



**Expressions of  
Resistance:  
Navigating Independent  
Culture Through  
Adversity**



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A Volume from the Reset! Atlas

How do you keep on practicing your art, culture, and writing when your country is bombed and has been forced to shift to war efforts, when the power has been monopolised by a conservative autocrat, or when restrictive laws are being passed? In times of adversity, culture and media are usually the first tool to be used in order to serve crooked and manipulative powers. However, it is in these moments that independent and grassroots organisations tend to resist in a more efficient and united way, even if facing a whole set of challenges and difficulties. Their independent character makes these structures freer and more inclined to claim their right to practice and share culture.

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# Editorial

Reset! Network:  
An Age of Alliances

Europe's cultural landscape has entered a phase of transition, the harbinger of a new era. This break with the past, which took a tangible hold around the time of the global pandemic, reflects not only the difficulty of leaving behind the codes and social fabric of the 'cultural world as we knew it,' but also the yearning to look ahead to a new horizon in a context marked by accelerating climate change, ultra-violent geopolitical upheavals, and the mounting sense of conflict, even within democratic societies.

## **A polarised and weakened common perspective**

Culture has entered a period of **doubt**, of uncertainty, of feverish introspection about its meaning, its generational misunderstandings, its many tensions, and about the new forms of mistrust that it had previously overlooked.

The pressure weighing down on culture as a result of the paradigm shifts inherent in its day-to-day deployment is just as crippling: **radical transformation of our relationship with work**, new forms of mobility, reassessment of spaces and territories, the evolving role of mediation, upheavals linked to the rapid pace of technological development and the countless ethical questions it spawns.

Culture is confronted with the many issues that are on a head-on collision course with society, fuelling polarisation and the **growing radicalisation of interactions, leading to a breakdown of dialogue, of the shared perspective, and of the collective adventure**, complicating and eroding culture's primary mission, which is to open minds, nurture dialogue, create conditions conducive to listening and interacting with others.

## **The threat of authoritarianism, the threat of concentration**

Culture is under pressure from its social context and from the sense of "permanent crisis" that pervades our age. But it is also, more than ever, intimidated by its economic and political environment. More than ever, culture and the media are victims of **full frontal attacks from authoritarian regimes that**

deny and sometimes flout their artistic, cultural, and editorial independence. More than ever, independent culture and media are struggling to survive in a hyper-concentrated competitive world, where the growing power of the web, publishing, media, or music industry giants means shrinking margins of manoeuvre for pluralism and diversity.

**Independent cultural ecosystems are fragile and under threat in many parts of Europe.** Yet they are essential to democratic and social vitality, in particular to equip up-and-coming generations for the transformations our world is screaming out for: capacity for action and transformation, social and environmental responsibility, the fight against discrimination, pluralism and diversity, safeguarding freedom of creation and expression, strengthening media education, inclusion, regeneration, equal access to culture and the media, but also access to their production.

## **Forging new alliances**

Confronted with these challenges, the turmoil of our times, authoritarian regimes and the growing concentration of capital in the culture and media sectors, **a strategy of massive cooperation is held up as the only possible response.**

It has become not only strategic, but imperative, to connect the players, foster the sharing of resources, knowledge and tools, promote collective intelligence and the forms of governance that encourage it, **work in networks and join forces.**

The time has come to imagine new ways of forging alliances between cultural players and independent media, but also with **all those working in the general interest**, particularly in the public sector in the fields of education, youth, the media, and health: the public broadcasting service, universities, local authorities.

This is what the Reset! network is all about. It endeavours to adopt a Europe-wide, non-sectoral approach to bring together cultural structures and independent media, but also to bring on board general interest resource hubs (Consentis, Black Artist Database, Observatoire des politiques culturelles, ACT RIGHT, and others), as well as **local authorities willing to support** the movement and serve as testing grounds for new practices (City of Lyon, City of Brussels).

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The Reset! network brings together cultural structures and independent media to give them a platform to get better acquainted, enter into dialogue, work, and act together.

## **Common atlas**

The Reset! network is doing just that, working **from Budapest to Lisbon, from Kyiv to Prishtina, from Amsterdam to Naples**, to bring together cultural structures (concert halls, festivals, publishing houses, labels, etc.) and independent media to give them a platform to get better acquainted, enter into dialogue, work, and act together. To build their common approach to transformation, these 85 organisations first focused on their local area and local issues: for just over a year, dozens of workshops were organised across the continent to **take the pulse of independent European cultural**

## **ecosystems.**

Today, the time has come for an initial pooling of this feedback. This is the purpose of this atlas and its volumes, built collectively around eight themes that emerged during the year's meetings: "Independent culture in times of adversity", "Ecological commitment in the independent sector", "Enlarging communities in culture: the need for common spaces rooting in independence", "Imbalances in territories representation: independent structures to counterbalance a hyper-centralised cultural and media field", "Connecting to the youth: maintaining intergenerational links, enhancing emergence", "Creating and preserving safe spaces: diversify, include and raise awareness", "Decentralising digital power in culture: let's talk about MAGMA alternatives", "The concentration or independence antithesis".

This material, which **captures the zeitgeist and the changes taking place in the cultural sector**, will serve as the foundations for our advocacy and transformation tools. A few months away from a high-risk European election, and in a context where it is in serious danger of disappearing from the programme priorities, the Reset! network and its members will take it upon themselves to highlight the essential role of culture, the media, their independent ecosystems, and their artistic and editorial integrity, in this period of essential social and democratic reconstruction that has only just begun.

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February 2024

# Editorial

**Vincent Carry** has been Managing Director of the Arty Farty association since 2002, supporting the development of the Nuits sonores festival in Lyon, the Sucre club, the Hôtel71 creative hub and the HEAT food court. In 2023, he was appointed chairman of the Gaîté Lyrique cultural institution in Paris, bringing together a consortium comprising ARTE, Singa, makesense and Actes Sud.

# Under their opinion

This section likely serves as a platform to express viewpoints on how independent culture can navigate and resist adversity. This involves sharing opinions on the importance of resistance, the forms it takes within independent culture, and how navigating adversity has shaped their experiences. By providing an opinion, this tribune contributes to introducing a more comprehensive exploration of the main theme of the volume.

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## Documenting Times of Adversity: Solidarity and Hope Through Independent Culture

### **Kseniya Ulyanova**

is a Ukrainian art historian, art critic, and independent curator. Kyiv-born and Paris-based, she graduated from National Academy of Fine Art and Architecture in Kyiv and Faculté des lettres in Sorbonne University.

I am writing this article sitting in a military hospital ward next to a friend of mine who was wounded on the Ukrainian front.

Speaking of culture during hard times, here is a typical environment for it. White hospital walls, the luscious smell of medicine, and the cacophony of sirens outside the window. In such conditions, the strongest and most frightening artworks are created, reality is captured, communities are united and meanings are reflected anew. In difficult times, culture becomes not only a mirror of society, but also a powerful engine of solidarity and hope. Identity, artistic achievements, traditions—all of this becomes a unifying factor. At the heart of such periods—that take various shapes and forms, from the most violent of wars, to the ruling of autocrats in dictatorships, or the simple absence and deliquescence

of State—, independent art often flourishes as a means of free expression. Painting, literature, or music not only reflect the suffering, but also become a bridge that unites people in a common response to the challenges of the times. Independent culture plays an important role in maintaining the resilience of communities, when they are prevented from freely creating and expressing themselves.

At the same time, joint creativity and interaction play an important role in such times. The projects that are born out of combined efforts can become a real symbol of shared strength. Whether it is a musical project in Hungary, a theatre production in Georgia, or a literary text in Ukraine, these are ways of expressing unity that can become an important element of recovery. Creativity and art become a response to difficult living conditions, social, political, and personal tragedies. As oppressive political settings usually target culture as a tool for propaganda, independent forms of culture appear to be the most adapted answer possible in these times of adversity.

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### **Ukrainian context: from the collective to the individual**

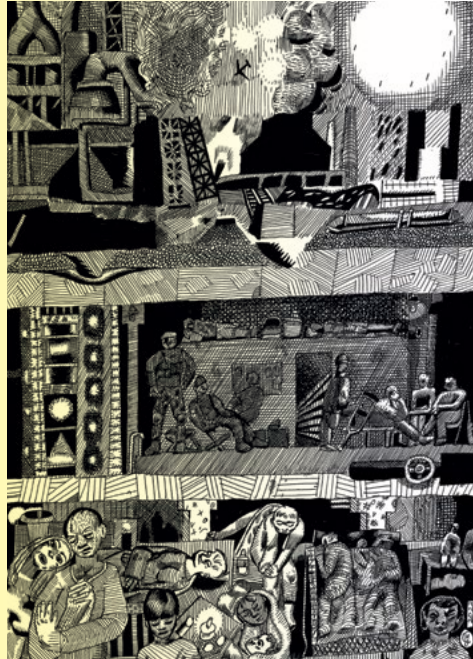
Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, culture has taken on a new form: the form of resistance. From physical resistance, as many cultural figures suspended their professional activities and went to fight at the

front, to conceptual resistance—the demonstration of their own identity and the fight against Russian imperial colonialism. The centuries-long pressure from the neighbouring State took place not only in the political arena, but primarily in cultural processes and was aimed at destroying Ukrainian identity through both total prohibition and substitution of concepts: simplification and marginalisation. Since 2014, Ukraine has been actively defending and rebuilding its identity, trying to completely sever cultural relations with Moscow, but after February 24th, 2022, this has taken on a new scale and rethinking.

The projects that are born out of combined efforts can become a real symbol of shared strength.

Collections were evacuated, museum exhibition halls emptied, and artists, filmmakers, as well as musicians put on military uniforms and took up arms. And, at the same time, incredible cultural activity occurs: new art centres are being created, bookstores are opening, and new names are emerging. The latter can be seen very well in music. Music as a social phenomenon, which before the full-scale war had mainly served as an entertainment, has become a multifunctional instrument. Self-organised groups and bands formed during martial law are a new sound of the old and forgotten. From the return to folklore to the emergence of new Ukrainian-language musicians (TUSHA, XOnya), music primarily

plays the role of an instrument of national self-identification, as a counter to Russian cultural colonialism. But there is another explanation for this intensification of activity.



↑ Azovstal, Mariupol. © Danylo Nemyrovsky

Music during the war ceases to be abstract, it rather turns into a historical document through which events and circumstances can be traced, it becomes a kind of emotionally coloured news digest. The title of the compilation of works by the electronic Ukrainian musician and now a soldier of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, John Object, written in blood, is no longer perceived as a prop, but as a statement and a statement of attitude, a documentation of this difficult time. Producer and songwriter detunesaw explains this new consideration of music during complete blackout and regular shelling last winter: "I've reached a point where I can't procrastinate anymore. I don't want to. It's dangerous to miss something. I want to live here and now—then music makes sense. And with it, my life."

## 3 questions to 20ft Radio

Kyiv, Ukraine

### 01. \_\_\_\_\_

**Can you introduce your structure to us?**

20ft Radio's project is set up quite simply and consists of a small team (10 people) that manages the location, air, and archive on our website. It's a non-profit radio that serves as an open online platform for broadcasting performances by Ukrainian artists, existing thanks to the support of listeners and artists.

### 02. \_\_\_\_\_

**Why did you join the Reset! network?**

Since this is an opportunity to find partners for international collaborative projects and join in the realisation of interesting initiatives. We really like and respect many projects who are also members of the Reset! network.

### 03. \_\_\_\_\_

**What is the main action that can be done to help independent cultural organisations get through this unstable and oppressive period marked by the Russian invasion of Ukraine?**

Today, independent cultural organisations from Ukraine can be assisted by inviting them to participate in or jointly implement international projects, thereby helping Ukrainian culture to have a voice in the face of ongoing pressure from Russia. It will also be crucial and beneficial to cease cooperation with any organisations from the State-terrorist.



↑ Meanwhile at the Khanenko's. © Yuriy Stepanyak

Also, to understand art as a document of an era, a record of events and an instant reflection on the horror around us, it is important to recall a series of graphic works by the young Ukrainian artist Danylo Nemyrovsky. After spending a month under occupation in the city of Mariupol, incommunicado, deprived of all the usual conditions of normal life and under constant shelling, the artist created this series. Through the faces of Mariupol residents, he shows not only the horrors of war, but also the "new" reality of the occupied city, stories of everyday life in shelters under constant shelling.

The war gave rise to an aggressive and kind culture. People unite around grief, and experience it collectively through culture and solidarity. Repair Together is a self-organised volunteer project that has become an important cultural phenomenon in addition to its social benefit. A group of volunteers is engaged in the reconstruction of private houses in de-occupied villages. It was not the first time that musicians joined the volunteers on such trips, turning the construction process into a rave. This, in turn, made the initiative very popular among young people and became a regular techno event. Another, but no less culturally valuable, event was created by a group of artists who stayed in Kyiv during the war and immediately

after the rocket attack on the city centre on October 12th, 2022, in which the Khanenko National Museum was damaged, took the initiative to clean up the aftermath. During this clean-up, the idea to create the exhibition "Meanwhile at the Khanenkos" within the walls of the closed and empty museum, whose collection is completely evacuated, came to mind. Thus, for the first time in its history, the Museum of Classical Art showed the works of young Ukrainian artists who, despite the pain, spoke about love and its various forms.

### **Solidarity and hope**

These several projects illustrate how art and culture function and play a role in difficult historical times. It is important to remember that it not only illustrates the state of society, but also actively contributes to its transformation. And even when it seems that everything is on the brink, independent culture remains a living force that fills life with meaning and understanding.

# 3 questions to Drugstore

Belgrade, Serbia

## 01. Can you introduce your structure to us?

Drugstore represents a versatile and interdisciplinary cultural initiative, operating across two venues, with a third one in the pipeline, established within disused industrial structures situated in the heart of Belgrade. The overarching objective is to make a bridge of local and global artistic manifestations, synergising the distinctive characteristics of local cultural traditions with captivating international creative accomplishments. The results are presented to a diverse and eclectic audience within the unique confines of historically significant brutalist architectural settings.

## 02. Why did you join the Reset! network?

Networking opportunities are not that easy to reach on the periphery of the EU, so this was a great chance for us to connect with international subjects and to enrich our knowledge with new ideas, to meet new initiatives and tendencies. Being involved with other projects initiated by Arty Farty, we had a full trust that the project will be developed with utmost focus on detail and in a manner that would benefit to all of its members.

## 03. What is the main action that can be done to help independent cultural organisations get through conservative and oppressive political ruling in Serbia?

Best action that would benefit most would be forming a new independent cultural media, most probably hard copy weekly/monthly magazine or radio with FM frequency. At this point almost all the cultural news is stuck with professional PR journalists who work only with paid adds, so independent culture if it's not sponsored can't reach any audience. International support in financing this kind of action would be crucial.



# Under their light

In this section, a distinctive platform emerges for the expression of varied and non-exhaustive perspectives on how independent culture adeptly manoeuvres and withstands diverse forms of adversity. This includes the articulation of situations regarding the pivotal role of resistance, the diverse manifestations it takes within the realm of independent culture and media, and the profound impact of navigating adversity on experience.

## Accessing Media

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### The End of Traditional Platforms: How Can Independent Media Reach Rural Women in Hungary?

#### **Dorina Nagy**

is a Hungarian feminist creator and co-director of the association Lazy Women. Her purpose in both roles is to empower women by raising awareness about topics that are still taboo and so, making them feel less alone with their worries, problems, and experiences.

When discussing social issues and inequalities, we must consider how intersectionality relates to them. When someone belongs to several groups of minorities, the grade of their disadvantage increases - for example, if this person is a Roma woman who is also a single mother, she belongs to three different minorities (being a woman of colour and a single parent). It works similarly in the question of where one comes from as well.

Although in Hungary rural residents are the majority, they still have fewer opportunities to access information, high-quality education, or independent media platforms than people in the capital, Budapest. And when someone is already in a disadvantaged social group in addition to living in the countryside, the chance to be well-informed and -educated decreases.

So what happens when a woman grows up in the Hungarian countryside? Is there a smaller chance that she will be aware of her inequalities, due to a lack of appropriate education on gender? And what role does the media play in this equation? Are independent media a way to counter these phenomena of disinformation or lack of information?

Rural women face inequalities in a more frequent and intense manner than urban women. Imbalanced distribution of resources between men and women, traditional education of gender roles, and a closed network of relationships all prevent women from easing their limiting expectations. Research shows that, in Hungary and elsewhere, the image of rurality is linked to the image of conventional gender relations. According to a variety of European studies, traditional types of women's roles and identities continue to describe the bulk of rural people today.



Additionally, the lower the status of a settlement is, the more people with low education and living in poverty there are, which leads to bigger obstacles to the freedoms already accepted in mainstream society which has been supported by recently conducted interviews for this piece.

## **Hungary's media empire**

Gen Z girls were at maximum 13-14 years old when Fidesz became the governing party in Hungary, in 2010. This generation has grown up experiencing the expansion of Fidesz's media empire and if one's first consumed media is on a non-objective, but rather biased platform, some might say it is even propaganda, that affects pubescents' and teenagers' views and ideas.

The Hungarian governing party, Fidesz has used the opportunity of them being elected three times in a row. For example, it has been altering the legislation for its own benefit and making it possible that certain assets went to certain government-related straw men. As for media, it means there is also no stopping power of owning media outlets for people who normally would be in conflicts of interest. And this is exactly what happened. The first victims were local newspapers and small TV channels outside of Budapest that have been spreading Fidesz's ideologies for a decade now. For years, the public media, which reaches every home free of charge, has been using Fidesz's press releases and Prime Minister's office press briefings as the basis of news. These all follow the Central Eastern European tendency of emphasising "Christian and conservative" principles in terms of women's rights and gender equality. Non-surprisingly, it is mostly government-related media actors

There is no stopping power of owning media outlets. The first victims were local newspapers and small TV channels outside of Budapest that have been spreading Fidesz's ideologies for a decade now.



↑ Straw bales in Arak-Halászi, 2018. © Dorina Nagy

who are setting the agenda on the image of the "perfect woman" as well: fertile, controllable, and hard-working while staying in the kitchen. Recent examples include abortion rights amendments, considerable financial incentives for having more than two children, and openly denouncing women who study at university since it implies they will have fewer children. And they do not hesitate to grab every opportunity and convey this to the public.

So, considering this kind of sociopolitical environment, feminist activists and independent media actors have a hard time reaching out to rural women and vice versa, rural women are not likely to be educated on basic facts about social issues and their gender even if they wanted to.

Taking this all into consideration, where can women get valuable facts and gender-related news besides traditional women's magazines?

## **Rural women and their media consumption**

Today, regardless of gender or geography, the internet is the primary source of information according to the National Media and Communications Authority. However, it is not common knowledge where and how we may obtain valuable news, what is more, responsible media consumption should be taught in school just like recycling or poem analysis. And we have returned to the roots of this issue: the lack of education. In a country, where the heads of high schools, towns, and villages are mostly loyal to the governing party, there is no interest in teaching where to find information from reliable sources: it's simpler to disseminate propaganda, as the interviewees explained.

Many of the Gen Z women I interviewed mentioned the same location in their lives when they encountered diversity for the first time: university. They were unlikely to meet openly queer individuals or people with opposing views previously, some of them did not even see young women involved in political actions sooner. They were not pushed to embrace social responsibility in a community where everyone shared homogeneous ideas or where the most critical topics were not discussed. In fact,



↑ Country house in the mountains of Kőszeg, 2018. © Dorina Nagy



it did not even occur to them that they are allowed to have different perspectives or that there was another side to the story. It only changed when they got away from that setting, which mostly happens to young generations from the countryside when they leave their hometown for study purposes, but emigrants could also relate, independently of their qualifications.

After the world quasi opened up to them at the university or abroad, they became acquainted with and started consuming independent media products which appear to share the following common traits: social media content by (mostly) English-speaking influencers and content creators instead of classical virtual national newsrooms. Some of them are also following the content of Hungarian-speaking accounts, such as those of NGOs or content creators, but they prefer content in English. One of the causes of choosing foreign sources over national ones could be that they lost their trust in the majority of the Hungarian newsrooms. Because, regardless of their sponsors, the inciting behaviour of those close to the government makes independent actors appear to be biased as well. Therefore, sources from other countries retained a greater sense of impartiality. Considering the platform, the majority of young generations follow the news on social media, namely on Instagram and more often on TikTok. But these media are also not intact of the government's authority—since the amount of engagement is highly dependent on the budget which the propaganda machines are also benefiting from.

In the given circumstances, beyond the ability to differentiate between trustworthy sources, further barriers arise: having internet access, speaking foreign languages, and the fact that the discourse on social themes is centered in the capital city. Although the former is

becoming less of a problem: more than 80% of Hungarian households and 98% of people between the ages of 17 and 24 have access to broadband internet. This is even true for the less fortunate areas (2020).

In the case of language skills, bigger problems are uncovered: more than half of the country does not speak any foreign languages, and this tendency affects rural areas more. As for the latter, this issue is not an individual Hungarian problem, but with the government overtaking the rural media landscape, the gap is much bigger than in Western countries for example.

### **What is in favour of independent media?**

For those who were informed by diverse newsrooms, getting valuable information was not the only benefit. They admitted to being more skilled at vocalising their opinions and being less afraid of viewpoint differences. Moreover, they stand by their opinion with higher confidence, which can be traced back to experiencing a variety of ideas from independent media and thus being aware that there is often more than one aspect to an issue. To summarise, the availability of independent media for rural women might reduce the gender gap in terms of engagement in social themes and enhance the chances of a more equal society. After evaluating the Hungarian context and the media consumption habits of young women of rural roots, it might be worth asking the question: how can independent media be more accessible to them? As noted above, internet connection is one of the most advanced factors that are present in rural areas. Thus,



## **3 questions to MMN**

Budapest, Hungary

### **01. Can you introduce your structure to us?**

MMN is a non-profit organisation with mostly volunteer contributors. It is a democratic organisation. The work is organised into working groups where each working group member has one equal vote. The only hierarchy we have is that a special working group called board coordinates the work of other working groups. MMN declares a manifesto and a statute document that all contributors must accept and adhere to. The former defines the mission and later the work structure of MMN.

### **02. Why did you join the Reset! network?**

MMN is a Budapest-based community project, which means that it relies on the support and contributions of a local scene. We joined the Reset! network so that we can be part of a bigger, international community. Through the network we believe to strengthen our position, relevance and diversity.

### **03. What is the main action that can be done to help independent cultural organisations get through conservative**

### **and oppressive political ruling in Hungary?**

In these times, cultural organisations in Hungary may need to rely more on international funding such as the EU or private resources. Also, they need to be supportive with each other and build local networks, even if only loosely coupled. On the other hand, policy makers may need to support regions hit by political injustice through specific measures. For example, bureaucratic requirements should be lowered (or, alternatively, a shepherding scheme should be introduced) to support new organisations, i.e., ones without extensive record of bigger-scale projects.



what makes independent media hard to reach are the language barrier and the exclusion of social themes in the countryside compared to the capital.

Therefore, it is irrational to think that NGOs and foreign actors alone could swap unbalanced power on the media scene. If we, as an independent, international community hub, were to solve all these problems, we could probably not overcome this immense challenge. Primarily, because we had to compromise a great deal to be even able to compete with government-related media which would leave us in a fragile situation.

Nonetheless, while acknowledging the importance of changing the power dynamic in the Hungarian media environment, there are measures to ameliorate the situation in the short term. This, according to those interviewed, would be to pursue the proven method and share news on social media, but instead of solely utilising online news publishers' accounts, involving trustworthy TikTokers or eventually, Instagrammers from Hungary and their own audiences. This might be a better pay-off

regarding reach and the problem of lacking English skills will be solved in the same breath. Of course, ideally, reaching out to educational institutions and holding workshops on critical media consumption would also be profitable, but this, given the situation of sex education, might be unfeasible too. And last but not least, choosing relatable female creators with rural origins could further contribute to the authenticity of independent media.



↑ Rural idyll in Feketeerdő, 2018. © Dorina Nagy

# Diffusing Culture

## A Scene So Not There: An Unstable Montenegrin Independent Culture Scene

Montenegro is a tiny nation, both at its advantage and its limitation. With a population of just over half a million, Montenegro is grappling with the challenges and opportunities that come with governing a small population. Progress in the field of culture, especially the independent scene, has always been sporadic and unstable, and has historically depended on the political challenges in the Balkans.

### Bad memories

New generations of young people are mystery to Montenegro as much as for all over the world. The country is changing in the era when new technologies are drawing a map of the world whose borders don't coincide with those of States. Job atomisation and work process alienation are global problems. A new internal emigration has appeared around the world playing by the rules of the fourth technological revolution. Their homeland is a console, and their sociability is questionable. The sense for these young people to get together and form their own independent scene has never been expressed in their mother tongue.

### **Brano Mandić**

researches, writes, is writer, journalist, and one of the most read columnists in Montenegro. He is the editor-in-chief of the web magazine *Normalizuj.me*. He has written a short-story collection "Feb Waited for a Pencil" (2016), and co-founded the publishing house Yellow Turtle (Žuta kornjača).

The memories of the slightly older, middle-aged generation of creative people, are not necessarily pleasant ones. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, an entire generation had to come to terms with violence becoming the main form of communication in society. Throughout the region, including Montenegro, a response to such a top-down political command was the rise of independent creative production. Those involved in this experienced many teething problems, and many disappeared soon after. This drive came in waves; it grew with enthusiasm, but petered out after a few years. Many alternative movements, creative collectives, or ad hoc institutions that formed the independent scene arose as spontaneous rebellions over a prolonged period of time.

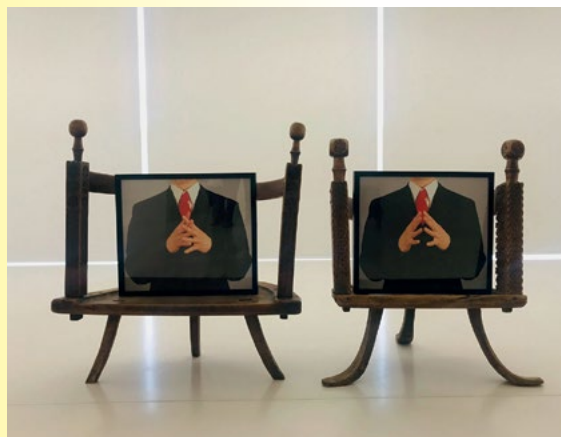
# un- stable

As an illustration, the quaint Montenegrin town and the old royal capital, Cetinje, once hosted the Cetinje Biennale, a truly distinctive alternative art event established to counter the prevailing narratives of mainstream politics and culture. In the wake of the Balkans conflict, Cetinje Biennale was a form of protest against various forms of traditional and State-founded art that had been manipulated by Balkan politicians and warlords. During those years, the alternative scene emerged through the efforts of various collectives, fanzines, and radio producers, surviving without any institutional support. But no structure, scheme, or model took form to make such ventures sustainable. On the contrary, the scope of this independent scene would die a quicker and greater death only for it to be soon after uncritically glorified and mythologised as some unattainable highlight of a time never to return. From this, a peculiar type of melancholy developed in Montenegro, with a constant focus on a fantasied better past, even amongst young people who should have been in its forefront.

## Fetish and politics

'The scene's gone' is an oft-quoted phrase, whether it be by a music producer or a painter with two master's degrees, perhaps coupled with a few swear words directed at State institutions. This 'the scene's gone' mantra maintains the illusion that there once was an independent scene in Montenegro. This leads us to a fundamental question: Was this truly a functional scene, or merely a collection of isolated creative occurrences scattered throughout the country, predominantly concentrated in Podgorica? One can say: On the margins of the prevailing kitschy national strategies based on raw political pragmatism, independent forms of creation and social engagement would indeed sometimes occur. However, this couldn't be labelled a fully organised 'independent scene'.

It's better to admit that historical circumstances pulled society to the other side, so let's try to at least list the main reasons for this. Montenegro has a fetish for 'independence', and there's no other word more overused in public discourse. The country regained its independence in 2006 after having lost it almost a hundred years before. The main square in the capital, Podgorica, is Trg Nezavisnosti ('Independence Square') and the main newspaper is *Nezavisni Dnevnik Vijesti* ('Independent Daily News').



↑ Small Cetinje Biennale. © Milena Živković, 2019

## 3 questions to **Mutant Radio**

Tbilisi, Georgia

### 01. **Can you introduce your structure to us?**

For financial resources, Mutant Radio combines two main directions: Mutant Bar, the commercial part—which makes it possible to keep the community financially sustainable and to have permanent staff. And secondly, European international community projects and radio programming, giving the radio an important place in the global underground music scene and connecting it to international networks, music venues, festivals and artists. The radio's programming is very much based on the needs and interests of the local community, independent choices and curated sound that connects Mutant to major global underground audiences and collectives.

### 02. **Why did you join the Reset! network?**

It was important for Mutant Radio to be presented and connected to the international networks and to create links between the other independent organisations. As Georgia is still under a lot of pressure from Russian propaganda, we felt it was important to be part of the European network and strengthen our links with new initiatives and people around us. We hope to create concrete, practical and need-based new projects with the members.

### 03. **What is the main action that can be done to help independent cultural organisations get through**

### **conservative and oppressive political ruling in Georgia?**

The answer here can be very complex. Ultimately, it may boil down to the need for financial support to create new channels for local organisations to meet regularly, develop new ideas and create solid, stable, project-based groups of politically aware artists and art communities. The lack of financial capital and instability is causing many young intellectuals to leave the country. A little more stability would keep the community stronger and connect people in the long term. Apart from financial support—which can be a challenge to provide anywhere, anytime—small opportunities and projects to get involved in and raise awareness would also be a great help.

MUTANT RADIO



↑ Praznan prostor theatre. © Anna Karenina, 2021

'Independence' is always the main theme of political election campaigns that, for a country with half a million voters, are also the country's most important and lavish productions. 'Independence' is nevertheless understood on a collective basis—it relies on some kind of epic element and tribal consciousness that dismisses the individual.

The cultural code of the war camp, that is, of ancient Montenegro, seems to have been modernised through the manipulation of collective identities and blackmail politics that keep the system in a constant state of national tension. It involves a long-term history that limits the scope of society, favours the mediocre party elite and, in turn, drives young people out of the country. In the last ten years, about 75,000 people have left Montenegro. Amongst those who have left include a not insubstantial number of creators, many of whom have admitted defeat and resigned themselves to the fate that there'll be no development in Montenegro for the foreseeable future.

### **Clericalisation of society**

It's no wonder that in terms of an 'independent scene,' things are moving more slowly than in other places. Historically speaking, Montenegro was at the tail end of development even during Yugoslav times when it was the republic with the lowest income and a virtual basket case, but with great natural potential. Although the socialist State ushered an almost revolutionary leap and general emancipation, the transition from rural to urban happened far too quickly and industrialisation failed to provide enough years of economic stability for it to be felt in the realms of culture.

As a small society with barely any urban institutions, Montenegro has not experienced many turning points. Montenegro had no student protests in 1968, because it had no university then. The sexual revolution bypassed Montenegro owing to the country's firmly entrenched patriarchal society. On that note, no entertainment industry developed in Montenegro either as artists couldn't wait to go to the bigger Yugoslav cities to work in an environment more worthy of their talents. All this created a special inferiority complex and a backward urge for self-punishment, which is often displayed through apathy and a self-destructive form of martyrdom.

When State-building policies were finally reinstated, money poured in via political channels on all sides, but especially from the West, which helped Montenegro set its course down some vague fantasy of democracy. At the dawn of independence, when the State coffers were full and political pressure at its greatest, the independent scene grew stronger by feeding on the leftovers. It was a time when official policy makers recognised that culture was an ingredient of political struggle, so in addition to expensive State-driven productions a somewhat minor free element was tolerated on the margins.

If you were to pick up a copy of "Montenegro Mobile Art" print magazine from that era, you would encounter a product that Montenegro no longer possesses today. It was a publication dedicated to shaping and championing art scene, striving to showcase and amplify all activities in the creative fields. Furthermore, the emergence of the New Montenegrin literature wave was facilitated by a fortunate few authors who not only possessed talent, but also had access to Croatian publishers. In the early 2000s, there was a flourishing cooperation among publishers throughout the region. However, this form of cultural exchange has been in decline for years, often leaving Montenegro isolated within its own parochial confines, limited by its small size and reach.

The state politics didn't take measures to stop bad tendencies. As soon as Montenegro became an internationally recognised State, the government undermined spontaneous forms of self-organisation in culture, having deemed these no longer desirable. Every independent initiative was stifled from the party centre. This period of great regression was filled with colourful lies of State productions. They became anachronistic and unconvincing, and the circles where envelopes with money were circulating became so obvious and well-trodden that they bred anger and revulsion. In response to this cultural desert, the 'clericalisation' of society eventually took hold,

The cultural code of the war camp seems to have been modernised through the manipulation of collective identities and blackmail politics that keep the system in a constant state of national tension.



↑ Praznan prostor theatre. © Anna Karenina, 2021

# 3 questions to Garp Sessions

Babakale, Türkiye

## 01. **Can you introduce your structure to us?**

Garp Sessions is a 10-day research program that takes place in the fishing village of Babakale in Çanakkale, Turkey. It brings together participants around a theme to get to think and learn together in an informal place outside the periphery. Every year two facilitators are invited by us, who then get to know each other and their practices, set the theme for the year, and invite the participants. The participants come together at the village, live in the same house, cook, and clean together, and every night prepare and have dinner together. We value the openness and intimacy of meeting around a dinner table

as an informal place where discussions of the day carry over. While selecting the participants, there are no limits of age, sex, nationality, or field of work. However, it is a pretty intimate experience to live, leisure, and work in the same space with the same people for 10 days, so starting from the selection of facilitators, it is always kept in mind how individuals could work in that setting. Every year we ask for the participants to document their time there in their own preferred medium, but besides that there is no pressure on a final, physical output. The time spent learning about and with one another is enough knowledge on our part, and it is always gratifying when we see that they've leaked into then surfaced in a participant's life and/or practice. We

have made it a point to keep doing what we do until learning from it is dulled or becomes implausible. In the context of Turkey, everything changes at great speed and to build sustainable structures that last is very difficult. A lot of things start in small bubbles with great motivations, but it is rare that things continue to evolve through the changing conditions. We believe focusing on the local and starting from a specific point carries great potential for change as well as a big learning opportunity.

## 02. **Why did you join the Reset! network?**

Since the programme started right before the pandemic hit, it was a big challenge to open it up internationally.

Independent structures from Turkey's art scene have limited interaction with the international art world due to governmental policies and all that falls underneath (such as bad economy, lack of resources and funding, censorship and oppression). Therefore, it has been a priority to have an international crowd working with topics that are relevant in other contexts as well. In order to continue this effort on building an international network, it is important for us to get to know other independent actors, see how they work and what their structures look like, what we can learn from them and what is applicable to us in this environment. Being a part of a bigger network and seeing how we fit in there makes us feel supported. It can get

very solitary working in these fields in Turkey. That's why being part of Reset! makes us feel that we are part of a bigger community with shared goals, struggles, and motivations

## 03. **What is the main action that can be done to help independent cultural organisations get through conservative and oppressive political ruling in Turkey?**

Most projects, artists, and structures from Turkey rely on international funding in order to be able to realise their projects. Therefore, grants directed at these parts of the world are very necessary. Being in solidarity

with independent cultural organisations and actors who are doing great projects from different sets of conditions is also very important. There is also great need for international opportunities for visibility and collaboration to bypass the outdated gatekeepers and governmental censorship happening in Turkey.



with the Serbian Orthodox Church's influence and intervention in Montenegrin politics, culture and identity policies through loyal politicians who support it increasing.

The urban scene in Montenegro, already quite fragile, finds itself clinging to survival, through new and vibrant hip hop scene and a few rock music festivals. A shining example of the Montenegrin independent scene and practice of self-governing initiative is the independent theatre studio "Prazan prostor" in Podgorica, known for its award-winning productions that resonate throughout the region. They employ a unique approach, blending NGO practices with volunteerism, setting a true standard for all creative collectives to come.

## Leap into the deep end

Having developed within what essentially is a closed society, the independent scene in Montenegro has actually achieved something thanks to gifted individuals and rare forms of dedication. However, these individuals have not overcome the environment that they've refined with their extraordinary

achievements. Most of them haven't shown a sense of cooperation or organisation. Typical of small communities and rapid creative discharges, this is quite expected for a country where most activity is reduced to its capital city. Success has been measured by going solo without striving to create networks. Some of the greatest potentials for the independent scene were quashed due to minor squabbles and lack of understanding the importance of cooperation.

But there is a turning point, for the new generations, who were not brought up in the political posturing of the Balkan wars, but have nurtured their own method and worldview based on the broader strokes of different readings. Between the sheer pressure of the capitalist counter that we all have to bear in order to survive and with true social engagement on a local level, at least some of them will choose the latter, invest in their skills, knowledge, and shrewdness to create the impossible and bring the eternally regretted, never proven and yet so challenging Montenegrin scene to the fore. Let's see if this scene can stand on its own two legs and not collapse.

This goal can only be achieved through a new revolutionary leap by a generation of artists starting off in the deep end. Many in Montenegro have already had that same opportunity and squandered it because their ultimate goal was not to be left drowning in the deep end.

# Building Resistance

## Georgian Cinema Is Under Threat – Independent Cultural Movements in Resistance

### Tiko Nadirashvili

is Georgian film producer and a member of the filmmakers' movement 'Georgian Cinema is Under Threat'.



↑ Protest in front of the Ministry of Culture. © Georgian Cinema is under threat

As art is a form of expression, its commentary on social and political realities enables the medium to be a catalyst for change. However, art and cinema can also serve as effective propaganda tools, and governments with authoritarian tendencies always try to capitalise on this opportunity. Today, the cultural sphere occupies a strategic position within the purview of the Georgian government. In response to the repressive policies, representatives of the cultural

sphere are openly declaring their resistance, with Georgian independent cinema playing a prominent role at the forefront of this defiance.

# mov-

## The Georgian National Film Centre: progressive takeover of an independent institution

The Georgian National Film Centre (GNFC) is the only body responsible for financing and supporting art house films in Georgia. In addition to its central role in financing film projects, the GNFC formulates and implements Georgian film policy/strategy, provides financial support for feature, documentary, and animated films (both short and feature-length), manages film distribution and promotion efforts, as well as submits Georgian films for consideration to the Oscars and nominates candidates for European Film Promotion.

The GNFC maintains a representative presence at Eurimages, provides financial support for travel of film professionals, finances festivals, film education, industry events, and workshops/trainings. It is worth noting that the total budget for all these functions is around 2.5 million euros—an amount that is sometimes less than the budget of a typical medium-sized European film. Nevertheless, Georgian cinema has achieved remarkable success with these limited resources.

While this centralised approach offers robust support programmes, the GNFC should also be seen as an entity with a monopoly on film-related programmes and activities.

In fact, Georgia's increasingly authoritarian government has the Georgian National Film Centre in its crosshairs, and has embarked on a sweeping series of repressions called "reorganisation"—aka Theorganisation, named after



Protest in front of the Parliament. © Tiko Nashdiravili ↑

Minister of culture, Sport and Youth—Thea Tsulukiani. The Ministry of Culture which has jurisdiction over the Film Centre, has systematically replaced its leadership with political loyalists with minimal experience in filmmaking.

In June, the Minister of Culture appointed Mr. Koba Khubunaia as the interim director of the GNFC. He currently holds a position in the Ministry of Culture and has a background in the penitentiary system. In July, it was also decided to terminate deputy director positions within the Film Centre, as part of a wider reorganisation. In addition, Bacho Odisharia—a host of the ruling party-affiliated propaganda channel *POS TV*—was transferred to the film production department. Odisharia openly criticised Georgian filmmakers for making films with “wrong endings and tragic content” on national television. These developments are part of the ministry's ongoing efforts to increase its influence over the entire Georgian cultural sphere—theatres, museums, conservatory, and writers' organisations.

We reject unambiguous art. We refuse to participate in backroom politics. We will have nothing but scorn for failed censors and their intentions to tame Georgian cinema.

# ements

## Denunciatory Georgian cinema and oppressive government

No matter the scarce financing, emerging talents within the Georgian film industry tenaciously forged ahead, authoring, directing, and producing unforgettable cinematic gems. Modern Georgian films have received high praise from critics and were deeply appreciated by audiences worldwide.

*Taming The Garden* (2021) by documentary filmmaker Salome Jashi has received awards at festivals around the world, from Mexico to Switzerland, and even earned a nomination at Sundance, a major independent film festival in the United States. However, it has also been a source of controversy within the government officials,

because it indirectly addresses oligarch Bidzina Ivanishvili, the founder of the ruling Georgian Dream party, who is believed to exert political influence from behind the scenes. The film has become a symbol of depicting Ivanishvili's power and wealth.

Screenings of this award-winning documentary were scandalously cancelled in Georgia and some of the first signs of censorship appeared. Georgian Dream's chairman, Irakli Kobakhidze, said that films like *Taming The Garden* were the problem: “Should the Georgian National Film Centre be financing such shameful films? A film with such shameful content should not be made, and films with the right content should be made.”

Contemporary Georgian cinema is inseparable from Georgian social realities. Some of the most celebrated Georgian films document the difficult lives of some of the



country's most marginalised communities: queer Georgians with *And Then We Danced*, by Swedish-Georgian director Levan Akin, *Comets* by Tamar Shavgulidze, *Wet Sand* by Elene Naveriani; prisoners and juveniles with *Negative Numbers* by Uta Beria; religious minorities with *Beginning* by Dea Kulumbegashvili; hardships that women are facing with *In Bloom* and *My Happy Family* by Nana Ekvimishvili & Simon Gross, *Scary Mother* by Ana Urushadze; the aftermath of war with *Tangerines* by Zaza Urushadze; and poverty with *Pig* by Giga Liklikadze and *Credit Limit* by Nutsa Meskhishvili. This is the problem for the current government elite. They openly began making critical comments about recent Georgian films and preaching about “what are the correct films.”

For the Georgian filmmakers, these developments point to the government's desire to dictate the portrayal of life in Georgia. They seem to want “movies with happy endings, patriotic movies. They don't care about the artistic quality, they only want to show that Georgia is flourishing and there are no social problems here,” says actress Tina Lagidze. Along with the takeover of the GNFC, Georgian filmmakers denounce the government's attempts to sanitise the content of the country's cinematic output.

## **From protest movements to structuring: Georgian cinema in action**

In response to these developments and in support of the GNFC staff, most of the country's film directors, screenwriters, producers, actors, cinematographers, and editors took to the streets of Tbilisi, organising a series of protests that reverberated throughout the city. This is how the movement Georgian Cinema is Under Threat was born. The independent movement publicly declared that cinema was under

The ruling party is trying to stifle any form of criticism regarding its actions and policies.

threat of censorship. They soon came up with a manifesto. “We reject unambiguous art. We refuse to participate in backroom politics. We will have nothing but scorn for failed censors and their intentions to tame Georgian cinema,” the manifesto reads.

In response to the escalating turmoil, a letter signed by up to 400 film industry representatives has outlined three key demands:

- Stop the reorganisation of the GNFC
- Conduct a competitive selection process to select the director, rather than relying on a unilateral decision by the Minister of Culture.
- Establish a committee of film industry representatives to oversee the selection of the director.

The crisis has galvanised the country's filmmakers and encouraged them to set aside internal rivalries. “One good thing that has happened is that through this protest, a very divided group of people, filmmakers who were never friends, became a group which meets almost every day. We found points where we understand each other,” says Alexandre Koberidze, director of one of Georgia's biggest recent films, *What Do We See When We Look At The Sky*.

In August 2023, the movement launched a boycott to put further pressure on an oppressive government and to stand united for the independence of the Georgian Film Centre. The announcement reads, “we firmly oppose the



↑ Gatherings in Dedaena Park. © Tiko Nashdiravili

repressive policies of the Ministry of Culture. We will no longer participate in the contests and projects announced by the captured GNFC, we reject membership in competition commissions, as we refuse to lend legitimacy to a process that contributes to the erosion of modern Georgian cinema, culture, and scientific pursuits.”

The collaboration of filmmakers and their commitment to a common cause has fostered an environment in which industry professionals can engage in meaningful discussions about the pressing issues facing cinema, and solutions. This collaborative process has led to the formation of an independent professional union for filmmakers. In August 2023, the Professional Union of Filmmakers of Georgia was established as an autonomous and cohesive entity. Its primary mission is to address and resolve issues and conflicts in the field of cinema, thereby promoting unity and solidarity in the pursuit of improving the cinematic landscape.

## **Unified Georgian culture and SSS investigations**

Many Georgian cultural figures are convinced that Tsulukiani is on a mission to enforce loyalty to the government in various areas of art and culture. And cinema is not the only one. Those sacked in previous ‘reorganisations’ at two major Georgian museums have made it clear that people were dismissed for criticising or expressing dissatisfaction with the government. In October, following the filmmakers’ union, a cross-sectoral platform called *ძიძგისძობა* (Movement) was created to facilitate unity among people working in the arts and culture to voice the issues that affect us all.

Following this movement and a Tbilisi training course conducted by the East-West Management Institute within the framework of USAID's Civil Society Engagement Program, the State Security Service summoned cultural workers for interrogations. The course was open to representatives of theatre, film, literature, and other artistic fields, and its goal was to strengthen ties between participants, discussing ways to achieve greater independence and efficiency in the cultural sphere.

The State Security Service questioned the organisers of the training, the mentors, and is now gradually summoning the participants for questioning. It claims that the USAID-funded training has trained a large group whose members “are expected to play a crucial role in the preparation and implementation of processes for the violent overthrow of the government.” As a film producer and member of the filmmakers’ union, I myself was subjected to these interrogations.

But these adversities won’t stop the united front of independent Georgian culture. In fact, Georgian art continues to travel and succeed in this seemingly impossible realm. In resistance, the filmmakers’ movement holds free screenings in the yards of Tbilisi to bring Georgian cinema even closer to the people.



↑ Outside screenings. © Tekla Machavariani

These accusations are absurd, unfair and are aimed at putting pressure on individuals in the independent cultural sphere, posing a serious threat to the principles of freedom of creative expression. It is clear that the ruling party is trying to stifle any form of criticism regarding its actions and policies, trying to demonise protests and any individual or organisation who does not agree with it.

## More Than 450 Boycotts of the GNFC, Yet Many International Georgian Successes

- Anna Dziapshipa’s *Self-Portrait Along The Borderline* wins Grand Prix at Visions du Réel International Film Festival Nyon and becomes the best medium-length film at FRONTDOC. Also selected for DOKLeipzig.
- *Writer-director Goga Kobalia’s novel My Field* turned into a swallow wins Saba, annual literary award for the Best Debut of The Year.
- *Writer and screenwriter Iva Pezuashvili* wins Saba, annual literary award for the best novel of the year for *Mascarpone*, got longlisted for Prix Médicis étranger.
- *Too Near to the Sky*, project by Dea Tcholakava, produced by Irina Gelashvili /Radium Films/ - Tbilisi International Student Film Festival Pitching prize.
- *Bitter Sugar*, directed by Ana Barjadze, produced by Irine Gelashvili won AI Jazeera Balkans main prize at Sarajevo Film Festival.
- *The Mud Princess*, a project by Dea Tcholakava, produced by Irine Gelashvili won short pitch prize at CineDoc Tbilisi Documentary Film Festival
- *Operation Champion*, project by Maïam Nikolaishvili, produced by Irine Gelashvili won the doc pitch prize at Tbilisi International Student Film Festival
- *Tear Gas* written and directed by Uta Beria, produced by Nino Chichua, Anna Khazaradze (1991 Productions), won production support from CNC and Hubert Bals co-production support.
- *9-Month Contract* directed by Ketevan Vashagashvili, produced by Anna Khazaradze and Nino Chichua (1991 Productions) was pitched at Sheffield Docs as the finalist of The Whickers Award, won funding from IDFA and CineDoc Film Support Award and is selected to IDFA Academy.
- *Berliner*, directed by Anna Khazaradze, produced by Nino Chichua and Anna Khazaradze (1991 Productions) was selected for Circle Women Doc Accelerator, Closeup Initiative and IDFA Academy.
- Tiko Nadirashvili was selected for the Erich Pommer Institute’s Female Leadership Program Series Women for Series Producers. Her documentary, *From Georgia with Love*, the first Georgian-Scottish coproduction, won development support from Screen Scotland.
- *Magic Mountain* directed by Mariam Chachia & Nik Voigt world premiered at Dok.fest München, won the main prize at Docs Barcelona, selected for IDFA, Golden Apricot IFF (Silver Apricot Award), Shanghai IFF, IceDocs, Amman IFF, CineDOC Tbilisi, DokuBaku, Ukrainian FF Berlin, and MakeDox (Young Onion Prize).
- Berkeley Art Museum & Pacific Film Archive (BAMPFA) showcased a collection of films directed by Salome Jashi: *Taming the Garden* (2021), *The Dazzling Light of Sunset* (2016), *Bakhmaro* (2011), *Their Helicopter* (2006), *Speechless* (2009), *The Tower* (2018), *A Crypto Rush Aftermath* (2023).
- Luka Beradze’s *Smiling Georgia* got selected at Karlovy Vary, Montpellier Mediterranean Film Festivals, and Torino Film Festival.
- Maradia Tsaava’s *Dreamland* won the Best Short Documentary Award at CineDoc Tbilisi 2023
- Vika, Tamar Shavgulidze and Nestan Nene Kvinikadze’s script, produced by Tekla Machavariani, was awarded the Best Feature Film in Development at The Festival du Nouveau Cinéma de Montréal. In November, the project also received support for development from the Asia Pacific Screen Awards MPA Academy Film Fund.
- Keti Machavariani’s second feature co-written by Nestan Nene Kvinikadze got financed by Greek Public Broadcaster.
- *Hotel Metalurg* by Giorgi Varsimashvili world premiered at Sheffield DocFest, gets released in the UK theatres.
- *We Are The Hollow Men*, written and directed by Rati Oneli, world premiered at San Sebastian International Film Festival. His documentary film project El Dorado is selected for IDFA Forum.
- *Heart Do Not Be Afraid* directed by Ana Kvichidze, produced by Avtandil Khorava won the IDFA Bertha grant and JBFC residency award in the US;

# Under their words

Within this section, an exclusive space unfolds, providing a canvas for perspectives on the navigation and resilience of independent culture amidst challenges. Key narratives emerge from the interviews that make up this section, articulating pivotal moments that underscore the role of resistance. These conversations delve into the multiple manifestations of resistance within the dynamic realm of independent culture and media, offering profound insights into how navigating adversity shapes the collective experience of these significant voices in the cultural and media sector.

## Unstable Autocratic Governance

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With Gábor Orbán  
from *Tilos Rádió*  
(Budapest, HU)

### **Can you introduce *Tilos Rádió*?**

*Tilos Rádió* started more than 31 years ago, and at the beginning it was a pirate radio which meant that there were radio shows for 20 to 40 minutes aired from different flats, we were chased by the authorities, so that was quite an exciting period, but after that we finally won a FM frequency a little bit more than 20 years ago, and since then we worked on different frequencies. What is important about *Tilos Rádió* is that it's a community radio made by volunteers and sponsored by the audience and the community. We do not accept any money from the Hungarian government. We are free and independent, and we do really think that we can hold this independency by not accepting dotation from any government, from this regime, or other as well. There is no advertisement on the radio because we don't want any link to companies either. We want to be able to say whatever we want to say, and be as free as we can. *Tilos* counts more than 350 volunteers, more than 150 different radio shows, and we are on air 24/7 without repeat. I think that it is the power of the community.

### **On your website, you describe the history of *Tilos*, which was punctuated by frequency battles (loss and recovery). What is the general legal framework regarding radio frequencies in Hungary?**

It's just like in other European countries, I believe. So, there is a pitch for different frequencies by the authority and if you win this pitch, you can air your radio station on that frequency. It's maintained and governed by the national authority. There are frequencies for commercial radios, there are frequencies for central radios, and there are frequencies for community radios. The problem is that there are less and less community radios in Hungary, basically 10 years ago there were more than 50 community radios, and now there is only *Tilos* and one more which is strongly linked with the government, so... The main problem is that, there is a difference between how the authority looks at community radios and at other radios; according to the percentage of speech and music, or the percentage of Hungarian music and other music, or even the language, how we speak. We are not professional radio makers, we are amateurs, everyone has another job and we do this within our free time. The majority of the shows are interactive, so everybody can phone in to the radio show. Of course, there are some words that shouldn't be used

during certain times, you can't say f-words for example. But you know from 7pm until 10pm, it happens. Some people listen to us to monitor—if they hear an f-word, they just write to the authorities, and the authorities has to detect what happened and after that we have to pay a fee, and receive a document saying that we broke the law. If you have like 4 or 5 of these “problems” notified during your frequency period—I am not sure of the number—, then they can choose not to prolong your frequency, and this is what happened in the case of Tilos.

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We do what we want to do, and one thing is for sure is that we won't change our mindset and our structure, just because of a government.

# free indie

## **In 2022, you lost your frequency once again. Was it still due to swearing on air? What were the consequences?**

We had some problems with swearing, yes. It happened like 7 times, in the past 7 years, so it is not really a problem I would say. However, if you look at the numbers of the authorities, we can see that a lot of problems like this happen with different radios—I mean of course it happens. But this time, it wasn't a swearing problem, but a conscious administrative one. Since the authorities have the possibility not to prolong your frequency, well they use this power on who is the most disturbing to stop or at least slow them down. I think that is what happened to Tilos.

What happened in 2022 is that our frequency ran out. We had it for 7 years, and it ran out on September 3rd, 2022. The problem is that the authorities had to sign our proposal for renewing the frequency on August 15th, after a two-weeks period of application. However, they didn't take two weeks to make the decision, and since after that you have to sign the agreements and do all the bureaucratic steps which takes at least 3 to 8 weeks, we couldn't start our work on the new frequency on time. When we saw the deadline to send our proposal for frequency was August 15th, we understood that we had to stop streaming on air. We switched online for a bit. Few weeks later, the results indicated we were the only one who applied for this frequency. We won it back, and after that the signing, agreements, and contracts, and we went back on air on October 22nd, 2022.

Also, there is a possibility for the authorities to decide to prolong your frequency without applying again. We had a contract with the authorities for 7 years, and they can prolong it for an extra 7 years automatically, if they want to. They decided not to prolong it. Really, there is nothing against the law, but... it happened. The problem was that we couldn't sign our new agreement with the authorities in time to stay on air without having to stop. They basically used the different problems I mentioned before—the speech and swearing on air—to justify this hurdle.

## **Is Tilos still under the threat of losing its frequency? How do you operate in such an unstable situation?**

We now have a contract for 10 years. We do really think that, as we are looking at technology, this is the last contract, the last 10 years on FM. I don't think that in 2032 it will be a question whether we want to be on air on FM. Everybody will listen to radios online. But, of course, if there is any problem... I do not think that there would be any reason that we would lose our frequency, I think it's much more... this radio is much more important as well as the community behind it.

## **Do you feel that the situation of community radios has worsened since Orbán came to power in 2010?**

Yes, absolutely, there is a problem with community radios, basically they lost their frequencies year by year, and one by one. There is not any new one. I do really think that at the basis of the free speech and the free thought, there is the community, it's an interactive radio. I know that the radio is coming from the 20th century, but I do really think that it can be interesting for anybody today as an editorial content. When you don't just listen to information from your bubble, but you can discover new things, things that you would have never thought to be interested in, and contribute to shape this content, that's why I do really feel the power of a community radio and its editorial content. That's why, it is a big problem that so many people from these shut down community radios lost their voices.

## **How did the government justify the reduction in frequencies for community radios?**

I don't know the reason, I can guess, but I don't want to. I think that it is quite clear of what could be the reason, right? But, the one thing is that in some cases these frequencies were won back by radios which were very close from the government. Sometimes, the contract for the frequency runs out, and they decide not to start a pitch application for this frequency, because they think that people do not need the radio anymore.

In September, a huge number of volunteers and audience came together to our birthday party, which was also our shut down party... and because we have such a great community, we knew we couldn't lose the frequency.

### Are there other independent community radios in the same situation as Tilos in Hungary?

No, Tilos is the only one remaining. There are still some community radios existing in Hungary, but they are not on FM anymore (only online), and they are not 24/7. Tilos is quite unique for this.

### On your website, you write that Tilos has had a major “role at the time of Hungary’s EU accession in promoting and popularising an open cultural and civil society”. Today, Hungary is in a clear cultural confrontation with the EU. Do you feel that it is up to you Tilos, and other independent cultural/media platforms to continue to represent Hungary’s open ethics and principles?

As I mentioned before, we are free and independent so basically what the government can do to different cultural groups and venues is decreasing the subsidy, or increasing taxes, or something like that. This is basically what happens to the cultural scene in a lot of places. Most people I am talking to are saying that they cannot maintain their every day cultural work because there is less and less money. This is how a government can intervene into the scene. Of course, there is solidarity towards those cases, but practically we, Tilos, keep doing what we are doing also to inform and entertain people without considering the government. We talk freely on our radio, and would not receive pressure from the government, or the authorities. We have two different LGBTQ+ radio shows on Tilos, we talk about the situation of women in the Hungarian society, we talk about minorities, we have a Roma radio show, Portuguese, Chinese one as well, but also French, German, Italian, Slovak, etc. We do what we want to do, and one thing is for sure is that we won't change our mindset and our structure, just because of a government.

### How does the public react to these attempts on your freedom of expression? Tilos is very popular in the country; did you get any public support when you were shut down?

Yes, of course, we receive a lot of love from the audience, and a lot of letters, emails, and posts from the audience. We find that the only way to keep going is to work together, so this community including the volunteers who are doing the radio shows and the audience is essential. This is what happened in September, a huge number of volunteers and audience came together to our birthday party, which was also our shut down party... and because we have such a great community, we knew we couldn't lose the frequency.

# Newsletter

Reset! newsletter  
November 2022

## Sweden and Italy: far-right parties to power

The 2022 Swedish and Italian general elections are a turning point for European politics. The winners of these general elections are the right-wing parties, and most particularly the far-right parties of the Sweden Democrats (SD) – lovely name for a party rooted in a neo-Nazi heritage – and of Brothers of Italy (FdI) – with neofascists origins. Indeed, SD arrived in second position with 20.5% of the votes and FdI arrived first with 26% of the votes. Even if the far-right party isn't a part of the government led by new Prime minister Ulf Kristersson (Moderate), most of their political proposals have been adopted in the right-wing bloc agreement – the Tidö Agreement. In Italy, the wrongly called “centre-right” coalition, led by FdI leader and new PM Giorgia Meloni, formed a government and was officially sworn on October 22nd.

Created in 1988, notably by a former activist of the Nordic Realm Party, and a former Waffen-SS volunteer, the SD's first claim was to Bevara Sverige Svenskt (Keep Sweden Swedish). Emanuel precises that “*what makes SD very special is that they come from a hardline background, a very violent and Nazi tradition.*” Among other things, the SD promoted music and concerts of the white-supremacists British group Rock Against Communism, as well as the Swedish nationalist Viking rock band Ultima Thule. **From 1995 onwards, the party started to put up the image of an apparent moderation. They slowly integrated the national politics, ending up today by having a direct influence over the government policy.** FdI was formed in 2012 on the ashes of several other political parties, among them the Italian Social Movement, a neofascist party founded by former members of Mussolini's National Fascist Party. The same ‘**apparent moderation**’ method was chosen, “*it wants to present itself as a mere right-wing government, to give itself a respectable image*” explains Damir.

The next four and five years of Swedish and Italian politics may change the countries' historical path. “*The first measures certainly do not go in the right direction,*” indeed, on October 31st, **the new Italian government issued a law criminalizing raves with an up to 6 years jail time.** This new law was heavily criticized, notably because of the wording that is legally blurry. It is “*illegal/dangerous gatherings*” that are criminalized, which “*could repress any gathering of people, and it gives too much discretion to the authority to decide what is acceptable and what is not. (...) It is police State-like.*” In Sweden, if there hasn't been attacks on cultural institutions yet, **SD have already declared war on the freedom of press by threatening the Swedish media** through their chief of staff Linus Bylund, who has said to be looking forward to “*play journalist rugby*” meaning, in his own word, “*pushing journalists*”.

Is what we must expect from far-right governments that hold within themselves repressive and authoritarian dynamics when it comes to culture and politics? Damir remains positive and underlines that “**the alternative world of culture could also regain a bit of a fighting will, for a more reasonable, more interesting culture. Maybe this will be a shake-up.**”

# Under their reports

In this section, we encapsulate the diverse voices, experiences, and perspectives shared during decentralised workshops, shedding light on the nuanced challenges and opportunities faced by organisations navigating the independent cultural landscape. From discussions on the importance of community-building to first-hand accounts of being a vital part of these networks, these reports provide a panoramic view of the evolving role of independent cultural players in shaping and participating in communities across the European cultural spectrum.

## Intergenerational Cooperation: How to Share and Collaborate Between Independent Cultural Venues

– by Garp Sessions (Istanbul, TR)

Istanbul, Turkey  
January 2023



### State of the situation

In Turkey, there is very little governmental support and not many funding opportunities overall for arts and culture. When there is, there is a high level of control on the content produced which can be very oppressive and harmful to the artistic work. Censorship remains a main issue especially when the government or the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is involved.

When granted funding from private funding bodies, other parameters that one needs to abide by emerge. Considering the financial crisis the country is experiencing as its currency is devaluing and inflation is record high, the arts and cultural sector is highly and negatively impacted by this. It is increasingly difficult for artists and cultural workers to sustain themselves and many rely on multiple day jobs.

It is very rare that an artist or a curator can sustain themselves with the money they're making from the arts, which can be extremely demotivating and stressful. In addition, the art schools in the country are still operating in a rather traditional mindset and therefore there is a big lack of critical thinking in arts education in the country, as well as being under oppressive government watch and censorship.

As a result of the increasing censorship and oppression, the tense political climate, refugee crisis and the economic downfall, many artists and creatives are migrating; permanently moving to other countries. This exodus has severe effects on the arts community and audience here. With the shrinking

public space (especially after the 2013 Gezi protests), it is getting more and more difficult to gather together, protest, voice concerns, be critical of the conditions we are facing as a country and therefore the arts remain one of the only arenas for self-expression. Finally, this is an unfair amount of pressure on the shoulders of cultural workers who operate under precarious conditions, fearing censorship and being silenced. With upcoming general elections in May 2023, there is ever growing uncertainty regarding the future of the country and of course, the Turkish cultural scene.

## **Workshop's discussions**

### **• Dreams and motivations**

At the beginning of the workshop, we asked everyone to share what their motivations are and whether they have dreams for their initiatives, collectives, or themselves. It was noticed that a big lack of motivation was shared in the face of uncertainty and economic downfall of the country. Some expressed wanting to work less, be less productive and take joy in operating outside the pressure to output constantly, spend more time outside of the country, operate collectively and be active and useful in lacking areas, just focus on their own work and just make art without feeling guilty or scared.

Rather than being aggressive and intolerant towards one another, we need to understand the shared precarity for individuals and be more vocally critical of the system that puts us in these situations.

### **• Sustainability as a term**

The term sustainability was discussed as a term borrowed by ecology but abused by neoliberal structures and private companies. We need another term. Sustainability emphasises lasting but we should also let things die down. Not everything has to sustain. We should also have the right to be lazy and in fact not producing is a radical and political act. Structures should transform as the urgencies and needs change. Sustainability is a placeholder word but it prevents us from saying the actual problems and conditions out loud.

### **• Scale**

In Turkey, there are a large number of artist-run, independent art spaces and big institutions funded by private companies, but not a lot of mid-size institutions. We discussed the impacts of this on resources, visibility and financial stability for artists and censorship. Operating mechanisms of institutions and artist-run spaces were compared and it was suggested that there is a need for more spaces that remain somewhere between professionalism and experimentalism.

### **• Intention**

Being critical of existing art structures, art washing and gentrification happening throughout the city through art spaces opening up in certain parts of the city, we discussed the significance of one's intentions. Things that have initially started as attempts at moving away from the centre or reallocating resources can yield to problematic situations through an interplay of many social, political, and economic factors. Everything taken into account, arts as well as culture workers and artists still need to work with these institutions in order to financially sustain themselves. We talked about, instead of fuelling this polarisation further, we can be transparent about the conditions, needs, and intentions. Intentions can be where we approach and judge actions from, criticising not just the artist but the system that produces these realities.

### **• "Futurelessness"**

The term "futurelessness" was introduced and a lot of participants said that they find the political and economic climate to be very oppressive and they can't find the motivation to produce or stay in the field. It becomes more and more difficult to have dreams and fight for them as there are many factors outside of our control. Artists want to be able to produce and sustain themselves financially through their art, but it is extremely difficult to do so as they work under very precarious conditions.

## **Workshop's challenges**

### **• Precarious working conditions**

The main challenge that was immediately addressed was the precarious working conditions independent artists, cultural workers, and spaces we're operating under. This was presented as a shared struggle across generations, scales, and disciplines. Past efforts at addressing these were put forward. One of the participants mentioned the need for unionising. A panel series that will take place in February 2023 at Depo was mentioned as another set of meetings for discussing this issue.

### **• Increasing censorship**

A new censorship law that bans the circulation of any information that has not been sanctioned by local authorities and therefore putting serious limitations on free speech has been passed recently. This will certainly have an impact on art that gets visibility especially in institutions that have close ties to private companies and

the government. Artists report to already self-censor and it is mostly in the hands of initiatives and independents to engage with more risky and controversial content in their exhibitions and programming. Therefore, they occupy a critical position in free speech and political art.

### **• Disappearing public space**

We discussed the disappearance of public space as many former public spaces have been turned into shopping malls or privately owned construction sites. The country has been losing its public spaces, cultural centres, historic sites, and significant arts and cultural venues (for example the famous Emek Sinemasi film centre). There used to be performances happening on the streets in Turkey in the 1990s which were revisited with a recent exhibition at SALT. We now have less and less public interventions and sites where we can freely gather.

### **• Intergenerational disconnection**

Intergenerational disconnection was another challenge discussed within a quite intergenerational group of participants (aged 25-45). We talked about the impact of politics on this situation; there are little spaces and unregulated channels of encounter. Generation Z does not have the same collective memory which makes it difficult for them to contextualise and understand the dynamics behind the current condition. This is also an inflicted and governed loss of collective memory, through constantly changing daily news and worries, unable to maintain an autonomous memory field. Therefore, there are big gaps and disconnections between boomers, millennials, and Generation Z. However, the independent spaces really allow these different generations to be aware of one another, as well as each other's aesthetics and urgencies.

### • Passivity and feeling helpless

The term analysis paralysis was introduced by one of the participants. With a lot of artists, academics, and producers leaving Turkey, there is a grim environment for those who stayed. Due to oppression, lack of support, and censorship, people feel more passive and helpless. That's why there is less collective action, but spaces focus on short term goals, artists concentrate on their production while working at other jobs and don't really take action beyond these. Such workshops and gatherings were said to be extremely significant opportunities for sharing, learning from one another, and contemplating what can be done.

## Needs of the participants

### • Connection and sharing

It was very clear that one of the main needs and motivation is to have more spaces for encountering one another. Everyone wants to be able to connect with other like-minded artists, producers, and audiences. Some of the participants expressed their wish to open up their own artist-run spaces, production studios, or artist residencies just so they will be able to build a community through them, meet new people, and share their and others' work. This shows that the independent scene is in fact growing with still the need for more space and occasion for getting together. How to communicate and attract people to these spaces were also discussed.

### • Finding alternative ways to finance independent structures

Being critical of the current funding situation nationally and internationally which compels everyone to compete for the same grants, abide by the rules and criteria these funding bodies put forward, be involved with corporations they would rather like to question and at the end work more than they would have if not

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received funding, the group thought it was important to find alternative ways to finance these initiatives and structures. It was asserted by a participant that artists should think more like business people and consider selling merchandise and content to finance exhibitions and programmes.

### • Taking breaks and stopping

Especially after the pandemic, it is a pressing need to produce less, take time, rest, and consider one's own needs. The right to be lazy was discussed. Initiatives, collectives, and artist-run spaces sometimes stop, but people who are making them channel that energy into other ways of producing, working, or building a community. Therefore, it is important to allow things to die down and disappear because this is also needed for new things to emerge, to reconsider what is needed, and to gather one's energy and motivation.

## Workshop's proposals

At a national level

### • Holding institutions responsible and criticising the system rather than individuals

Even though we can't afford to boycott all institutions and bodies as we operate in a very small arts ecosystem in Turkey, it is important to hold institutions responsible and put pressure on them. Independent organisations push the institutions to question their own ways of operating and production of content. Rather than being aggressive and intolerant towards one another, we need to understand the shared precarity for individuals and be more vocally critical of the system that puts us in these situations.

### • Creating more spaces and opportunities for getting together

We need more spaces for gathering to have such discussions, understand the current climate, our struggles and needs, and come up with new strategies. It was brought forward that this can be the first of a workshop series where we can regularly meet and invite other cultural workers as well. We realised it is very healing to express ourselves, see that some of our problems are shared and that together we can, in fact, create change. It is also good to meet new people and build communities through shared conditions.

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### • Friendship and support structures

It was agreed that building relationships and friendships, approaching one another as a person rather than an artist or a cultural worker, and getting to one another needs to be prioritised more. Most of the participants expressed that building support structures and caring for one another is crucial in a small and underfunded ecosystem like the one in Turkey. We need more of this in order to have a stronger community.

At a European level

### • Sharing of experiences across arts and culture scenes

Building models to be communicated and sets of instructions or guidelines that can be followed is important. Sharing of experience intergenerationally and internationally across arts and culture scenes will foster them and prevent the same mistakes from being made, or when people will know how to deal with conflict, protest and say no.

### • Connectivity

Connection is a very human need and artists and cultural workers want a more connected arts ecosystem, not just nationally, but internationally. Alternative networks supporting local organisations and producers are critical and would help develop the art scenes of underfunded and underrepresented countries and contexts. Overall, efforts at bringing seemingly disparate art worlds and creating connection and conversation points among them would be very beneficial for arts and culture.

### • Solidarity

We need solidarity more than ever as many of these challenges are shared across nations and arts is a significant arena where new futures can be imagined and the existing structures be challenged. So, we need to act in solidarity, sharing resources when needed, sharing expertise, and remembering that local crises or struggles are the manifestation of larger systemic issues in specific contexts. Therefore, arts and cultural sectors need more platforms for solidarity.

## Resources to go further

→ Fair Arts Almanac

<https://state-of-the-arts.net/almanac-2022/>

→ RESHAPE: A Workbook to Reimagine the Art World

[https://reshape.network/uploads/prototype\\_config/document/1/RESHAPE\\_A\\_Workbook\\_to\\_Reimagine\\_the\\_Art\\_World.pdf](https://reshape.network/uploads/prototype_config/document/1/RESHAPE_A_Workbook_to_Reimagine_the_Art_World.pdf)

→ OMUZ

<https://omuz.org/>

→ Bagimsizlar

<https://bagimsizlar.org/>

→ Etut | Study Session

<https://etutstudysession.wixsite.com/etut>

→ Marina Papazyan & Eda Hisarlioglu

<https://birartibir.org/beyoglugunun-yeni-faileri/>



# Key points

Kirkenes, Norway  
January 2023

## Cultural Collaborations in Times of War and Conflict

– by Insomnia

- After the outbreak of the Russia's invasion of Ukraine, running international cultural collaborations between Norway and Russia means facing numerous challenges such as the suspension of funding, and ideological tensions and misunderstandings in communication.
- The need for collaborating with against-war artist and independent Russian cultural actors is identified, and will therefore require a precise and clear communication (internally and for the public), as well as the investment in the development of safer spaces where these sensitive subjects can be discussed.

***“While collaboration between the State organisations is not possible, independent cultural actors need to do the essential work of maintaining the cultural bridges and preserving the healthy relations across borders.”***

## Northern Propaganda, Hybrid War, and a Role of the Independent Platforms in Georgia

– by Mutant Radio

Tbilisi, Georgia  
March 2023



### State of the situation

Despite being on the fringes of European democracies, Georgia is facing an extreme clash with the Georgian government, which is itself dominated by Russian political influence. The propaganda machine is working fast, alienating ethnic, gender, and religious minorities and spreading hate speech among the electorate. Independent art platforms have never had such a great role in building independent spaces in this polarised environment.

Before planning the workshop series, we had a list of topics we thought would be interesting to discuss. However, the March protests showed how important it is to talk about just existence, survival, and resilience. The environment in Georgia has become brutal for independent platforms, which does not allow for the development of a futuristic vision or the enhancement of forms of expression. Sometimes we have to come down to the simple question: How to exist?

“My question is, how shall we survive the anger we keep in our daily routine, how not to get cruel, not to damage other people's property, how to keep my personality and mental health OK while also being informed - this is where I am at, this is what I want to know after this meeting.” - Giorgi Kikonishvili, Creative Collective Spectrum.

“It is getting harder in Georgia to collaborate without involving the political context. It is even a challenge to persuade people to talk about it. Let’s speak about it as primer to lead other more specific and concrete conversations.” - Nino Davadze

## **Workshop’s discussions**

### **• About Black and White**

While Russia’s full-scale war is still going on in Ukraine, every democratic State in the EU has its ideological fluctuations, and Georgia is certainly no exception. However, the situation becomes more extreme the closer we get to the Russian border. Georgian society is becoming polarised and disoriented. “Things are black and white for now; everything is so easy to see and take decisions. But we should not assume that the largest group of the population will understand the situation easily. The fundamental idea of democracy is still in the making in Georgia. Traumas are not rethought, past conflicts are not resolved. So, the historical manipulations are so easy to happen. We should not take another side for granted, we need to be constructive, smart and ready to understand.” - Nino Lomadze, Indigo Magazine

### **• Attempts at unification**

In this polarised environment, the art scene is also challenged to unite and face the challenges as one creative organism. On the alternative side, too, there are some personal or ideological divisions, and State institutions are working hard to encourage internal conflicts. The protest movement in March created an uplifting mood in general. We discussed with the participants how to keep this positive tension in the alternative scene.

### **• Hybrid war / Online and offline spaces**

The main tool of propaganda is online public space with social media, and trolls hired to spread hate speeches among society. In today’s situation, processing the information and finding the right context is the basis to make a meaningful change. That is why social media is being overused in Georgia to make a difference.

While the pro-Russian Georgian government is creating another virtual, heavy, pessimistic reality on social media, it is essential for the independent art platforms to strengthen the physical spaces and intellectual content that is created through physical engagement with people.

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### **• Tik-Tok**

It is important to engage on media platforms, specifically on Tik-Tok. The March protests were communicated quite well on Tik-Tok, which is not so familiar to Russian propagandists. It is a young platform that relies on fast, responsive communication, which is not easy for the Georgian KGB to control. The recent massive protest movement was partly resisted on Tik-Tok, and it sounds surreal, but the platform has spurred further conversations about how useful social media can be if used well.

### **• Young Generation**

Self-organised student groups joined the women’s march on March 8th. This changed the whole character of the protest. “They did a reclaim of the history and their power. It was a great detail to see. And we need to think about how to give the stage to the students, these young people

who obviously have better skills to organise themselves.” - Nukri Tabidze, researcher. “I would rather talk about how we handle the power dynamics between the generations, how we give the management role to the young generation, and especially young girls.”

## **Workshop’s challenges**

### **• Lack of independent spaces**

Given how few Georgians are interested in alternative culture, many communities face difficulty in keeping spaces for self-expression. Without well-managed, persistent and strategic venues, communities cannot maintain long-term resistance.

During the workshop, we talked about a list of activities that can be accomplished with a small budget. This would be a fantastic start to gradually bring people together and establish a routine, not only in the urban areas of Tbilisi, but also beyond.

“Doka - the documentary film collective was created for exactly the same reason. Films are great introduction for the following discussions. We were traveling around the villages or small towns to showcase the films that could provoke a meaningful discussion, but we lasted for a season only.” - Anna Dziapshipa

“For financial reasons?” - N.D

“No, I think we just got tired and stressed. Sometimes it’s impossible to keep our focus on a certain topic when the country offers so much to deal with and there are not enough independent platforms to first digest and later create the space

for catharsis. “Doka” is functioning actively nowadays, we are growing our community and bringing more activists on the scene, but covering larger geographical zone is uneasy to manage for a few people.” - Anna Dziapshipa

### **• Tik-Tok and generational differences**

Tik-Tok users were born in the digital age, which isn’t well-represented by the media. In Georgia, some people are unaware of the app, causing imbalance and difficulty in organising and understanding the topic from a similar perspective. We have two groups in post-Soviet countries: firstly, the older generation who watch TV and are influenced by Northern propaganda, and secondly, the younger generation who use different information resources. As usual, social media divides people, making it hard for decision makers to connect with each other. “It’s a PUNK time now, no time for classical music.” - Sandro Ilauri, researcher. “And we need to fight in social media with the same passion as we did in the streets. Look at the kids, they have fun with the government decisions. And this is what I mean, we need to have fun, use irony or sarcasm to confuse the propaganda. We have to be modern punks.”

### **• Propaganda often succeeds**

“It is not just the TV Users, Soviet generation, or nationalists who are affected, but independent media and art actors are getting demotivated and bipolarised after some traumatising examples of ‘resistance’.” - Anna Dziapshipa. As a result, many top leaders from independent organisations and actors leave the country and never return. This reduces the workforce and hinders active intellectual efforts to create a positive impact.

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• **Starting dialogue - existence of common language**

“Sometime we think that there are ‘easy’ topics to raise our voice on and we do not bother to explain simple things too. But every initiative, idea, political position, or problem needs to be discussed. Sometimes even the wording we use - we don’t even think about who will be the audience, what language they speak and which words they are sensitive about. Strategy and respective communication/language has to be created between the cultural players as well.” - Maka Chkhaidze, Inform

**Needs of the participants**

When reporting on the second workshop of 2023, it’s important to note that the workshop aimed to address the March protest movement and its potential outcomes. The meeting had a general purpose of bringing together cultural actors to discuss the unclear features of the development state of Georgian culture. Hence, the titles provided below may not appear very distinctive for each organisation. These are the basic ideas on how the Georgian cultural scene can push back against repression and move forward.

• **Communication with Eastern European countries**

Overall, independent sectors and underground scenes in Georgia aim to collaborate with Central EU countries for finance and creativity. However, recent geo-political shifts demonstrate that political experiences in Eastern Europe are similar. Holding upcoming workshops and using communication channels with independent Eastern European organisations could lay the foundation for large-scale structural work in the next few years.

• **Research/Funding for research**

Social and political changes occur frequently in Georgia and its surrounding areas. Many of the political decisions are

influenced by the situations in Ukraine, global politics, and the positioning of Russia in Eastern Europe. Consideration should be given to the opinion-making process in the Eastern European and Caucasus region before discussing the independence of art. Proper research and documentation is necessary to understand and support these discussions. Given cultural and political complexities surrounding art in Georgia, it is essential to develop a working strategy and organise collaborations with academia and modern journalism in the country. During the workshop, only Propaganda Network exhibited prior experience in research-based decision making and independence as an organisation. “Research always requires resources, which we received through support from the Adjara Group,” said Tina Asatiani of the Propaganda Network. Organisations without financial guarantees can’t fully support researchers before planning activities, since most funding is based on the activity and less so on information management. We can take the next step in empowering the independent scene in Georgia by researching with a clear purpose and targeting specific groups or beneficiaries. This will create new possibilities for finding solutions.

**Resources to go further**

- **Stephen Jones, *A Political History Since Independence***  
A key book to understand the present situation in Georgia and the price of its independence.
- **Indigo/Nino Lomadze**  
ninolomadze@gmail.com
- **Creative Collective Spectrum**  
keekoni@gmail.com
- **Sak Doc Film**  
anna@sakdoc.ge  
<http://sakdoc.ge/connect/>
- **Nukri Tabidze**  
Swedish media operating in Georgia:  
<https://oc-media.org/authors/nukritabidze/>

# Key points

Budapest, Hungary  
February 2022

## Resistant and Resilient: Perspectives for Independent Culture in Hungary

– by Auróra

- The Hungarian political context puts the independent cultural actors on a tightrope. Underrepresentation and oppression due to political pressure, the lack of access to funding, and the marginalized perception of this sector are just some consequences of this hostile political environment.
- Under the shared statement of considering the Hungarian independent culture as essential, the proposals for continuing acting beyond the pressures pass through a demand at an international level: A need of a more horizontal west-east relation and an open door for the taking into consideration the diaspora.

**“One of today’s challenges is to go further than this and not lose the goal of praising independence, beyond political and ideological pressures.”**

# Empowering Ukrainian Art and Culture: Strengthening Collaboration with Europe

– by De Structura

Kyiv, Ukraine  
May 2023



## Workshop's discussions

### The state of the Ukrainian cultural industry and what has changed over the last year

Ukrainian art is going through a challenging period of change and transformation. One of the major issues faced by the Ukrainian cultural sector is the lack of professionals who have temporarily or permanently left the country or their cities. The war has led to a shortage of skilled personnel and expertise in the industry. Despite the hardships caused by the conflict, Ukrainian artists actively participate in volunteer initiatives and provide assistance to those in need.

On the other hand, Ukrainian art events and exhibitions have gained significant popularity abroad, highlighting the importance and relevance of Ukrainian art on the global stage. Today, Ukraine has become a brand that Ukrainian cultural professionals need to effectively work with, as art is a powerful tool that emotionally impacts individuals. Moreover, Ukrainians strive not to seek help, but rather showcase that their culture is a worthy player in the international artistic arena.

At the same time, Ukrainians are attempting to move away from the Soviet market economy in order to create favourable conditions for preserving and developing their culture and identity. It is worth noting that Ukrainian identity has been affected by a complex of inferiority associated with the post-colonial environment. The revolutions of 1991, 2004, and the war in 2022 have begun to change this paradigm and have become pivotal moments in Ukraine's history, which, in turn, is reflected in its art. Currently, artists must contemplate a shift in mindset, become more expressive, and be ready for a new phase of tectonic changes in consciousness.

The Ukrainian museums and art galleries are currently empty in Ukraine, as most of the exhibits are hidden away. Unfortunately, no one knows whether all artworks will be returned to the museums. Such places are important energetic spaces, and Ukrainian artists are imagining how they can fill them. However, Ukrainians do not want to simply replace one idol with another. Moreover, the question arises of involving individuals with a strong national consciousness to avoid the repetition of war. Democracy is a chaos that self-organises, and war is a tragic but effective instrument for creating new meaningful values.

The economic situation in Ukraine continues to deteriorate, an increasing number of people are falling below the poverty line, making it more difficult to comprehend the importance and relevance of creativity. Furthermore, over the past year, there has been a significant mental divide between those who have left the country and those who have stayed. Due to misunderstandings and differences in value systems, Ukrainians attribute different meanings to the word "art," as art is deeply intertwined with context. But it is worth remembering that art brings benefits to society, and artists must transmit and explain this value through their creative instruments.

Despite the hardships caused by the conflict, Ukrainian artists actively participate in volunteer initiatives and provide assistance to those in need.

No one knows when the war will end. The soldiers on the front line buy time for us so that the growing generation can be prepared and conscious. Over the last year, many Ukrainians have rediscovered their history, identity, and belonging to the culture. Most importantly, they have realised their own responsibility. And different cultures around them assist in the process of self-awareness of Ukrainians as a nation. At the same time, some people are unwilling to learn new things; for them, it feels like an amputation of personality. Consequently, alongside unique projects, others have emerged and are mere publicity stunts rather than art. This creates a need for quality filtration, as culture should be presented in the right form.

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In Europe, people have a proper understanding of what is happening — an intellectual battle on Ukraine's side. However, Ukrainians need to unite more, as it will lead to greater understanding and support from Europe. Ukrainians find themselves not only in a physical but also in an informational struggle. That is why artists actively spread messages about the Ukrainian historical and cultural context, since the years of Russian oppression have drastically distorted historical truth. When we look at Russian artists, we see a different ideology. Russians exert their influence through their mass, so Ukrainians need to know how to resist this pressure.

Ukrainians are actively heading towards Europe, but they should reflect on who they are there and what culture they bring. They should see themselves as equals in the European context. Ukrainians should strive to maintain their distinct traditions, customs, language, and artistic expressions. By doing so, they contribute to the cultural diversity of Europe and enrich its collective identity. On another hand, respecting other cultures is equally important. As Ukrainians interact with different European cultures, they should approach these encounters with an open mind and a willingness to learn and appreciate. This mutual respect fosters understanding, tolerance, and meaningful cultural exchange.

## Workshop's challenges

### **What are the main challenges and needs of Ukrainian young artists and cultural practitioners?**

Workshop participants identified the main problems faced by Ukrainian artists:

- Lack of motivation and support for the development of their creativity, as the financial capacity of the Ukrainians has significantly decreased, and selling artworks abroad is more challenging due to a lack of knowledge about local peculiarities.
- Absence of a developed culture of collecting art in Ukraine, resulting in low demand for creative works within the country.
- Lack of structure and a general grant database, which complicates the search for financial support.
- Unclear understanding of the financing and support provided by their European colleagues.
- Lack of grant programs to fund creative projects and rent creative studios, as well as specific artistic practices such as sacred art.
- Lack of self-presentation skills and conceptualisation of creative works.
- Insufficient technological integration in the artistic educational process.
- Lack of specialised events and environments that facilitate networking and finding like-minded colleagues.
- The closeness of the art community. Participation in projects is frequently secured through connections rather than talent and hard work, and galleries and cultural institutions often collaborate with well-known artists.

- Restrictions for Ukrainian men in travelling abroad, which complicates the opportunity to present their creativity internationally.
- Poor communication between artists and cultural institutions at a structural level.
- Fear of entering unfamiliar international markets.
- Employer requirements for experience in the profession, leading young professionals to seek positions in non-profit organisations or internships without receiving a fair fee for their work.
- Development of artificial intelligence and other innovations, which could lead to the loss of the uniqueness of human thinking.
- Lack of entry points into the profession for young artists, as they often do not know how to start their independent practice and how to find their path amidst a vast amount of information and opportunities.
- Lack of knowledge about the legal aspects of working in the art industry.

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Listen to the voices of Ukrainians to better understand their needs and issues.

Based on the discussions on the problems faced by Ukrainian artists today, workshop participants separately highlighted the features of the commercial and socio-public components of artistic activity that need to be considered by young artists and culture practitioners:

### **The commercial component of artistic activity:**

- Artists should see themselves as entrepreneurs as they are not only creators but also producers of their works, actively seeking for sales market.
- It is important to consider one's artistic activity from a business perspective and develop a personal business model.
- There is a widespread belief that art is something sacred rather than business-oriented, but artists need to understand who buys their works, where to find their audience, and how to effectively communicate with them.
- It is important to understand the market cultural economy and how it operates.
- The market for cultural goods is not as mass-oriented as the overall economy of society, so artists need to know who to approach and where to go to find opportunities.
- Artists should be aware of other players in this market and the competitive environment.
- A more entrepreneurial approach to art should become part of the mentality, encouraging creative exploration and innovation (e.g. the development of artistic practice in the United States).

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- Artists need to study markets and opportunities, seek specialists' advice, and learn how to integrate into these markets.

#### The socio-public component of artistic activity:

- Artists convey meaning through their works and address a wide audience. They have the opportunity to influence society and contribute to social changes.
- It is important not to fear this socio-public aspect of art, but actively embrace it as a means to express ideas and engage with viewers.
- The question whether an artist is a craftsman or a creator may arise. However, the war has helped many artists understand how a problem can become a stimulus for creativity, generate new ideas, and prompt action.
- Before the full-scale invasion, the creative works of many Ukrainian artists were dominated by personal themes that may not have interested a wide audience. However, there have been changes in approaches due to the realisation that artworks can have a greater social impact and become interesting to a broader audience who are engaged and interested.

### Workshop's proposals

#### **What can European colleagues do to help Ukrainian young artists and cultural practitioners?**

Workshop participants discussed ways in which Europeans can assist:

- 01.** Stay in the context of our events and listen to the voices of Ukrainians to better understand their needs and issues.
- 02.** Avoid inviting representatives of Russian culture to projects and events to prevent contributing to propaganda and destabilisation.
- 03.** Work towards creating a centralised and systematised European registry of grants, categorised into different artistic blocks (visual, performative, auditory, audiovisual art, etc.).
- 04.** Offer opportunities for exhibitions and free space for Ukrainians, but also, if possible, provide financial support to allow artists to be there and present the artworks in person.
- 05.** Support educational activities and conduct a selection process for Ukrainian artists (to avoid individuals who exploit the topic of war for personal PR purposes).
- 06.** Assist Ukrainian artists in using their profession as a tool to express their ideas and positions, as well as to change society's perspective.
- 07.** Share the importance of Ukraine's victory with others in order to continue getting support and understanding from the international community.

# Key points

Tbilisi, Georgia  
October 2022

## Independent Creative Platforms and Urban Changes in Tbilisi – by Mutant Radio

- The situation of artistic and creative industry in Tbilisi is still considered as emerging, despite having undergone significant changes shaped into their authentic forms. In addition, the reality of independence is threatened by the actual political context in Georgia in the form of strict censorship over artistic platforms.
- Another controversial issue are the demographic changes and the mass migration of Russian citizens. This situation is hardly ever raised in public discussion, making it essential for the alternative artistic platforms to address it through free-media platforms.
- The actions proposed to overcome the existing inequality and tensions in Tbilisi by the independent cultural actors pass through highlighting the importance of long-term strategy and the cooperation between local platforms to favor exchanges.

*“Questions must also be posed about how realistic it is for independent art to exist at all, considering the political and social systems in place in Georgia today.”*

# The notion of adversity

In times of adversity, when a nation finds itself plunged into the depths of war, subjected to the authoritarian rule of a conservative autocrat, or shackled by the weight of restrictive laws, the fundamental pillars of culture and media often bear the initial brunt of manipulation by those in power. The dissemination of information, the free exchange of ideas, and the unfettered expression of creativity become prime targets for control and suppression. Yet, amid these tumultuous circumstances, it is precisely in the realm of independent cultural and media organisations that the profound importance of resisting such manipulation comes to the forefront.

Adversity has a way of revealing the true nature of a society and its values. When a country faces the horrors of war, its very fabric is tested, and the resilience of its cultural and artistic communities is put to the ultimate challenge. The arts, literature, and media serve as essential conduits through which a nation's collective identity and historical memory are preserved. They capture the human experience, document the past, and illuminate the path to the future. However, these crucial elements of society are also the first to be co-opted by those in power, often for the purpose of advancing their own agendas. In times of war, culture can be harnessed to promote nationalism and propaganda, while media is weaponised to manipulate public perception.

Similarly, under the rule of a conservative autocrat, the very essence of culture and media is distorted to serve the interests of a select few. Artistic expression and free speech are stifled, replaced by narratives that reinforce the autocrat's ideology and suppress dissenting voices. The cultural landscape becomes a barren wasteland where creativity and diversity are sacrificed on the altar of conformity and control. The passing of restrictive laws further compounds the challenges faced by independent cultural and media organisations. These laws, often crafted to curtail the freedom of expression, can be used to censor art, silence dissent, and undermine the media's ability to provide a balanced perspective. The legal framework that once protected these vital structures can swiftly transform into a tool of repression, leaving those who resist the new order vulnerable to persecution.

However, it is in the face of such adversity that independent and grassroots cultural and media organisations emerge as beacons of hope and resistance. These entities, often born out of the need for authenticity and unfettered expression, possess a unique character that sets them apart from the State-controlled or corporate-driven counterparts. Independence is the key that unlocks the potential for these organisations to weather the storms of adversity. It allows them to remain faithful to their mission of preserving culture, defending the freedom of artistic expression, and providing a platform for diverse voices to be heard. In times of war or autocratic ruling, independent cultural organisations can serve as repositories of history, documenting the experiences and emotions of a nation in turmoil. They offer a counter-narrative to propaganda, giving voice to the silenced and bearing witness to

the truth. Independent media outlets become the lifeline of credible journalism and objective reporting. They challenge the official narratives, uncover corruption, and hold those in power accountable. Through investigative reporting and unflinching courage, they provide an alternative perspective to the controlled media landscape. When restrictive laws are passed, independent organisations become the resistance of free speech and artistic expression. They fight against censorship, advocating for the protection of civil liberties, and the preservation of a vibrant cultural scene.

Yet, it is not without its share of challenges that independent cultural and media organisations navigate this treacherous terrain. Scarce resources, limited funding, and the constant threat of harassment and persecution create a hostile environment in which these entities must operate. They often face isolation and a lack of institutional support, which can make their continued existence a daily struggle.

Nonetheless, it is precisely these challenges that forge a sense of unity and resilience among independent organisations. They recognise the gravity of their mission and it binds them together in a shared commitment to their cause.

In times of adversity, it is within the independent and grassroots organisations that the true spirit of resistance flourishes. Their independence grants them the freedom to claim their rightful place in society and to uphold the principles of diversity, creativity, and free expression.

**Manon Moulin** is the editorial coordinator of all European projects for the non-profit organisation Arty Farty. She specifically works on the European network of independent cultural and media organisations Reset!, as well as media cross border collaboration project The Circle, and aggregation media *We are Europe*.

# Reset! work- shops

## 2022, February

### ↘ Budapest, Hungary

Aurora – Resistant and Resilient: Perspectives for Independent Culture in Hungary

## 2022, September

### ↘ Tallin, Estonia

Palanga Street Radio – Sustainable Future(s) for Community Radio

## 2022, October

### ↘ Budapest, Hungary

Lahmacun Radio – Independent Music Journalism in Hungary

### ↘ Batumi, Georgia

Mutant Radio – Urban Cultural Physical Spaces in Batumi

### ↘ Barcelona, Spain

Whisper Not Agency – The Management of Artistic Independence

### ↘ Brussels, Belgium Arty Farty

Brussels – How to Support Artists with Disabilities

### ↘ Tromsø, Norway

Insomnia – New Audiences and Next Generation: How to Stay Connected to the Youth, Be Relevant, Become a Platform for New Generations and Support Emerging Talents and Artists

### ↘ Lisbon, Portugal

Canal 180 – History and Diversity: The Role of Independent Creative Actors in Post-Colonial Cultural Environments

### ↘ Tbilisi, Georgia

Mutant Radio – Independent Creative Platforms and Urban Changes in Tbilisi

### ↘ Porto, Portugal

Canal 180 – New Audiences and Next Generation: How to Stay Connected to the Youth, Be Relevant, Become a Platform for New Generations and Support Emerging Talents and Artists

### ↘ Berlin, Germany

Consentis – Diversity & Awareness

### ↘ Munich, Germany

Safe The Dance – Diversity & Inclusion

### ↘ Budapest, Hungary

Lazy Women – New Audiences and Next Generation: How to Stay Connected to the Youth, Be Relevant, Become a Platform for New Generations and Support Emerging Talents and Artists

## 2022, November

### ↘ Milan, Italy

Terraforma – The Relationship Between Independent Music Scene and Cultural Institutions

## 2022, December

### ↘ Leipzig, Germany

Sphere Radio – Decentralised Resources

### ↘ Skopje, North Macedonia

Skala – Audiences & New Generations

## 2023, January

### ↘ Istanbul, Turkiye

Garp Sessions – Intergenerational Cooperations: How to Share and Collaborate Between Independent Cultural Venues

### ↘ Malmö, Sweden

Inkonst / Intonal – Spaces for Emerging Culture

### ↘ Kirkenes, Norway

Insomnia – Cultural Collaborations in times of war and conflict

### ↘ Leeds, UK

Come Play With Me – Parents and Carers in the Music Industry

### ↘ Prishtina, Kosovo

Bijat – Prishtina Nightlife Behind the Scene

## 2023, February

### ↘ Brussels, Belgium

Arty Farty Brussels – Concentration in the Live Music Sector

### ↘ Helsinki, Finland

Pixelache – The Structures We Build: On Models and Practices Towards Sustainability of Independent Artistic Associations

### ↘ Vienna, Austria

Sounds Queer – Trouble in Paradise: The Current Struggles of Vienna's Independent Cultural Scene to Reach New Audiences and the Need for International Collaborations

### ↘ Krakow, Poland

Oramics – New audiences and next generation: How to Draw Them in?

### ↘ Podgorica, Montenegro

Nikola Delibasic – Building Relations between the Independent Scene in Montenegro and European Cooperations

### ↘ Krakow, Poland

Unsound – Sustainability in Organisation of Cultural Events

### ↘ Tbilisi, Georgia

Mutant Radio – The Decentralisation of the Independent Local Cultural Scene

### ↘ Kirkenes, Norway

Insomnia – International Cultural Cooperation in the Barents Region

## 2023, March

### ↘ Tbilisi, Georgia

Mutant Radio – Northern Propaganda, Hybrid War, and a Role of the Independent Platforms in Georgia

### ↘ Brussels, Belgium

Bandswith – Music Streaming: What Are the Prospects in Terms of Revenues and Transparency?

### ↘ Rome, Italy

Terraforma – Current Italian Clubbing Scene

### ↘ Turin, Italy

Terraforma – Independent Media

### ↘ Belgrade, Serbia

Drugstore – Belgrade Scene: Independent Cultural Players on the EU Periphery

### ↘ Vilnius, Lithuania

Palanga Street Radio – Solidarity Action and Support for Ukraine

### ↘ Lisbon, Portugal

Radio Quantica – Portuguese Independent Venues Challenges

### ↘ Tallinn, Estonia

De Structura – How Can Emerging Talents and Artists Be Supported and Nurtured?

### ↘ Leipzig, Germany

Seanaps – Interfaces: About Sustainability

### ↘ Prague, Czech Republic

Ankali – Reaching across the Velvet Rope: The Disparities between Electronic Music Scenes of Eastern and Western Europe

### ↘ London, UK

Sister midnight – Future Proofing London's Grassroots Music Culture: Ideas Towards a Blueprint for Sustainable Music Futures

### ↘ Sofia, Bulgaria

Hip Hip Library – The Culture Scene and the Next Generation

### ↘ Prishtina, Kosovo

Kosovo 2.0 – Tired Tropes and Reductionist Narratives: Kosovo, the Balkans, and the International Media

### ↘ Utrecht, Netherlands

COSMOS/The Guess Who? – How Can We Create a System to Directly Support Local Artists, Local Scenes, and Underrepresented Artists?

### ↘ Brussels, Belgium

Are We Europe – Transmedia Storytelling



## 2023, April

### ↘ Budapest, Hungary

JazzaJ – What Do We Do Well?  
Why and How Do We Operate?  
Best Practices by Independent  
Cultural Actors

### ↘ Naples, Italy

Vinylbox – Generational Gap:  
Promoter-Clubber

### ↘ Warsaw, Poland

Girls\* to the Front – Change:  
Towards Accessible and Inclusive  
Independent Culture

### ↘ Utrecht, Netherlands

COSMOS/The Guess Who? –  
Decentralised Platforms

### ↘ Pécs, Hungary

Cooperation and Networking  
Opportunities for Civil and  
Independent Cultural Organisations  
in Pécs

## 2023, May

### ↘ Kyiv, Ukraine

De Structura – Empowering  
Ukrainian Art and Culture:  
Strengthening Collaboration  
with Europe

### ↘ Tbilisi, Georgia

Mutant Radio – Importance of The  
Professional Communities on The  
Georgian Independent Art Scene

### ↘ Utrecht, Netherlands

COSMOS/The Guess Who? – New  
Audiences and Next Generations

## 2023, June

### ↘ The Hague, Netherlands

PIP – Solidarity and Hospitality

### ↘ The Hague, Netherlands

PIP – European Cooperation

### ↘ Brussels, Belgium

Bandswith – Sustainability and  
Ecological Challenges in the  
Independent Cultural Sector

### ↘ Topolò, Italy

Robida – Situated Publishing:  
Possibilities and Challenges of  
Editorial Practices in Post-Rural  
Contexts

## 2023, August

### ↘ Oslo, Norway

Insomnia – Arabic-Speaking  
Countries Minority Media, Arts, and

Culture in Oslo and Norway

## 2023, September

### ↘ Helsinki, Finland

Pixelache – The Commons:  
A Sustainable Model for  
Independent Radio?

### ↘ Paris, France

Réflexivité(s) – Remaining  
Independent in Today's  
Photography Sector

### ↘ Lisbon, Portugal

Nêga Filmes – Exploring Lisbon's  
Independent Cultural Scene

### ↘ Tromsø, Norway

Insomnia – Safer Spaces: In the  
Currents and Context of Tromsø

## 2023, October

### ↘ Copenhagen, Denmark

Palanga Street Radio –  
Decentralising Digital Power in  
Culture: Let's Stop Using MAGMA

### ↘ Heraklion, Greece

Comeet Creative Space –  
Introduction to Inclusion and  
Accessibility in Culture

### ↘ Seville, Spain

Sala X – Imbalances in the Musical  
Representation of Territories  
between the North and the South  
of Europe

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### **Overall project and editorial coordination**

Anaïs Béal, Maxime Brigmanas,  
Vincent Carry, Laurent Bigarella,  
Sophie Guidon, Anne-Caroline  
Jambaud, Manon Moulin, Georgia  
Taglietti, Clarisse Teyssandier, Adela  
Valverde Monterreal

### **Content coordination**

Manon Moulin

### **Art direction, design and graphic production**

Élise Milonet  
Julien Roche

### **Contributors**

Auróra, 20ft Radio, Vincent Carry,  
De Structura, Drugstore, Garp  
Sessions, Insomnia, Brano Mandic,  
Manon Moulin, MMN, Mutant Radio,  
Tiko Nadirashvili, Dorina Nagy, Gabor  
Orban, Kseniya Ulyonova

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