Molekula is atomized into Palach, Filodrammatica, Hartera and IVEX. Therefore, the new structural limitation of Molekula is the diversification of spaces and activities. Due to the size of spaces and the lack of communication, members of Molekula no longer interact. Each member strives to shape the space in which it operates according to its own needs. What is encouraging here is the strong motivation of the organizations to improve the space, ultimately benefiting

everyone because the space is still operated by the Alliance. However, the drawback is that the Alliance is forced to balance between different individual interests, making it difficult to establish a common perspective and action.

Development perspectives[009]

The members of the Molekula Alliance of Associations currently do not share the prerequisite sense of community for collective action that would enhance the existing institutional arrangement. Absent is a common vision and motivation. The existing model of governing the spaces meets the needs of the Alliance members and their users. However, the spaces are neither improved, nor arranged or profiled in a quality manner. This is why the Alliance is committed to establishing a public-civil partnership in its governance, that is to say, involving the City to a greater extent in the management process, which would ultimately lead to investment into spaces. The Alliance conducts activities that advocate the development of a public-civil partnership model through public forums and meetings between members and with the City, as well as through bids to provide the resources for the functioning of the Alliance. All of these activities are the expression of the Alliance's efforts to improve the existing state of affairs, but a lack of clear vision about what a public-civil partnership would bring in practice and how the spaces governed by the Alliance would be profiled, remains absent. A vision is not articulated primarily owing to the diversity of the Alliance members, whose activities range from the organization of concerts to workshops and artistic production. Not only are those activities highly diverse, but they are also governed by different business models. Thus, the activities of one part of the members are inclined towards the market model, the second part towards activism, and the third towards the use of

009 Development perspectives are based on interviews with representatives of the City of Rijeka and representatives of the Molekula Alliance of Associations and its members.

public funds. The Molekula Alliance of Associations has successfully balanced itself between the different needs and business models of its members, but in order to articulate a clear vision, it is necessary to find a common denominator. This is sought in the concept of a socio-cultural centre that would encompass artistic production and the organization of cultural events and social entrepreneurship, and that could generate income independently. To this end, the Alliance took some concrete steps, such as by developing social entrepreneurship, establishing the company Molekularni proces (which primarily provides hospitality services), and participating in the development of the RiUse recycling project. Thus, within the concept of a socio-cultural centre, the Alliance decided to fill the gap associated with the absence of a social entrepreneurship component, while the cultural and artistic activities are primarily performed by members of the Alliance. Thus, a process of implementing a concept that is currently failing to facilitate improvements in the governance model and the space itself is taking place, but it is also opening up new possibilities for action. The Alliance received general support from its members for the performance of the aforementioned activities, but the members themselves are not involved (or at best are only occasionally involved) in their realization. The operation of the Alliance is therefore not differentiated from the operation of its members. The Alliance also acts independently, following its interests and vision. What is missing in the Molekula Alliance of Associations is the connection of different interests and visions, not in a unified vision, but in a joint effort that would strengthen individual activities and interests. It seems that the relational rent does exist in Molekula, but that members are neither aware of it nor working towards its development.

The representatives of public authorities are ready to accept the public-civil partnership for pragmatic reasons, but they also have a number of objections to this model. In their view, the inclusion of the City of Rijeka in the public-civil partnership for the purpose of governing a socio-cultural centre gives the City a role that is inappropriate. Programme management is awarded by the City to the institutions or companies that work autonomously, while the City

controls the work of those institutions in terms of management quality, compliance with laws, approval of investments and work positions at the proposal of the directors of those institutions, and the like. There is one clear procedure that regulates the relationship between the City and the institutions. In the case of a public-civil partnership, such a procedure does not exist: such a partnership would require the city administration to participate in the governance of programmes and spaces, which the administration does not perceive as its role. Administration representatives are also skeptical about the claim that this would resolve the issue of space because, in their view, the quality of the space primarily depends on the financial capabilities of the cities rather than on the governance model. According to their opinion, the public-civil partnership in this sense does not change anything.

What the City's representatives specify as an element that will significantly change the state of the city's culture over the next few years is the project of the European Capital of Culture. The total funding of the programmes in Rijeka (the funds of the City of Rijeka, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, Ministry of Culture and the European Union) amounts to approximately EUR 2 million a year. These funds will remain at this level, but in the next four years (2018 – 2021) they will be increased by at least EUR 20 million for the European Capital of Culture programme. This substantial increase in funding for a programme that will primarily be produced locally (albeit with international cooperation) will significantly reshape the programme image of the city, the attitude of the public towards culture, and enhance the work of all stakeholders in culture. In this perspective, common or participatory governance of cultural resources through a public-civil partnership is seen as one of the possible elements of community culture and audience development. Both at the county and city level, the public-civil partnership and socio-cultural centres are primarily linked to audience development and the inclusion of citizens in cultural programmes. The public-civil partnership model in the governance of resources in culture, primarily space, could receive support for development in Rijeka if it becomes one of the means of involving citizens in cultural

programmes. Since all of the members of the Molekula Alliance of Associations are working on various forms of citizen involvement in their programmes, it is a mutual interest and the meeting point of the Molekula Alliance of Associations and the City of Rijeka. Shifting the focus from space to citizen inclusion and audience development might help motivate the members of the Alliance themselves because it represents a common interest.

iii. Closing remarks
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The Molekula Alliance of Associations has profiled itself as an Alliance of organizations that operate in the field of contemporary art and culture. As an alliance, Molekula offers its members a space to work, and it governs the space, but it does not produce a programme itself, at least not on a regular basis. In space governance, the Alliance responds to the spatial needs not only of its members but also of the wider community, adhering to the programme profile (programmes in the field of contemporary arts and culture). The focus on space governance also determines attitudes towards the public-civil partnership. Thus, Molekula does not advocate any specific model, but considers acceptable any model that ensures the stability of the space for the operation of Molekula members and the independent cultural scene as a whole. In spite of the fact that the public-civil partnership model is not articulated, the Alliance is working to develop a vision of a socio-cultural centre that would, besides cultural and artistic production, also include elements of social entrepreneurship. The members of the Alliance are focused on the production of cultural and artistic content, while the public-civil partnership is considered an instrument that could secure stability in the implementation of their activities. Due to the focus on the content, and regardless of the public-civil partnership model, Alliance members insist on the preservation of the cultural and artistic profile of Molekula, which can most simply be categorized as an orientation to contemporary art practice.

The city administration primarily sees the public-civil partnership in cultural infrastructure governance as a mechanism for audience development and the inclusion of citizens in cultural activities. The city administration also expresses a concern that the process of participatory governance would institutionalize independent culture with all of the consequences that arise from it (city involvement in numerous decision making and arbitration processes, taking responsibility for programme orientation of the space, greater financial responsibility and so forth).

It can be concluded that both Molekula and the city administration consider the public-civil partnership in cultural resource governance a desirable mechanism for achieving their goals, and are prepared to cooperate and involve a greater number of stakeholders in the process of building a partnership and participatory governance model. But, not without hesitation.

5. Roje Community Centre in Pula — Davor Mišković

i. The profile of the city: Pula[001]

Pula is located at the south-western end of the Istrian peninsula, on seven hills, in the inner part of the bay, and the naturally protected harbour opens towards the north-west with two approaches, one immediately from the sea and the other through the Fažana canal. The city covers a surface area of 5.165 hectares, of which 4.150 are inland and 1.015 are at sea.

According to the latest census from 2011, with a population of 57.460, the city of Pula has been recording a gradual decline in the number of inhabitants, and in comparison to the 2001 census, it has 1.134 inhabitants less. In terms of population, Pula is the eighth, and according to population density, the fifth city in Croatia. The share of men in the total population amounts to 27.550 or 47.94 %, while the share of women is 29.910 or 52.05 %. With an average population age of 40.7 years and a negative natural increase of 231 inhabitants, Pula has recorded a trend of increase in the share of the old population. Meanwhile, the share of the younger population, up to 19 years of age, is 20.56 %. As regards to the ethnic composition, Pula is, as far as Croatian standards are concerned, a fairly diverse city. Croats account for

001 The data for the drawing up of the city profile was taken from the following three documents: *Istrian Cultural Strategy 2* (Istria County, 2014); *Cultural Strategy of the City of Pula* (City of Pula, 2013); *Development Strategy of the City of Pula* (Inženjerski biro, 2010).

71.65 %, Serbs 5.83 %, Italians 4.82 %, Bosniaks 1.67 % and Slovenians 1.25 %, while it is interesting to note that 1.88 % of inhabitants are regionally declared and 8.28 % of inhabitants have undeclared nationality. Members of numerous other national minorities also live in the city, but their number is quite small. Vocational schools, i.e. three-year (32.06 %) and four-year (16.94 %) schools and completed elementary schools (18.53 %), account for most of the educational structure of the population. As many as 9.73 % of Pula's citizens have completed university education, while 6.99 % have completed college education. In 2015, the area of the city of Pula had 3.131 registered unemployed persons, of which 1.646 were women, and the greatest number of unemployed persons belonged to the age group of 25 to 29 years.

The mayor is the holder of executive power and represents the City of Pula, and deputy mayors take over his duty in the event of his absence or incapacity. The mayor of Pula or one of the deputy majors must be a member of the Italian national community. The City Council consists of 25 members. In the territory of the City of Pula, 16 local boards have been established as a form of direct participation of citizens in the decision making referring to local affairs that have an impact on everyday life. Within the system of city administration, culture is managed through a separate department. An independent Administrative Department of Culture was established at the end of 2013 as one of the activities of the *Cultural Strategy of the City of Pula* (City of Pula, 2013), with a view to strengthening social cohesion among organizations and individuals who work in culture. By establishing an independent department, the significance of the social role of culture for the City of Pula was recognized on a symbolic level. The fact that the city has eight administrative bodies in total additionally points to the symbolic importance of establishing an independent Administrative Department of Culture. The scope of activities of the Department covers administrative and advisory tasks. The main tasks performed by the Administrative Department of Culture include allocating funds through the Programme of Public Needs in Culture and overseeing the intended use of funds, monitoring the work of institutions established by the City of Pula, coordinating cultural councils and committees,

providing professional assistance in the execution of programmes, governing cultural facilities, etc.

The territory of the City of Pula belongs to Istria County, whose GDP in 2013 amounted to approximately HRK 20 million or 6.1 % of Croatia's economic activities. That same year, per capita GDP amounted to HRK 96.268, which was 24.3 % above the national average. In said period, according to the structure of the county GDP, Istria County was fourth among other counties in Croatia's total GDP. Pula is thus located in an economically fairly active area, which can also be stimulating for cultural issues. In 2015, the budget of the City of Pula was HRK 337.6 million, while the total budget for culture constituted 8.36 % of the city's budget or HRK 28.86 million.

The development of culture in the City of Pula is strategically planned in two documents: *the Cultural Strategy of the City of Pula 2014 – 2020* and *the Istrian Cultural Strategy 2014 – 2020*. *The Cultural Strategy of the City of Pula* is based on the concept of culture as a public good, and culture is seen as the driver of city development. By identifying the basic shortcomings of the Croatian cultural system, and of Pula itself (conventional production and provision of services, closedness, inequality and staticity), the cultural strategy also recognizes the fundamental problems — a lack of value orientation, unclear distribution of responsibility, inequality arising from the organizational form of an institution, a lack of human resources, space, equipment, technology, etc. The elimination of said problems is conceived through three basic strategies of action: networking of institutions, the independent scene and individuals; audience development and intersectoral collaboration. The main goals of the *Strategy* are to redefine the role of public cultural institutions, establish communication protocols among stakeholders, develop large-scale EU-funded city projects, establish intersectoral collaboration, encourage budget users to engage in audience development and stabilize the independent culture sector. *The Cultural Strategy* is based on *the Development Strategy of the City of Pula*, which sees culture as an important lever in the achievement of the city's vision, defining Pula as a human-scale city,

both infrastructurally and ecologically regulated, integrated into contemporary European trends, an economically developed and powerful cultural centre of Istria County and Western Croatia, the master of its own development and the development of its surroundings. The mission of the cultural sector is to improve the cultural standard of citizens in terms of contributing to the overall quality of life, but also to the social and economic development. Culture is thus also defined as a contribution to the attractiveness of the city, or as a stimulus to its tourist development.

On the other hand, the *Istrian Cultural Strategy 2014 – 2020* is based on the motto 'creative Istria for a creative Europe', which includes cultural development based on heritage in a contemporary interpretation with the aim of achieving an even stronger connection between culture, tourism and economy. Building on the experience, results and lessons from the previous cultural strategy, such as the importance and contribution of networking to cultural development, and on the existing social circumstances, primarily the economic crisis, the *Strategy* defines five goals: improving the work of cultural institutions and the non-institutional sector; improving the publishing activity in Istria; building a new cultural infrastructure intended for artistic production, education, presentation and preservation of material; a more efficient governance of cultural infrastructure, institutions, services and projects; increasing the public interest in cultural heritage and contemporary artistic production and deepening their understanding. In order to achieve said goals, Istria County has implemented three strategies: networking and connecting; resource diversification and audience development and positioning of the cultural sector in public. The *Strategy* also envisages a more efficient use of all resources, including the use of knowledge in the fields of creative industries, design, architecture, tourism, marketing and technology with the goal of promoting the cultural sector. The *Strategy's* emphasis on networking in a broader sense necessarily implies the inclusion of the education sector and the academic community in cultural activities. As regards resource diversification, the development of a cultural entrepreneurship programme is being planned, and a fund for the

preparation and co-financing of EU projects has been established. Moreover, the *Strategy* envisages a series of infrastructure projects, such as the construction of a depot for Istrian museums and libraries, the design of the National Archives in Pazin and the construction of the Croatian Music Youth Centre in Grožnjan. Finally, with the aim of audience development, Istria County plans to support media projects in the field of culture, develop collaboration with schools and support scientific research.

The City of Pula has six cultural councils, with the latest appointments being made in 2016. Istria County has been appointing cultural councils since 2005. The members of the councils are cultural workers and artists from the field of arts and culture from the territory of Istria County, with one member of the council being appointed from among the members of the Italian national community at the proposal of the Italian Union.

The Istrian Cultural Agency, a non-profit institution of Istria County established with the aim of supporting, connecting and strengthening cultural organizations, has also been active in Pula. Activities performed by the Agency include the following: promoting and supporting the networking of the public, private and civil sector, gathering and exchanging information and experiences in the cultural sector, consultation regarding business operations and management, encouraging media interest for cultural activities, implementing county, national and international strategies and other development documents, and encouraging, directing and organizing domestic and foreign investments into film and video production in the area of Istria County. To that end, Istria County established the Istrian Film Commission as an organizational unit within the Agency. The goal of establishing the Istrian Film Commission was the promotion of Istria County as an interesting film destination, and raising awareness of intangible and tangible cultural heritage, unique regional features, the environment and tourism through growth and the development of territorial competitiveness. The Istrian Film Commission thus operates as a link between audiovisual production and Istrian localities for the purpose

of mutual development of tourism and film production. In addition to mediation services, including location scouting, the Commission also provides logistic assistance in production.

The jurisdiction and cooperation of county and city administrative and organizational units and organizations can to some extent be defined by the scope of activities of administrative departments of culture, the work of cultural councils or the goals of cultural strategies. In almost the same way as the already mentioned city Department of Culture, the department on the county level manages the institutions established by the county, oversees the implementation of the programmes of public needs in culture, assists in the work of various institutions and organizations, monitors and secures the conditions for a balanced cultural development of all regions, provides assistance for manifestations, publishing and arts, and oversees the implementation of projects co-financed by EU funds and government authorities. The *Istrian Cultural Strategy* provides a precise division of bodies performing the activities, in accordance with which the (planned) cooperation of city and county units in charge of culture can be outlined. Thus, for instance, the city and the county plan to divide the founding responsibilities for the Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Istria among themselves.

The public cultural institutions in Pula are the City Library and Reading Room Pula, the Istrian National Theater, the Public Institution Pula Film Festival, the University Library, the Archaeological Museum of Istria and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Istria. Four book shops operate in Pula, among which it is important to single out the Petit Homeland Library and the Centre of Istrian Publishing, whose main activity is the collection and provision of books and other materials that are in any way related to Istria. In the field of cultural industries, the body that stands out is the already mentioned Istrian Film Commission, which was established by Istria County in order to promote Istria as an interesting film location, i.e. to create a link between the film and tourism industry. Pula hosts numerous festivals, among which the most important are the following: *the Pula Film Festival, the*

Book Fair(y) in Istria, the Monteparadiso Hardcore Punk Festival, the Seasplash Festival, the Media Mediterranea Festival, the Outlook and *Dimensions* festivals.

According to the Register of Associations of the Republic of Croatia, there are 950 active organizations in the territory of the City of Pula in all fields. The register has 90 associations registered in the field of culture and arts, of which 23 are registered under the category of interdisciplinary cultural and artistic activities. About a hundred of the associations have their premises at the Rojc Community Centre, in the old barracks in the centre of Pula (surface area of 16.739 square metres, with an inner courtyard, free car park, sports courts and green surfaces), which include production spaces, studios, music and film studios, various craft workshops, galleries, rehearsal spaces, sports and recreational spaces, an office and club, and hospitality and other different spaces. Associations operating at Rojc are engaged in activities in the fields of culture, sports, psychosocial care and health care, children and youth, care of people with special needs, environmental protection, technical culture, national minorities and other activities.

ii. Rojc Community Centre[002]

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Development overview

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The site of the present-day Rojc housed a maritime school from 1870, and from 1918, when Pula and Istria were annexed to Italy, the site housed the military high school. In 1945, when Pula was annexed to

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002 Data on the Community Centre Rojc was downloaded from the City of Pula's website: http://www.pula.hr/hr/vodici/za-gradanstvo/drustveni-centar-ro-jc/ (02/03/2018). In addition, data was taken from the publication Društveni centar Rojc – Pogled u budućnost (Metamedij 2017). The chapter is also based on the interviews conducted for the purpose of this study with representatives of the City of Pula, of Rojc Alliance, members of the Coordination Work Group)and representatives of associations operating at Rojc.

Yugoslavia, the Partisan School of Mechanical Engineering and the barracks under the joint name of Karlo Rojc started their activities on said premises. The school was closed in 1976, and Rojc was left only with the barracks. In 1991, the Yugoslav People's Army left Rojc, which was first handed over for maintenance to the Pula Municipality Assembly (whose successor is the City of Pula), passing later on into its ownership. From 1991, Rojc housed the first exiles, who stayed there until July 1997. In addition to exiles and refugees, Rojc also housed humanitarian aid organizations that took care of the victims of the Homeland War.

In Pula, in the 1990s, the cultural scene developed outside of the institutions, mainly in the form of associations that developed programmes in the fields of music, theatre, film and visual arts. Apart from those associations, associations dealing with young people, environmental protection and people with special needs started to emerge, and a number of sports associations were also established. These associations operated in various, mostly inadequate spaces, scattered across the city, and a lot of them either did not even have a space for their activities or operated in spaces that did not have even the most basic facilities (electricity, water). After the exiles and refugees had left Rojc, some of the associations relocated to Rojc with the intention of using it for the implementation of their programmes and securing themselves spaces for work. This was a classical squatting strategy, after which followed the Decision of the City of Pula stating that the premises of Rojc should provide space for the operation of several associations (Dr. Inat, Wind Orchestra of the City of Pula, Zaro, etc.). These associations refurbished their spaces on their own, using their own resources, and started to implement their programmes, encouraging more and more users year after year to come to Rojc. At the end of 2002, the City of Pula adopted an ordinance defining how Rojc should be used, and announced a public call for proposals for the use of space at Rojc, thereby creating the basis for the work of a unique facility in Croatia. That year, it was decided that 62 associations may use the rooms in the southern wing of the building covering a surface area of 6.800 square metres. All those associations were

granted the use of space free of charge, with the obligation of refurbishing it from their own funds.

In the years to come, the range of space that would be given for use was increased, as well as the number of associations active at Rojc. The process of refurbishing Rojc took place in parallel, and the first major infrastructure projects were carried out in 2004, when the central heating system was renewed, sanitary blocks refurbished, electrical and plumbing installations repaired, masonry and glazing work carried out and the building's environment partially refurbished, along with the installation of external lighting and video surveillance, and the organization of a security service and service for the maintenance of common rooms. That same year, the associations Distorzija from Pula and Otompotom from Zagreb completed the first phase of the 'Krojcberg' project, which continued in the following years, and in the scope of which art and *street art* workshops were held and some of the Rojc interior spaces were decorated. That was also the year when the association Metamedij launched the event called *Rojc Open Days* with the aim of familiarizing the wider public with the events at Rojc, when the association Monteparadiso opened *hacklab* with 13 computers available for free use, and when the association Zelena Istra launched an initiative for joint activities of associations operating at Rojc, which can be considered a predecessor of the Rojc Alliance. Since 2006, the north wing of the Centre has started to fill rapidly, with associations refurbishing their spaces, thereby additionally improving the quality of the building itself. In 2008, the users of Rojc established the Rojc Council, a body consisting of the representatives of associations operating there, whose aim is to ensure the highest possible quality of work conditions at Rojc through building maintenance. That same year, the Rojc Coordination Work Group (Koordinacija) was established as an operating body that decides on the plan of ongoing building maintenance. The Coordination Work Group has six members, three of them being representatives of the associations operating at Rojc, and the other three representatives of the City of Pula. The Coordination Work Group is an advisory body to the mayor and does not itself make any decisions, but rather reaches conclusions that

the mayor confirms and transforms into decisions. So far, the mayor has confirmed all the conclusions reached by the Coordination Work Group. Therefore, none of the conclusions has ever been changed and all of them have been implemented.

In an effort to better articulate their own position towards the City of Pula and other public authorities, and to encourage mutual cooperation, the associations operating at Rojc established in 2011 the Rojc Alliance. The Alliance was established by 17 associations active at Rojc, with the main goal of building a network of associations operating at Rojc, developing collaborative and joint programmes and improving the Rojc management model. Since then, the Alliance has been working on achieving its goals. It has managed to obtain financial support for its work and, together with the City, refurbish the Living Room space where the meetings and public programmes are held and common activities planned. The Alliance also joined international projects, became a member of the TEH network that connects similar spaces and organizations from across Europe, and began to develop collaborative projects with partners from Croatia. The Alliance also started an initiative in Pula for establishing the Rojc Community Centre, which would be governed according to the public-civil partnership model. Although the Coordination Work Group is already a form of public-civil partnership, the Alliance seeks to further strengthen the work of the Council and set up new bodies that would take care of the high-quality functioning of Rojc.

Situation analysis
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Rojc is a specific case in Croatia, and probably even across a wider territory. What particularly contributes to its specificity is its size (approximately 17.000 square metres), but also its described genesis. Those two aspects have influenced the enormous diversity of programmes implemented at Rojc and the associations that operate there. Rojc actually represents an image of the entire civil society in Pula, all of its activities, organizational forms, work methods, the goals that it wants to achieve and, of course, the problems that

it faces. In 2017, 111 associations registered for the performance of activities such as sports and recreation, preventive health care, technical culture, social welfare, culture and arts, national minorities associations, youth associations, majorettes, scouts, football fan club associations, etc. had their premises at Rojc. The list of activities in which the associations are engaged at Rojc is inexhaustible. In addition, many associations operating at Rojc are in competition with each other, both with regard to financial resources, users and the audience, and with regard to the space in which they will operate. Such circumstances render the production of a joint platform that would act to achieve a common goal an almost utopian undertaking. For this reason, what has been done so far with the aim of gathering the associations at Rojc and carrying out joint activities is a really valuable achievement.

Rojc is a community centre in the true sense of the word; it reflects the interests of the citizens of Pula, and in that sense, it indicates the state of affairs in the community. Those interests are sometimes very specific, such as in the case of boxing clubs or the majorettes association, and sometimes they concern the entire society, such as in the case of environmental protection organizations. Outside of Pula, Rojc is primarily known for its cultural and activist content that is, or was, produced by the organizations operating at Rojc. However, Rojc has also been recognized outside of Pula as a model for creating similar spaces in other cities as well. It was Rojc that served as an important lever in advocating the development of socio-cultural centres in other Croatian cities. Nevertheless, the operation within Rojc has numerous limitations, primarily in terms of cultural activities. The profile of the space or the organization is important for operating in the field of culture, and it is difficult to create that profile and preserve it within a community centre. On the other hand, cultural activities require constant enhancement of performance standards, and that refers to technology, equipment and even banalities such as headquarters. This enhancement of standards at Rojc did not happen because our cultural system does not recognize such spaces as permanent but rather always as temporary solutions or spaces for young people, who

do not require a particular level in terms of standard. For the most part, spaces at Rojc have never been treated as theatres, museums or other public cultural institutions.

There was never a quality programme synergy at Rojc, but the organizations continued to act for themselves. Therefore, Rojc as a whole remains undefined. Nevertheless, Rojc has increased the potential for social engagement in Pula, enabled a greater flow of information and people, and offered a great deal of content, which is altogether more than positive. Approximately 1.000 citizens, users of some of the programmes run by the organizations operating at Rojc, visit Rojc daily. For a city of the size of Pula, this is really a huge number of visitors. Despite all the problems Rojc has, it is extremely functional and useful for citizens of Pula.

As has already been pointed out, the Rojc Alliance was established by 17 associations, therefore a minority of the associations operating at Rojc. From the beginning, the intention of the Alliance was to expand its membership, but that did not happen. On the contrary, the Alliance itself faced contractions, a decrease in the number of members, followed by an increase, etc. The mission of the Alliance is very clear: The Alliance is seen as a network of associations operating at the Rojc Community Centre, which gathers and represents them, as well as their interests, encourages mutual cooperation and engages in the activities of the community. The problem with achieving the Alliance's mission stems from its structural position. In order to gather associations in the Alliance, it is necessary to find a common denominator on which the associations will agree and which will be in their mutual interest. The interest of all associations at Rojc is the refurbishment of the space itself, but this is where the problems arise because their opinion about the desirable arrangement of space differs. Even if the refurbishment itself were to be reduced only to the technical part, i.e. roof repairs, refurbishment of the sanitary block, etc., we would still be facing the need to prioritize because there are simply not enough funds to refurbish everything right away. Therefore, the problem arises when attempting to define the minimum common denominator in

such a complex and huge system of participatory governance. There is simply no way to determine the priorities with which all participants in the process will be satisfied. This was also the source of dissatisfaction of associations that left the Alliance. Any decision that the Alliance made would cause dissatisfaction among at least some of the Alliance members, not to mention the remaining 90 associations that were not members of the Alliance. The very fact that most of the associations from Rojc did not become members of the Alliance pointed to the fact that they probably concluded that the cost (time, work, money) of their activity in the Alliance would be greater than the potential benefits they would gain. In such circumstances, the question arises as to how a sense of community can be established between the Rojc tenants and what the Alliance can do to address this issue. It is by all means necessary to determine what represents the benefit of joining the Alliance for the associations operating at Rojc. For example, even if the possible benefits of associating were crystal clear, such as, for instance, obtaining financial support for refurbishing the space according to the desire of every association at Rojc, it is still not certain whether the association would indeed happen.

The problem of associating out of interest is considered in economics (Samuelson and Nordhaus, 2005), and it is a situation analogous to Cournot's theory of price maintenance, according to which a company will behave in such a way as to maintain the price of the product sold by its industry branch only if the total cost of price maintenance is lower than its share in the profits of that industry branch gained from the higher price. Association out of interest was also considered in the field of social action, where Olson (2009) made one such calculation on the example of a group of property owners lobbying for the reduction of property tax. The total profit depends on the size of the group, i.e. the estimated value of the entire group property, and the rate or level of tax reduction per dollar of estimated property value. The profit of each member depends on the fraction of group- and individual-generated profit. The advantage gained by collective action would be the profit of the individual reduced by their expenses. Olson

concluded that individuals are opting for collective action only in cases where the increase in their profits is greater than the total costs of the collective action aimed at the increase of the overall profit from a common good. When applied to Rojc, it is evident that the associations operating at Rojc do not consider the perspective of increasing the total profit to be realistic and therefore do not opt for a collective action because they believe that their expenses will be greater than their potential profit. In fact, they are satisfied with the situation for the most part and do not feel the need to improve it. In cases when they do feel the need to improve the situation, they mostly try to act individually, i.e. resolve their own problems without thinking about the common good. This problem has also been pointed out by city administration representatives who are faced with a number of individual requests for space refurbishment, and even with requests for changing the model of representation in the coordination body. Therefore, it could be said that the individual approach prevails over the collective one when it comes to the governance of spaces of associations operating at Rojc. The reasons for this probably lie in the fact that the associations are in competition with each other and that gaining individual competitive advantage is worth more to them than achieving a common good. A common good is always of such quality that the amount of a common good that an individual organization obtains for their own needs cannot exclude others in the group, that is, by the very act of obtaining a common good for oneself, one obtains it for the others in the collective as well.

Nevertheless, the Rojc Alliance is constantly working on increasing the common good, on refurbishing Rojc, on its better positioning compared to other stakeholders and on developing projects that ultimately benefit everyone. In this respect, the Rojc Alliance can be seen as a stakeholder that, in the event of achieving a common good, gains the greatest benefit for itself, and thus its motivation for persistent action can also be interpreted in that sense. Although this fact may in practice cause envy and dissatisfaction among the associations that are not members of the Alliance, and even among some of the associations that are members of the Alliance, the fact is that there would not

be any benefit from the common good if it were not for the action of the Rojc Alliance. Probably no one would have gained that benefit. The Rojc Alliance carries a disproportionate part of the burden in relation to the obtained benefit in any collective action taken at Rojc. It gains the greatest benefit, but the fact is that those that gain even the minimum benefit without any investment are in fact exploiting the Alliance. This exploitation should be understood structurally, not as some kind of intention, and it refers to the fact that the fraction of group and individual benefits decreased by the individual costs is higher for the small than for the large members (Olson, 2009). In the long run, this situation leads to suboptimal performance because the largest member achieves as much common good as it requires, without developing further the organization's capabilities or, in this case, the capabilities of the whole of Rojc due to disproportionate allocation of expenses. It is precisely this fact that represents the basis for the critique of the Alliance's work given by the associations operating at Rojc. They admit that the Alliance has improved parts of Rojc, for instance that it has refurbished the common work space, the so-called 'Living Room', but at the same time, they resent the fact that nothing has changed in their spaces, that their spaces have not been improved. They believe that the Alliance finds the Living Room enough because it satisfies their needs, and that it has ceased to work actively on the improvement of spaces of individual associations. Although the steps made by the Alliance benefit everyone, it is believed that the Alliance itself is the one that benefits most from them. This criticism is paradoxical in its essence, as it encourages the Alliance to increase its activities that lead to the advancement of space that represents a common good, while at the same time denouncing the Alliance for having benefited from the achieved common good.

Development perspectives

The future of Rojc mostly depends on the associations operating within it. The city and county administrations are extremely positive about Rojc and see it as a place that responds to the many needs of the citizens of Pula. This is not surprising given the fact that Rojc is visited

daily by nearly 1.000 users. This positive opinion of Rojc has been transformed into concrete moves by the city administration by allocating HRK 1.5 million a year for the building's maintenance, covering all Rojc's overhead costs except for electricity, which is covered by the associations themselves, and by leaving some of the governance decisions to the body consisting of the associations' and City's representatives. The Coordination Work Group, which decides on the spending of resources, is an advisory body to the mayor, who ultimately makes the decisions, but the City has been showing a will to formalize the role of the Coordination Work Group by making its decisions final in terms of governance, not only advisory. A nucleus of the public-civil partnership in the governance of Rojc can be recognized there.

There are problems in the relationship between the City of Pula, the Rojc Alliance and other associations operating at Rojc. There seems to be a complete lack of trust among all involved stakeholders. This is particularly evident in the reluctance of all involved stakeholders to provide each other with full information about their activities and intentions. Similarly to the prisoner's dilemma (Miller and Page, 2007), both stakeholders (the City and the Alliance) have decided to remain silent and accept less harm rather than gain greater benefit. From the conversation with both stakeholders, we can conclude that neither side has any bad intention to privatize the space for a function contrary to the achievement of common good. Building trust is therefore undoubtedly the first and key step in creating a quality relationship between the involved parties.

The second important problem we face at Rojc is the issue of the distribution of responsibility, not so much in cases of decision making, but rather in the implementation of decisions. An example illustrating that problem is the criteria relating to the use of space. The city wants to leave the establishment of the criteria to the associations themselves, providing them with several guidelines that are concerned with the compliance with legal regulations rather than with some programme profile or choice of activity, but also wants the associations to autonomously implement the decisions in accordance with

the above criteria. Associations gathered in the Alliance do not want to take over that kind of responsibility because it formally does not belong to them, and because it creates mutual conflicts, and they also do not have the mechanisms to implement them. The City sees this as an evasion of responsibility, while the Alliance considers it a delegation of responsibility. This example occurred at the time when this study was drawn up, and it seems to us that it is not the only example that results in distrust. It seems that, in this case, the real problem stems from the lack of a governance model and procedures. It is clear that the situation requires the establishment of decision making procedures, i.e. the establishment of a public-civil partnership model. This appears to be the need of both the Alliance and the City.

It seems that the described situation can be resolved only by introducing an external element that would further motivate the stakeholders. One such element is the European Social Fund calls that are directed towards the development of the participatory governance model. These calls could secure the financial means that would provide enough motivation for all those involved to start a process. There is a risk of the participatory governance process being feigned, thereby not resolving any of the key problems but rather maintaining the status quo with an increased scope of communication that will serve as a smokescreen for the same problems that Rojc faces today. Nevertheless, those calls may help the Alliance itself to atttact more associations operating at Rojc to join it. ESF funds can be used to cover the costs of the collective action of all those involved so that each gained benefit represents pure profit. Of course, there is a risk of a large number of associations deciding to take over the role of the so-called *backseat driver*, the one that does not drive, but benefits from the drive and assumes that they have the right to comment on all driver's actions. This is why the Alliance is faced with the great challenge of motivating the associations at Rojc to join the Alliance in their activities. For the Alliance itself, it is important to involve as many associations as possible in its work because this will strengthen its negotiating position in relation to the City and other stakeholders, provide a greater degree of legitimacy for its decisions and

reduce the significance of those associations from Rojc that individually strive to achieve the greatest possible benefit.

Rojc seems to have a really good perspective, but requires exceptional governance skills, primarily from its leadership and the members of the Rojc Alliance. Rojc has already earned recognition in Pula as the key hub of the social and cultural life, which is in itself sufficient for survival in Croatia. The question of whether Rojc will be institutionalized as a community centre governed according to the public-civil partnership model is more a matter of the negotiating and communication skills of the involved stakeholders than of will, which seems to exist both on the public and on the civil side.

iii. Closing remarks
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Rojc is an extremely complex and divergent structure consisting of 111 associations registered for the performance of activities such as sports and recreation, preventive health care, technical culture, social welfare, culture and arts, and within which national minorities associations, youth associations, majorettes, scouts, football fan club associations, etc. operate. The associations operating at Rojc not only engage in different activities, but also have different interests, operating models, methods of space use and level of openness towards the public, and it is very difficult to find a common denominator among them. The Rojc Alliance seeks to improve the position of associations operating at Rojc and find a way in which they can all act together and establish participatory governance at Rojc. The Alliance is primarily doing this through advocacy activities, but also through the production of programme content, which some of the associations operating at Rojc see as competition to their own activities. The expectations from the public-civil partnership between the associations operating at Rojc vary, but they can be summarized under a common desire to preserve and improve the space for their work. The Rojc Alliance itself advocates a model according to which associations operating at Rojc harmonize different interests

among themselves and articulate a unified stance towards the public authorities. It seems that this model is the most desirable one for the City of Pula as well. The city administration expects a high level of autonomy in the governance of Rojc from the associations themselves and supports the idea of participatory governance. It sees Rojc primarily as a community centre performing the same functions as those performed thus far.

6. Youth Home in Split —— Mirko Petrić

i. Social context and cultural resources of the City of Split

General information on the City of Split

In terms of population, the City of Split is the second largest city in the Republic of Croatia: according to the census from 2011, the city population was 178.102. Centrally located in the coastal region of the historical province of Dalmatia, the city is now considered an important traffic nexus on Croatia's southern coast, as well as for parts of the neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina. Historically the centre of trade, seafaring and crafts, it was strongly industrialized after the Second World War. Following the demise of the processing industry in the period of postsocialist transition, the city has become an internationally famed tourist centre in the last decade. In the same period, its university, established in 1974, has gained significant scientific renown.

Split is internationally known for its cultural heritage resources. The 'Historical Complex of Split with the Palace of Diocletian' was included on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage List in 1979. Its nomination, which stressed the continuity of life on the protected site from antiquity until the present day, can be seen as one of the first hints at the concept of a 'living heritage site' in its present meaning, as systematically promoted by The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) from 2003. Since the time of Palladio's drawings and Robert Adam's reconstruction until today, the historical city of Split has attracted prominent architects, art historians

and conservators. Their interest in the site can be explained by the way in which the city of Split emerged within the walls of the late antiquity palace, which is of 'emblematic of the meaning of architecture and of relationship between architecture and the city' as stated by the famous architect and theorist of architecture Aldo Rossi (Rossi, 1982: 179).

Until recently, and in spite of the growing emphasis on 'entertainment' tourism by the city (Petrić, Tomić-Koludrović and Puzek, 2015), cultural heritage has played and continues to play an important role in the tourism segment of the local economy, which has been on the permanent rise in the past decade. A comparison of the total income and the percentage of the shares of individual economic activities in the City of Split in the period 2010 – 2016 (Split-Dalmatia County, 2017: 21) indicates that the processing industry (already comprising a much lower share than the national average) is in decline, while construction is stagnant and in decline. On the other hand, the top local economic activity has constantly been trade, and long-term growth has been recorded in the hospitality industry with respect to accommodation and food services. Due to the decrease in employment in the processing industry, public administration and education sectors have gained additional importance in the city's employment structure.

In spite of increasingly pertinent scientific results at Split University, the growing demand for programmers as well as the 'micro-dotted' share of the information technology (IT) sector in private entrepreneurship, the configuration of the city has yet to show considerable 'quarterification' of economic activities.

The results of research by students at Split University indicate as a specific drawback in this process a 'prominent dislike for entrepreneurship,' that is, self-employment as a means of entering the labor market (SRUA SWOT, 2016: 18).

Split's greatest problem is a high unemployment rate amongst young people aged 15 – 29, and the city simultaneously maintains a large

share of older age groups amongst the total unemployed (Split-Dalmatia County, 2017: 35). The highest number of the long-term unemployed is among those with three or four years of secondary education and who were absorbed by the developing processing industry in the socialist period but who today are either not needed or their competencies do not match the changing needs of employers.

In general, the inadequate structure of economic activity along with 'in total [...] under-average' development and efficiency of the business sector (Milić et al., 2015: 16) in past years has to a degree been compensated by the thriving tourist sector. Often in the form of the 'gray economy,' tourism has provided basic income or additional income to a portion of the population.

However, in spite of the constant rise in the number of international visitors, the city has become more provincial in terms of its urbanity due to the increasingly bi-seasonal character of tourism, as is typical of smaller places. This has reduced the city's business ambition to the demands of simple services. Furthermore, the process of turning previous housing spaces into 'apartments' for rent and real estate speculation has hollowed out the city's historical core, leaving behind few inhabitants and services other than hospitality. Having devastated its natural resources and landscape in the industrial period, it could be said that Split, for the purpose of economic survival, now literally spends its own urban substance.

Cultural resources of the City of Split

Split has significant cultural resources in highly consolidated and urbanized parts of the city, which are invariably those closer to its centre. The Palace of Diocletian is considered the most valuable architectural monument in the Republic of Croatia and generally one of the best preserved late antiquity monuments of its kind. In 1820, the first public museum in Croatia (The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments) was established in Split, and cultural monuments in the city and its vicinity were of considerable importance to

the development of conservation activity in the country. Historically, citizens' initiatives and donations have been important for the construction of buildings. In such way, the Municipal Theater (1893) and 'Croatian House' (1908) were built. Citizens' associations played an important role in processes of urban organization of the city (Piplović, 2015: 71).

The network of cultural institutions in Split is denser than the Croatian average. Research conducted at the end of the socialist period showed that the Split macro-region had 'above average […] developed museum, cinema and theatre functions, with most prominent 'specialization' of the region for museum and theatre activities' (Šakaja, 1999: 137).

Composite indicators of the European Commission *Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor* (CCCM, 2017) corroborate this distribution of institutional 'specializations' in the present day, but they record a degree of lagging in the development of creative industries. In the narrative description of the city's cultural offerings, the *Monitor* highlights the historical core under UNESCO protection, The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments with its unique collections within Europe, international festivals of chamber and choir music, as well as *Ultra Europe* as one of the world largest electronic and house music festivals.

Along with the two aforementioned archeological museums, the institutional network of Split comprises the Split City Museum, Ethnographic Museum, the Croatian Maritime Museum, Science Museum, Museum of Fine Arts (with permanent exhibition and numerous exhibition programmes of contemporary art museums profile), and museum facilities exhibiting works by the famous sculptor Ivan Meštrović (Ivan Meštrović Gallery and Kaštelet) and the Multimedia Cultural Centre. In addition to the Croatian National Theatre with drama, opera and ballet, Split is home to the City Puppet Theatre, City Youth Theatre and the independent theatre PlayDrama with Acting Studio for different age groups. In the city centre can be found the Centre for Culture and Lifelong Learning Zlatna vrata, with its art house cinema and

cinematheque programme, as well as Cinema Karaman, established in 1907, whose purpose of cinema screening has been preserved.

Within the Split institutional network, an important role is played by Marko Marulić City Library, whose central space offers book lending functions to citizens, as well as numerous other cultural activities in its well-attended branch offices. Besides the mentioned Multimedia Cultural Centre (situated in the Youth Home) and the branch offices of the City Library, beyond the city centre are only the University Library and Vasko Lipovac University Gallery (on the campus), as well as three Cineplex cinema complexes in shopping malls.

When discussing cultural facilities and institutions (in addition to the communal and business infrastructure), it is worth mentioning that these were largely absent in the majority of city neighborhoods built in the socialist period; instead, citizens satisfied their 'cultural needs' in the spaces concentrated around the historical core of the city. However, there are indications that this situation no longer exists (Petrić, Tomić-Koludrović and Puzek, 2015: 233). Rather, although the city has seen changes to its identity and a decreasing sense of belonging, (primarily) cultural content has been replaced by the content typical of the so called 'citizen-consumer.' However, in the large urban area spreading from the centre, with its high concentration of cultural institutions ranging from traditional locales to suburban shopping malls, civil initiatives that provide missing cultural content have recently been identified.

ii. **The Youth Home as a socio-cultural centre**

In spite of the evident need for sociability and culture beyond traditional institutions, until now the Youth Home has been the only space in Split conducive to understanding a socio-cultural centre as a 'place of social gathering with clearly stated interest for cultural production' (Mišković, 2015: 9) and the clearly articulated and developed 'idea of public-civil partnership and participatory governance (Vidović, 2015:

3). Moreover, as is true of other socio-cultural centres in Croatia, the Youth Home clearly illustrates the process of 'bottom-up cultural policy conditioned by (micro) local context, spatial resources and positioning in the local community' (Žuvela, 2015: 31). In order to more thoroughly understand the specificity of the Youth Home as a socio-cultural centre, we will first provide an historical overview of its development concerning both the space and its present cultural content.

Overview of the Youth Home's development

The enormous, unfinished building of the Split Youth Home was conceived and immediately realized as a project in the second half of the 1970s. During the entire period of the socialist era, lasting in Croatia from 1945 until 1990, public investment in cultural and youth activities was considerable. Under those circumstances, culture, as everywhere else, was seen as the legitimation of the political order, while systematic investments in youth were made as a kind of guarantee for the future: to ensure young people's desired integration into the state's value system.

The construction of the Home of Socialist Youth began in 1977, based on a project by architect Frano Grgurević, who won the competition in 1975. However, as the building was ultimately excluded from the financial plan for construction of objects connected to the Mediterranean Games organized in Split in 1979, that year the construction of the fundament and façade were put under technical protection. Following some degree of intervention, construction ceased in 1984, and since then the building increasingly began to deteriorate due to damage to the windows and roof.

In spite of the dangers involved, young people began to gather informally at the unsecured construction site in the final years of the socialist period and the first years of war-stricken postsocialist transition. The first action that initiated the organized struggle for the transformation of the unfinished space into a space for the independent cultural scene was Art Squat, organized in 1994 following

a three-month cleaning that had involved fifty young volunteers. The program organized by the initiative New Croatian Art (later named Uzgon) featured several alternative bands and DJs, an exhibition by 15 visual artists, and a panel discussion on usage and cultural production of the space (AS, 2015; Klubikon, 2018). Initially planned for three days, the gathering was extended first to a week and then to three months. Illegal rave parties organized by the association G7, as well as theatre rehearsals and workshops, continued to take place in the building.

In the period 1997 – 2005, the facility of the Youth Home was governed by the Youth Cultural Centre, established by the City of Split as a 'public institution for creation and reproduction in culture, technical culture and art.' The very name of the institution reflected institutional formalization and incongruity with the original Art Squat's programmatic and self-governance ambitions.

However, running parallel was a self-organized process to occupy the space for the activities of the independent scene: in May 2001 the Coalition of Youth Associations (CYA) was founded as the first of its kind in Croatia (KUM, 2016). Following the citizens' campaign, 'The Youth Home — for the youth,' the city administration signed a contract with CYA for the use of the building's unfinished concrete basement, stripped of any fittings and infrastructure, in June 2001. Through the efforts of the associations, the space became fully equipped for concerts, exhibitions, performances, workshops, and a library, and it has continued to be used until now under the name Club Kocka. Latterly, the space added a skate park, and other cultural initiatives began working there along with CYA.

The next step towards the present space of the Youth Home was its relocation to its premises of the Multimedia Cultural Centre in 2004, the public institution which, after closing the Youth Cultural Centre in 2005, assumed governance of the building from the City of Split. This change in the governing body can be seen as the first step towards the public-civil partnership that presently exists in the governing structure

and use of the Youth Home. It also marks the beginning of making functional what were previously utterly unusable parts of the facility.

The Youth Home's issues primarily involved the size of the space that was to be made functional (as much as 10.000m² gross surface), and its atypical profile. Namely, the object was originally designed so that its central part would feature a large stage open on two sides to auditoriums, and with a high stage tower above it. All other spaces are governed by the central theatric space, and the height of the building, whose exterior was designed under (concrete) brutalist aesthetics, as well as its position on a hill, were supposed to serve as a new symbolic orientation in the urban area of Split, visible from different parts of the city as a reminder of the care that the socialist system took of its youth.

Owing particularly to this conceived grandiosity, the project was never finished, and every initiative for systematic reconstruction was halted because it would require enormous financial investment. The work expended in making unusable spaces of the Youth Home functional through a series of 'minimal interventions' were widely noticed later, beginning with architect Dinko Peračić's visit to the Multimedia Cultural Centre (MCC) to provide an alternative civilian service. The task he was set by the management of MCC was to 'create the project which would, on a modest budget, bring the building into a functional state which is safe for the users and appropriate for contemporary cultural practices' (Visković, 2011). Peračić's approach was to pay attention to the project as a whole while not losing sight of the character of the specific space renovations, which due to lack of funds could only be partial. Thus, the MCC gallery gradually achieved a 'usable condition' and was 'quickly affirmed as one of best locations for contemporary art scene' (Visković, 2011), followed by the space of the small auditorium and Beton cinema. All of these spaces can be used for other purposes (workshops, panels, and round tables).

This approach was noticed by professionals and was showcased in international exhibitions (Rome and New York, 2011; Montpellier, 2013;

Venice Biennale, 2016). However, what is more important in the local (Croatian) context is that it proved to be applicable to the renovation of the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Rijeka, located in the former factory complex Benčić, as well as to the reconstruction of the former factory Jedinstvo in Zagreb, managed by the Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth, Pogon (Višnić and Veljačić, 2016).

It is also crucial to mention that the process of making parts of the Youth Home functional was undertaken under the slogan 'Construction is unnecessary if it doesn't serve anyone.' The sentiment was that during the process of reconstruction the tenants of the space attracted and built new audiences through their programming.

Perhaps the most crucial step toward the definition of the Youth Home as a socio-cultural centre occurred in 2012, when six associations that used the same space, originally as an informal initiative, applied to a call for advocacy platforms announced by the newly established Kultura Nova Foundation. This move, as described by the actors, was made because independent cultural actors needed a common initiative of artistic and civil society organizations to identify problems in the local cultural policy, and implement activities directed at solving those problems.

The initiative's activities, as well as the requirement for further effort to reconstruct the Youth Home, were also made publicly visible through the festival of independent culture and art *Platformat,* whose first edition (in May 2013) already attracted more than 3.000 visitors to 36 events over 10 days.

Since 2015, the Platform of the Youth Home has acted as a formal association, an alliance of associations of independent culture and youth. Part of its advocacy activities is dedicated to achieving more transparent and just distribution of public funds for culture. It also organizes a series of educational activities with the aim of building civil society capacities for dealing with the issues of independent culture and youth culture.

Almost forty years after it became one of the dominant components of the Split cityscape, the Youth Home, though unfinished, has become more than ever the reference point on the city's cultural map.

On the one hand, the Youth Home is recognized as the place where numerous cultural associations, primarily connected to independent culture and youth culture, organize their activities. Youth club Kocka organizes concerts of alternative contemporary music in the Youth Home's basement, where on more than 1.300 square metres exists a central performing space with two stages accommodating the auditorium of 700 people, accompanied by a multimedia gallery, library, music and radio studio, atelier, screen printing, wardrobe, bedroom, and kitchen. Its programmes, particularly concerts, attract young people who cannot find such musical content in the rest of the city.

On the higher floors of the Youth Home, the content featured in the MCC exhibition space attracts a different audience interested in contemporary artistic practices, beyond the mainstream yet still within a standard gallery format. The stage between the small and large auditoriums features contemporary theatre and dance performances, but also the storytelling festival Pričigin, which attracts a large, mainstream audience. By attending such events, the mainstream audience becomes sensitive to the space's significance in the city's culture, to its multipurpose and inclusive nature, and to the importance the space has for the associations that organize their primary activities therein.

Since the Platform of the Youth Home was established in 2012, the members of the originally informal (and later formal) alliance of independent cultural organizations have gained new public visibility. The number of Platform members has varied from the initial six through sixteen to the present eleven member organizations. At the time of writing this case study, the Platform member organizations are: Association for culture and sport Positive force, Info zona, Cinema club

Split, KLFM community radio, Collective for development, research and thinking queer culture queerANarchive, Culture and art association Uzgon, Mavena — her 36 wonders, Night butterfly, Platforma 9.81 — institute for research in architecture, Style Force — association for culture and new stage performing and Youth association for promotion of activism Aktivist (PDM, 2018).

Their activities range very widely from stage performing through contemporary theater, circus and artistic expression, film, design and architecture, to informing youth, queer culture, and pacifism. However, they all share an activist interest in improving the position of independent culture in the society, and promoting participatory governance in culture.

Some of the organizations that use the Youth Home's spaces have contracts with the City of Split, while numerous others use the space in time slots (Višnić and Veljačić, 2016: 74). The Platform member organizations are especially dedicated to finding a new participatory model for governing the space, and to that end they closely collaborate as civil partners with the public institution MCC, which is the associate member of the Platform.

Besides governing the space of the Youth Home, MCC participates in cultural production and programme coordination, and develops support programmes for the professional development of young artists and cultural workers. MCC is also important to the activities of the Youth Home's users because it finances the minimal technical maintenance of the space and its equipment, as well as the salaries of a janitor and cinema operator. Following initial investments in creating project documentation and the reconstruction of parts of the space (gallery, small auditorium, and cinema) in 2007 and 2009, the City of Split at first cut the annual funds for equipment maintenance tenfold, and in the period 2013 to 2017 it withdrew financial support altogether. It turned to European Union (EU) funding to complete the edifice, but this financing was not realized.

In this period, the City of Split allocated a very small percentage of its total cultural budget for the programmes of independent organizations. Amounting to almost 10 % of the total city budget, Split has one of the largest local cultural budgets in the country. Unfortunately, in the period 2010 – 2014, between 89.52 % and 94.77 % of the cultural budget was spent on technical maintenance of city-founded institutions (i.e., salaries of 530 employees and infrastructural maintenance). On the other hand, funds for cultural development were in permanent decline, amounting to only 5.23 % in 2014 (SGGS, 2015: 27).

Even if we ignore the fact that, congruent with the case of technical maintenance, the highest percentage of the funds is reserved for programmes of institutional theatre, performance, and museum and gallery activities (Petrić et al., 2015: 169–172), independent culture is still considerably underfunded.

Should we consider only the funds that the City of Split allocates for independent organizations, it is again evident that that independent culture is at the bottom of the City's financing priorities (Petrić and Tomić-Koludrović, 2014).

Examining the distribution of the City of Split cultural budget, however, it is apparent that funding for independent organizations has increased since the establishment of the advocacy platform, but that this increase was halted in 2017 because the proposed annual budget was not adopted by the City Council, and so only 'technical' funds for necessary expenditure in culture were allocated.

In terms of local financing of culture, independent cultural actors often complain about Cultural Councils whose evaluation and suggestions form the basis of the distribution of programme funds. The Split Cultural Councils are very 'traditional' and biased toward institutional culture. The City of Split maintains councils for books, publishing and library activities, museum, gallery and art activities, theatre and performing arts activities and film and media activities. Independent cultural actors believe that Cultural Councils

fail or refuse to recognize innovative and interdisciplinary programmes, and particularly urban and independent cultural programmes (Petrić et al., 2015: 174), resulting in poor funding of independent cultural programmes.

Besides local funds, independent cultural organizations either residing in or using the Youth Home space are financed to differing degrees from the national budget, public foundations, their own-generated funds and memberships and/or from international donations and EU funds (Petrić and Tomić-Koludrović, 2014). It should be mentioned that in the local context, independent cultural organizations are trendsetters when it comes to applying to international cultural funds, considering that Split's public cultural institutions have rarely applied for available international funds.

iii. Development perspectives

This discussion regarding perspectives towards the development of the Youth Home as a socio-cultural centre should begin with arguments that have already been made: that the programmes organized by associations active in the Youth Home are recognized by a growing number of users, and that awareness of the place's importance as a catalyst for independent cultural activities has risen amongst the cultural public. In spite of continuous difficulties with the unfinished building and the fact that some spaces are not fully functional for organizing programmes, over time the Youth Home imposed itself on Split through specific cultural activities that cannot be found elsewhere in the city.

Considering the specific urban morphology of Split and the concentration of traditional cultural institutions in its historic core and immediate vicinity, it is important to mention that the Youth Home is one of few cultural centres that exists in newer neighborhoods. Hence, gradually it has changed the image of Split as a city where cultural activities only take place in the city centre.

Audience interested in the types of cultural activities organized in this facility are happy to visit regardless of the space's drawbacks, but just like the independent cultural actors, they seek improved working and organizational conditions for cultural events.

In its capacity as owner of the space and founder of the public institution MCC to manage the space, the City of Split has increasingly come to recognize cultural activities in the Youth Home as a valuable and unavoidable segment of all cultural activities in the city, at least at the level of officers in the local cultural department.

Furthermore, *The Strategy of Cultural Development of the City of Split 2015 – 2025* indicates as one of its goals that 'citizen' participation in all programmes and initiatives and their creation should be increased.' It also endorses intersectorial collaboration and reconstruction and refurbishing of the Youth Home as a 'hybrid multicultural centre' (SGGS, 2015).

However, at the top level of the city administration (individual mayors and members of the city council) the perception of the Youth Home's utility and desirability has varied, which is partly evident from the financial funds invested by the city in the reconstruction and refurbishing of the space, as well as from the level of readiness and ambition with which the city approaches fundraising from external sources.

In the mandates of the two recent mayors (2013 – 2017 and 2017 to the present), further financing for the reconstruction of the Youth Home facility was to be secured solely from international funds. Following the incompletion of applications in the previous period, the beginning of 2018 marks a turning point in some respect. As the lead applicant, the Platform of the Youth Home, in partnership with the City of Split and Multimedia Cultural Centre, Cluster for eco-social innovation and development (CEDRA), Coalition of Youth Associations and Festival of Mediterranean Film, has applied for funding within the public call 'Culture in the Centre — support for development of public-civil partnership in culture', implemented in the framework of the

EU Operational programme Efficient Human Resources 2014 – 2020. Within the Programme, 85 % of the funds are secured by the ESF and the national co-funding by the Croatian Ministry of Culture amounts to 15 %.

Regardless of the outcome, the content of the application can be considered a suitable direction in which to pursue efforts at improvement and the continued development of participatory governance of the Youth Home, in order to achieve the full profile of the socio-cultural centre.

Planned activities are mainly directed towards capacity-building for participatory governance and networking (among partners and with other similar initiatives in Croatia). Planned activities also include the development of a specific Split model of governance innovation and further development of cultural, artistic and educational programmes in the Youth Home.

The project application also oversees the creation of the management and long-term sustainability plan for the facility, the criteria of space usage in the Youth Home, and the marketing plan intended for the increase in its public visibility. Within the project the plan is to form a body that will monitor the implementation of participatory governance of the Youth Home and to develop an Internet platform to monitor cultural activities in the city of Split.

As regards to the continued reconstruction and refurbishing of the Youth Home's incomplete facility, the intention is to continue with the ongoing strategy of 'minimal interventions' from the available funds, whereby the next step would be to make functional a new space, named the 'Classroom,' in the southern (and thus far untouched) part of the building.

As is clear from the name, this space is intended for educational programmes and discursive formats, conceived as a fully open community in which public lectures and workshops could take place. Following

the 'step by step' approach to the reconstruction of the gallery and cinema and guided by the development of an audience for these types of content, the Youth Centre would thus gain another space appropriately equipped for the educational activities that already take place there.

In addition, plans exist to create programmes (concerts and fairs) in the outdoor area of the Youth Home to attract new users and to provide minimal requirements for their improved orientation on the square and in the Youth Home building (signalization).

In short, the value of the direction taken by the initiatives in the Platform of the Youth Home lies in: creating conditions for the implementation of the advanced level of participatory governance of the facility, that is, involving other stakeholders; assuming knowledge transfer; deepening collaboration with other actors within the Croatian independent cultural scene; and opening up the facility to a wide range of potential users of the space, to a greater degree than ever before.

iv. **Conclusion**

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In the past four decades, the basic problem of the cultural policy and other public policies pertaining to activities of independent cultural actors in the city of Split has been connected with the spaces where their cultural activities could be organized. In the past fifteen years this problem has been particularly stressed, as the process of increasing 'touristification' in the historical city core has limited the spaces available for locally generated cultural initiatives. The city administration no longer provides space in the city centre to local associations and artists, but instead directs them to the periphery. The activities of the Multimedia Cultural Centre, which were from 1999 to 2014 organized in a building in the historic centre and incorporated the interests and participation of the independent cultural scene, were moved to the Youth Home building.

On the other hand, this building, which had never been used for its original purpose due to its unfinished state, remained unused for almost two decades and was left to informal usage often dangerous for the involved actors. The independent cultural scene's initiatives, such as Art Squat (1994) and the Coalition of Youth Associations (2001), as well as the persistent efforts of new actors in the initial reconstruction of the space, made it possible to even consider the Youth Home as a cultural space. In this sense, independent cultural actors literally won the space of the Youth Home for themselves and their activities.

The arrival of the Multimedia Cultural Centre into the Youth Home, and the beginning of the development of a public-civil partnership with associations active in the space, marked the new stage of space reconstruction, resulting in the strategy of 'minimal interventions.' This was well-received and subsequently applied elsewhere in Croatia. Finally, the establishment of the advocacy Platform of the Youth Home in 2012 enabled the more decisive direction of independent cultural activities toward raising the public visibility of independent culture, thus attracting superior public financing for independent culture and ultimately facilitating deeper public understanding of the concepts and practices of participatory governance of the space.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the period 1994 until the present, and in spite of interruptions and obstacles, the activities of the Split independent cultural scene have evolved toward organizational formats in line with international developments in that field.

Thus far in this process, great importance has been attached to networking with other actors in Croatia, mutual knowledge transfer, and sharing of resources. Based on the experiences of other initiatives, the organizations active in the Youth Home have improved their activities. On the other hand, through the 'minimal interventions' methodology resulting from the specific spatial issues in which the Split scene develops its programmes, local circumstances have yielded a significant contribution to the solution of the reconstruction of unfinished

facilities elsewhere in Croatia.

Finally, it is important to mention that in solving the problem of the Split Youth Home, as well as of other similar facilities in Croatia, the specific approach to public-civil partnership and participatory governance developed and publicly advocated by the Croatian independent cultural scene has been decisive.

The next step, which in the Split case should be supported by local cultural policy and donors at local, national and international levels, consists of further national and international networking amongst independent cultural organizations active in the Youth Home. It would also be critical to support the transfer of knowledge and democratic practices that currently exist in the Youth Home to other parts of the city of Split, particularly those lacking not only contemporary culture but also cultural institutions. In their recent activities and planned programmes, some actors active in the Youth Home are taking this course, which should be supported even more strongly in future. Various activities connected to knowledge transfer should be better linked to social entrepreneurship programmes. For now, they are largely lacking in the local independent scene, while there remains a need and potential for their realization in Split.

7. Pogon — Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth in Zagreb — Ana Žuvela

The Zagreb case study conveys the significance of illustrating the trends and tendencies for the development of participatory governance in culture on two levels. It provides a cursory overview of the context of a nation's capital and additionally gives insight into the first example of a hybrid public cultural institution based on the principles of partnership between a local authority and civil society in Croatia and the surrounding regions.

i. Zagreb: capital city as a context for new models of governance in culture

In the points which follow, the context of Zagreb will be explained as the backdrop for the development of participatory governance in culture design in the example of Pogon—Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth.

→ *City and its citizens*: Zagreb became the state capital city in the 1990s. Since then, it has been enhancing its metropolitan role, combining the weight of its administrative functions with urban growth and an ambition for wider international visibility, relevance, cooperation and investment (Švob-Đokić, 2007). Although the data on the number of

inhabitants show a constant increase since 2011 when Zagreb had 790.017 inhabitants to 802.338 in 2016[001], Zagreb is an aging city with an ageing index of more than 125.4 %; this is claimed to be one of the main problems for the vitality statistics of this city. There is a growing proportion of the younger and middle-age population that emigrate from Zagreb to various European countries, who thus form part of the general depopulation trend in Croatia where on average 36.000 people, half of those from younger generations, leave Croatia annually[002].

→ *Multicultural character of the nation's metropolis*: Zagreb displays a rather homogeneous ethnic and 'national' population structure despite being the largest city in the country and regardless of the heavy population influx during the first parts of 1990s and 2000s (Švob-Đokić, 2007). The cultural diversity of the population in Zagreb relates to the intra-national immigration[003]. It pertains to Croatian citizens for whom:

'Zagreb is primarily the symbol of Croatia and its independence and they are not interested in a possible multicultural character of their metropolis. Since this new immigration is international mainly because the neighboring countries are now independent, it appears thatthe intention to homogenize on the city level is much stronger than the vision of Zagreb in the international multiculturalist perspective. Thus independence is reflected much more as an effort to homogenize nationally and even ethnically than to develop new approaches to multiculturalism, or establish new types of intercultural relations. Now that immigration has stabilized at a low level, national and ethnic homogenization has become even more transparent' (Švob-Đokić, 2007: 120).

However, the dynamism and diversity of various cultural habits and expressions that reside in Zagreb make its image, at least on a national level, metropolitan. This image, however construed, serves as a powerful pull especially for cultural and creative workers and various subcultural groups from Croatia seeking greater opportunities for professional (or personal) fulfilment.

→ *Finances and the economy*: According to data from January 2018[004], Zagreb is the most developed city in Croatia with the average annual citizen income of HRK 44.773 and the lowest unemployment rate on a national level. Almost 20 % of the Croatian population is concentrated in this city, as well as 35 % of the active national entrepreneurial capital[005] and 33 % of the Croatian GDP[006]. Zagreb's expenditure for culture from the city budget is larger than that of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia. The 'Guideline to Proposal of Zagreb Annual Budget for 2018' groups culture by type of expenditure with recreation and religion and denotes cultural expenditure as 'costs for cultural institutions, assisting various cultural programmes and activities, co-financing sports, subsidy for Zagreb Arena, etc.'[007]. Culture is included in the list of development programmes and capital investments for 2018 with an amount of 35 million kuna (€ 4.7 million) for protected cultural heritage and 32.5 million kuna (€ 4.4 million) for culture allocated to four public cultural institutions[008]. In 2018, a sum of 425 million kuna (€ 57 million) will be distributed from the city's budget for public needs related to culture in Zagreb. The majority of

001 Information obtained from the annual studies on the social affairs of the City of Zagreb available online at www.udruga-gradova.hr/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Socijalna-slika-Grada-Zagreba-za-2016.-PPT-CERANEO.pdf (18/02/2018).

002 Information obtained online at https://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/oni-odlaze-ovdje-se-kriju-neki-od-odgovora-zasto-mladi-napustaju-zemlju (18/02/2018).

003 Information obtained online at http://www.ceraneo.hr/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CERANEO-Socijalna-slika-Grada-Zagreba-za-2015.-godinu.pdf (18/02/2018).

004 The Decision on Categorization of Local and Regional Self-governance Units Based on the Level of Development (Official Gazette 132/2017) is available online at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2017 12 132 3022.html (18/02/2018).

005 Information obtained online at www.zagreb.hr/UserDocsImages/arhiva/MakroekonomskirazvojGZ.pdf (18/02/2018).

006 Information obtained online at https://www.hgk.hr/komora-zagreb/gospodarski-profil (14/03/2018).

007 Information obtained online at www.zagreb.hr/UserDocsImages/financije/proracun%202018/Vodic_Prijedlog_proracuna_ZGB_2018_final.pdf (18/02/2018).

008 These include the Theatre Gavella, the Technical Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Museum for Arts and Crafts.

the funds will be divided among the public institutions in culture (HRK 342 million or €46 million), while over 10 % of the financial resources (HRK 47 million or €6.3 million) will provide subsidies to the non-institutional cultural sector[009]. After further analysis, it appears that the programmes of independent productions are scattered across several subcategories of the programme of public needs in culture, i.e. among different cultural councils. Nevertheless, the dominant presence of the programmes of independent productions is found under the heading of innovative artistic and cultural practices in the 'Programme of Public Needs in Culture for 2017', where they receive support in the amount of HRK 2.14 million (€287.265). This profound imbalance between funds invested in the institutional and non-institutional cultural sector has created an intensely negative tradition in Zagreb's cultural provision that is defined by a tense political grip over the distribution and allocation of public resources in culture.

→ *Local governance of culture:* Since January 2018, the city of Zagreb has had a city office for culture. Until that time, Zagreb did not have an autonomous administrative unit for culture. Rather, culture was a subadministrative unit in the city office for education, culture and sports. The main decision makers in culture are the city council with its board for culture and the mayor's office as the executive level of government. Zagreb has had the same mayor for 18 years, which has caused a major political infestation of the entire public sector with high levels of cronyism and controversies in the processes of decision making and governance generally, especially in the allocation of public resources. The structure of governance encompasses nine cultural councils[010] that are the central points of decision making in culture, but also the space for participation and inclusion of non-institutional stakeholders in the decision making processes.

→ *Cultural sector and resources*: As the nation's metropolis, Zagreb has a dominant position in culture. Many national/state cultural institutions are located in Zagreb, e.g. the national opera and ballet, the philharmonic orchestra, a number of national museums, archives, galleries, etc. (Švob-Đokić, 2007). With vast cultural resources and the highest amount (in absolute terms) of public expenditure for culture, Zagreb's cultural capacity overshadows that of other Croatian cities despite the wealth of their cultural scenes and infrastructure. This city is the owner and founder of 35 public institutions that can be categorised into thirteen cultural centres, seven theatres, nine museums, one library, three music institutions and one visual and one audio-visual institution[011]. The city of Zagreb is the co-founder of the Croatian National Theatre and Museum *Klovićevi Dvori* and is a co-founder of Pogon with the alliance of the civil society organisations[012]. The state's Ministry of Culture resides in Zagreb, as do all the key stakeholders in national cultural policy (e.g. Croatian Audio-Visual Centre, Kultura Nova Foundation, etc.), as well as all the head offices of the professional cultural and creative associations from theatre, to design, to architecture and restoration. Zagreb is the centre of the nation's educational and scientific sectors, meaning that the cultural development of the city has a much wider remit when it comes to resources related to social and intellectual capital.

Civil society is most numerous in Zagreb compared to the rest of the country. In the abovementioned programme of innovative artistic

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011 A comprehensive list of all institutions founded and owned by the city of Zagreb is available online at www.zagreb.hr/popis-ustanova/634 (18/02/2018).

012 The total of cultural resources includes state, independent and private cultural resources encompassing 785 registered cultural goods, 53 independent and private theatres, 46 book stores, 3 public cinemas, 46 galleries, 2 concert halls, 17 museums and 96 artists' studios. The average cultural production in the capital city counts 270 festivals, 550 exhibitions, 228 concerts, performances, etc., totalling almost 5000 artistic and cultural productions per year, encompassing the activities of public cultural institutions, civil society organisations, private organisations and numerous festival and cultural events (Grad Zagreb 2015).

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009 Information obtained online at www.zagreb.hr/userdocsimages/arhiva/financije/proracun%202018/02%20Prijedlog%20proračuna%20Grada%20Zagreba%20za%202018.002.pdf (18/02/2018).

010 The list of cultural councils is available online at https://www.zagreb.hr/javni-poziv-za-predlaganje-clanova-ica-kulturnih-v/115508 (18/02/2018).

and cultural practices, there are 117 organisations and independent artists listed, while there are numerous organisations in other categories of cultural activity that are financed from the local public budget. According to the Registry of Associations[013], in Croatia there are 52.294 non-governmental organisations, out of which 12.094 are situated in Zagreb, while 1.286 that work in the field of arts and culture.

With respect to cultural and creative industries, Zagreb is the obvious centre of national work and potential in that domain. More than 90 % of national cultural and creative industries are concentrated in Zagreb, yet the development of creative industries is fragmented, dispersed, untracked, disorganised and without any form of systemic support (Jelinčić and Žuvela, 2010). Systemic oblivion and the sheer quantity of small entrepreneurs in the creative and cultural industries have led to an increase in the number of co-working spaces, i.e. commercially rentable spatial modules shared among a number of individual and/or small businesses. The rise in the number of small creative entrepreneurs and freelance workers adds to the pressure for the enchancement of spatial resources and working conditions that are a matter of contestation between the political and institutional actors and the non-institutional cultural scene. The overstepping of the boundaries between the freelance creative workers and independent cultural workers and artists yields numerous positive developments, especially with respect to collaboration. However, it also creates numerous issues, the most obvious one being the systemic equalisation of market-oriented creative workers with independent cultural workers invested in the safeguarding and the progression of the public (cultural) realm.

→ *Cultural policy*: Since 2015, Zagreb has had the *Strategy of Cultural and Creative Development 2015 – 2022*. The *Strategy* places emphasis

on the collaborative work of the cultural sector and the city in safeguarding cultural heritage resources and in developing creative industries and cultural tourism. The 'participatory' aspect of the strategic objectives implies conventional notions of cultural participation, i.e. increased and quantifiable citizen engagement and interest in cultural activities (e.g. audience development), but it does not mention involvement in decision making or any type of authority devolution in cultural governance. The *Strategy* was a consequence of an imperative of the Zagreb candidacy process for the European Capital of Culture in 2020. Until then, Zagreb as the dominant, referential locus of the nation's culture did not have a cultural policy document. There was no expressed vision for the city's cultural development and no evaluation of the existing potentials (Švob-Đokić, 2007; Vidović, 2012). Even with the new strategy for cultural development, the city's cultural policy remains unelaborated, and underrated on the scale of urban development priorities. As in the other case studies, the case of Zagreb shows that the trend of culture-led urban regeneration has never been a priority in the policies of Croatian cities. Rather, the general tendencies of instrumentalised approaches to cultural governance indicate short-term planning and a chronic lack of consistency, (public) consultation and communication in setting, formulating and implementing cultural policy actions and directives. This type of 'policy behaviour', or politically driven short-term development agendas situate the case of Zagreb in the context of Central-Eastern European cities that mostly see the 'problem of urban regeneration as a field for attracting investors' (Keresztély, 2007: 98). Some of the major operations in urban planning in Zagreb, such as the 'renovation project' of the central area of Varšavska Street, corroborate such claims and illustrate that these modes and approaches to urban and cultural planning in Zagreb result in polarisation that provokes spatial and social conflict in the city. The case of Varšavska Street is emblematic for the analysis of new democratic models of governance in culture as the roots of the *Right to the City* movement in Zagreb stem from a declaration signed between civil society organisations in culture and among the youth signed in 2005 entitled *Independent Culture and Youth in the Development of the City of Zagreb*. In the same year,

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013 The registry is available online at https://uprava.gov.hr/uvid-u-registre
-14567/registar-udruga/826 (01/03/2018).

the 'Invisible Zagreb'[014] project mapped abandoned industrial sites in the city with the objective to 'show the public that they have the right to claim the city, the city is the exclusive right of its citizens, and that they have the right and the opportunity to use it creatively' (Dolenec, Doolan and Tomašević, 2017: 8).

→ *Contemporary development trends in culture:* On the mainstream level, in Zagreb we follow several attempts to modernise and adopt dominant typologies of urban renewals with the arts, culture and creative industries. These include a wide array of projects and new institutions ranging from Design District[015] to state-led and privately owned flagship institutions and organisations, such as the Museum of Contemporary Art and the private gallery/museum/co-working space Lauba—House for People and Art. We also find several formal and informal organisational and institutional models that somewhat resonate with participatory governance designs, such as the theatre cluster 'Dragon's Nest'[016] and the cultural centre 'Home of the Histrions'[017]. Both of these examples are particular in the sense that they represent a specific genre of cultural activity (theatre and dramatic arts), and the narrow scope of the organisations and stakeholders that can be involved in the governance schemes. Finally, one of the interesting initiatives that has been developing over the past several years is the 'Zagreb: Open City? — Campaign for an Intercultural

Social Centre'[018]. This initiative advocates for an institution that would represent the ideal city as an open platform that is responsive and reactive to the citizens' needs and strives to improve the quality of life in the city.

In an attempt to summarise the demanding context of the capital city, we have to remark that socially irresponsive and market-oriented spatial transformations in Zagreb have been interlinked and consonant with the city's social restructuring; this rise is characterised by a deepening polarisation and growing spatial and social disparities. The priorities for cultural sustainability and social inclusion have been weakening with the growing perception of cultural programmes and resources as factors for the economic competitiveness of the city. The chronic neglect of cultural policy and the long-term domination of a single political option that assumed omnipresent decision making authority in distributing cultural resources and in allocating public support for culture led to growing discontent among the non-institutional cultural sector. The 'internal reality' of continuous budget cuts and the shrinking of physical spaces for the non-institutional cultural scene is paralleled by an 'external reality' in which non-institutional cultural actors carry the majority share of international cultural cooperation and bring invaluable experiences, exchanges and funds from abroad which are strategically used for the modernisation of the local and national cultural system. This bipolarity has become a standing arrangement and a point of conflict in Zagreb's as well as the nation's cultural system that keeps on perpetuating the state of crisis, thus hindering any feasible visions and options for more equitable cultural development. The indifferent and general approach to cultural planning and development from the city administrations and ruling political parties has been counteracted by the vibrant and internationally acclaimed 'independent cultural scene' that exerts pressure on the local government by the continuous

014 The mapping research undertaken in this project showed that 34% of the civil society organisation in culture had no spatial infrastructure for their work. Out of 66% of organisations that did have the space for their activities, 43.2% of them paid a market-value rent, while 60% of organisations used inadequate spaces (Vidović 2012).

015 More information on Design District is available online at http://designdistrict.hr/hr/ (18/02/2018).

016 More information on the theatre cluster is available online at http://www.novilist.hr/Kultura/Kazaliste/Sedam-zagrebackih-neovisnih-kazalista-osniva-prvi-hrvatski-kazalisni-klaster and https://www.teatar.hr/196036/zmajevo-gnijezdo-prvi-hrvatski-kazalisni-klaster/ (18/02/2018).

017 More information available online at http://histrionski-dom.hr/i/339/centar/o-nama/ (18/02/2018).

018 More information available online at https://operacijagrad.net/upgrade/zagreb-otvoreni-grad-kampanja-za-interkulturni-drustveni-centar/ (18/02/2018).

generation of new ideas and policy solutions for democratising the cultural policy of the nation's capital. Specifically, aligned civil society organisations in culture have addressed the urgency for space for common use with criteria, infrastructural management arrangements and institutional models that differ from the local practice of cultural and urban planning. The main orientation behind these ideas was (and still is) to secure adequate resources, both physical and financial, in order to create new institutional formats based on the principles of participation, social solidarity, resource sharing and democratic resource governance. This has resulted in a focused advocacy process that has mobilised a large number of actors from Zagreb's independent cultural scene, and which has progressively led to the founding of the first, and still the only—not only in Zagreb, but also in Croatia—hybrid cultural institution based on the principles of participatory governance.

ii. Pogon: Participation and hybridity in creating of new cultural (policy) context

Pogon is the first Croatian example of a hybrid institution that is founded on the basis of public-civil partnership, and is the result of a year long advocacy process by a number of Zagreb's independent cultural and youth organisations (Vidović, 2014). The current director of Pogon situates the start of the advocacy for space that will be a service for independent culture and youth in the sense of offering a place of production and presentation of their programmes at the beginning of 2000s, while Vidović states that the lack of space for independent cultural actors dates back to the 1990s (Vidović, 2014). This originated from the specific situation of an incredibly congested institutionally driven and traditionalist cultural system that was (and still is) resisting modernisation[019]. The advocacy process

became more insistent and visible in 2005, before the local Zagreb elections when the independent cultural organisations joined forces with youth organisations and formed a tactical network so they could jointly struggle for a space for their work, production and presentation of cultural and artistic programmes. The assembled organisations 'defended public spaces from certain deterioration and set forth a request to the city government that one of the abandoned factory spaces located in the centre of the city be appointed to them in order to establish and open the centre' (Vidović, 2014: 5). The quest for space can be understood not only as a fight for survival, but also as a struggle for cultural context, i.e. cultural space that is not only physical but is also an abstract, symbolic field of cultural identification[020] (Švob-Đokić, 2004b: 11). The advocacy process included 'different activities, ranging from public discussions, happenings, public actions, protests, public statements, documents etc., and it proved successful at the end of 2008 when the mayor of Zagreb just before the upcoming local elections decided to found the Zagreb Centre for Independent Culture and Youth, later named Pogon. At the suggestion of representatives of independent culture and the youth, the centre was co-founded by the city of Zagreb and the Alliance for the Centre for Independent Culture and Youth (today called Alliance Operation City) as a mixed or hybrid institution. This innovative model of shared ownership was created to provide new models of cultural governance and institutional formats that will adequately respond to the needs of the local (non-institutional) cultural sector, as well as to develop new frameworks in cultural policy formation and imaginations thus ensuring the long-term adaptability and sustainability of a new institutional format such as the centre. The involvement of the city of Zagreb as one of the

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019 The modernisation of the system in the Croatian context (especially in 1990s and 2000s,) seeks not only to adapt to the differentiated global influences, but also to adopt the democratic principles and values in the creation (…)

(…) of the system itself, i.e. deetatisation and devolution of authority from the specific interest groups, that is those being political or corporate.

020 Švob-Đokić notes that processes of identification are ever more diverse and dynamic, encompassing old identities and traditional (ethnic and national) cultural identification 'which is no longer seen as absolutely necessary or dominating, but only as one possible choice among many choices' (Švob-Đokić 2004b: 11).

founders provided a stable institutional framework for functioning of the centre because it ensures the space resources for the centre's placement and the basic funds for its maintenance and basic functioning. On the other hand, the alliance members create and finance the production of the programmes' (Vidović, 2014: 6). This way 'long-term sustainability is established, and it is the result of a balanced relationship between public financing and oversight on one side and independent programming and participative decision making on the other' (Višnić in Vidović, 2014: 6).

Locating Pogon

In order to avoid ghettoisation of independent culture and to answer the diverse programme needs of the organisations (offices, production, education, diffusion, research, residencies, mediation, information etc.), the alliance insisted on the 'Centre being placed in multiple locations of deserted factory spaces' (Vidović, 2014: 6). Today, Pogon has at its disposal two spatial resources: the centre's office, a smaller conference hall and a temporary office space for the users, and the former factory Jedinstvo that contains two halls which are used for different cultural and artistic programmes (performing arts, visual arts, music, film, etc). The Jedinstvo factory is 'owned by the city of Zagreb and the rent does not have to be covered; only the utilities. The fact that the spaces within the factory are not fit for use and are not equipped represents a serious problem; the spaces do not meet all the conditions for the centre to be an excellent production-presentation service provider. The basic technical conditions (ventilation and heating system) are deficient and malfunctioning, but the centre's management ensured minimal prerequisites for realisation of the programmes' (Vidović, 2014: 6). Unlike the factory, the office space in Kneza Mislava Street is fully functional and is owned by the Republic of Croatia and it also requires the paying of rent. Since Croatia joined the European Union, the possibility of applying for structural funds has materialised, and Pogon is currently preparing for a reconstruction project of the former factory that should be partly financed with EU funding. The investment amount to 90 million kuna (plus VAT) and it is planned that 85 % of the reconstruction costs

be covered from ESI funds (Integrated Territorial Investments mechanism), while the City of Zagreb would cover the remaining 15 % of the costs. Pogon is currently trying to find additional funds for covering the equipment costs.

Organisational structure

The organisational structure of Pogon reflects the hybridity of its constitutive principles. The decision making authority is equally divided between two founding bodies: the city of Zagreb and Association Alliance Operation City. The alliance is responsible for creating a strategic framework for the institution's operation, participating in the creation of programme and financial plans, as well as being actively involved in the advisory bodies of the Pogon's governance scheme. The city of Zagreb is responsible for upholding and developing the financial and infrastructural stability of the institution. It secures the funds encompassing the employees' wages and running costs (i.e. utilities, etc.) for the core operation of the institution. The funds for the programme strand of the operation are secured through various modes of financing obtained by the institution, or by the organisations that use the space. The organisational structure adapts to the changes in the civil sector and remains open to the fluctuation of number and profile of organisations that implement their activities in Pogon in order not only to maintain the fluidity and flexibility but the concept of institutional hybridity and permeability. 31 NGOs took part in the organisational structure of Pogon in the period from 2009 to 2017.

The core decision making is conducted equally between Zagreb's city assembly on one side and the Assembly of the Alliance Operation City on the other. These two assemblies make the most important decisions related to Pogon, including the appointment of the members of the managing council that has the capacity to make substantive decisions, such as the distribution of Pogon's funds. The assemblies also decide on the appointment of the director in charge of operational activity, and who has the capacity to represent the institution. Both managing council and the director are appointed for a duration of four years. In addition

to these levels of organisational structure, two other important levels are the programme council and the team of employees that includes four full-time and two part-time employees, and one external associate[021]. The programme council is an advisory decision making body consisting of representatives from the civil society organisations that are appointed by the Assembly of the Alliance Operation City for a duration of three years. It contributes to developing the methods and formats for the use of space, as well as to programme development and long-term programme planning. The programme council represents, in the institutional scheme, the voice of the civil society organisations, and also indirectly, the voice of existing and potential users. This voice streams up to the managing council and ensures the two-way communication, i.e. the hybridity of the governance structure that sustains its uniqueness on the aspect of two opposing by nature yet interpenetrating logics of functioning—that of a political and bureaucratic mind and that of cultural and artistic sense. The inclusion of the civic platform in the decision making structure in Pogon through the managing council and programme council is the farthest that a Croatian system related to culture has reached since the 1990s.

The functioning of Pogon

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The function of Pogon is to 'govern the space that is then provided to cultural and youth organizations of the city of Zagreb for use and the implementation of their programmes without compensation'[022]. Accordingly, Pogon primarily functions as a production and presentation service for independent cultural and youth organisations that can use the technical and spatial resources of the centre for the representation of their activities for free. Pogon is not curated or defined by aesthetic criteria but is an open platform of cultural creativity and

expression. In other words, 'considering the basic purpose of Pogon and its openness to the needs of the independent cultural and youth organisations, a firm concept of Pogon's programme does not exist and it functions as one of the instruments that bridges the gap between the public and civil sector' (Višnić in Vidović, 2014: 6). Pogon is the example of a hybrid institutional arrangement that functions as a formal entity, i.e. it represents a formalised institutional framework for the governance of spatial resources, and that has a status regulated by the law on institutions. The efficiency of the Pogon model stems from the fact that 'the rules were not imposed from above, the users themselves are involved in finding of the solutions, and their representatives control their implementation through the Programme Council' (Vidović, 2014: 10). This functioning logic of the centre has created an institution that treats all its users as equal partners who build and invest in the space, and the users themselves treat Pogon as a common space that everybody has access to and the right to use. The representatives of the Alliance Operation City developed this rationale and the model that has now been in solitary existence, unfortunately, for ten years. Digital tools that 'employees use in communication allow a transparent and efficient manner of spatial resources use, where all users of the spaces can shape their activities independently' (Vidović, 2014: 10). A great number of organisations that use the Pogon space are part of the independent cultural scene and implement their programmes in the field of contemporary arts and independent culture. The space is also being used by NGOs that deal with education and civil rights. A number of youth organisations that use the space organise their programmes, educations and workshops for this audience profile. The number of organisations that use the Pogon space has been in a continuous growth up to 2015 (e.g. Pogon was used by 80 organisations in 2015) and after that a decline was recorded of 42 % (from 80 to 56 organisations). According to Pogon employees, it is possible to interpret these space usage fluctuations based on two relevant factors: a) most of the organisations establish long term relations and continuous programmes in the space by which the conceptual and functional recognition of the space and sustainability of the organisations are secured, but this results in longer space occupation; b) considering the

021   More information available online at www.pogon.hr/en/o-nama/tko-smo
      /pogonov-tim/ (18/02/2018).
022   Information accessed online at http://www.pogon.hr/en/o-nama/otvorena
      -platforma/ (17/03/2018).

fact that the available dates are being taken more rapidly each year, new users often do not have the opportunity to sign up for the available dates because the existing users are faster and more acquainted with the space usage system. As the director of Pogon states, although there is a wish to rotate more users in the space and to open the space to new users, the awarding system and spatial resources limitations allow for this to a certain extent. Also, the director pointed out that the decline of number of organisations does not mean that the space is any less used or that there is less content in Pogon. Actually, Pogon records a continuous increase in space usage so the space was used every day except during summer break in 2017. The increase in using of the available dates refers especially to the small hall and backyard spaces. When it comes to audience, Pogon has approximately 8.000 visitors on an annual basis, out of which 60 % are young people (from 15 to 29 years), while the space in Mislalova street counts 724 visitors out of which 70 % are young people (from 15 to 29 years). In 2014 the overall number of visitors of Pogon Jedinstvo was over 25.000. Due to inadequate technical and security conditions for holding of concerts and club programmes, this number has decreased to 10.000 visitors, after the bigger events stopped being organized.

In spite of the quality governance and use model, Pogon faces a number of problems. Considering the fact that the city of Zagreb still has not awarded Pogon other spaces to govern and the fact that the factory halls in Jedinstvo are still not equipped and the reconstruction project is still in its preparatory phase, the current spatial resources of Pogon do not meet the needs of independent cultural and youth organisations. This is combined with the fact that the equal and simple method for use of space[023] entices a growing number of organ-

isations to apply to Pogon. Ultimately, there is a lack of free space for the realisation of the programmes, i.e. Pogon is becoming insufficient in its spatial capacity. As the representatives of Pogon state in their interview, considering the demand, another Pogon could easily be filled with activities, or other institutions like Pogon will become increasingly necessary in the cultural landscape of the capital city. In accordance with this, the City of Zagreb increased the amount of funds for the basic functioning of Pogon in 2016 and 2017 which was necessary taking into account the growing number of programmes and the public who frequent Pogon in the building and neighbourhood because any kind of social activities is offered only by Pogon. The former factory is not located in the city centre; hence, it is not possible to provide bar services in the factory complex (due to legislative decrees). This has hindered the possibility of attracting an audience that is not solely the intentional, programme-driven public. After completion of the programmes, the audiences leave the centre's premises shortly thereafter, especially during the winter. Solving all of the above-mentioned problems would make the Pogon model function more efficiently. This could have positive repercussions on the overall independent culture in Croatia's capital. The upcoming reconstruction which should upgrade the existing conditions of the Jedinstvo building[024] is one of the steps in that direction.

Pogon sets an example in which all other centres can find inspiration for defining governance and a model of use. In the Croatian context, Pogon represents a 'pioneering attempt' because the public-civil partnership, in opposition to the one based on private-public relations, 'enables the ever so needed maintenance and improvement of the public/social role and the purpose and meaning of arts and culture in the context of growing consumption and political pressures' (Žuvela in Vidović, 2014: 11). In this kind of model, shared responsibility is distributed equally and the formalisation of the partnership

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023 The use of Pogon is achievable and straightforward through a simple yet coherent online procedure that involves the careful perusal of the terms of reference, the filling out of a form and the signing of a contract. The space occupancy is presented in an online calendar. The maximum period of occupancy is 21 days for festivals. More information available online at http://www.pogon.hr/rezerviraj-prostor/ (17/03/2018).

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024 More information on the reconstruction project is available online at http://www.pogon.hr/kvart/pogon-rekonstrukcija/ (01/03/2018).

between the public government and the civil sector contributes to the shaping of a participatory cultural policy. For these reasons, it is necessary to implement institutional changes in the public policy system and to develop new examples of hybrid institutions. Pogon cannot remain a mere 'experiment' but should become a 'standard' for such institutional arrangements.

iii. Concluding reflections

Zagreb has all the necessary elements for cultural policymaking which will be at the forefront of national trends in cultural development. This includes its number of inhabitants, the available financial and cultural resources, as well as its metropolitan character that acts like a magnet for cultural and creative workers from across the entire country. Accordingly, Zagreb is the national centre for the dynamic convergence of diverse cultural ideas, sectors, actors, expression and imitation of global trends. In the context of this case study and the research to which it pertains, it is important to highlight that the first Croatian example of a hybrid institution based on the principles of participation is located in Zagreb. Nonetheless, the analysis of the local cultural documents, especially the city's budget, unequivocally suggests that Zagreb's cultural policy faces great challenges, especially when it comes to providing support and establishing cooperation with non-institutional and politically autonomous cultural actors and initiatives.

Interviews with the city officials illustrate that culture in Zagreb is seen as an important segment of local development. However, there is an unmistakeable turn towards a market or tripod economy model of cultural provision which builds on the assumption of inability and inadequacy of public funds (both state and local) to support culture. Hence, participation is considered as one of the approaches for the establishment of partnership. At the same time, the local officials mention in their interviews public-private partnerships that should improve economic interest in cultural policy and planning instead of

public value. In other words, culture is, from a political perspective, considered very pragmatically for what it can or cannot achieve or contribute to the development of Zagreb, according to the principle of lowering the support for culture while increasing the expectations from the effects of culture on urban development. This is consistent with the most banal recipe in local cultural development which relies on making the city more attractive with culture which in turn attracts more tourists. Various attempts in this direction have contributed to the high increase in tourism in city of Zagreb, evident in the rise in the percentage of tourists by 73.5 % from 2007 to 2016.

As an example of a hybrid cultural institution founded on the principles of participatory governance in Croatia, local politicians perceive Pogon as a newer model of the cultural centres that existed in the times of socialism; hence, the innovative aspect of the participatory governance model is disregarded (or misunderstood) in favour of the actual organisational status. This misunderstanding of the fundamental concept and principles that define Pogon is evident in the claims by city officials in which they see Pogon as a new home for creative industries, as well as the place that should be supported (financially) by the citizens and/or crowdfunding. Local politicians and city officials are adamant about withdrawing public funds from culture in favour of private financing. This issue surpasses the topic of participatory governance in culture with respect to the case of Zagreb and seeks serious deliberation on the directions and trends in cultural development, cultural policy and governance in Croatia generally. Otherwise, we are facing a profound remodelling, a repurposing and a repositioning of the cultural field that will not be a result of deliberative policymaking but a consequence of creeping shifts which arise from ignorance on the part of local political actors.

Some of the local officials stated that they see Pogon as a beacon of Zagreb's development—a model that should serve as an inspiration and a blueprint for many other open spaces for culture that the capital city needs. The enthusiasm extends to understanding the public-civil partnership as a 'fantastic' and 'innovative' model in which

the city gains reliable and productive partners in civil society organisations. Moreover, with the expansion of Zagreb's urban areas, the need for cultural centres is growing; this opens up new opportunities for both citizen engagement and for experimentation with the new governance formats. However, the growth and development of new formats of governance, institutions and organisations calls for reconsideration and adjustment of the existing legal frameworks that do not accommodate innovative policy upgrades which could ensure a more democratic cultural policy and hybridity as an integral part of the new form. The hybridity of Pogon should not be a mere light post for the orientation of cultural policy progression. Rather, the growth of such spaces should lead the capital city out of its peripheral position on European scale to a more confident tier where Zagreb will have an opportunity to become a site of new cultural typologies and hybrid cultures.
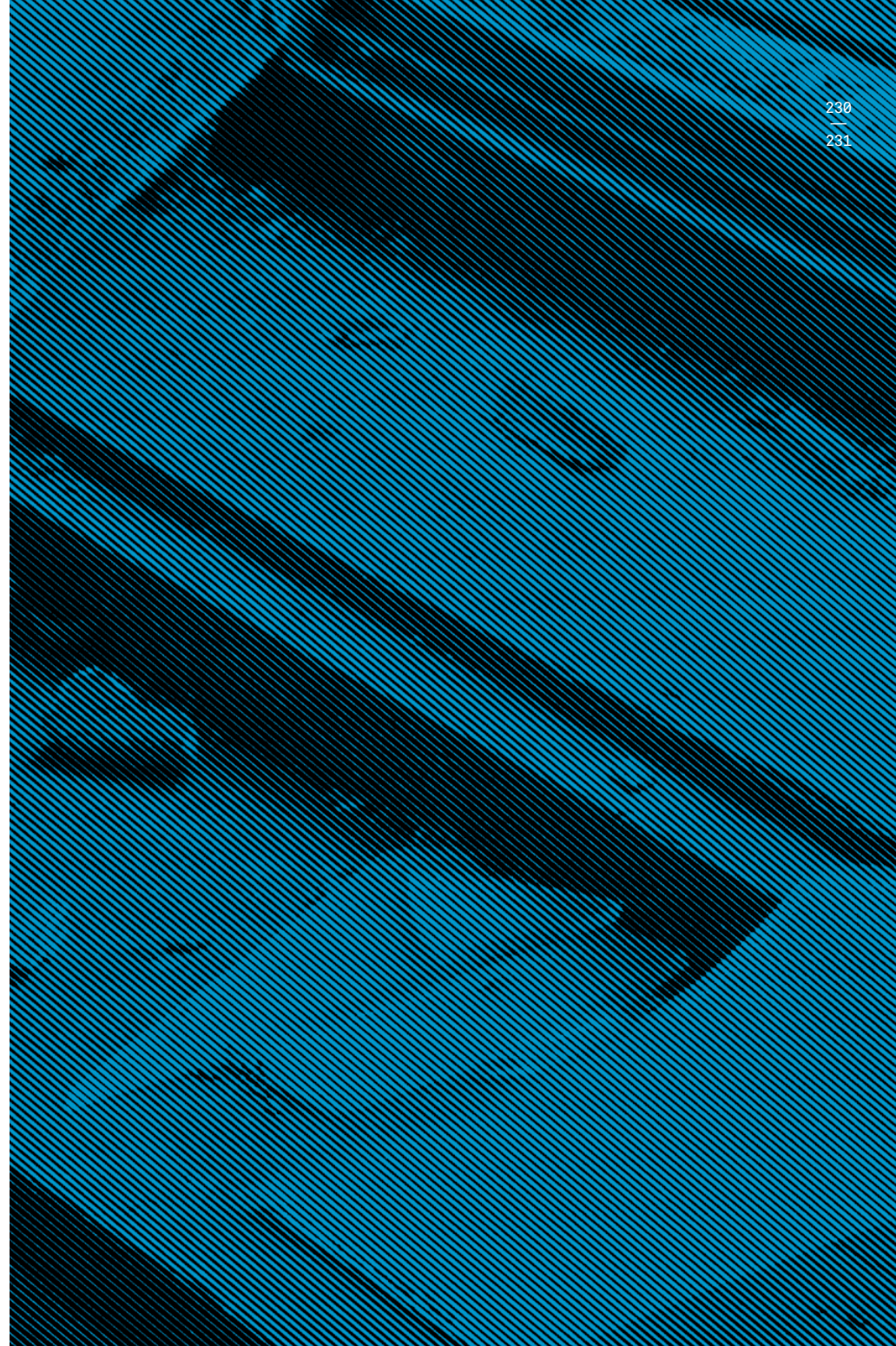
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VI. Biographies

→ **Dea Vidović, PHD** is the Director of the Kultura Nova Foundation. She graduated in Comparative Literature and Indology from the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. In 2012, she received her PhD title from the same University having defended her thesis 'The Development of Emerging Cultures in the City of Zagreb in 1990 – 2010 period'. For more than fifteen years of her professional engagement, she worked as manager, editor, journalist and researcher. She cooperated with numerous Croatian and international institutions and organizations. Vidović actively participated at numerous conferences and symposiums in Croatia and abroad and delivered lectures. She also taught courses in cultural policy and arts management within informal educational programmes, Academy of Dramatic Art at the University of Zagreb, Zagreb School of Business in Zagreb. She is currently a member of the Management Board of the ENCATC network.

→ **Ana Žuvela** is a Researcher at the Institute for Development and International Relations. Originally a concert pianist, Ana holds a Master of Arts in Cultural Policy and Arts Management from the University College Dublin and is a PhD candidate at the University of Zadar. Her longtime professional experience in culture includes management of cultural, arts and scientific projects, counselling and advocacy in the decision making processes, research work, working for government bodies, heading of international cooperation etc. encompassing cooperation with supranational, national and local organizations and bodies such as European Parliament, European Commission, European Cultural Foundation, Council of Europe, UNESCO, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Kultura Nova Foundation, City of Dubrovnik, City of Zagreb and other. Her research interests include development of cultural policies and strategies, decentralisation of cultural policies and local cultural development, development of new models of governance in culture and shifts in cultural policy. Žuvela is actively involved in cooperation with governing and/or advisory bodies in numerous institutions and independent organizations in the cultural sector in the domain of cultural development on the national and international level.

→ **Davor Mišković** is a cultural worker whose work is associated to the contemporary artistic production, research and strategic planning in the field of culture as well as leading the non-profit association Drugo more (Other Sea). He initiated and curated numerous cultural manifestations, programmes and projects, conferences, educational modules and workshops. He has worked in the Ministry of Culture mainly in the international cooperation and cultural heritage areas.

→ **Mirko Petrić** is a Senior Lecturer in Cultural Sociology, Cultural Studies and Qualitative Research Methods in the Department of Sociology, University of Zadar. Previously he taught semiotics and media theory at the Art Academy in Split. He is an active member of civil society, especially in the fields of urban planning and heritage protection. He was the leader of the Social Processes and Urban Cultural Policy Working Group, coordinating comprehensive empirical research in the process of preparing the draft management plan for the UNESCO-protected historical core of the city of Split (2012 – 2016).

→ **Leda Sutlović** is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Vienna. She received a BA in political studies from the Faculty of Political Studies in Zagreb and MA from the Central European University in Budapest. She worked as associate and coordinator on preparation and implementation of projects at Ministry of Science, Education and Sports Agency and at the Centre for Women's Studies in Zagreb. Beside cooperation with different Croatian and international organisations she published texts from the fields of education, culture and feminism at the Kulturpunkt. hr web portal. She is editor of collection of papers, author of articles and associate of various international research projects in the field of gender and policy, social changes and feminist movement in South-east Europe.

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"Participation is not simply about joining in the game, it is also about having the possibility to question the rules of the game" (Sternfeld, 2013: 4)