STAGING URBAN EUROPE

BODILY, DISCURSIVE AND SCALAR POLITICS OF COMMUNITY THEATRE

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Abstract

This thesis explores the counter-territorialising potential of artistic practices in urban space with offset in the community theatre of the Creative Europe (CE) co-funded Cooperation Project CARAVAN NEXT. This case is chosen because it bridges the local and the EU scale and links multiple cities transnationally, offering insight from the perspective of European policymakers, culture professionals and urban dwellers. I examine how conflictual discourses of bodily and scalar politics revolving around community theatre negotiate reterritorialisations. I adopt a multidisciplinary theoretical approach to cover the variety of factors that interplay in CARAVAN, including: 1) globalisation and geographical scales; 2) contemporary consensual governance and politics of dissensus; and 3) discursive constructions of place and community. Through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I argue that CE's discourse, as it shifts CARAVAN's, could succeed in naturalising competitive creativity and economy on multiple scalar levels. However, as my CDA shows, where CE's discourse abates cultural logics through the ambiguous parallel application of economic logics and quasi-Kantian aesthetics, the CARAVAN discourse mainly downplays cultural logics in order to privilege a focus on social responsibility. Through phenomenological performance analysis, I point to four tactics applied in CARAVAN's community theatre, arguing that, by engaging in the everyday, art can produce spaces for renegotiating discursive hegemonies. The overall conclusion of my research is that, in this early phase of CARAVAN, the EU framework's attempts at reterritorialising the local are challenged. Yet, in the long run, there is a hazard that CE discourses, so far only adopted sporadically by CARAVAN, can come to reshape local practices of involved partners and communities.

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Introduction: The Scholar Who Disappeared

Streets roll past as I scurry down the sidewalk, looking for something—anything. I am sure that they are scheduled to perform until half past twelve, but it is of course quite a distance from Piazza Castello to Piazza San Carlo. I cannot find what I came for. I rush toward the sound of music—three musicians, flute, guitar and bass, playing *Bolero*—still not it. I scout around corners; taking in every building, yet, do not encounter anything. Or maybe I encounter everything, the whole city centre. In a kaleidoscopic flurry of Saturday morning stress, I try to find the street intervention that has been pushed forward a day last minute due to threats of Sunday rain. Without stopping, I relax, as resignation adds a sensuous ease to my hunt.

I wonder if the five people clad in purple, whom I saw hurrying away from Piazza Castello and its towering array of castles and churches, as I arrived, could have been what I am trailing. I soon realise that it is a lost cause. Nonetheless this stirs something in me. As soon as the concern of missing out has settled, I notice that something unusual is happening. By having got lost, I have ended up in an involuntary Letterist *derivé*. Revelling in the omnipresent theatricalisation of the streetscape, my experience of the city becomes heightened. I swim through the streets, *flanneur* style, and see them aestheticised to a whole new level.

When you traverse the city not expecting theatre, performance is a capricious surprise adding layers to everyday life, or politicising it in the style of Boal's (2008, 122) *Invisible Theatre*. When, conversely, you rush around chasing an urban performance you cannot find, everything becomes choreography, laden with theatrical potential. As Mumford (1970, 480) proclaims, "the city creates the theater and *is* the theater." As I do not know where to look, I look everywhere.

I choose to open my thesis with this example of derailed field research—my unsuccessful hunt for the performance *Above the Skin*[1] in Turin on 28 May 2016—for two reasons: to draw attention, firstly, to the haphazard nature of qualitative research so often masked in the final product of academic writing, and secondly, to the inherent theatricality of cities. Throughout history, cities have served as actual settings for theatre, carnivals, festivals and other performances. We need only consider Madrid's

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[1] A performance by Divano Occidentale Orientale–Nordisk Teaterlaboratorium.

Plaza Mayor (Escobar 2007, 17), medieval mystery and miracle plays (Mumford 1970, 55), or the blurring of boundaries between the Acropolis Amphitheatre and the surrounding streetscape (Papathanasopoulou 2013, 11). Correspondingly, as Goffman (2002), pace Shakespeare, famously suggests, performance is a textbook metaphor for social life. Recurrently likened to theatre, the city is "a series of stages upon which individuals […] work their own distinctive magic while performing a multiplicity of roles" (Harvey 1990, 5). Similarly, street life can be compared to ballet (Jacobs 1961, 50), architects to set designers (Rasmussen 1959, 10), and the observation of other city dwellers to watching performance (Gehl 2007, 155ff). However, the association between cities and theatre has its shortcomings, potentially tempting us to overlook "first person narratives, the distinction between temporary and permanent, fiction and truth" (Madanipour 2003, 206). Performative readings of social matters must be undertaken with restraint and only when sufficiently contextualised, as they risk oversimplifying the diversity of urban experience.

This thesis will focus on conflictual discourses of bodily and spatial politics articulated in the motley genre of community theatre.[2] The investigations are based on empirical fieldwork on "CARAVAN NEXT. Feed the future: Art moving Cities",[3] a Creative Europe (CE) co-funded Cultural Cooperation Project, encompassing a wealth of performances, genres, partners and locations. Nordisk Teaterlaboratorium–Odin Teatret DK is lead partner, responsible for organising the 13 formal partners and 30 associated partners. Social Community Theatre Centre IT is methodological supervisor (App X). The fieldwork poses central questions about the political power of cultural production in contemporary Europe. I argue that local tactics of community theatre can renegotiate territorialisations from below, allowing the disempowered to challenge strategies that are practiced at higher scalar levels. I analyse the discourses of performance in a de Certeaudian (1984) framework of strategies and tactics, adhering to the concept of scalar politics (Swyngedouw 1997), and as suspended in a pluralistic mesh of reterritorialisation processes (Deleuze & Guattari 1983 1987).

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[2] I apply this term, which I understand as synonymous with CARAVAN's term Social Community Theatre and with variants of community, social, community based, and community oriented performance and/or theatre, which are used interchangeably in scholarship and by my informants. I apply theatre and performance indiscriminately, understood with Sauter (2000: 50) as every performative event entailing theatricality.

[3] Hereafter abbreviated as CARAVAN NEXT or CARAVAN.

Research Question

How do conflictual discourses of bodily and scalar politics revolving around community theatre negotiate reterritorialisations?

With this research question, I wish to examine everyday struggles over the shaping, or territorialisations, of urban places. This follows the hypothesis that the EU scale is sought discursively manifested and legitimised locally in European cities. I apply Deleuze and Guattari's (1983) concept of deterritorialisation—loss of territory—in its anthropological sense as the waning connections between culture and locality. In such frameworks, deterritorialisation—arbitrarily expressed through homogenisation, differentiation and hybridisation—can be perceived as "the loss of the 'natural' relation between culture and the social and geographic territories" (i Martí 2006, 93). Analogously, artificial and violent reterritorialisations are pushed through, legitimising power structures, and absorbing ever-larger shares of surplus value. In this process, anything (objects, beings, etc.) can come to stand for the lost territory (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 508).

I sketch possible approaches to how marginalised communities can come to claim voice in these negotiations. Such enquiries depend on tracing unorthodox narratives for analysis, and community theatre is just that. Participatory performance can manifest disputes over traditions, institutions and territories, oftentimes directly in the streetscape, as the historic and neo avant-gardes have already done in the beginning and middle of the 20th century (Bishop 2012, 3). In staged as well as in everyday life, ethical dilemmas of authority, ownership, and power are recurrently negotiated, making omnipresent Haedicke and Nellhaus' (2001, 13) question of "Who performs, whose material is performed, and who decides?"

My main research question demands a discussion of empirical data in the context of multidisciplinary strands of research. As Robinson (2011) requests, I aim at experimental international comparativism. I apply theory eclectically, acknowledging not only the socially constructed nature of our world, but also its phenomenological, material consequences. As such, my thesis offers one of many possible readings of inter-European cultural collaboration. Additionally, the limited scope prevents closer analysis of the nebulous concepts of politics and of culture. I apply the term politics in accordance with Rancière (2010, 37), who defines its essence as

"the manifestation of dissensus as the presence of two worlds in one." The political is a moment of struggle, when decisions are made outside institutions, and the marginalised claim voice (Corcoran 2010). Culture I understand, with Williams (1983, 90), as a "way of life"; a "realized signifying system" (Williams 1981, 207ff).

The first chapter sets the contextual stage by introducing consecutively the EU cultural policy and related implications of Europeanisation; the specific 2015 CE call for Cooperation Projects, the subprogramme under which CARAVAN falls; my choice of data material; the studied neighbourhoods and the genre of community theatre. Thereafter, my literature review explores how to frame the study of urban space as stage for cultural production. In "Chapter 3", I discuss theories relevant for my analysis. I downplay the role of capital and embrace such diverse disciplines as performance studies and political philosophy. The "Methodological Framework" chapter introduces the overarching tripartite research design, distinguishing between the levels of the EU, the CARAVAN management, and the local performances. Following Sauter (2000), my main priority will be the context and nature of communication in theatrical events—what goes on between participants. In addition, I perform Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1992), trusting that cultural and narrative aspects of current reterritorialisations of Europeanisation are of great importance for understanding the political. As Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, 75–76) underline, no discourse is inconsequential in power struggles. In line with Fairclough (1995, 135), I perceive discourse not only as systems of language adhering to specific fields, but also as a way of using language as a social practice, and to give meaning to particular experiences. The methodology is applied in two analytical chapters, leading to a concluding discussion on the power of artistic practices to reinstate politics based on dissensus.

Chapter 1: Context

Oxymoronically European

The European Union is a space between the local, national and global where geographies of power are reshaped. Integral to its formation is Europeanisation: "the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance" (Risse et al. 2001, 1). It is a consequential example of contemporary supra-national regionalisation, with processes of homogenisation occurring simultaneously on three scales: the world system, in interregional relations, and in networks of the single region (Hettne 2000). Despite its growing authority, the EU fails to develop as a distinctive locus of identification and manifest itself as more than a mere extension of nation state powers (Soja 2000, 205–206).

Culture fosters unity in Europe, but it is also its Achilles heel, as it functions as cursor of sovereign national identities (Gellner 1983, 138). Since this instability may undermine Europeanisation, cultural policies are instrumental in legitimising EU power both emotionally and cognitively for the Europeans (Patel 2013, 2). Where the European Commission and Parliament were impeded in cultural issues; the Council of Europe always promoted transnational cultural collaboration, putting forth the European Cultural Convention as early as 1954. As of 1984 national cultural ministers have gathered within the Council, which in 1988 gained an advisory Committee of Cultural Affairs (Staiger 2013). In contrast, the EU only achieved a legal basis for cultural actions once the Maastricht Treaty came into force in 1993, though culture had long been a topic in its own right. The opening of cultural markets and the removal of obstacles demobilising cultural services and workers had been discussed as early as the 70s. At the 1972 Paris Summit it was stated that economic integration alone was not enough, and in 1973 a Declaration on European Identity was launched (Ibid.). 1977 saw an unsuccessful proposal for establishing European rooms in member state national museums, and also plans for a pan-European television channel suggested in the 80s were rejected (Patel 2013, 6). The Parliament could establish a Culture Committee in 1979 and demanded a culture budget in 1983 (Staiger 2013).

The Maastricht Treaty (1992) made it clear that culture was essential to European integration. Article 128 opens:

> The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.

This article was modified in the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, prioritising the safeguarding of national identities. The 2000 Lisbon Strategy, aimed at nurturing dynamic knowledge-based economy, heralded the discourse of creativity and innovation as locomotive for the revitalisation of regional and urban economies (Staiger 2013). Adhering to the Single Market demands, the dissemination of cultural products and the movement of artists were increasingly facilitated. In 2007—with both the Lisbon Treaty eliminating the unanimity principle and stripping member states of veto in cultural policy issues (Ibid.), and the European Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World—the EU was finally cemented as not only an economic process, but also a socio-cultural project (Patel 2013, 2).

The EU has launched various cultural initiatives, the current being the CE Programme, explained in the following subchapter. Undoubtedly most renowned is the annual flagship project, the European Capital of Culture. It has run since 1985 under changing frameworks and is now under CE (Patel 2013). The EU cultural actions had a slow start in the late 90s with genre specific programmes: Kaleidoscope (cultural cooperation), Raphael (cultural heritage), and Ariane (literature translation). The subsequent Culture 2000 Programme ran until 2004. They were all obstructed by small budgets and the rejection of cultural action as EU policy domain. Thus, the bulk of EU cultural funding came from Structural and Cohesion Funds aimed at reducing socio-economic disparities of the Union (Staiger 2013). Another Culture Programme (2007–2013), running parallel to a Media Programme and forgoing CE, paid greater heed to the needs of the sector. It comprised cooperation between cultural actors, mobility of artistic production, intercultural dialogue and an action for events such as the Cultural Capitals (Staiger 2013; EACEA 2016).

The project, New Narrative for Europe, which culminated in the publication "The Mind and Body of Europe" (Battista & Setari 2014), spells the identity quest of all programmes out clearly. They are hunts for common symbols, imbued with pleasurable "strong European emotions" (Bozic-Vrbancic 2010). Yet, considering recent challenges of immigration, nationalist racism, and Brexit, it seems as difficult as ever to create a unified European identity amongst EU citizens. Obvious

propaganda projects, effective as they could be, would be *faux pas* in the union scep-tic political climate, not least considering the fascist past of many member states. This dilemma has led the EU down rickety roads of cultural policy along the lines of its oxymoronic motto "United in Diversity" (Toggenburg 2004). The motto, allowing for interpretation of "almost every expression and staging […] through the Union's lens" (Habit 2013, 137), coins a schism between individualising diversity and the aim to build new hybrid traditions and institutions. The inscription of Europeanisation upon tangible territorial settings is central to EU policy, but Brussels does not have a monopoly in this struggle. Rather, European cultural policies are relational, multidi-rectional interplays of multi-scalar alliances and clashes between varied stakeholders (Patel 2013). As I point out in my analysis, the EU seeks discursively to reterritorial-ise the member states. Yet this is also negotiated and reified from below.

Creative Europe Cooperation Projects, Call 2015

As mentioned above, the CE Programme under The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) is the European Commission's current frame-work for supporting cultural and audio-visual sectors. Running from 2014 to 2020 it has a total budget of €1,46 billion, of which roughly €450 million are allocated to the four culture subprogrammes: Literary Translation, European Platforms, European Networks, and the European Cooperation Projects (EUR1295/2013). The coopera-tion projects, which run up to four years, are either small scale (project leader and at least two other partners co-funded with max. €200.000) or large (project leader and at least five other partners co-funded with max. €2 million). The 2015 call's objec-tives include supporting European cultural and creative sectors in transnational ca-pacity building, in innovation and creativity, and in reaching larger and new audiences (EACEA32/2014). In 2015, 17 large-scale projects were awarded funding with a total budget of €24,5 million, one being CARAVAN NEXT, receiving €1,996 million (EACEA 2015). I now present the specific empiric material of my case CARAVAN.

Choice and Nature of Data Material

I enjoy a privileged position with regards to CARAVAN, having been granted access to most documents concerning the EU application and the project management and funding, including email-correspondences and online management platforms. I was

welcome to participate in all events as well as steering meetings, and to interview stakeholders. The possibility of inter-European comparison integral to the project made it a perfect case for me. The limited scope of my thesis dictates my decision to focus on only one CE project and precludes research on its full four-year duration, encompassing 25 micro events of four days and 5 macro of seven. Between January and June 2016, I partook in two of these micro events, one in Prague led by Farm in the Cave, the other, in Amsterdam led by ZID Theatre, and one macro event in Turin led by Social Community Theatre Centre. The fieldwork encompassed a total of 16 performances (Apps IV V VI). I have selected six of these for analysis.

Regarding CDA, Fairclough (1992, 230) recommends thorough analysis of a small corpus of samples. These should be selected according to a comprehensive survey of the field, so that the best possible insight of the studied practice can be reached. Crucially important are moments of crisis, where communication goes wrong: misunderstandings needing repair through repetitions, hesitations and shifts of style. My chosen discourse samples are divided into two groups: 1) CARAVAN related: Press File (App I), Press Announcement (App II), Social Community Theatre Methodology (App III) and, for each event, a program (Apps IV V VI) and a manager interview (Apps VII VIII IX); and 2) EU related samples: The CE Establishment Regulation (EUR1295/2013), CE Cooperation Project Guidelines (EACEA32/2014) and Guide for Applicants (EACEA 2014) (both for the 2015 call), and CARAVAN's Detailed Project Description for the CE application package (App X). I have categorised the Detailed Description, authored mainly by the two principal partners and intended exclusively for the EACEA, in the EU group, because its discourse, as I explain below, is representative of this context rather than of CARAVAN's overall tone. My interviewees are: Šimon Peták, Assistant Director at Farm in the Cave; Karolina Spaić, Director and Artistic Leader at ZID; and Alessandra Ghiglione, CARAVAN Methodology Supervisor and Director at Social Community Theatre Centre.

My research is participatory in as much as I have been present at events following the same social rules as other audience members. I am convinced that my presence as participant observer affected the situation to a very small extent, as there were other foreigners from partner organisations present at every event. Regrettably, due to limitations of time and budget I have not been able to participate

in and research the managerial and community processes leading up to the events. This results in an exclusion from my research design of the lived experience of involved community members, an approach that arguably misses important parts of community art. However, the purpose of my study is neither to evaluate the entire project nor to generalise about CE or community theatre. I offer a methodical example of what new insights can be achieved by comparing discursive narratives of art on a local and European scale. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the validity of my interpretations my research design comprises both an explorative visit to Odin before I embarked on my research and another aimed at testing my findings after the data collection was complete. In the following subchapter, I introduce the neighbourhoods in which I conducted my research.

Studied Neighbourhoods

The events in which I partook played out on three urban stages set by fairly distinctive pasts: Holešovice in Prague, Kolenkit in Amsterdam, and Aurora as well as Barriera di Milano in Turin[4]. Prague, capital of a state that only joined the EU in 2004, has become a gateway to the international economy (Sýkora 2006). Largely shaped by the Czech Republic's transition into post-communist liberalisation after 1989, Prague faces growing uneven spatial development, deindustrialisation and tertiarisation (Sýkora 1999 2006 2009). The 90s began with minimal government interference, facilitating market driven urban development. This included rental housing deregulation and privatisation and commercial touristification of the city's medieval core (Sýkora 1999 2006). As planning and strategic documents made their entrance in the late 90s, government involvement returned, however, impeded by a lack of national frameworks. The current aim is polycentric growth, not least to disperse tourism; revamping the large industrial era neighbourhoods and vast communist style districts (Sýkora 2006). The CARAVAN events took place in the self-proclaimed dynamically critical DOX Centre for Contemporary Art, which opened in 2008 in a reinvented factory (DOX 2016). It is set in Holešovice, a deindustrialising neighbourhood crisscrossed by rail-tracks and highways, in what has become the Art District 7, a "cultural and creative district" modelled on culture-driven gentrification of such areas as

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[4] Some CARAVAN Events in Amsterdam and Turin took place in central parts of the city. I have chosen not to focus on these events.

Williamsburg and Kreuzberg (IPR PRAHA 2016). Branded as the Brooklyn of Prague, it is "a neighborhood traditionally undesirable to the wealthy and the trendy, that suddenly experiences a burst of construction, growth, and new ideas" (Pergal 2009).

Since the 1980s, Amsterdam, along with other Western metropolises, has grown as a strategic hub for global financial networks (Brenner 2004b) in an inter-urban corporate *archipelago economy* (Veltz 1993). Amsterdam's picturesque history and "culture of sexual liberalism and narcotic indulgence" (Dahles 1998) has made it one of the world's most important city-break destinations (Gössling et al. 2005), rendering the centre an area of booming real estate—shunned by locals. However, Dutch globalisation does not only entail tourism and finances. In 2007 the Dutch Ministry of Housing launched a national list of 40 problem neighbourhoods (probleemwijken), considering liveability, safety, unemployment and real estate quality. Many of these neighbourhoods have a predominantly migrant population. An example of this is Zid Theatre's neighbourhood Kolenkit in Amsterdam West, an area that is exhibited as the worst on the list. National and local governments push revitalisation through the restoration of public spaces, community involvement, and, arbitrarily, the privatisation of rented and social housing. Yet, improvements have been slow, and it seems that they, just as in Holešovice, will arrive clad in hipster-black gentrification (Ankeren et al. 2010; Van Nes et al. 2013; Knoester et al. 2014).

In line with hyped ideas of such figures as Florida (2002 2003) and Landry and Bianchini (1995), the post-industrial and post-capital city of Turin is also seeking to be recognised internationally as a creative city (Vanolo 2008). Despite being "the symbol-city of the Italian car industry", Turin, contrary to Prague and Amsterdam, partly drops off the map of global branding. It is "the antithesis of a tourism destination" (Russo & van der Borg 2002, 634), outshone by neighbouring Milan (Mingione et al. 2007). For some decades, the city has been transitioning toward a tourism economy by expanding infrastructure and promoting its rich heritage and events of international appeal. CARAVAN touched ground in Barriera di Milano—a poor intercultural neighbourhood (UBM 2016); and in Barolo Social District—a 15.000m^2 shelter for refugees, women and adolescents with problems, located in the rundown deindustrialising area Aurora (Opera Barolo 2015). Both located north of the centre by the river Dora Riparia, an area I was warned against by locals,

these are also districts arbitrarily needing both revitalisation and protection against gentrification. Before ending this chapter, I briefly discuss general aspects of community theatre.

Defining Community Theatre

In the CARAVAN Press File (App I, 3), it is underlined that Social Community Theatre is made

> with and in the local community […] and the final performance or artistic creation is the result of the participators from the community being both co-actors and co-authors.

Though sometimes criticised for lacking professional qualities, community theatre, a relatively young genre, vitally redefines scriptwriting techniques and blurs boundaries between actor and spectator, maximising the agency of participants. Such theatre is inherently participatory, aimed at involvement and politicisation (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 1-3), mobilising audiences as what Boal (2008, xxi) calls *spect-actors*. Comparably, CARAVAN's Methodology (App III, II) emphasises the integration of

> different segments of the population with the aim of involving a heterogeneous audience, tearing down those social and cultural barriers which create a psychological wall related to cultural activity access.

Especially vulnerable citizens such as youth, disabled people or foreigners, typically barred from cultural offers, should be integrated in these communities that need support in becoming "competent and capable of promoting autonomous cultural processes" (Ibid.). Ideally, community theatre is both entertaining and instructive; stirring socio-political debate and fighting to change the status quo of particular communities (Kershaw 1992, 5). Participatory practices can enforce liberation movements as they seep out of traditional performance spaces into settings of everyday life, potentially fostering emancipation, as they provide space for neglected voices to challenge dominant culture (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001).

However, as I discuss throughout this thesis, inspiring emancipation is not straightforward. Self-criticism must be persistently exercised in conjunction with participatory practices. This is underscored by the increasing scholarly problematisa-

tion of the simplistic belief that conjuring up identity politics empowers communities (Swyngedouw 1997; Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001; Bishop, 2012). If identity can be referred to at all, it should be in hybrid plural, or better still by applying more processual concepts, such as that of Jenkins (1996) who discards reified identity, introducing instead a conceptualisation of practices of identification. I therefore downplay identity issues, choosing instead to examine community theatre as renegotiations of territorialisations from below. My literature review reflects this focus.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

I now turn to the question of how to disciplinarily frame the study of city space during its transformation into the setting for community theatre. I position my analysis in relation to contemporary debates on governance in post-political cities. Scholars increasingly contest the implications of how—under the neoliberalisation of urban governance—the state, and other scales of power, struggle to implement new city models and policies and manifest their legitimacy in local spaces (Kübler & Pagano 2012; Blanco 2015; Pierre & Peters 2015). The EU, oftentimes operating through soft Europeanisation rather than legal obligation, is one such evolving power structure. It has substantial domestic effects in the legitimisation of actors' ideas and discourses and in the prioritisation of policy proposals (Thielemann 2001; Knill & Lehmkuhl 2002; Atkinson & Rossignolo 2010).

I integrate diverse theoretical strands, letting de- and re-territorialisation serve as overarching concepts for linking the manifold negotiations of performance in multi-scalar contexts. In addition, I discuss selected unapologetic readings of cultural production, concentrated on the problematisation of purportedly participatory processes, understood in large as instrumental in the legitimisation of contemporary governance. I consider the production of consensus integral to what has been termed the post-political era. Finally, I examine scholarship that suggests possible clues to if and how art impacts these negotiations. Thus, I make clear why my theoretical approach, necessarily depending on more than Marxism and positivist geographical scholarship, draws heavily on theatre studies and political philosophy.

Globalisation Recultivated

Conceptualisations of the reterritorialisation of globalisation are relevant for contextualising discussions on community theatre a genre that, especially in the case of CARAVAN, is suspended in the *Glocalisation* (Swyngedouw 1997) or *Glurbanisation* (Jessop & Sum 2000) between urban and global. Groups active in the field are heavily dependent on international exchange of methods and ideas, whilst working locally on their theatre production (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001).

Critical Geography advocates notions of globalisation as a complex (even accelerating) process, destabilising borders and intertwining national economic formations. In urban contexts it is understood as fuelling economic restructuring,

commodification of real estate and subsequent gentrification (Brenner 2004a; Tomlinson 1999; Sparke 2013). Nevertheless, analytically, the purported complexity is seldom extended to deal with more than capital flows. Brenner (2004a, 28), however, hints at noneconomic elements of the process, underlining that it must be spatially and dynamically perceived as socio-historically produced. Through sociocultural practices, places and people are interlocked as the globe becomes a "recognizable geographic entity" (Crang 2005, 36), in a dialectic intensification of connections between the global and local (Giddens 2000, 60). In this light, the concept holds significance also for the analysis of territorialisations in the context of cultural production.

A central aspect of globalisation discourses and for explaining the dynamics of the Europeanisation that CE facilitates is the concept of geographical scales. Key in conflicts over knowledge and worldview production (Herod 2011), scales are mechanisms "whereby spaces exhibiting similarity of conditions are delineated from those experiencing different conditions" (Herod et al. 2007, 257). If we consider the idea of *Theatrum Mundi*, conceived in antiquity and widespread in the Baroque, even theatre is a scale; a world within the world (Pavis 1998, 407). Proclaiming a need for scalar politics, Swyngedouw (1997) cautions against reifying dichotomisations of scales, which are nothing more than discursive sites of socio-spatial power struggles. He trusts in power seized through scalar reconfigurations, a potent tool for disempowering others, but also a potential road to freedom. Accordingly, scalar reorganisations can be understood as processes of de- and reterritorialisation (Brenner 2004a, 45). This notion proves pertinent for my argument, if cross-pollinated with ideas that adopt a stronger sociocultural focus.

In such frameworks, globalisation becomes a question of exchange contra safeguarding of tradition. It cannot be denied that traditions, as could be said also of institutions (Deleuze 1992; Dubet 2002), are in decline or at least in flux. Yet, we are not simply detraditionalising toward a post-traditional era as parallel processes of retraditionalisation thrive (Heelas 1996). Similarly, deterritorialisation is also always accompanied by reterritorialisation (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 10). One aspect of this is culturally tuned interventions aimed at asserting homogenous community, a local scale reterritorialisation exemplified by revitalisations of tradition (i Martí, 2006). However, such fear-driven attempts at reimagining and differentiating the local from forces of globalisation succeed merely in adapting lost traditions, which live "only

posthumously, in the experience of detraditionalization" (Bauman 1996, 49), to serve advanced modernity.

Met with different social and political attitudes of acceptance, rejection and strategies of management; cultural globalisation is not uniform, but pluralistically based on what Bhabha (1994) terms *hybridisation* (Berger 2002; Yunxiang Yan 2002). Another approach suitable for deciphering hybrid reterritorialisations of globalisation-conflicts is Appadurai's (1996, 48) neologism *ethnoscape*, which points to the present-day formations of non-localised communities. To him,

> The central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization […] for polities of smaller scale, there is always a fear of cultural absorption by polities of larger scale […] One man's imagined community is another man's political prison (Ibid., 32).

As I reason in "Chapter 3", this dichotomisation, also found in Anderson's (1991) *imagined communities*, guarded by fear and power, is relevant to the discussion of globalisation and reterritorialisation for my case study. As debated below, it is ambiguous what roles CARAVAN plays in this system.

Participation or Production of Consensus

Neo-Marxist critical urban theorists, inspired by Lefebvre's (1996, 158) celebrated claim that "the right to the city is like a cry and a demand [...] a transformed and renewed right to urban life", intermittently question who should be allowed to perform our cities (Brenner 2009; Marcuse 2009; Mayer 2009; Purcell 2013). This right is evaporating in the privatisation of cities not made for people but for profit (Brenner et al. 2009). Claiming a right to the city is to revolt against participation in consensual democracy (Purcell 2008, 182) by initiating genuine democratisation, crucial for combating the persistent neoliberalisation that pushes out and appropriates all other logics of the urban sphere (Harvey 2008).

I understand art as one such logic being infested by neoliberalism, as struggles over power and commodification are becoming paramount in spheres of cultural production in our cities (Harvey 2009; Horowitz 2014). These spheres, which have been described as the symbolic economy, are consistently growing in tune with forces of supply and demand. The symbolic production of art demands

designated space, and as art spaces proliferate the audience for cultural institutions grows (Zukin 1995, 119). European cities have undergone a cultural turn in public policy to an extent where art and culture are sufficient legitimisation for explaining away the displacement and gentrification that urban projects engender (Karaca 2009 2010 2013). In such market-based optics, it becomes obvious that art, and especially its consumption, is closely tied to capital interests.

The absence of *Culture Wars*, protests from the dominated, should not be understood as an expression of shared interests. It is an expression of a false consciousness, consensus produced as a legitimising factor making the dominated internalise the discourse of interests of dominant classes (Sharp et al. 2005). Consensus is, to paraphrase Rancière (2010, 42), the death knell of politics, hauling our cities into a post-political or -democratic era (Crouch 2000; Mouffe 2005; Swyngedouw 2009). Swyngedouw (2007, 59), in a characteristically nostalgic tone, refers to this as the loss of the *Polis*, the home of true political dissent.

This loss relates to the shift from government to governance, a conceptual framework rationalising changes taking place in liberal democracies since the 1980s. Under this regime, power becomes opaquely constituted as traditional hierarchies disappear and the nation-state is destabilised in a globally networked rescaling of power, benefiting private interests (Palumbo 2010). Deleuze (1992, 4–6) coins this development in his writings on the change from what Foucault terms societies of discipline to societies of control. Control is, Deleuze explains, "a modulation, like a self-deforming cast that will continuously change". Where "The disciplinary man was a discontinuous producer of energy […] the man of control is undulatory, in orbit, in a continuous network." In this type of society, institutions and traditions lose their substance and melt into air. Yet, indiscriminate classification of all contemporary developments of governance as neoliberal risks ignoring that some could be analysed more sophisticatedly as pragmatic adaptations to changes in society or even as expressions of novel bottom-up initiatives (Le Galès 2016; Storper 2016).

As Habit (2013) claims, through EU cultural policy European citizens are made responsible for partaking in union-invention counter to national cultural sovereignty, as political activism acting on European terms is encouraged. Such participatory governance strategies, a sort of Foucaultian Conduct of Conduct or Governmentality, can be understood as facilitated by the government technologies of

citizenship (Cruikshank 1999), of agency and of performance (Dean 1999). Drawing on discourse such as those of voice and empowerment, these technologies

> seek to enhance or deploy our possibilities of agency […] engage us as active and free citizens, as informed and responsible consumers, as actors in democratizing social movements, and as agents capable of taking control of our own risks (Ibid., 196).

However benign, such initiatives are part of consolidating an authoritarian neoliberal order, preaching self-management of risk and responsibility (Swyngedouw 2007).

In this spirit, our cities are deterritorialised as stages for a developing experience economy, accentuating relationships of consumption between art and privileged individuals' performance of identity through the exploitation of experiences as commodities (Pine & Gilmore 1999). Cultural production becomes part of strategies to stage experiences in a distinct mode of economic production, which increasingly functions as stimulus for economic growth and the management of consumers. Accordingly, during its conception, CE was already criticised for shifting discursive focus from cultural diversity and union building to logics of economic development and competitiveness by discretely substituting terms such as cultural sector with cultural and creative sectors or industries (Bruell 2013). Art has become an emblem of modernity for cities seeking to brand themselves in international competition (Polo 2013). Analogous instances of how culture serves those advocating urban entrepreneurialism are the trending exploitations of the Bilbao Effect (Heidenreich & Plaza 2013) and urban festivalisation (Johansson & Kociatkiewicz 2011).

This resonates with 20th century critical thinkers such as Lefebvre or Marcuse, who cannot decide if art is a *promesse de bonheur* or a validation of capitalist status quo (Bolt 2011, 169). Benjamin (1970, 5), one such critic, warns us that the political potentiality of cultural production must be kept free of bourgeois appropriation, as the political struggle can be devoured and morphed into an "object of contemplative pleasure, from a means of production into an article of consumption". Relatedly, Debord (2012, §30) of the *Internationale Situationniste* describes the 20th century as an epoch dominated by spectacle, the inversion of life. Only seemingly reuniting the mutually alienated spectators, the labourers, in an image produced by dominant voices, the spectacle is in effect the language of this separation, and thus "the spectator feels at home nowhere, because the spectacle is everywhere." In a similarly

critical fashion, Bourdieu (1984) investigates the role of cultural production and consumption in legitimising symbols of gatekeeping between social groups, distinguishable from each other according to whether or not they hold social capital. Tastes are culturally produced markers of class, as it takes certain educational competences to "read art"; to decipher cultural communication. Consequently, dominant cultural production and consumption's main function is the manifestation of social differences and they therefore serve as effective tools for excluding some groups from legitimate society.

Viewed through such Marxist lenses, cultural production can be accused of reiterating oppressive traditions and institutions, legitimising hegemonic discourses and reterritorialisations of cities as *landscapes of consumption* (Zukin 1995, 208). To take the argument to extremes, it downright inverts the world, working as opiate for the masses. The alleged social empowerment projects of cultural production can be understood as soft social engineering (Bishop 2012, 5), playing on technologies of agency, performance and citizenship, and thus producing consensus. Therefore, community theatre may not offer any true empowerment, but only a temporary feel-good atmosphere obstructing real political action (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001). I now invoke other currents of scholarship to aid me in reinvesting hope in art's potential for challenging dominant reterritorialisations.

Impotent Art?

Our era craves radical politics articulating alternative "fictions that create real possibilities for constructing urban futures" (Swyngedouw 2007, 71). What better place, I would argue, to negotiate such counter-territorialising narratives than in art. Cultural production and related scholarship stand at the centre of the political stage, directly invested in shaping our societies—art is never neutral and community empowerment projects, in particular, are seeped in political dilemmas (Frascina 1999; Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001; Antliff 2007; Bolt 2009). Yet, the relationships between politics and art are muddled, as "artistic models of democracy have only a tenuous relationship to actual forms of democracy" (Bishop 2012, 5). We must always consider the ambivalence, the latently anti-democratic, consensus-producing lure of art and its related discourses.

This potential appropriation of the work of art kindles persistent fables of its autonomy (Greenberg 1980; Haskins 1989; Szatkowski 2005), stemming back mainly to Kantian notions of art as ideally contingent only to aesthetic judgments free of worldly interests and purpose (Kant 2002). Though I do not nurture illusions of an independent sphere of the beautiful, and can never fully shed the shackles of Marxist obsessions with capital flows, I find that economy must not hold priority per se. Although culture cannot be rid of politics and economy, neither can political economies of urban change be free of culture (Smith 2006, 118–119). Drawing on Heidenreich and Plaza (2013), I trust in the promise of research prioritising the domain of cultural logics, as distinguishable from economic logics. Cultural institutions and, I would add, also studies of them, have traditionally been conceived as not-for-profit endeavours, and ought mainly to be culturally motivated, acting separate from the economic purposes they can come to be exploited for. I support critical theory's examination of the "disjuncture between the actual and the possible" (Brenner 2009: 203), but believe that clear-cut focus on struggles against capital forces overlooks other equally important issues surrounding power in relation to cultural production.

In accordance with the dismissal of economic appropriation of art expressed by the idealist distinction between logics of economy and culture, a contemporary tendency in the creative classes to mobilise against market based discourses of policy makers can be identified (Novy & Colomb 2013). First world urban activisms are changing in the aftermath of the economic crisis that heralded the new millennium. Like rhizomes, they are growing less localised and, though not without difficulties, they are building bridges between "privileged city users on the one side and growing 'advanced marginality' on the other" (Mayer 2013, 17). Increasingly, symbioses between art and activism are referred to as *artivisms* (Asante 2008; Sandoval & Latorre 2008). Such struggle against exploitations of local culture can produce what Harvey (2000) refers to as *Spaces of Hope*, a concept similar to *Dissensus* (Rancière 2010), and *Heterotopia* (Foucault 1984).

Relatedly, experimental strands of human geography are currently engaging in spatial practices of culture (Enigbokan & Patchett 2012; Ingram 2012; Last 2012; Harris & Jones 2016) in an attempt to challenge hegemonic *landscapes of power* (Zukin 1993). In the postmodern and -colonial climate of the past decades, it has been disputed whether positivist geographical practices can still hold claim to validity

(Harley 2009; Craib 2000). In line with de Certeau's (1984, 91) emblematic description of the almighty urban planner observing the city from the World Trade Centre, critical voices question the role of mapping and planning in the legitimisation of dominance (Buisseret 1992; Perkins 2004; Crampton & Krygier 2005; Herod 2011, xiv). Planning reproduces power structures in urban space in patterns of behavioural control dependent on layers of symbolic coding. Thus, managerial processes annul political discussion; demonising all that is different or politically loaded (Sandercock 2000; Kohn 2003; Bloom 2013). Similarly, the zooming in and out of cartography, a metaphor and method applied in city management and governance, cancels out spaces of dissent, providing nothing more than the illusion that we can oversee everything panoptically. Only the individualised view can be trusted (Latour 2012), because maps perform power, a theatrical metaphor hinted at already with the publishing of Ortelius' (1570) "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum". As Lippard (1997, 82) muses, it is in unintentional subjectivity that cartographic beauty resides.

 If politics are to resurface, the urban must be scrutinised multi-disciplinarily (Ward et al. 2011). In line with Benjamin's (1970) analysis of forceful moments of politics in cultural production untainted by bourgeois influence, it seems that artistic practice could present geographers with such experimental potency (Paglen 2009). Community theatre might offer ways of substituting critical reflection with practices that actively shape new spaces and ways of being. Engaged in everyday life, it can be a rehearsal of democracy (Dolan, 2005: 90) that "does not eliminate the concern for aesthetic formalities but subordinates them to the art's work toward social change" (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 8). This resonates with Bourriaud's (2002) relational aesthetics, where the focus of the artist is not on the aesthetic object but on the relationships between the artwork, participants and society.

 I mistrust, if not reject, radical theoretical binaries, such as modernity versus post or late modernity—we were probably never even modern in the first place (Latour 1993)—or spectator versus (spect-)actor. Similarly, Bishop (2012, 7–8), writing on participatory art, not only challenges misgivings of art, such as those of Debord and Bourdieu, but also raises poignant critiques of both sociological readings of art and of the distinction between participation and spectatorship. Though notions of quality and taste are problematic, she deems value judgments necessary for artistic practices, not in order to strengthen elite culture, "but as a way to understand

and clarify our shared values at a given historical moment." I agree that we in our approach to performance should not forget aesthetics in objectifying sociology. To resolve her dilemma, Bishop turns to Rancière, who succeeds in rendering such dichotomies irrelevant. In Rancière's (2011) eyes, cultural production has the potential of stirring dissensus by *emancipating the spectator*. It bridges gaps of society, building extremely complex communities that consist of "individuals plotting their own paths in the forest of things, acts and signs that confront or surround them" (Ibid., 16). Sharing experiences, but staying separate, "being a spectator is not some passive condition that we should transform into activity. It is our normal situation" (Ibid., 17). Emancipation of the spectator consists in the power of *being together apart*, a constant, boundary-blurring oscillation between associating and dissociating.

Imagination, for me the cornerstone of art, is a social fact with consequence for our material lives that has grown into a

> form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility (Appadurai 1996, 31).

Community theatre can therefore be a social act of imagining, a locally fixed practice reshaping politics globally. In line with Swyngedouw's plea for new fictions; artists, aiming to change relations in spaces of everyday life, must instate dissensus by staging "a conflict between two regimes of sense, two sensory worlds" (Rancière 2011, 58). In this sense, demonisations of art, such as those of 20th century critics and of current managerialism detractors, lose consequence. Art cannot be discarded as mere contemplation, as opiate for the masses, as does Debord, or as elite pastime without relevance for ordinary people, as does Bourdieu. The point is not to unmask appearances, but to produce new realities and territorialisations, new formations of common sense (Rancière 2011, 102).

Chapter 3: Theoretical Concepts

Similar to my literature review, this chapter combines different disciplinary positions in order to address suitably the multifaceted genre of community theatre. I include both theory regarding social life in general and performance specifically. I open with a discussion of power, which is crucial for the ensuing conceptualisations of space and place and their performance through urban community theatre. I subsequently theorise the contested concept of community, before ending the chapter with a condensation of the act of claiming voice as a vehicle for empowerment.

Power(less)

The main offset for my conceptualisation of power is Fairclough (1992, 86–96), whose CDA forms part of my methodological foundation. He explains power in Gramscian terms as dependent on the unstable equilibrium of hegemony and sees changes of power relations as hegemonic struggle. The dominant order is reproduced but also changed through communicative events, however not freely, as hegemony binds it. As such, power is not mere dominance but a negotiation process, always mutable, leading to consensus of meaning.

Urban arts invade public space, challenging hegemonic reterritorialisation, and though only temporary, "the memory of the disruption haunts the place for audiences who experience it" (Haedicke 2013, 1). The everyday is not annulled by the fiction, "rather the *imaginary* re-frames, re-interprets, confuses, subverts or challenges notions of the *real*" (Ibid.). Though space is always controlled by hegemony, urban performance may have radical territorialising potential. Where on theatre stages conflicts and solutions become formalised, theatre in alternative settings, usually staged where theatre professionals want to stir positive change, fuses imagination and reality (Cohen-Cruz 1998; Handke 1998).

However, as exemplified by spectacular parades on Parisian boulevards (Mumford 1970, 117) or the 1920 re-enactment of the storming of the Winter Palace (Bishop 2012, 59), street performance is far from only employed to bolster grassroots power. Correspondingly, power structures of community theatre are always in danger of tipping toward colonial appropriation and exploitation of the community material. The knowledge structures privilege the professional instigators. Such projects succeed only if assumptions, motivations, and discourses of those involved re-

currently are evaluated in interrogations of hegemony (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 15). To me, the most important aspect of such performative struggles is the function of the body as an immediate locus for politics (Harvey 2000, 130). As Butler (2011) points out, power must be understood as extremely dependent on questions of the bodily, as bodies in allied action work as "modalities of power". I develop on this notion in the analytical subchapter "Talking Bodies".

Imagining Place

Seeking possible approaches to the territorial nature of performance practices in urban space, I initially turn to Perec's (1974, 91) poetic musings. He searches in vain for places of origin and intact memories, but they do not exist. Space is always slightly out of reach, muddled by oblivion, melting "like sand running through one's fingers". In the contemporary abstraction of deterritorialisation the fixation on localisation exposes an almost reflectory search for roots (Kwon 2002, 8). Relatedly, The notion of *site-specificity* is fundamental to grasping the impact of urban art. Best analysed by illumining the troubled relations between place and work of art (Kaye 2000, 11–12), the site-specific oscillates between artistry and spatial politics (Kwon 2002, 2), as an "urban-aesthetic" discourse (Deutsche 1996, xi).

For Tuan (1977, 172–178), places appear through dramatisation of the needs, desires, and habits of the individual or group. Place is made visible through rivalry with other places by the power of art, architecture, and rites, and the idea of a district grows mainly from the positive or negative prejudice of the outside world. De Certeau (1984), notably inverting the use of the concepts space and place, as applied by the other thinkers, understands the city as written by bodily practices and enunciations. He explains place as a static order of distribution of elements and their relationships, and space as dynamic, vectorial, practiced place. Place is geometrical, an empty grid where practice can occur, as it becomes frequented space where moving bodies intersect. Echoing Calvino's (2013, 19) avowal that "Memory is redundant: it repeats signs so that the city can begin to exist", these writings raise questions of how we cognise territorialisation of spaces.

For my analysis, I find helpful Massey's (1994, 249ff.) concept of *space-time*, as it accentuates the non-static temporality of space. She considers the spatial porously as social relations stretched out; an articulated locus of global and local

power struggle in conflicting discourses. Thus the spatial serves a vital role in the political. Relatedly, the past decades have seen an interdisciplinary mobility turn in social studies, understanding potential, blocked and successful movement as constitutive of the social, economic and political (Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007). Contemporary societies of what Bauman (2000) refers to as *liquid modernity* are grasped as being restructured around networked flows. Whereas normal people are stuck locally in the *Space of Places*—separated from power and knowledge—cosmopolitan elites now live in the *Space of Flows* (Castells 1996).

It must be noted that I support Smith's (2006, 116) critique of Massey, as her notion of oppressed masses under inherently hierarchical power structures renders implausible the mobilisation of power from below. Such crude dichotomisations disdain contextualisation. Individuals and communities cannot be dealt with as automatons. Besides, they are also themselves evaluating and theorising their sense of place (Hastrup & Olwig 1997; Amin & Thrift 2002; Cresswell 2004, 74). Beyond essentialist equations of locality and culture lie possibilities for investigating the politics of reterritorialisation by

> modifying a discourse on globalization and community that has been dominated by agency-less narratives of urban and regional change that tend to exclude non-capitalist actors and their representations of space and place from consideration (Smith 2006, 117).

Notwithstanding the problematic negligence of the mobilities of generic normal people and the romanticisation of an authentic lost sense of locality, the liquid, post-disciplinary ambitions can inspire us to investigate the mobility aspects of hybrid territorialisations in cultural production of globalising cities. I shall pay heed to these caveats and perceive connections between the material city and imaginations of it as dialectic. Multi-scalar imaginary constructions of places in our cities hold material importance as their social influence reshapes the real urban fabric and the practices within it. In analogy with Fairclough (1992, 64), place can be understood as both constituted by and constitutive of conflictual discourse. The next section explores the disputed concept of community, contrasting it with the concept of strangers.

Communities

The CARAVAN Methodology defines community as a "system of groups and formal and informal organisations belonging to the same territory" (App III, VI). However, this definition cannot embrace all communities, not even those encountered in my case studies. With Smith (2006, 109), I aim to avoid such "essentialist construction of localities as closed communities, as ontological 'insides', constructed against a societal or global 'outside'". Definable not only by geographic proximity, but in numerous ways, such as by direct communication or common social position, symbols or needs (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001), communities are always dependent on the temporality of (invented) tradition (Morris 1996). They are to some extent always imagined, produced through the reiterated actions of everyday life (Anderson 1991).

A "warmly persuasive word", the concept of community is continually reconstructed discursively around almost exclusively positive connotations (Williams 1983, 76). As Hastrup and Olwig (1997) accentuate, seeking to avoid losing sight of material politics in a poststructuralist flux, places, though socially constructed, hold importance as nodes of power struggle. Practiced places, not necessarily coinciding with the physical location of a community (the case of diasporas, identifying with lost origins), overlapping and intermingling in patterns of globalising de- and re-territorialisation, even contribute to the formation of communities with no territory. Trying to make sense of this ambiguity, I turn to Haedicke and Nellhaus' (2001, 12) tentative definition of the concept, which will serve my analysis:

> *community* is a polymorphic concept precisely because it is the product of ever-changing social alliances, and community-based theater is itself an agent of social change capable of strengthening alliances and forging new ones.

Again it shines through that homogenous communities are only imaginary. In line with Appadurai's (1996, 32) thoughts on the tensions of cultural heterogenisation and homogenisation under globalisation, Haedicke and Nellhaus (2001, 5) highlight a tendency for urban communities, confronted with the alienation, freedom, and anonymity of cities, to be strongly diversified and their production intensified.

As Simmel (2002, 15) gathers, trying to make sense of human life in booming cities, the urban was always the stage for meeting strangers. The only way

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to survive in the metropolis is by meeting the overload of impressions with reserve and an "overtone of concealed aversion". The stranger, a notoriously urban figure,

> In spite of being inorganically appended to it, […] is yet an organic member of the group […] Only we do not know how to designate the peculiar unity of this position other than by saying that it is composed of certain measures of nearness and distance (Simmel 1950, 408).

This oxymoronic perception of the stranger's relation to the community is potent for explaining the power of community theatre, which often plays on vacillations between near and distant. Comparably, Rancière (2011) maintains that emancipation of the spectator is a constant oscillation between being individual and member of a collective body—between community and separation. This offers us an emphatic no as answer to Morris' (1996, 226) rhetorical question of whether our only possible alternatives are entering the "coercive community or an un-collection of isolated individuals". On the background of this discussion of community, I now turn to community theatre's political potential for claiming voice.

Claiming Voice

Each CARAVAN event revolves around a theme chosen in the hope of increasing

> awareness about the main challenges Europe is facing in the third millennium. Not from statistics, systemized opinion polls or from politicians point of view but from the direct voice of the communities, from the roots of Europe and from its local voices (App I, 4).

Relevantly, Couldry (2010, 103) proposes a conceptualisation of voice as "the normative domain that neoliberal doctrine casts into shadow". His understanding of the "substantive freedom", which potentially can be reached through effective claiming of voice, is very different from the freedom preached by neoliberalism. Substantive freedom constitutes the "capabilities to choose a life one has reason to value" (Ibid., 104). Such democratic voices contest prevailing hegemonies of authority (Hallward 2003, 192). In my view, the act of claiming voice, in order to build and choose a better life, is integral to the re-politicisation of urban space, and thus cultural spheres hold extraordinary importance as battlefields in this struggle.

Ever since ancient Greece, democracy depended on talk (Barber 2003, 267–268). Even today, as contemporary individualisation is not unidirectional but

merely relative, people are never fully autonomous, but are incessantly shaped by external voices of authority and tradition (Helaas 1996). As such, possessing vocal power is of key importance for the politicised citizen, and this is exactly the aim of community theatre, giving the marginalised voice and making democracy a reality, "by enacting democratically constructed theatrical fictions, sometimes in places where democracy or even safety scarcely exist" (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 9). The underlying assumption is that through community, we build democracy.

Colomb (2011, 81) underscores the difficulty of distinguishing between cultural practices and policies of democracy and of mere democratisation. Cultural democratisation spurs on "the broadening of access to conventional culture through outreach activities", whereas cultural democracy "takes as a starting point the community itself and seeks to build self-confidence and empowerment through the facilitation of arts practice." True democracy empowers, or in Couldry's terms, it lets publics reclaim voice. In an explicit theatre context, democratisation is the process of bringing the "best of theatre to the culturally oppressed", and cultural democracy is "creating theatre with the oppressed" (Kershaw 1992, 10). Community theatre, though demarking community and parallel exclusions, potentially destabilises the notion of group limits by a dialogic practice, where no single voice holds privilege, as "multiple voices share the authority and enrich the worldview" (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 16). This denotes that such art can instate the *Polis*, a site of enunciation of "the different and the staging of the voices of those unheard or unnoticed" (Swyngedouw 2007, 73), where the disruptive Rancièrian dissensus of true urban democracy reigns. Yet, as in Bourdieudian terms, permitting others voice, place, and traditions might be nothing more than oppressive strategies of condescension (Hage 1996, 97), I cannot help but wonder whose role it is to empower others.

When dealing with such questions in my case studies, especially those based on the recounting of personal stories, notions of voice and storytelling prove germane. To Caravero (2005, 169), "The voice first of all signifies itself, nothing other than the relationality of the vocalic, which is already implicit in the first invoking cry of the infant". Her Vocal Onthology of Uniqueness revolves around the etymological root of voice, *vocare*, to call or invoke. Sound, a category that I would argue voice pertains to, is not bodiless or ethereal but has a heaviness in itself (Schulze 2012, 198). The voice, unique, embodied, pure being in space, is always relational, as

it is meant for the ear. As such it instates contextual mutual invoking of being (Cavarero 2005, 173–177). In contemporary societies, the "good counsel" of story-telling grows rare, yet, where information is only valuable when new, the power of stories only increases (Benjamin 2006, 366). This power is rampant, for when told, the story grows "autonomous, both from the will of the protagonist and from the one who narrates it" (Cavarero 2000, 141).

I understand voice, relationally embodied, and stories as fundamental for politics of reterritorialisation. Language is, as Bourdieu (1991, 86) indicates, a body technique, "a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world, are expressed." In the context of my analysis, I will develop on this communicative embodiment and with Butler and Arendt, who investigate the performative power of action and speech to lay claim to space, argue that claiming voice is not exclusively dependent on oral communication, but can be expressed by pure bodily presence and mutual communication in space.

Chapter 4: Methodological Framework

I approach the analysis of community theatre in a framework inspired by de Certeau's study of everyday life. Distinctions between the two spheres grow especially dim when performance breaks out of traditional theatrical settings and disperses itself in novel urban spaces. De Certeau (1994, 93), differentiating between strategies and tactics of production of spaces, claims that "The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below,' below the thresholds at which visibility begins." They experience the city rudimentarily as walkers "whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it." Strategies of urban practice are top-down manipulation of power relations performed by a subject in an empowered position, whereas tactics are applied by those with weaker forces (Ibid., 35–37). Haedicke and Nellhaus (2001, 22) echo de Certeau, underlining the necessity for flexible tactics in community theatre apt for specific contexts. Operating from below, within the overarching top-down strategies, the tactical is key in explaining politics of spaces as being dynamically reworked from every angle. Yet, as Smith (2006, 122–124) accentuates, we must remain cautious when studying so-called everyday life, as it cannot be distilled as a static structural scale or set of practices. Rather, it is an array of competing discourses and realities. Accordingly, though I apply de Certau's concepts of strategies and tactics, I shy away from his reifying reading of everyday practice as text, instead embracing a bodily approach to the study of social space.

As elaborated below, I perform analysis on three distinct levels, inter-connecting local urban scales on a European scale:

I. European level: CDA of European Union cultural policies and documents related to CE

II. Management level: CDA of semi structured interviews with managers and the EU application of and communication related to CARAVAN NEXT

III. Local level: Phenomenological performance analysis of events

On levels I and II, I undertake CDA. I prioritise level III; analysis of performances directly inscribed in local urban fabrics. This level, where no grand strategic but only tactical moves can be possible, is vitally important for unveiling the renegotiations of spatial power structures possibly established through urban performance practices.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's CDA serves as method for my textual analysis on the first and second level, as it allows for critique of specific discourse samples based on a holistic survey of the entire corpus. I introduce particular tools of linguistic analysis only later, in relevant analytical contexts. The object of CDA is communicative events, instances of language use, and their dialectical relationships with(in) orders of discourse, that is "total configurations of discursive practices in particular institutions, or indeed in a whole society" (Fairclough 1992, 9). Though predominantly text-oriented, CDA depends on contextualisation within sociocultural processes and structures (Ibid., 125–126). In order to illuminate dialectic links between language use and social practice, I couple CDA with performance analytical methods in interdisciplinary triangulation.

Fairclough (1992, 73–96) works with a three-dimensional conception of discourse. The first *textual dimension* calls for linguistic analysis. Secondly, *analysis of discursive practice* focuses on production and consumption of texts. Thirdly, *analysis of social practice* is politically focused on interrelationships between the discursive event and hegemonic struggles (Fairclough 1995, 133). We must question whether the discursive practice reproduces or renegotiates the prevalent order of discourse—whether it allows for new social realities (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 86).

As Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, 90) recommend, I modify Fairclough's methodology, introducing aspects of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. Contrary to Fairclough, who differentiates between discursive and non-discursive domains, a distinction that can only be theoretical and never empirical, they understand all social practice as discursive. Physical objects and social reality acquire meaning only through representation. Nonetheless, everything does not melt into air as pure signification but retains material importance. According to this expansion of Fairclough's approach, I understand also performance as discursive conduct. Furthermore, I do not adhere strictly to the theoretical threefold split of his model, as the distinctions prove problematic in practice. Lastly, due to the limited scope of my thesis, I omit thorough analysis of text reception.

Phenomenological Performance Analysis

I analyse performance as what Sauter (2000, 31) terms theatrical events, "the simultaneous activities of the performer and the spectator, their unification in a certain

place and time, and their mutual interaction." As my focus is on the urban impact of such events, I investigate their site-specificity, as couplings that "articulate exchanges between the work of art and the places in which its meanings are defined" (Kaye 2000, 1). In the analytical parts, I complement Sauter's framework with other relevant theories, mainly drawing on Fischer-Lichte (2005 2008 2009). She distinguishes between semiotic signification and immediate, phenomenal communication, and emphasises the importance of an analytical coupling of the two. The semiotic approach questions the meaning of elements and treats spectacle as text to be read. In contrast, the phenomenal is not cognitively perceived but works rather by suggestion, physical impacts and responses to these. Both are present in community theatre as the non-professionals weave back and forth between modes of acting and of simply recounting stories.

Sauter (2000, 38) focuses his analytical model on the *event-ness* of theatre. Thus, in accordance with a general 20th century shift in theatre studies, mirroring Barthes' (2001) proclamation that the author is dead, he breaks with a production-oriented theatre view. He underlines that theatre should never be objectified as a fixed work of art or text. We should not look at the *mise-en-scène* of a production, but at the communicative experience of specific performances. This is a further argument for my reading of performances as discursive practice.

Theatrical communication is not "neatly packed and distributed to an anonymous consumer", as the meaning of performance develops between spectators and performers "in a joint act of understanding" (Sauter 2000, 2). All this, however, brings about challenges of the absence of the analytical object and the reliance on the "tricky medium" memory (Ibid., 13–14). Performance analysis can never return to the primary, undisturbed memory of the performative event (Roms 2006, 49), so I support my discussion and recollection with news material, photos, and so forth. Wishing to keep my analysis faithful to the performances, I have continuously taken notes, which I subsequently have evaluated and organised according to an adapted version of Pavis' (1985) questionnaire (App XI). I have found alterations necessary, as Pavis, working semiologically, disregards the communicative and emotional aspects of performance, which in my view are key.

Sauter (2000, 28ff) builds his methodology on Gadamerian hermeneutics, understanding theatre analysis as processes of understanding flowing from the

past through the event into the future. Hermeneutics let us capture responses dynamically in performative accounts. It is more than methodology, as it philosophically helps question even the process of meaning formation. Sauter's model embeds the performance in contexts of genre, institutions, ideology, and cultural intertextualities, which serve not merely as backdrop, but constantly permeate both audience and performers in the play of producing meaning (Ibid., 9ff).

This contextualised oscillation between presentation and perception consists of three levels: the *sensory*, *artistic*, and *symbolic* modes of communication. These in turn are related to three main types of actions in the theatrical event. The sensory level entails the personal relationship between performer and spectator. *Exhibitory actions*, such as simply appearing on stage, are linked to this level. The artistic level, distinguishing theatre from everyday life, depends on artistic merits and aesthetic pleasure and evaluation through both cognitive and intuitive reactions. Expressed through *encoded actions*, the artistic depends on the expressive means of skills and genre traits. The symbolic mode of communication stems from the event's artistic otherness, which imbues encoded actions with meaning, thus transforming them into *embodied actions*. Fictional characters are created between performer and spectator, stirring identification, empathy and intellectual activity. In these actions, always aimed at being seen by others, the actor consciously chooses to show or signify something (Ibid., 6ff).

Interview Design, Transcription and Themes

The questions of my semi structured interview guide (App XII) are mainly explorative in nature. I draw on Kvale (1997, 19–24), who sees the qualitative research interview as aimed at obtaining descriptions of the interviewee's life-world so as to interpret the meaning of the phenomena described. With this approach we are not solely dependent on external observation, but can, through conversation, meaningfully interpret relationships. As Kvale (1997, 177) recommends, I have kept in mind my analytical methodology already in the shaping of the guide. Rubow (2003) accentuates the importance of contextualising interviews through participant observation in order to uncover their relations to the surrounding world. Interviews are not laboratory work but attain empirical value by virtue of their function as anthropological interpretation in practice. Semi structured interviews, engrossed by one topic and

structured with asymmetric focus on the interviewee, cannot ever be controlled, as both parties alter position in the process.

I follow Fairclough's (1992, 229) recommendation of doing a minimal transcription of interviews. I transcribe as verbatim as possible, including pauses, repetitions, mistakes, overlaps, and noises. Yet, when quoting—in order to secure the integrity of my informants and their message—unless I mean to prove a specific point with their words, I have chosen to clean up their statements, as also Kvale (1997, 163–173) deems most loyal. His ethical considerations inform my work with self-critical evaluation of the reliability and validity of freezing dialogue textually. As Ochs (1979) notes, the transcription process and product are always prejudiced theory based on interpretation.

With the software MAXQDA12, I have coded all discourse samples according to prominent themes. Some of these are chosen a priori according to personal and theoretical prejudice: Europeanisation, Globalisation, The Local, and Community Empowerment. However, from my work with the corpus material, I have discovered further themes, pinpointed with the aid of Ryan and Bernard's (2003, 87) simple question: "What is this expression an example of?" From these themes I have chosen to include Economic versus Cultural Logics in my list of top codes, to which I have subordinated all other relevant codes. Thus The Local contains the code The Urban; Europeanisation covers European citizenship, and Strength Through Cooperation; Community Empowerment embraces Inclusion of Marginalised Groups; and Economic Logics entails Creativity and Innovation, Impact and Sustainability, Strategic management, and Experience Economy.

Ethics and Practicalities

Two main challenges met me in the collection and analysis of empirical material: 1) language issues in performances, and 2) ethical problems relating to personal interaction with informants and potential conflicts of interests in the processing of information in the context of the ideological outlook of the 13 implicated actors (and associated partners), the EU, and the 4CITIES Programme's critical line. The first I shall treat to the extent it becomes relevant in the context of my analyses. The second I briefly discuss at present.

When working qualitatively, ethical considerations of trust, honesty and validity are crucial. Brinkmann (2013, 157) refers to an ethical self-consciousness, which must guide the researcher away from temptations of forgery and the like. Where this concept seems almost instinctive, he also sets up four definite pillars of empirical study ethics: 1) earnest handling of confidentiality, 2) evaluation of possible consequences for participants, 3) obtainment of informed consent, and 4) a demand for the study to be beneficial (Ibid., 51–52).

Firstly, all my informants have agreed to be traceable, as anonymity is not possible in the context of such a specific case study. I have therefore offered them the opportunity of rectifying the transcripts of their interviews. Secondly and thirdly, I have worked under a contract with the partners and have ceaselessly weighed any possible consequences of my findings. I have incorporated a validation moment in my research design in order to assure that I do not stretch the privileges of consent. Nonetheless, in this piece of research I present my personal conclusions based on the results. Arguing with Sauter (2000, 4–5), I adhere to Gadamer's concept of *horizons of understanding* for the legitimisation of personal interpretation, and to that of *fusion of horizons* to justify why such interpretations to some extent resemble each other and thus have general value. As Hastrup (2004, 11) stresses, the importance of social sciences stems from how we in the direct togetherness of dialogue and practice can enter the crack between known and unknown, through analogy find common understanding and produce new knowledge. Insisting thus is the only way that I can hope to arrive at findings that may be beneficial for future scholarship and for CARAVAN and similar cultural projects.

Chapter 5: Critical Discourse Analysis

In this chapter, I analyse the selected EU and CARAVAN discourse samples. I discuss all texts together, under the themes: 1) Economic and Cultural Logics, 2) Europeanisation, Globalisation and The Local, and 3) Community Empowerment. Quantitative analysis of the coded text shows that the EU group generally privileges Economic logics, whereas the CARAVAN group is focussed mainly on social (Community Empowerment) and Cultural Logics (App XIII). The co-occurrence analysis indicates that the strongest discursive link in my sample is between Cultural Logics and Community Empowerment (App XIV). However, a mapping centred on these codes reveals that their secondary linkages are almost contradictory (App XV). Where the strongest secondary linkage of Community Empowerment is with The Local, the Cultural Logics code is tied chiefly to Globalisation and also notably to Europeanisation. This suggests that community theatre practices, or at least discourses on the genre, could function as intersection between the local, the European and the global.

Economic and Cultural Logics

Already in the Regulation establishing CE, a discursive schism between culture and economy is outspoken. Legitimised with reference to the 2005 Unesco Convention, it is stated that:

> [C]ultural activities, goods and services have both an economic and a cultural nature, because they convey identities, values and meanings, and must not, therefore, be treated as solely having commercial value (EUR1295/2013, 0:0:5).

The discourse is framed with reverse logics, so that the economic (value, commercial, profit) is reproduced as dominant order. Presupposed is not that spheres ruled by cultural logics should be opened for economic motivation; rather, it is formulated as an appeal that the non-commercial and not-for-profit should be re-established as valid, within an already accepted economic hegemony. Allusions to art's "intrinsic value" (Ibid., 0:0:21) awkwardly juxtapose an attempted quantifiable valorisation with a near Kantian understanding of art without worldly ties. In this framing, the intangible cultural clinches with economic functionality, comprising also "broader societal

contribution to creativity, innovation and social inclusion" (Ibid., 0:0:20). Not only artistic, but also social aspects of art are seamlessly subordinated economy. This clinch is also articulated by the general objectives of the Programme:

a) to safeguard, develop and promote European cultural and linguistic diversity and to promote Europe's cultural heritage;

b) to strengthen the competitiveness of the European cultural and creative sectors […] with a view to promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (Ibid., 1:3:0).

Inconsequentially, the discourse fluctuates from a) a Europeanising understanding of art free of societal purpose that should be reintegrated in society, to b) one of creative sectors, which evidently are governed by growth logics, sought euphemised with buzzwords. This is an example of the aforementioned gradual turn in the discourse of EACEA from culture to competitive creativity (Bruell, 2013). Still, in my corpus, it is the Detailed Description that accentuates creativity and innovation the most (App XVI). Significantly different from the other CARAVAN samples, it is steeped in economic logics (App XIX). As apparent in the almost identical quotes below, the word creative, not found in the Press File quote, has been added in the Detailed Description:

[A]n entire town prepares its community theatre event together with theatre professionals and artists. The city will be re designed the as a great open-air theatre connected on a European level where local residents can tread the stage. (App I, 5)

[A]n entire town prepares its community theater event, together with the theater professionals, artists and creative, redesigning the city as a great open air theater connected on a European level where local residents can tread the stage. (App X, 20)

It seems that CARAVAN's application has been written attentive to the slight change of discourse implied in the CE publications. Yet, where the Commission does not overtly declare allegiance to creative economy discourse, this document embraces it to a whole new extent. Moreover, a rhetoric of listing (countries, years of experience, participators, etc.), valorising cultural practice by translating it into economically countable impact, is regularly employed—arguably as necessary response to the demands of CE. Even the project subtitle, "Feed the future", ties in with creative innovation discourse. However, the second subtitle, "Art moving cities", implies

that the challenge of CARAVAN to Kantian beliefs is not exclusively economic. It depends also on a discourse of socially functional art. As Alessandra details, with heavy emphasis on the dead metaphor of social and political visibility:

> Cities are moving by themselves so it's not that art is moving, but it contributes. It is more about the direction art can *show* […] because it's not so powerful […] So I think that art has this task of making visible what is invisible, but present in the community […] If you want to discover America you have to imagine that this direction is possible. That you can go on the ocean, no? And travel with your ship there (App IX, 7)

In the first part, cities and art are both personified, the one as drifting aimlessly, the other as guide. The power of community, again reified, is seen as a pre-existing item to be pulled out of invisibility and discovered as a continent. Community and city are then merged in the metaphor of a ship led by the winds of artistic imagination. Recognising that she and CARAVAN are shifting discourses on art, Alessandra hedges the statement with the validation-seeking 'no?' and 'I think'. She continues, increasingly confident, stating that an "artist is not someone who is COMING doing something and going away" (Ibid.). In keeping with her boat metaphor, it is implied that the artist must stay on board. This compels a change

> in the mind of the artist […] A lot of artists work with common people, but they don't share the power […] If you want to do Social Community Theatre, or if you want an art that is with the people, you have also to start sharing the power that art gives you (Ibid.).

Though stuck with a notion of the artist as apart from 'common people', Alessandra rejects Kantian discourses on art fully. Yet, she does not, as does CE, use this rejection to legitimise economic logics, but instead the social logics of empowering collaboration.

Europeanisation, Globalisation and The Local

The attempt to reify Europe as a territorially, easily delimited "shared cultural area" (EUR1295/2013, 0:0:9) is, as previously discussed, omnipresent in the EU order of discourse. Hence, unsurprisingly, this theme reverberates throughout my corpus, also in the specific CARAVAN samples. As stated metaphorically in a bold headline to one of the project objectives in CARAVAN's Detailed Description, the goal is to

"Create Europe" (App X, 9). This text recurrently mentions the concept of European citizenship, which is linked with the NEXT of the project title, a powerful word of continuity that both reproduces a past and points forward to "the next cultural and social challenges facing the European citizen" (Ibid., 8). Elusive, this individual is also affiliated with an equally abstract 'we', as seen in the quote below:

> [W]e too are amazed of this great multi-coloured patchwork we create along with thousands of local European citizens (Project Manager, Per Kap Bech Jensen in App I, 3).

Personifying CARAVAN, the 'we' functions as very present agent. Colour is applied synonymic as metaphor for culture, and patchwork for an idea resembling the multiculturalist "United in Diversity". Notable is also the quantifiable impact of 'thousands'. The conversational agenda is set with the 'too', as the receiver of the text indirectly is constructed as being 'amazed'. Again the chosen verb is 'create', from Latin *creare* "to produce, cause to grow", related to Latin *crescere* "to grow, hence to come into existence", and importantly, to *creative* (Partridge 2006, 668). Creation of Europe and its citizens, it is implied, is not necessary as such. They are always already there, invisible, and need only to be arisen. Yet, my interviews indicate that in the everyday of CARAVAN, such concepts grow vague. Šimon stresses the hitches of interpretation:

> I don't understand these terms really; maybe I'm too young for it. Maybe I'm just differently thinking. I don't know what it means to be a European citizen. I don't really know what it means to be a citizen. This category… I know that I am… that somebody told me that I am a citizen, but I don't feel what it really means, maybe because I have never touched the border, what it means not to be (App VII, 16).

Šimon argues that the success of a 'category' such as European citizenship depends on emotional experience. Instantly dementing his initial 'I know that I am', he stresses that it is not enough that 'somebody' (the EU or CARAVAN) categorises you. He discretely distances himself from CARAVAN's overtly political goal of mobilisation, hedging his argument with reference to age linked with difference and lack of experience. It is implied that community and politics are irrelevant for a generation that has no experience with threat to their freedom of movement. Alessandra, more involved

in the project conception, explains what citizenship is intended to mean in CARA-VAN:

> I think it has to do with some basic feeling of power of the people… in terms of having the possibility, the *real* possibility to do something. And I think that the way that we are working with social community theatre gives to the people this awareness that, that they are something. They *can* do something. And they have to (App IX, 2–3).

Her statement rings with imperatives: 'they', the anonymous 'people', must claim voice before it is too late. The premise is a neo-Marxist knowledge hierarchy, where we, scholars and creatives, knowing that politics are crucial, have found ways to mobilise the masses in political struggle and teach them 'that they are something'. Such attempts at motivating people to claim voice through art, especially in a project under the wings of the Commission, may be mere democratisation disguised as democracy. Correspondingly, my coding shows that, Karolina especially is apprehensive of the ways in which such EU project ideals clash with everyday artistic practices (App XVI). When asked about ZID's participation in the planning phase, she answers that the project

> was very much shaped before, so I think this is also the, the trap of this project. Because sometimes you don't understand why […] because somebody shaped it, so they have probably the answer that we… we don't know why they shaped it like that (App VIII, 12).

Karolina breaks the unison of CARAVAN. 'We' embraces now ZID and other subordinate partners caught in a potential 'trap', 'shaped' by a mysterious 'somebody': the project leaders in cryptic discursive allegiance with the EU. Throughout the interview her 'why?' returns, almost becoming a symbol of the alienating effect the EU discourse can have as it reterritorialises the everyday. Nevertheless, elsewhere she describes ZID and Odin as existing "on the principle of building networks" (Ibid., 7), conveying that they could not subsist without internationalisation. Similarly abstruse, Šimon describes the EU, applying hedging and a battle metaphor, as "not really don Quixote, but a little bit, fighting with the windmills" (App VII, 5). This unfathomable enemy is bureaucracy. Šimon thinks that taking on the EU—a "huge machinery" with "lots of administration"—is foolhardy. However, reacting on his first encounter with the partners at a meeting at Odin, he states:

I started to believe that this actually can bring something that is consistent… But it doesn't lose its different colours and spices […] on one side it's unbelievably big and complicated, and on the other, it's full of people who want to do the thing. And because everybody is interested in this from his point of view and also is aware that he is part of something bigger, I think it is possible (Ibid.).

His statement contains a conflict and its resolution: initial incredulity and the recognition that differences can be merged to realise 'the thing'. This thought, coincidentally, echoes with the United in Diversity slogan and the future discourse expressed by the project subtitle. Where 'huge' is charged as overwhelming, the word 'bigger' is differently positive, as it does not threaten the 'colours and spices' of the locally unique. It is linked with his very personal glee, stirred by the international connectivity and collaboration. 'Something bigger' is the project and group, but it also contains the EU, which thus indirectly acquires positive valorisation.

Yet, my corpus does not only raise the question of in what discursive light the EU is presented. For, as in the quote below, parts of the CARAVAN samples downright bypass the European scale:

When you say to children: "You're Moroccan", and they say: "No I'm not, I'm Dutch", I say: "You're Dutch?" "No I'm not Dutch." "But what are you?" "I don't know! I'm born in Amsterdam!" […] Amsterdam is their home. They are called Amsterdammer […] this is very micro. It's not Holland at all, its just Amsterdam. If you go 50 km, you get totally different culture (App VIII, 17).

As Karolina's statement exemplifies, the discourse of the corpus constantly oscillates between scales, oftentimes juxtaposing them in single paragraphs or sentences, or, even applying terms such as "glocal" (App X, 9). Though interconnectivity is largely discursively constructed as desirable on all scales, the global and European is mainly linked to the professional and economic spheres. Conversely, the local is understood as requiring immediate networks, as when Alessandra (App IX, 3–4) talks about creating connections "inside" Barolo and with the "rest of the city". This she argues could stem from theatre, functioning as "a sort of ritual to express sense of belonging and to create connection and links within a territory" (Ibid., 1).

Community Empowerment

The quote from the Press File (App I, 4), which opens my subchapter "Claiming Voice", melds European and Local scales in a plant metaphor, where communities become the (grass)roots of the EU, and their claiming of voice, defined against bureaucratic economic logics, grows integral to the Union's blossoming. Agilely evading the word problem, locally specific issues are, as if beheld through a magnifying glass, to be interpreted as representative of general challenges. Where, in the EU samples, the community scale is mentioned only in passing, connected to economic logics of maximising impact (e.g. EACEA32/2014, 28), my interviews depict community theatre as an art form with inherently local social dimensions. Cultural and social logics mesh, as discourses on empowerment, especially in the case of Karolina and Šimon, outweigh those on culture (Alessandra weighs empowerment, Europeanisation, and culture almost equally) (App XVIII). As mentioned, a romanticised discourse of interconnected and easily delimited community and locality permeates CARAVAN. As Alessandra states:

> Social Community Theatre is the idea that we are not working with one group only but we are working with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. People who are not necessarily affected by a difficulty, or suffering condition, but they belong to a territory (App IX, 1).

Aimed at avoiding the patronising attitude of expressly seeking to salvage the 'suffering', the territorial approach nevertheless reconstructs the presupposition that community lying dormant can be made visible by "asking people to come out from the shadow" (Ibid., 3). This shadow metaphor is thick, implying the exit from urban anonymity, but also, recall Couldry, from the shadow of oppression. It ties to the visibility theme, occasioning valorisation of light as warmth and power. Relatedly, also the theme of voice looms in the corpus, as when Alessandra asserts that "it's a time also of listening… because there is very little listening to the people" (Ibid.).

In CARAVAN's discourse, neighbourhoods are often referred to with the word 'town', as already seen in previous examples, and thus imbued with nostalgically local authenticity:

> We make sure the entire town population is involved in events such as cultural barters. We
> make them visible. Even those who remain practically unnoticed in the course of everyday life,
> become the stars of our shows (Actress, Julia Varley in App I, 5).

CARAVAN is again the personified agent 'we', making communities visible as 'stars', the opposite of shadow. 'Entire' instates yet another territorial reification of community, just as does the Methodology recommendation that Social Community Theatre should begin by "Mapping a community" (App III, VI). This contrasts with Karolina's practice based approach. As a mantra, she refers to the probleemwijken discourse, to explain ZID's choice of moving to Kolenkit:

> We thought: Ok we cannot change the world […] but we can do something in order to you
> know like… to provoke some positive things and from one will come another […] it took us
> long time. Because we are really not working from any theory. We really work from practice…
> we are there in the middle, going to people, going back… going… that doesn't trust *any* organ-
> isation at all. Because they think that a lot of organisations are very bureaucratic and just doing
> this, you know, one-two-three-four counting people that were there (App VIII, 4).

Enormously practice oriented, as accentuated by the reiterated 'going' and the stress on 'choice', 'do' and 'provoke', Karolina constructs ZID as dynamic opposition to the quantitative logics and bureaucracy of 'organisations' (such as the EU and CARAVAN). Inspiring 'trust' takes faith in the snowball effect of patiently working a 'long time' in 'the middle', close to the 'people', who, however, do not passively await salvation:

> The people are not stupid. They're just not educated. But they can survive because they came
> from crazy countries, and they survived. So they made this jump already, which is not easy. So
> they have this survival instinct. But then somewhere they got stuck. We are very much busy
> with this, but through art (Ibid., 5).

Again she applies a metaphor of movement, arguing that art can help unstick those who struggle. Though she, born in Serbia but living 30 years in Holland, emphasises that when "you're formed in one country it's very difficult to change this identity—and I don't want to" (Ibid., 2), she manages to construct herself as different from those who 'came from crazy countries'. She is a "wereldburger", living in flows, and

though 'they' might have 'survived' a 'jump', they are now again 'stuck' locally. Similarly ambiguous, her evaluation of the onslaught of gentrification is complex:

> This environment is very interesting now […] it is really changing […] but it is also the *chance*. There's a chance to try to get both these groups […] more involved with each other, by doing some interactions in the space, in the site-specific space, and to know each other. Because otherwise you get situations of closed worlds. That is definitely how it functions in the whole Europe […] I'm looking for this space in between. To actually, to provoke or evoke the meeting […] This will get more chemistry between the groups. And it's not about huge change in the world but again its like creating relationships (Ibid., 9).

She hopes that 'now' is the time to 'provoke' intergroup 'chemistry' through 'interactions' in 'site-specific space' 'in between'. That my three CARAVAN cases unfold in problematic areas facing gentrification might be because of this 'chance' to let strangers form communities and meet in dissensus. This is comparably expressed in the Prague event's fight against disconnection (App IV), and in the Torino program text (App VI) as a search for "concrete beauty" that "makes life worth living". Residing "within each of us—in the history of the people and places that we live in together", it is a hunt for "important and insignificant things" that can "restore dignity to people, develop mutual relationships and build together a future of peace and solidarity". As Alessandra (App IX, 3) elaborates—and evading a conceptual discussion of aesthetics, I let her have the last word, before restating the main findings of my CDA—this concrete beauty is not

> something that is nice to have but not essential. It's the beauty that is essential; it has to do with affection, with love, with dignity, with peace, with rights. And it is not only big words, but it is mainly about something very concrete. We like the idea of compelling people to find something that is part of the concrete life. What concretely is love? Or what concretely is peace? No? So to have little things…

The CDA indicates that the discursive turn from logics of culture to promotion of competitive creativity not only is present in the EU order of discourse but also in the CARAVAN samples. Furthermore, the soft Europeanisation of CE's strategies holds noteworthy influence, seeing that, as I have demonstrated, it has had clear impact on CARAVAN's discourse. Considering the Detailed Description, which takes these discourses even further than CE itself, it could appear that potentially post-political

ideologies are gaining ground. Nonetheless, the bulk of the CARAVAN documents, though likewise challenging cultural logics, address a struggle not simply between economy and art, but also involving an opening of the cultural concept to include social responsibility. As such, the project of making Europe and its citizens visible should not be understood exclusively in negative terms. While identification with such categories might not be emotionally intuitive, the Europeanisation of CARA-VAN can potentially substantiate the local as a site for dissensus, if through the performances, hegemonic scalar hierarchies are challenged. The performance analyses in the following chapter scrutinise how these clashing discourses translate into local space. The pertinent question is whether the community theatre practices reinvent the local as a space for dynamic reshuffling of power where neglected voices are heard and heterogenisation is established as desirable, or if they further reify the re-territorialisations of a static dominant EU.

Chapter 6: Performance Analysis

I analyse the selected performances in relation to my theory and findings from the discourse analysis. The chapter is shaped as a synthesising discussion of four main tactics of performance, which I see employed in CARAVAN. These tactics play with, in, and against the strategies manifested in the dominant discursive systems of level I and II. They are 1) the bodily claiming of voice in the space of appearance, 2) the quasi-ritualistic unmasking of perception through shifts between the phenomenal and semiotic, leading to states of being together apart, 3) the cracking open of urban fabrics through exploitation of disregarded spaces, and 4) heterotopian tactics such as those of circus and carnival. I argue that performances, though always in danger of resolving themselves in cathartic consensus, can be understood as rehearsals of democracy if they function as heterotopias.

Talking Bodies

Stumbling through heaps of snow, I, along with some 80 others, make my way to the DOX museum for the opening night of Farm in the Cave's performance *Disconnected*, on 23 January 2016. Waiting to enter the performance space, a converted exposition hall, the audience can investigate the half naked bodies of a couple of Czech Vietnamese women, who lie as paralysed, exhibited in vitrines. People move closer, staring intently through the glass. On a revolving podium at the opposite wall, more women are exposed, their bodies in contorted positions, flung onto the interior furniture of a car, as had they been in a crash. Custodians, also female, organise our entry into the waiting hall, acting increasingly eerily. I realise that they are performers, chiefly as one of them mounts the turning pedestal, singing *Lascia ch'io pianga*, an encoded action. As in a museum or car fair, we are witnessing a demonstration of silenced bodies—the community members.

We are let in, and seated by the custodian-performers under more conventional circumstances: rows in the dark and a lit stage. Short, claustrophobic scenarios poetically depict social anxiety; a phenomenon that Šimon (App VII, 14–15) explains is omnipresent in contemporary cities. All is characterised by a sublimely balanced aesthetic economy of staging (car and museum references and dim lighting) and of choreography (hystericised movement contra paralysation). The piece in its entirety is flawlessly shaped from the initial anticipation through to the end when,

almost dying under the pressure of societal expectation, the increasingly comatose protagonist, a female dancer, also of Vietnamese descent, knocks down the back wall, exposing yet other paralysed bodies slung in a basin.

Throughout, normality and its props are distorted, so theatricality is obvious constantly; as custodians they perform in a museum where the institutional lighting has been rewired and incorporated in the staging. In the brusque choreography of one scene, the custodians propel stools, throwing themselves on them with menacing crashing and scraping sounds. Their tight skirts and shirts produce an uncomfortable schism with the physicality of the movements, and concurrently nervous tensions and isolation are felt bodily manifested through the powerful gestural communication. Their attitude is unsettling, the light manipulated, and all vocal enunciations are in an English, which rings with foreign accents. Moreover, video projections, recorded in both this and other places, disrupt the temporal distinctions, and when the back wall falls, revealing the lake, also the division between on- and off-stage is exploded. Such constant *Verfremdung* renders naturalist illusion impossible.

Notwithstanding such brilliant potentialities for dissensus, my experience is not serene. I cannot forthrightly understand *Disconnected* as community theatre, for my expectations of a directly engaging and engaged performance with core focus on community empowerment are not met. The relation of the material to the Czech Vietnamese community is obscure, as the conflict does not stem from them, but is inspired by a prior field trip to Japan undertaken by Farm in the Cave. Moreover, the museum building, mutely windowless, hovers over the event as a heavy force of cultural authority. These women, habitually bereft of voice, are invited to the spotlight, but once again mute. They are not accepted to the artistic level, but are allowed only exhibitory action.

Nevertheless, I would argue that their bodies, imaginably against the will of the white, male artistic director, incessantly talk. As Butler (2011) theorises, mere congregation of bodies lays claim to space by reproducing the material environment's public character. Collective actions "collect the space itself, gather the pavement, and animate and organize the architecture" successfully unlocking "time and space outside and against the temporality and established architecture of the regime." The political body is social, and as such freedom unfurls relationally. Butler's offset is Arendt's (1958, 198–199) notion of the polis, characterised without

physical location, as "the organisation of people as it arises out of acting and speaking together […] no matter where they happen to be." The *space of appearance*, necessary for politics, arises from togetherness in speech and action and as such it predates government.

In *Disconnected* the non-professionals are allowed neither voice nor movement. The condescension obvious, they just lie around, at best in encoded passivity, instrumentalised as tools for the struggle of someone else. The performance could be accused of simultaneous exploitation of two disempowered groups, the isolated individuals from whom the material was seized, and the Czech Vietnamese through whose bodies it is sought expressed. Notwithstanding that the community performers are only permitted crudely exhibitory action, to me, their mere presence amounts to embodied action. As Butler (2011) claims—in line with CARAVAN's visibility discourse—equality stems not from words, but from the bodily enactment of the space of appearance. Bodies do not voice opposition in oral or written language, but are "by virtue of occupying that space, repeating that occupation of space, and persisting in that occupation of space, posing the challenge in corporeal terms". Even if excluded from hegemonic authorship of public reality, the marginalised act. These women unremittingly proclaim their marginalisation through closed lips. Still, I believe that it would make better sense to work with a conflict from, and articulated by, the local community.

I see sounder moments of bodily claiming of voice in the less meticulously choreographed *Eat and Meet Parade*[5] in Barriera di Milano on 29 May 2016. Initially, I (once again) cannot find the performance, but I trace it down as in a fairy-tale, by following a trail of rose petals, gleaming jewel like on the asphalt of the streets. Rendering carnivalesque the drizzly Sunday, a group of about 50 persons, some with costumes, instruments or banners made from tablecloths with tableware glued to them, flow through the area. People looking down from balconies are encouraged to throw fruit to us (perhaps a humorous reference to the fabled rotten tomatoes of market place spectacle critics) and to join a fruit salad get-together the same evening. Only few people look on or join the flock, though probably many, as one elderly veiled woman whom I spot hiding behind her blinds, register us discretely from their windows. Some people throw down fruit, others dance a bit on their

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[5] Social Community Theatre Centre in collaboration with local and CARAVAN organisations.

balconies or yell questions at us. In the parade we are all actors, and even the on-lookers, choosing whether or not to throw fruit, are never mere spectators.

Our disorderly group is herded on along a probably predestined route, ending on Piazzetta Cerignola, which, possibly due to the cold, is empty. We form a circle that, suddenly as if by magic, is a stage for the performance of music and children's theatre, and as the ring dissolves we are again amassment. Not having a plot, all coherence stems from the paced narrative of our moving bodies, communicating circuslike togetherness under the motto of creating beauty and safety. The communicative production of interaction is the whole point. The parade, a humpty-dumpty search for community and beauty, lingers somewhere between acting and hanging out. It has a bodily topographic plot, incanting a rift between, on the one hand, circus, carnival, fairy-tale, colours, music, and flowers and, on the other, greyness of empty streets and houses in bad repair. Every single action, be it exhibitory, encoded, or embodied, is an equally (un)important part of the communication. Chatting, collecting fruit, performing, it all amounts to collective presence in the space of appearance. Through the non-oral communication of occupying and activating the territory as practiced space where bodies intersect, we re-perform it and claim voice. Finally the parade simply dissolves without ceremonial ado.

Ritual Unions

With sprightly gesticulations and a Dutch so clear that even I understand every single word, a woman in flowing attire, perfected with a colourful turban, explains to us how her mother made tea. She drops her words and a green ball into a glass pot of water where it grows into a flower. We are maybe 100 persons present, too many for the chairs arranged around the tables placed in a circle for ZID's *Theatre Tables* in Kolenkit. By the community performers seated between us we are taken on a journey through the experience of how tea is brewed in their tradition (visiting Serbian POD Theatre exchanges Rakia for tea). Languages mix in the social, quasi-ceremonial atmosphere, and I feel as if invited into someone's home. The light is warm and the red of the tablecloths dominates the colourful jumble of props from the entire world. The mix of theatregoers with the performers becomes even more pronounced in the end, when we all, under the instructions of a Moroccan man, take the floor in an

improvised salsa session, before embarking on a travel between the tables to taste tea and chat.

The format is loose, mostly based on the intimate narration of quasi-testimonial memories. Sharing sensory memories of everyday rituals of preparing tea conveys personal emotions without necessitating exhibitionism. As participants, we are allowed a bit of intercultural curiosity, as we become the personal guests and audience mainly of the narrators at our own table. A slightly shy Surinamese woman in a traditional dress prepares my tea. At one point she dances between our tables. The artistic level comes to entail not only the sound and vision of the encoded actions usually associated with art, but also the fragrance and taste of the art of brewing, eating and drinking. This hybridity is also manifest in the layout of ZID's theatre hall, which resembles part black box and part community kitchen.

For the analysis of the ceremonial intimacy of this theatrical event I find helpful Fischer-Lichte's (2005) parallelisation of performance and ritual. She leans on Turner's (1977, 126–133) conceptualisation of *communitas* as attained through rites of passage, theatrically reifying the bodily and emotional attachment to an otherwise abstract collective. Yet, Turner's structuralism, presenting communitas as a disruption of a normative social system, clashes with my phenomenological approach as it cancels out the claiming of individual voice and heterogeneous notions of being together apart. Contrary, Fischer-Lichte's (2005, 1–14 2006) elastic concept of community liminality, as key source of stimulus in the sensual communication of performance, harmonises better with my outlook. To her, shifts between semiotic representation and phenomenological presence move the focus of the audience to the act of perception itself, which therefore becomes self-conscious, as everybody enters a liminal phase. In rites of passage the liminal phase is a step toward new status. In performance it is a goal in itself. The individual is not changed, but systems of common sense can be altered even beyond the time-space of the performance.

The aesthetics of *Theatre Tables* is relational: we sit shoulder by shoulder with the actors as we collectively work to invoke lost places of origin that in the everyday only with difficulty can be made present as sediments in European spaces. We perform the community empowerment in positive terms but it is essentially conflicts that motivate our search for common ground and acceptance of difference. The storytellers, being nonprofessional, self-consciously act out studied brewing choreogra-

phies while openly narrating. They constantly waver between sensory, artistic and symbolic modes of communication, fluctuating between their semiotic and phenomenal bodies. This perpetual substitution accentuates our perception activity, making possible a liminal togetherness. Yet, were this consolidation of immediate attachment to succeed, it would potentially fabricate consensus.

Hence, I support critical voices that suspect ritual community building of amounting to no more than unstable, momentary grassroots mythology, concealing "very real differences of race, background, gender, and belief" (McConachie 1998, 37). However, as by the end of another *Theatre Tables* session, which ZID arranges with locals in Barriera di Milano on 30 May 2016, we are chanting that we all are Roma; I sense a valid potential in the format for emancipating the spectator. There is nothing straightforwardly troubling or provocative about these two performances, but something uncannily political is undoubtedly present.

In the Amsterdam version, a girl visiting from Morocco tries to start a call response memorisation of a short song with us, but gets anxious, as we cannot learn it. Though the song might be easy for her, we cannot effortlessly follow the non-western intonation and unfamiliar lyrics. This derailment is uncomfortable, for we are gathered in the desire to prove that cultural differences do not matter—that you can be just as you are. Yet, were we to succeed in bridging all gaps, for example by singing this song perfectly or learning to understand ourselves fully as Roma, we would leave the event, feeling at ease with our tolerance and multicultural outlook, never again questioning our position in systems of dominance. Nonetheless, the differences are neither merely concealed nor candidly rendered charmingly exotic. The phenomenological ritualisation is a boundary-blurring being together apart, as we are sharing but constantly staying separate. The cosy moment is empowering and political exactly because we undulate between associating and dissociating, aware of not being able to change the reality of the neighbourhoods of Kolenkit or Barriera di Milano just by the feel-good of sharing tea and stories.

Cracks

A woman and a man dance through the sunny courtyard at ZID Theatre, where people are building vegetable beds and chatting familiarly. In the mock formal style of circus artists the two wear black, white and red outfits with suspenders and caps.

Slicing through pop music flowing from a coffee stand, they play a folk tune, she on violin and he on accordion. The locals are flustered by the bizarreness, as encoded action suddenly infiltrates their everyday space. They get out their phones to take photos, as the musicians, kicking flamboyantly in the air, weave in circles trying to attract attention and lure people to stop working a while and join the *Theatre Tour of the Neighbourhood*,[6] which is about to start.

The two performers climb a ladder to the roof of the theatre, as some 30 people gather below, anticipating randomness. An animated *Sprechstallmeister* in a red jacket appears, greeting and engaging us. The communication is clear, obviously aimed even at small children. Text is not prioritised, a reasonable decision as the participants do not share one common language. More important are extreme gesticulation and stereotypical clownish confrontations dependent on audience participation. It is not simply children's theatre, but moments of confusion and spectacle with a decidedly strange circus atmosphere unfurling in cracks of the urban fabric. The story is one of bullying, self-doubt and social reintegration. There is no clear narrative; rather the plot structure unfolds spatially, the goal being to walk together, re-experiencing the familiar streets as transformed. It is neither possible nor important to take in every facet, as actions might occur either too far away, blocked from view, or simultaneously.

As we move to the lawn in front of the theatre, the music mixes with the drone of a huge highway shadowing us. The players on a nearby football field stare at us from across the nearly empty street, as a girl, accidentally passing by, jumps off her bike and joins our procession. Toward us comes, likewise biking, our protagonist, an actress in a black bear costume wearing a red hat. It seems that the bear, as she stops, is frustrated. She tries to integrate into our group, yet, feeling left out and bullied, flees. Whenever she reappears this pattern is repeated, until in the song that ends the performance, we reach a shared sense of communal joy.

Next a tourist with a cowboy hat appears, asking if we can show on his map where to find happiness. He and the Sprechstallmeister discuss if it exists in Amsterdam West, but worry that he has taken a wrong turn, because he "felt sorrow and turned left". Audience members convince him to join us, and our walk becomes restructured around his fairy-tale search for happiness. The implied question is

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[6] ZID Theatre in collaboration with POD Teatar, Altamira Studioteater and Dar Amsterdam.

whether maps are dispensable. Strategies of mapping and policy making, recall de Certeau and Latour, can be labelled as abstractions of urban life and space that over-look the human dynamics that unfurl between cartographic viewpoints. Supporting this conviction and Rancière's thoughts on dissensus in art, mirrored in my discourse analysis, I claim that by performance urban fabrics "can be cracked open from the inside, reconfigured in a different regime of perception and signification." This har-monises with Bhabha (1994), who backs the investigation of the in-between spaces of hybridity produced through cultural differences, where, through the tensions of "kaleidoscopic yet incoherent transformations, all manner of frictions, cracks, fis-sures, gaps, and 'vacant' spaces arise" (Swyngedouw 2007, 71). Such interstices where cultural values can be renegotiated are Harvey's Spaces of Hope, experimental car-tographies, where new sociocultural practices can be shaped (Ibid., 72).

Throughout, the *Theatre Tour* enticingly investigates disregarded cracks of the area, be that on top of structures, as the fiddlers on the roof, or in forgotten corners. At one point a gate opens on a mute angel, a lovely girl with curly black hair and golden wings, sitting on a big green bin drinking water from a flower vase. I do not understand why she is there, but her fragile poise lends the dingy garbage area a hint of celestial Botticellian grace. She and other figures that have no clear role in the plot float as vague signifiers. Nevertheless, countering the probleemwijken discourse, they feed into a resignification of the whole neighbourhood as a source of beauty and happiness that seep from and into every crack around us. These cracks are out of reach to the dominant order, and their beauty is not informed by aesthetics removed from our world. It is the essential beauty of small things, screaming for politics.

Our group turns a corner into a street flanked by housing blocks, where every second flat has a satellite dish pointing in a different direction, catching channels from all over the world. Hubbub on one of the balconies catches our atten-tion. A girl in white ballerina skirt and black hat stands acting silly on a red chair, waving at us with a white parasol. Next to her, the man living in the house stares at us, and below the musicians are playing. A few balconies further down, a local wom-an yells to ask us what the commotion is about. As we move on, she keeps looking after us. Routinely, we are reminded that gaze never is unidirectional, as everything, us included, is meshed into the illusion of the symbolic communication. Throughout the performance umbrellas and parasols are used as odd *objets trouvés*. Like the bear's

bike they function as dull signs of everyday life, robbed of their matter-of-fact quality by the uncanny use of them in encoded and embodied action. We float between reality and fiction, constantly aware of playing along, especially with the tourist and Sprechstallmeister, who accompany us.

Behind a fence of pointed bars, the bear is waiting for us, brandishing signs in Dutch. "Ik wil je aandacht!" says one sign, for she craves attention and warm words. People uneasily approach and compliment her, a little girl almost in tears, hugging her awkwardly through the bars. However, the ballerina sticks out her tongue at the bear, who recoils defeated and sad, even though we try to call her back. This situation resembles a typical mimed clown act, with the ballerina acting as the white clown, staging herself and being childishly petty, and the bear as a clumsy, friend-seeking Auguste. Key to the performance, this scene is both a comment on every single fence and barrier, and an emotion materialised in metal. The bars manifest all the problems of and prejudice against Kolenkit, and the hugs become embodied action symbolising our objection.

On a little square, the bear reappears, carrying a colourful umbrella. People sitting in the sun look on in wonder, and some young men try to engage her in conversation. She, still angry, walks away aimlessly, ending on a small grassy hill next to us in a cloud of daffodils. Their yellow, against the ominous backdrop of the highway bridge, unlocks a tiny crack to Elysium. The musicians are playing, and the ballerina dances with a warlock, who also approached us in the very beginning of our journey. A turquoise tribal mask with flowing blue hair covers his face, and he carries a black umbrella. The bear tries to join the dance, but once and again trips, and tumbles down the hill in somersaults losing her umbrella, which an infant from the audience runs away with. The bear, as she is rejected from this symbolic space of happiness, obviously feels that everybody is against her.

When later we return to the courtyard, the bear, the ballerina and the two musicians have mounted a container, and they sing and play a song to the refrain "Catch me if you can before I fall again". The bear has lifted her mask and joined the song. They end on a repeated la-la-refrain and we applaud as the Sprechstallmeister leads us on, leaving them singing. Strangely beautiful, two women in vibrant ball gowns dance floatingly in the sun between the gardeners. Again people take pictures. As the performance disorderly dissolves, I notice a man still taking a break from his

work, dancing with his spade. Initially the formalistically ritualising power of the music functioned to lure us in and now it rounds everything off effectively, reminding us to catch each other if we fall.

Entering Heterotopia

CARAVAN does not apply only one uniform set of theatrical tactics, but is site-specifically dependent on the local context of the particular communities and artist groups. In none of the performances have I seen manifested the economic logics that the CE discourse aims to naturalise. Where Farm in the Cave prioritises artistic integrity to such an extent that social concerns are slightly neglected, both the performances in Amsterdam and Torino are examples of the abovementioned contemporary tendencies for creatives to engage in socio-political struggle with and for marginalised people. Through the applied tactics of performance they intend to let the communities rewrite their neighbourhoods as territories that are not exclusively shaped by authoritative prejudiced discourse. Moreover, a strong focus on the local, understood as linked with hybrid international localities, indicates that the EU is not straightforwardly permitted to instrumentalise CARAVAN for the reterritorialisation of local space.

When I argue that urban community performance can rehearse democracy, I risk drifting away in reveries such as those of Dolan (2005, 168–170). To her, theatre instates utopia as a temporary, liminal locale of thresholds where love reigns, novel social relationships are glimpsed, and local and global politics are reworked in acts of public dreaming and "actively imagining other worlds" (Ibid., 97). Though Dolan largely mirrors Fischer-Lichte, I strongly disagree with her accentuation of the problematic term utopia as it ideates the desired state as one of unity. That theatrical empowerment helps communities develop agency by learning "about their roots, their rights, and their cultural contributions to society at large" (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 14), is a pleasant notion, nevertheless oftentimes postulated as sheer romanticisation. Inundated by post-political consensus, all utopianisms are stale (Jacoby 1999). I suspect that utopian unity, similar to appraisals of multiculturalism, such as hinted at by the EU motto, is nothing more than retraditionalisations of technologies of citizenship. Deutsche (1996, 326) warns us that such "benign fantasy of social com-

pletion […] negates plurality and conflict because it depends on an image of social space closed by an authoritative ground".

Also Foucault (1984, 3) has little faith in utopias, as they "present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but […] are fundamentally unreal spaces." Instead he introduces the concept of heterotopia, "reserves of imagination" (Ibid., 9) produced in all cultures. Parallel to cracks, they are in-between-sites for deviation and rites of passage, such as prisons, saunas and brothels, governed by systems of gatekeeping that manage their isolation and penetration. As theatres they are real places capable of juxtaposing several incompatible spaces. They present a break with normal time, as museums (accumulating the eternal) or festivals (letting time flow). Heterotopias, I maintain, are potential moments of dissensus, as "Politics occurs when there is a place and a way for two heterogeneous processes to meet" (Rancière 1999, 30).

Correspondingly, as exemplified by the *Eat and Meet Parade*, politics of community theatre can be heterotopian, as it facilitates a movement from "commonality to heterogeneity" (Haedicke & Nellhaus 2001, 11). Promoting dialogical processes of two-way learning that allows multiple voices to speak (Ibid., 16), the genre can, as in the *Theatre Tables*, facilitate the heterogeneity of citizenship promoted by Swyngedouw (2007, 72). The public, "a place where many-sided truths co-exist and tolerance of different opinions is practised" (Madanipour 2003, 206), is diminishing, as accessible and functionally flexible space in modern cities comes under ever-greater pressure from bureaucratisation and segregation. We must defend such spaces of simultaneity "in which representation of difference can lead to an awareness of the self and others" (Ibid.). I argue that more or less random congregation, as seen in the *Theatre Tour*, potentially voicing a plethora of socio-cultural politics, can do this by embodying heterotopia. In performance we meet as strangers, oscillating between near and distant, and plotting out our paths in the urban jungle.

In my analysis of CARAVAN's performances, I have indicated resemblances with circus and carnival. I understand these as heterotopian genres. They are dependent on bodily politics free of traditional language and narrative and characterised by a particular "energy or aesthetic" (Stoddart 2000, 4). Turner (1987, 129) explains carnival, and I maintain that the same goes for circus, as an almost Freudian longing for a lost state of childish playfulness. Temporary carnivalisation of society,

not to be mistaken for neoliberal festivalisation, lets symbolic landscapes emerge out of the dramatisation of social difference, what Jackson (1988, 224) sees as illustrating the "potential of popular cultural forms for displaying, mocking, contesting, and transforming social relations of power". Spatial boundaries break, resulting in what Bakhtin (1968) names *carnivalesque freedom*, where forces of inversion and chaos as well as of order and power are negotiated. In this heterotopia the rifts between elites and oppressed are exposed, and the existing order challenged. Not only does such mongrel performance crack open our cities and allow for politics to blossom and take root, it is already a crack in itself.

More decorous is the heterotopia of Social Community Theatre Centre's performance *Saving the Beauty* on 28 May 2016. A tempest is rising, as women, adolescents and children living in the Barolo District, a city within the city, together with actors and musicians let us tap into the magic and history of their home. The performance, specifically centred on the site and its inhabitants, links the present uses of the buildings with a fairy-tale rendition of its past aimed at instating an inter-cultural, inter-temporal community of women. As oases withdrawn from bleak Aurora, each courtyard is the everyday retreat of a vulnerable community that now is given a chance to show its face; reintegrate in the surrounding area. Our stoic heroine and guide is Giulia, loosely based on the historical founder of Barolo as a haven for marginalised women. The architecture functions as relational time-space, letting us warp time, raise forgotten voices, and form community with those who walked here before.

At first we enter the main courtyard as, accompanied by a violin, a man on a podium dryly recounts Giulia's story. She punctuates his narration with affective deliberations of the events. On the sensory level her posture and auburn curls lend her an aura of majesty. She levels, benignly, with a veiled woman, and they join hands around a rose. We are herded on, passing an arcade where in every arch a woman stands exhibiting her particular appearance. The women gather under a clothesline hung with vibrant fabrics, possibly from their different places of origin, to perform among other things a song on the powerful protest poem "Bread and Roses", while ritualistically wielding those very flowers. Throughout, communication, though Italian dominates the mix of languages, finds alternative encoded outlets: music, dance, gestures, etc. On arrival, we have been split in two groups, by drawing from baskets

tortiglioni pasta girdling either yellow or blue pieces of paper. Heterotopian, every participant experiences the performance differently, as we are bombarded with sensory snippets (even the yellow sheet within my pasta confers me lines of words) and split in groups. An accordionist and a woman with red hair, brandishing a yellow rose, lead my group. The atmosphere is of fables as we venture into a courtyard and are met by a group of adolescents, who shyly present testimonies through words, choreographies, and song. This is followed by a beautiful violin intermezzo in a serene garden, where swallows fly ever lower as thunder approaches. A nun smilingly sees us out, and before we make our way back, we visit a group of women, living sheltered in Barolo. Though some of them hide their faces with fans, they deem participation so imperative, that they risk entering the space of appearance.

However, already as we file past the women, standing in the arcade, I feel uneasy about the performance. At best, with their colourful textiles, they embody a potentially problematic appraisal of multiculturalism, at worst, associations of mannequins or "Pretty Woman". This crisis moment makes me wonder if and how this art is for the sake of them, me, Turin, or maybe the EU. Throughout, we are shown, or rather taught, that women in need of support are not powerless. But it is not done dialogically, but didactically black and white. Ultimately, back in the main courtyard, everything is sought resolved in cathartic joy. The professional performers stand each at a wooden house-shaped cage. A white clad dancer, hectically running to and fro the houses, lifts one up and circles the square, embodying the isolation of all the people of Barolo, fighting for a sense of belonging. In the end she enters her house—tranquil. Tenderly, trumpet and accordion tune in as everybody, some of the women in bridal dresses, gather in a portal, cheerfully singing *Todo Cambia*. People kiss their goodbyes and float humming and smiling out into the reality of Aurora. As I slouch away, my pocketed hands encounter the little pasta, a tiny talisman, with words I still do not understand…

Conclusion: What the Tortiglioni Said

In this thesis, I have investigated the counter-territorialising potential of local tactics in community theatre under the CE co-funded CARAVAN NEXT project. Through discussion of my findings from CDA and Phenomenological Performance Analysis, I have sketched ways in which such tactics can challenge hegemonies of those operating on upper scalar levels. As I argue, strategies of EU cultural policies, part of discursively reterritorialising geographies of power, seek to create or manifest Europe locally. Furthermore, they aim to naturalise discourses on the linked concepts of creativity and economy in the cultural order of discourse while, through sporadic employment of Kantian discourse, the political power of art is annulled.

Yet, in these early stages of CARAVAN, effects of neither Europeanisation nor economic logics, as promoted by CE and present in the CARAVAN management discourse, are discernible in the individual performances. Cultural logics are indeed downplayed but to the advantage of, not economic logics, but social; and where the local scale loses prominence it is in order to privilege an ethnoscape of hybrid globalising ties. Notwithstanding that community members are referred to as European citizens in written discourse, the performances do not insist on such reterritorialisation. However, if CARAVAN's Detailed Description—rich in economic logics—indicates the future of the project, this might change. This document does not just live up to the CE discourse, but takes it a step further. The challenge of an EU project is that, once accepted, it must live up to the application. It will be the task of future research to assess critically the consequences of such discursive turns as they are naturalised and territorially inscribed down through scalar systems—not exclusively in the context of CARAVAN or of EU cultural policies.

The studied neighbourhoods, all in a dilemma of transition, needing revitalisation, but threatened by gentrification, are drawn into this discursive mesh of hybrid cultural globalisation, as junctures for local, global and European scales. In the CARAVAN discourse there is strong emphasis on the dynamics of doing something locally, as opposed to the frozen bureaucracy of the institutional EU. This is an example of the aforementioned contemporary alliances, where creatives seek to organise the masses in political opposition. Still, I wonder if such mobilisation ought not to stem from people's own incentive. It remains uncertain if the studied participatory arts succeed in letting the oppressed claim voice, safeguarding substantive

freedom and generating realities outside the reterritorialisations of hegemonic economic discourse, or if they conceal production of consensus through post-political technologies of citizenship.

My purpose has not been to contest CARAVAN's terminology, theory, or methodology—though I explicate in which ways they seem to clash with everyday practices of the project—but to assess the tactics employed in the performative events to challenge dominant reterritorialisations. I hold that value judgments are indispensable. As in community art the artistic level is not the main priority, the issue is not, as we are used to with conventional art, whether the encoded actions are satisfactorily executed or not. That would amount only to differentiation between professionals and community members. What must be evaluated is rather if, on the sensory level, power is shared so that everybody is allowed presence on equal terms, and whether, on the symbolic, the communication is candidly didactic or if two worlds merge in one.

The four tactical tools I have highlighted in the context of CARAVAN only serve as examples, for community theatre does not straightforwardly apply one canonical set of tactics, but develops continuously to meet the changing landscapes of control. Claiming of voice, mainly through non-oral bodily communication, can, arguably, chart ways toward re-politicisation. Additionally, uncanny schisms between temporary ritually unified communities and pre-existing everyday allegiances instate uneasiness as to the participant's convictions, forcing opinion formation. This highlights that community is polymorph and not inescapably tied territorially. Ultimately, cracking open urban fabrics and filling the cracks with carnivalesque heterotopia effects instability that makes the subject conscious of engaging in the production and formation of systems of meaning.

Experimenting with social logics, the aesthetics of the performances is relationally dependent on interaction for ensuring production of emotional energy; instating complex communities of strangers. As such community theatre can function as critical theory in practice, evaluating the rift between the everyday and the imaginable. In such performance, space melts letting fantasies of new social forms expand into the surrounding world. However, without suspension of disbelief there is neither performance nor politics.

I restate my conviction that especially theatre in urban spaces—manipulating the dual relationship between the city as material and the imagination of it—can engender rehearsals of democratic practices. Common norms of deviance, which govern the districts hosting the events, can be unmasked as discursive constructions and the power to perform the urban space potentially shifted. Where conventional theatre stands apart from the everyday, in street performance both space and time grow contiguous with it, offering a place that generally is shaped outside elitist discourse. The space between participants, willing or not, is transformed into a place where, using a parallel language of expression, struggles of meaning are undertaken. The street is a place for direct, public manifestation of performative power through collective action and speech, unmasking the porosity of space-time. Through art's opaquely imaginative power, dissensus, rampantly shifting between sensible realms, can indicate paths toward counter-territorialisation.

Nonetheless, considering especially the cathartic ending of the performance *Saving the Beauty*, I feel that letting a triumphant statement be the end product of community art is problematic. The thematic as well as artistic conceptual decisions of this particular performance, which functions almost as a community ritual, render it all too coherent—there are no two worlds in one. Presented are people, who, though in a suffering condition (to employ Alessandra's formulation), still proudly smile. Implied is human perfectibility. Yet, who wins from such a momentary staging of these individuals as jubilantly empowered? Though problems abound, we do not confront them. All sequences float enigmatically between phenomenal intimacy and obscure semiotics, as empty signs that can be filled with communal whatever. Yet, what happens when these women of today grow together with those of before? Not to forget the other oppressed inhabitants, such as the children, who, as the production comes to revolve around female empowerment, end up functioning as arbitrary additions. We enter their lived spaces as guests, but, mainly due to the conceptual rigour, they are metaphorically evicted from there and made to perform empowerment as entertainment.

Throughout my studies I have been working with the connections between art and communities, and the question of what cultural practices actually can do. Often have I heard the rabid claim that art is useless, or the equally zealous retaliation that its political potential knows no limit. I have an inkling that it is something

in between—that some projects indicate new directions. Instead of trying to make art push through programmatic ideologies, we should direct it at affecting shifts between sensible worlds. Like my interviewees, I hope that there is something to be done, at least on local scale. I do not argue for dull utopias or Disneyfied adornments, but for the all-permeating politics of carnival, derivé and invisible theatre—scenes of dissensus that outline new topographies of the possible; protecting beautiful politics.

Abbreviations

CARAVAN (NEXT): CARAVAN NEXT. Feed the future: Art moving Cities

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CE: Creative Europe

EACEA: The Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency

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Appendix I: CARAVAN NEXT (2016) *Press File.*

Appendix II: CARAVAN NEXT (2016) *Press Announcement: Caravan Next enters the streets and stages in Europe* (April 2016).

Appendix III: Ghiglione, A. (2015) *CARAVAN NEXT Social Community Theatre Methodology.*

Appendix IV: Farm in the Cave (2016) *MICRO EVENT "DISCONNECTED" BY FARM IN THE CAVE* (Event Program Prague).

Appendix V: ZID Theatre (2016) *ExploreZ Festival* (Event Program Amsterdam).

Appendix VI: Social Community Theatre Centre – University of Turin (2016) *CARAVAN NEXT TORINO MACRO EVENT Saving The Beauty Art, Theatre and Plural Community May 26th - June 1st 2016 (*Event Program Turin for Partners).

Appendix VII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) (2016) *Interview with Šimon Peták, Assistant Director at Farm in the Cave (transcript).*

Appendix VIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) (2016) *Interview with Karolina Spaić, Director and Artistic Leader at ZID Theatre (transcript).*

Appendix IX: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) (2016) *Interview with Alessandra Ghiglione, Director at Social Community Theatre Centre (transcript).*

Appendix X: CARAVAN NEXT (2014) *CARAVAN NEXT. Feed the Future: Art moving cities. Detailed description of the Project* (for the CE application package).

ADDITIONAL APPENDICES (FOUND ON P. 75)

Appendix XI: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) *Modified Performance Analytical Questionnaire Based on Pavis (1985).*

Appendix XII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Interview Guide: "Staging Urban Europe" Research Project.*

Appendix XIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XIV: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Relations Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XV: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Co-Occurrence Model.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVI: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Document portraits for Apps VII, VIII & IX.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XIX: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Document portrait for App X*. Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

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Appendices XI–XIX

Appendix XI: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) *Modified Performance Analytical Questionnaire Based on Pavis (1985).*

Appendix XII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Interview Guide: "Staging Urban Europe" Research Project.*

Appendix XIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XIV: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Relations Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XV: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Co-Occurrence Model.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVI: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Code Matrix Browser.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XVIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Document portraits for Apps VII, VIII & IX.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

Appendix XIX: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) *Document portrait for App X.* Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

(Appendices I-X can be provided upon request.)

APPENDIX XI: GEHLSHØJ, P. K. (ED.) (2016) MODIFIED PERFORMANCE ANALYTICAL QUESTIONNAIRE BASED ON PAVIS (1985).

Red is what I cut out. Blue is what I add/substitute
1. General Discussion of Performance
a) What holds elements of performance together?
b) Relationship between stystems of staging
c) Coherence or incoherence
d) aesthetic principles of the production
e) What do you find disturbing about the production; strong moments or weak, boring moments
2. Scenography
a) spatial forms: urban, architectural, scenic, gestural, etc.
b) relationship between audience space and acting space
c) system of colours and their connotations
d) principles of organization of space
- relationship between on-stage and off-stage
- Links between space utilized and fiction of the staged dramatic text
- what is shown and what is implied
3. Lighting system & weather
a) was there lighting? How was it
b) how was the weather - did it influence the experience?
4. Stage properties
a) type
b) function
c) relationship to actors and bodies

5. Costumes
a) how they work
b) relationship to actors' bodies
6. Actors' performances
a) individual or conventional style of acting
b) relation between actor and the group
c) relation between text and body - between actor and role
d) quality of gestures and mime
e) quality of voices
f) how dialogues develop
7. Function of music and sound effects
8. pace of performance
a) overall pace
b) pace of certain signifying systems elements of performance(lighting, costumes, gestures, etc.)
c) steady or broken pace
9. Interpretation of storyline in performance
a) what story is being told
b) what kind of dramaturgical choices have been made
c) what are ambiguities in performance and what are points of explanation
d) how is plot structured
e) how is story constructed by actors and staging
f) what is genre of dramatic text
10. Text in performance
a) main features of translation
b) what role is given to dramatic text in production
c) relationship between text and image
11. audience
a) where does performance take place
b) what expectations did you have of performance
c) how did audience react
d) role of spectator in production of meaning
12. How to notate (photograph and film) this production
a) how to notate performance technically
b) which images have you retained
13. what cannot be put into signs What cannot be reduced to parts
a) what did not make sense in your interpretation of the production
b) what was not reducible to signs and meaning smaller parts (and why)
14 the questionnaire
(a) Are there any special problems that need examining
b) Any comments, suggestions for further categories for the questionnaire and the production
14. Communication

INTERVIEW GUIDE: "STAGING URBAN EUROPE" RESEARCH PROJECT

This project involves research on the performances under the "Caravan Next" Creative Europe Project. I will be asking you questions about your work with community theatre, your organisation, the Caravan project and your partners, and your understandings of some concepts related to the project.

Before we begin, I would like to make sure that you are aware that participation in this interview is voluntary, and you do not have to answer any question if you do not want to. If you feel uncomfortable with any question, just let me know and we move on to the next one.

As the research treats only the Caravan Next, although you have the option of choosing a pseudonym, the information that you share with me during this interview will be traceable to you. If you would like to have access to and rectify information from your interview please email me at peter.gehlshoj@gmail.com.

Do you mind if I record the interview? Recording frees me from having to take notes, so that I can focus on the conversation. Following the interview I will transcribe the conversation verbatim so that I can use it for my research. Do you mind if I do that?

1. You (an introduction)
a) Where are you from?
b) What is your educational/professional background?
c) What is your position/function in your organisation and in the Caravan Project?
d) How did you personally get into/attracted to this project?
e) What does a project like this mean to you?

2. Your organisation
a) How would you define your organisation? (genres, type of organisation, ideology)
b) What sort of international outlook/connectivity does your organisation have?
c) How did your organisation enter the Caravan Project?
d) What do you bring to the overarching project?
e) What do you gain from participation?

3. Your City/Neighbourhood
a) What role does your city/neighbourhood play in your events and for your organisation?
b) (How) do you think your art influences upon the communities' attachment to the area/city/place/venue?
c) The subtitle "Art moving cities", what does it mean to you?

4. Project Shaping Process
a) (How) were you a part of the shaping of the project?

b) How was your organisation involved in the process?
c) Which connections did you (already) have with the other organisations?
d) Why, in your opinion, is the project called Caravan Next?

5. Which part of your event is most important to you?
Explain the significance of this part for:
a) You
b) Your Organisation
c) Communities
d) The Caravan Project
e) Europe

6. Europe
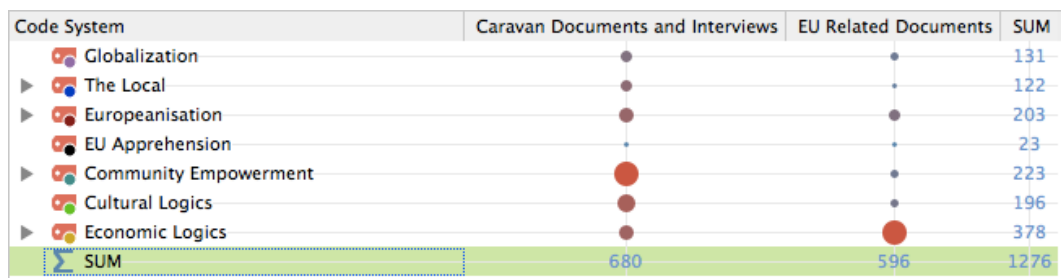a) How does your event address the questions of European belonging?
b) What is your understanding of European Citizenship?
c) What is Europe to you?

7. Social Community Theatre
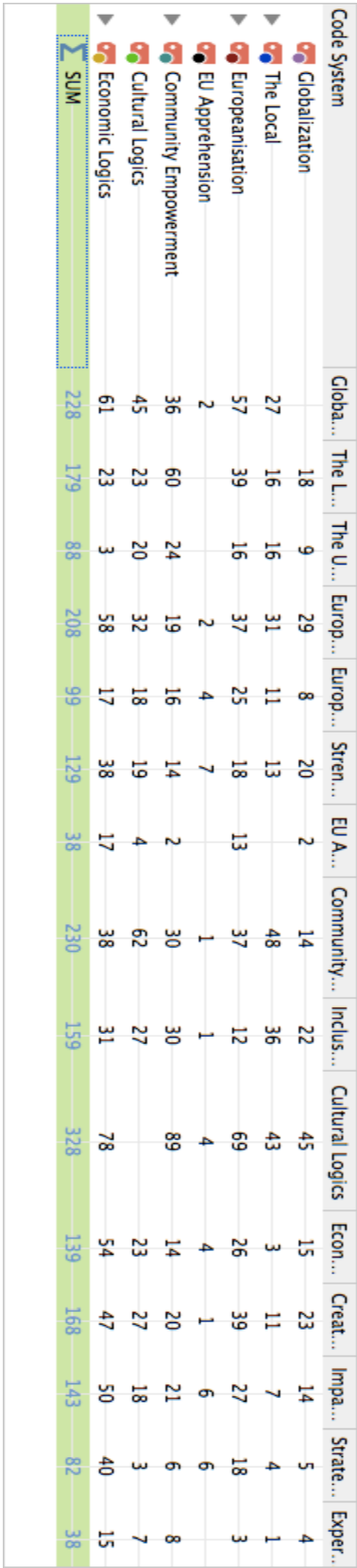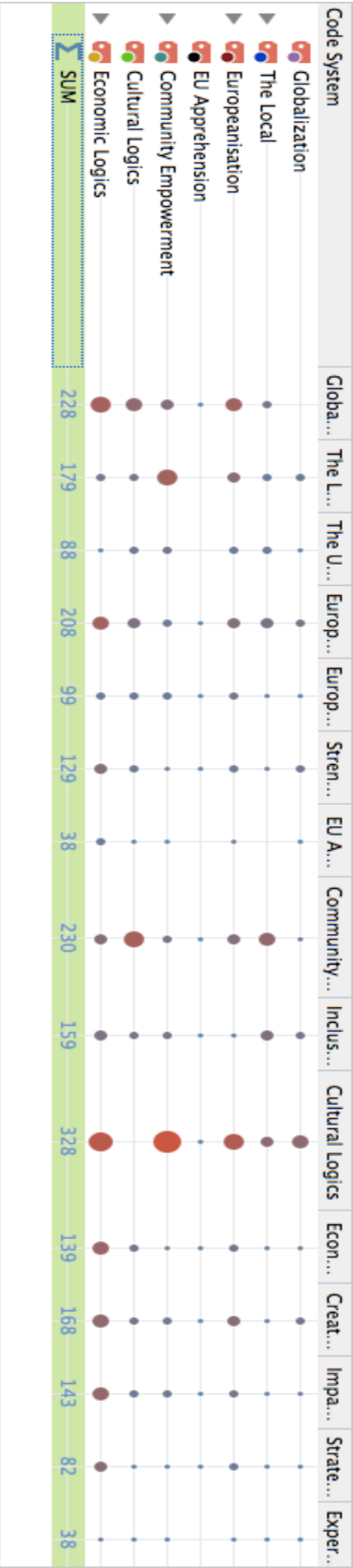a) What is your understanding of social community theatre?
b) How have you been working with the community?
c) How did you select the community members to work with for this project?
d) (How) did you include new groups?
e) How did the collaboration with the communities go, in your opinion?
f) Which barriers have you met in your work on this project?
g) What positive surprises did you encounter?

Code System	Caravan Documents and Interviews	EU Related Documents	SUM
Globalization	74	57	131
The Local	89	33	122
Europeanisation	102	101	203
EU Apprehension	22	1	23
Community Empowerment	161	62	223
Cultural Logics	121	75	196
Economic Logics	111	267	378
SUM	680	596	1276

Code System	Caravan Documents and Interviews	EU Related Documents	SUM
Globalization			131
The Local			122
Europeanisation			203
EU Apprehension			23
Community Empowerment			223
Cultural Logics			196
Economic Logics			378
SUM	680	596	1276

APPENDIX XIV: GEHLSHØJ, P. K. (2016) CODE RELATIONS BROWSER. VISUALISATION MADE WITH MAXQDA12.

Code Relations Browser — numeric matrix (left panel):

Code System	Globa...	The L...	The U...	Europ...	Europ...	Stren...	EU A...	Community...	Inclus...	Cultural Logics	Econ...	Creat...	Impa...	Strate...	Exper...
Globalization		18	9	29	8	20	2	14	22	45	15	23	14	5	4
The Local	27	16	16	31	11	13	2	48	36	43	3	11	7	4	1
Europeanisation	57	39	16	37	25	18	13	37	12	69	26	39	27	18	3
EU Apprehension	2	2	4	2	4	7		1	1	4	4	1	6	6	1
Community Empowerment	36	60	24	19	16	14	2	30	30	89	14	20	21	6	8
Cultural Logics	45	23	20	32	18	19	4	62	27	23	23	27	18	3	7
Economic Logics	61	23	3	58	17	38	17	38	31	78	54	47	50	40	15
SUM	228	179	88	208	99	129	38	230	159	328	139	168	143	82	38

The right panel presents the same matrix as a bubble-size visualisation with identical column and row structure and the same SUM row (228, 179, 88, 208, 99, 129, 38, 230, 159, 328, 139, 168, 143, 82, 38).

Code Co-Occurrence Model

Appendix XVI: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) Code Matrix Browser. Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

(Relative: Calculation of symbol size refers to all coded segments)

(Absolute values)

Code System	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	Caravan NEXT_detailed ...	SUM
Cultural Logics	31	4	19	2	13	7	12	10	23	25	20	30	196
Creativity and Innovation	21		2		1	1	3	3	2	19	9	39	100
SUM	52	4	21	2	14	8	15	13	25	44	0	29	69	296

Appendix XVII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (2016) Code Matrix Browser. Visualisation made with MAXQDA12.

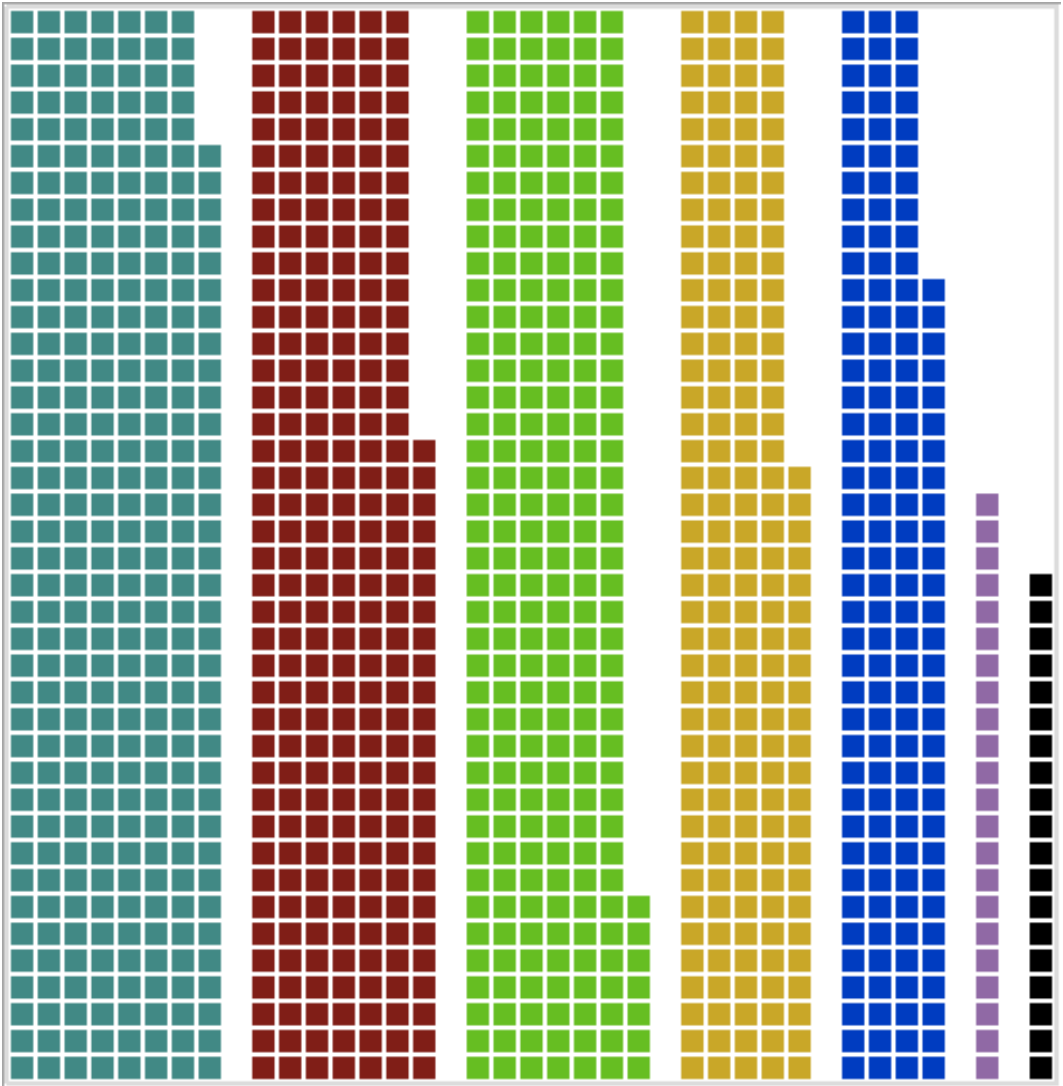| Code System	...	...		...	...	...	Simon...	Karolina	Alessandra	...	...	...	...	SUM
EU Apprehension														23
SUM	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	16	2	0	0	0	1	23

82

Based on: Appendix VII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) (2016) *Interview with Šimon Peták, Assistant Director at Farm in the Cave (transcript).*

Community Empowerment	Globalisation	Europeanisation	Economic Logics	Cultural Logics	The Local	EU Apprehension
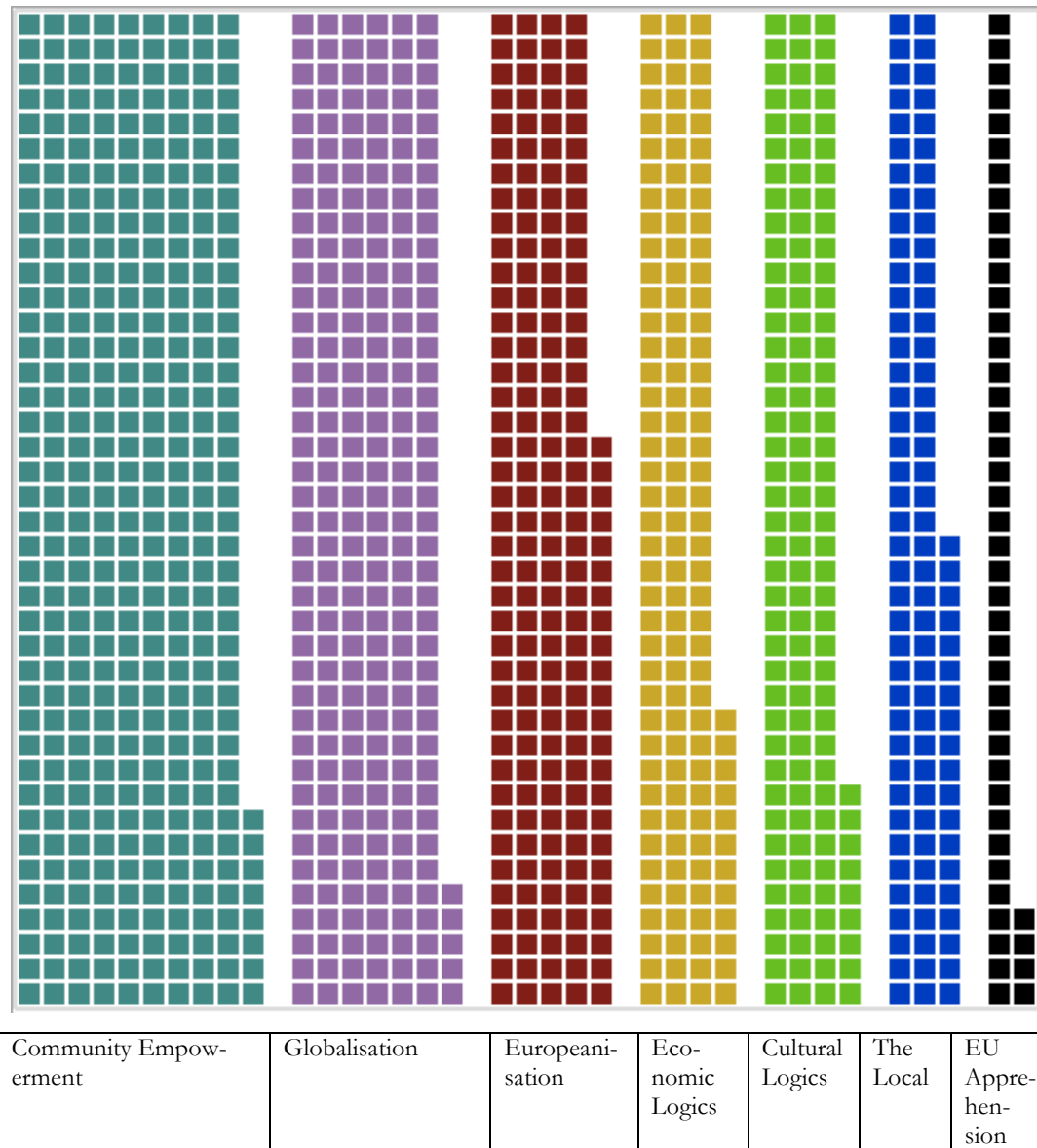
Based on: Appendix VIII: Gehlshøj, P. K. (ed.) (2016) *Interview with Karolina Spaić, Director and Artistic Leader at ZID Theatre (transcript).*

Community Empowerment	Europeanisation	The Local	Economic Logics	Globalisation	Cultural Logics	EU Apprehension

Community Empow-erment	Europeanisation	Cultural Logics	Economic Logics	The Local	Glob-alisa-tion	EU Ap-pre-hen-sion

Based on: Appendix X: CARAVAN NEXT (2014) *CARAVAN NEXT. Feed the Future: Art moving cities. Detailed description of the Project* (for the CE application package).

Economic Logics		Community Empowerment	Euro-peanisa-tion	The Local	Cul-tural logics	Glo bali-sa-tion	EU Ap-pre-hen-sion