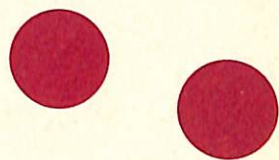
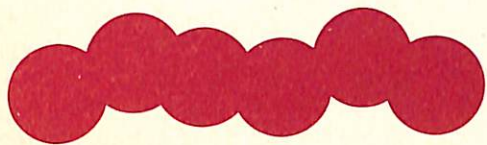


A SHORT
ANALYSIS OF
THE WORKERS
INQUIRY
INVESTIGATION

/
KRATKA
ANALIZA
RADNIČKE
ANKETE



WORKERS

ARTISTS

A SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE WORKERS INQUIRY INVESTIGATION / KRATKA ANALIZA RADNIČKE ANKETE

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Anketu sprovedi / Workers' Inquiry conducted by:
Bojana Piškur i Đorđe Balmazović

Prevod: Mihailo Tešić

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A short analysis of the Workers' Inquiry investigation Bojana Piškur (Radical Education Collective and a curator in Moderna galerija Ljubljana) and Djordje Balmazović (Škart) conducted a common research investigation Workers' Inquiry in Belgrade and Novi Sad in September 2012. The research was based on Marx' Workers Inquiry (WI), which was concerning with the positions of cultural workers in Serbia. The aim of the investigation was to disclose the modes and different levels of exploitation of the cultural workers, to better understand how social and political positions define artistic ideas and practices and to discern the positions and dynamics between the cultural/artistic and various other processes involved in the social and political production.

The history of the project The first WI investigation was conducted in Madrid (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia) between 2010 and 2011 as a collaborative research made by two collectives: Workers Inquiry Group (Madrid) and Radical Education Collective (Ljubljana). The intervention in the particular context of one of the largest Spanish national museums triggered some discussions, mostly on how to "detonate and disturb spaces relatively closed to dialogue" that is: how to invent new political praxis and how to think it within the institution. This was even more important due to the current "hype" in the art world where art institutions have been reconsidering their constituent practices and possible associations between movements and institutions, reexamining their role in society, and promoting openness, transversality, critique,

fluidity etc. There have been attempts in the sphere of arts to create a form of social configuration that extends beyond existing social forms, such as the many participatory-multicultural projects proposing different social relations and new communities but, at the same time, unable to extend to the "real" work environment of the place where the projects took place. However, such temporary solidarities, identifications between minorities, marginalized and other groups detract from a politics of here and now. That was, as the Workers Inquiry investigation discerned, also the case in Spain. The two collectives (WIG and REC) met in the cultural centre Rex in June 2011 with their colleagues from Serbia, cultural workers from Belgrade, Novi Sad and Bor, who had been employed in different state funded cultural institutions or worked there on a basis of temporary service agreements. During the two day seminar/debate they discussed the motives and the outcome of the survey conducted at the Reina Sofia, turning to the working relations and the experiences of working in cultural institutions in Serbia in the process. With that in mind, the reading and an analysis of the questions that the staff of Reina Sofia were asked (a revised version of Marx's Workers' Inquiry) led to an examination of the role and function of such questions in the specific context of Reina Sofia and indirectly in other/general contexts of work in the field of culture.

Workers' Inquiry Belgrade – Novi Sad

From the debates in the Cultural center Rex came the invitation to revise the inquiry in the context of the Serbian cultural sphere. This time the research was conducted by Bojana Piškur and Djordje Balmazović (who was proposed to collaborate on the project by the Rex team). The methodology of the research was again based on Marx' Workers Inquiry and the questions were adapted to specific local situation in Serbia. The inquiry consist of 85 questions and individual interview duration ranges from half an hour to hour and a half. The questions are organized around several subjects: part one – education, student work, volunteer work, political engagement while in college; part two – current work, type of job, type of contract, social security; part three – conflict in the workplace, censorship, social/political views, participation in protests, involvement with worker's protests. The inquiries were carried out in the locations selected by the interviewees which were mostly their work environments. All interviews were filmed, which was not the case in Madrid, for the project's archive. Drawings were also made during the inquiries by Dj. Balmazovic which were later used in the fanzine / publication. In total 12 interviews with cultural workers were conducted. For us, the researchers, it was not only important to formulate a meaningful and relevant set of questions but, above all, to confront these questions in collective situations and to produce new kind of common knowledge which could be understood as both: theoretical thinking accompanied by politically active attitudes.

Work Phases and Methodology The preparations for the WI investigation included the following phases:

- Inquiry preparation (questions) in collaboration with Nebojša Milikić (Rex),
- selection of participants, i.e. cultural workers to be interviewed (mostly cognitive cultural workers, active in the field of culture and politics, some of whom have experienced conflicts in the workplace).
- contacting all the participants and introducing them to the process and the aim of the project,
- the actual interviews which were based on the militant research methodology.

The aims of the investigation One of the aims of the research was to disclose the ways and different levels of exploitation of the interviewees which could potentially stimulate further actions against exploitation and commodification of their work. Here we could emphasize Marx' argument about capitalism hiding its methods of exploitation. What interested us primarily was how did it happen that despite relative autonomy of creation, the contradiction of work within culture had been so obscured that work was (is) often considered not only as stimulating and fulfilling but also without elements of exploitation. Key to understanding the exploitation lies in discerning how it shapes work and workers life, from flexibility, to

absence of social and health benefits, precarious working conditions as for example living on and from residencies, in between projects etc. To elaborate this more precisely: under capitalism artistic work has always been considered relatively free, representing an ideal of liberated labour, removed from the traditional antagonisms between labour and capital.

The reasoning was that art could not be imposed by force. Therefore artists have always had certain autonomy and their work carried with it the mark of singularity. But in the 80s, a relatively new cultural-economic model became instituted (primarily in the Western part of the world) which introduced a different and more complicated relationship between art and autonomy on the one hand, and labour and capital on the other^I. While art production was still granted relative creative autonomy, and now creating surplus value, the declining material working conditions for artists, and their declining control over the reproduction and distribution of their ideas, knowledge and commodities was pushing them further into a contractual relationship with capital – into wage labour. In addition to that, artists as well as curators and other cultural workers became part of the new expanded working class. But that does not mean that they identified with wage workers. On the contrary, they have remained in a contradictory position between wage labor and the illusory privileges of a certain class. When after the 1989 capitalism became prevailing ideology in the former “communist states”

^I See for more thorough analyses on this subject: Isabell Lorey, 2006, *Governability and Self-Precarization: On the normalization of cultural producers*, <http://transform.eiepcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en#redir>; Gašper Kralj, 2010, *Precarious Alternative*, <http://radical.temp.si/2010/04/precarious-alternative-by-gasper-kralj-2/>; George Caffentzis / Silvia Federici, 2007, *Notes on edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism*: <http://eiepcp.net/transversal/0809/caffentzisfederici/en>; Maurizio Lazzarato: *Proizvajanje zadolženega človeka*, Maska, Ljubljana, 2012.

the above mentioned characteristics were translated – not directly though – to the post socialist countries of former Yugoslavia as well. The issue of how to overcome the division between art production and wage labour became not only a survival strategy but a political problem. One of the questions, for example, that was addressed through the Workers' Inquiry and which opened a completely new territory of discussion was: What happens if you refuse to alienate from the results of your own labor? This was particularly important issue to discuss here in Serbia where the survey was conducted among those cultural workers who for various reasons such as political and social activism, sexual orientation, criticism of neoliberal tendencies within culture, etc lost their jobs or were harassed or even psychically assaulted in their work environment.

The outcome of the research The discussion about the WI investigation and possible strategies & alliances for a resistance against exploitation and commodification in the sphere of culture in Serbia and a presentation of a research in the Cultural center Rex in January 2013. The production of a fanzine (Serbian and English version) in 2012 and 2013. A presentation of a project in the frame of the Parallel models of curating (organized by the Clark Art Institute, USA and Moderna galerija, Ljubljana) in November 2012; a presentation at the Unexpected Encounters exhibition in Graz, Austria in September 2013.

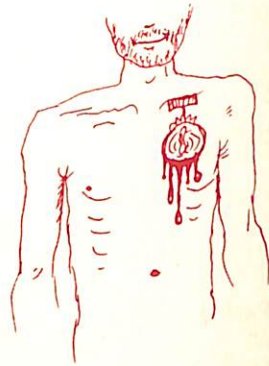
Short summary / evaluation of the overall research project

I. Interview Summaries, Key Topics

Wage Labor / Culture (artistic) Production: The creative autonomy producing surplus value versus declining material working conditions for the artists (cultural workers) which put them into a contractual relationship with the capital.

Autonomy/ Exploitation:

The contradictions of work in the sphere of culture have become obscured; work is often considered not only as stimulating and fulfilling but also often without elements of exploitation. What is more, cultural workers have to a large degree adapted the role of the „udarnik“, working overtime without pay (unpaid labour) or social rights.



Individual / Collective Struggle: The problems connected to the unjust working conditions are to a large extent still seen as individual not collective issues. Because of that there is usually no desire to address the systematic nature of this problems. In most cases the attempts of

collective actions are done with the intent for the solution of individual problems. Cultural workers often see themselves as victims of the system.

Antagonisms In Production, Antagonisms at Work:

In the sphere of art and culture people are often faced with voluntary self-precarisation: unpaid work – as a practice into the world of art production, false promises of getting full time employment, or building the network for oneself...which only leads to alienation from the results of one's own labour and atomization - misleading notion of an autonomy.

Resistance Against Exploitation and

Commodification: The main issue is to contextualize the struggle against exploitation politically and collectively, within the system that encourages the fragmentation of labor force. Lack of solidarity and high level of auto censorship which is an integral part of adapting to the demands of the cultural production.

Contradictory Position: Wage Work vs. the Illusory Privilege of Belonging To a Certain

Class: The illusory privileges of being part of the art scene, to travel to various residencies, to being part of international projects and biennials and to have a certain „status“ inside the art scene. In reality these privileges are privileges only for a selected few, the rest just „live“ in between different ways of getting funds to support themselves, their projects, exhibitions and publications..without realization that such

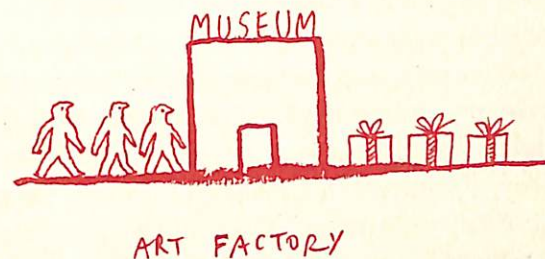
systems only worsen the working conditions for them and the rest of the cultural workers. The essential question that should be addressed remains: Who forces cultural workers to do so? Why has the practice of „refusal of work“ (saying NO) not yet entered the discourse of counter-cultural and political movements in Serbia?



2. Common Points of the Inquiries

A High Degree of Alienation From the Results of Labor One of the interviewees explained that the relations of domination and subordination in the sphere of culture were reproduced precisely in the segment of organization of production and not just in the pure flow of ideas and thoughts as was generally understood (so called »violence of production«, as she put it). This includes for example authors' fees, getting paid for working outside the production routine, copy rights etc. However, during the interviews the alienation was mostly understood as exploitation involving mind, language and emotions in

order to generate value, i.e. the work product (art work, a text, a concept etc) becomes a property of someone else (museum, university, corporation, foundation). Most of the interviewees agreed that one of the most common conditions of alienation nowadays was that the cultural workers agreed to it voluntarily.



Lack of Social and Other Security, Fragmentation of Working Hours, Unstable Living While on one hand (mostly within the state cultural institutions in Serbia) we find full-time employees with all the social and other benefits (this kind of position is an inheritance from the time of SFRJ), on the other there is a huge and growing number of flexible employment (not only within younger generation) which does not guarantee any form of social security. Most interviewees are precarious workers, not expecting full-time employment... Dedicated to projects which completely integrate them, both functionally and motivationally, for a couple of weeks or months, after which comes a void and the wait for a new project. This of

course affects one's life and everyday living to a great extent. Interviewees spoke about an abyss and a lack of solidarity between the employees in state institutions and precarious workers. From the answers we can also conclude that women are in an especially vulnerable position in Serbia as only one of the women interviewees had a right to a paid maternity leave.

A High Level of Censorship or Self-censorship

Most of the interviewees mentioned high degree of autocensorship which exists in project management. Some spoke of autocensorship as being an integral part of shaping the content, or fundraising. Most of the people encountered some kind of situation where their work was censored. Three of the interviewees had to leave their positions because of the censorship-related conflicts at work. Interestingly, one interviewee described autocensorship as a »business intelligence« which only shows how deeply rooted (and sometimes taken for granted) is autocensorship within the field of culture.

Overtime That is Not Recorded Anywhere – Self-Exploitation It has become »normal« in Serbia (as well as everywhere else where precarious work has become a part of the transformation toward a neoliberal form of governmentality) that the overtime work the precarious workers do is not recorded anywhere let alone being paid for. The imposed precarious position forces people to engage with work practically non-stop; as addition to »work« as such also their constant accessibility (via internet, mobil phones, social networks), informal meetings, and emotions. To put it

shortly, for the majority of the interviewees something like a 9-5 working routine does not exist.

Conflict With Political, Institutional or Right-Wing Structures

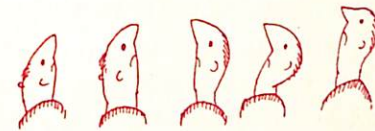
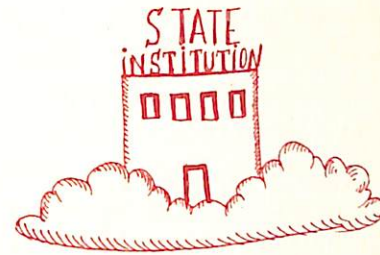
More than half of the interviewees had some kind of conflicts with the political, institutional or right-wing structures in their work place. Either were cultural workers under pressure of extreme right organizations because of their activist work or political opinions or they produced programmes that were thought of as too (leftist) political /radical/etc. by the institutional managements. One of the interviewees also had conflict with the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church because of the exhibition he curated.

Lack of Confidence in Existing Unions Of the 12 interviewees only one person was a member of trade union in the past. In their opinion current situation with trade unions was that they could not help with anything. When needed they were without any power to change the situation. Also, trade unions »represent« only people employed in the state institutions and not the precarious workers. The idea of representing someone was also considered as obsolete by the majority of the interviewees. The opinion was also heard that trade unions were just the extended hands of political parties.

The Need to Organize a Struggle Against the Current Situation Most of the interviewed cultural workers spoke about a need to organize on a different level to be able to not only resist the current situation but to fight

against it in a way that it would make a stronger social impact in the cultural sphere. We heard a proposition that an international cultural workers trade-unions should be established. There was a proposal by one of the interviewees that the only way to change the situation of cultural workers if there was a true change of politics. Only when workers in the field of culture and other sectors come to manage the means of production themselves and set up workers's councils in culture, would the cultural workers be able to speak of the basis for improvement of conditions.

A Question of Solidarity The question that was addressed during the WI implied in itself also the question of solidarity and its hidden antagonisms. The majority of the interviewees emphasized the importance of transversal solidarity not only between cultural workers but also with "other" workers working in the sphere of culture. The antagonisms here could be understood as separating the workers to "cultural workers" on one side and "workers" on the other. The interviewees also spoke about the disorientation in the cultural sphere where people either did not have a cognitive apparatus to deal with such issues or they simply did not care. Another antagonism of which one interviewee spoke about was the "imperative of competition" which has become predominant in culture therefore transforming a co-worker into a competitor rather than into a political ally.



3. Observations The cultural and art scene is focused towards solving internal conflict. As in every tight-knit community, there is a high level of „unverified gossip“. Instead of searching out common points and possibilities for working together, the scene is fragmented and oriented towards unconstructive seeking of differences. The Workers' Inquiry was in that context perhaps an attempt of sorts to go towards possibilities for a different way of organization. As far as we know, there is no common identity, only common experiences of exploitation. Or, to put it differently: power rests in self-organizing, not representation. There is also a conceptual problem of language and a need to accumulate new terminology, i.e: precarious work, worker, class struggle, state, work alienation, exploitation, wage work etc.

The subjective choice of interviewees was a problem at first. The questions were, as some of the interviewees had remarked, too general. A small number of interviews is not enough to analyze the state of culture. Too high expectations concerning the results. A problematic position of an „outside“ researcher, who does not know the situation well, i.e. criticism that the Workers' Inquiry could become just „another sexy international project.“

As it turned out, it takes more analyses of culture workers in order to explore the common experience of exploitation, and consequently, the common interests and the possibility of common organization. Some ideas from the debate went towards setting up associations, engaging lawyers (communication with state bureaucracy, the issue of appeal etc.) or independent unions. Including other workers into the debate. Getting in touch with international collectives and groups.

Kratka analiza Radničke ankete

Bojana Piškur (Radical Education Collective i kurator u ljubljanskoj Modernoj galeriji) i Đorđe Balmazović (Škart) zajednički su sproveli Radničku anketu u Beogradu i Novom Sadu u septembru 2012. Istraživanje je bilo zasnovano na Marksovoj radničkoj anketi (RA) i bavilo se položajem radnika u kulturi u Srbiji. Cilj istraživanja je bio da prikaže modalitete i različite nivoe eksploatacije radnika u kulturi i da pruži bolje razumevanje načina na koji društveni i politički položaj definiše umetničke ideje i praksu, kao i da odredi položaje i dinamiku između kulturnih/umetničkih i različitih drugih procesa proizvodnje društvenog i političkog sadržaja.

Istorijat projekta Prva RA dogodila se u Madridu (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía) tokom 2010. i 2011. kao kolaborativno istraživanje sprovedeno od strane dva umetnička kolektiva: Workers Inquiry Group (Madrid) i Radical Education Collective (Ljubljana). Ova intervencija je poslužila kao okidač za brojne diskusije, naročito u konkretnom kontekstu jednog od najvećih španskih nacionalnih muzeja, pre svega u vezi sa načinima na koje se mogu „detonirati i poremetiti prostori koji su relativno zatvoreni za dijalog“, to jest: kako izumeti nove političke prakse i kako ih misliti u okviru insitucije. Tema ima dodatni značaj u svetlu trenutnog „hajpa“ u umetničkom svetu, izazvanog umetničkim institucijama koje danas iznova razmatraju prakse koje ih čine onime što jesu, kao i moguće veze između pokreta i institucija, svoju ulogu u društvu, promovišu otvorenost, transverzanlost, fluidnost itd. Postoje pokušaji u oblasti umetničkog delovanja da se kreira

društvena konfiguracija koja bi se prostirala izvan postojećih društvenih formacija, kao što su mnogobrojni participatorni i multikulturalni projekti koji predlažu drugačije društvene odnose i nove zajednice, ali su istovremeno nesposobni da ukažu na „realno“ radno okruženje mesta na kome se odvijao projekat. Ipak, takve privremene solidarnosti, identifikacije sa manjinama, marginalizovanim i drugim grupama odvlače pažnju sa politike ovde i sada. Takav je bio slučaj i u Španiji, prema rezultatima Radničke ankete. Dva umetnička kolektiva (WIG i REC) su se u junu 2011. susrela u kulturnom centru Rex sa svojim kolegama iz Srbije, radnicima u kulturi iz Beograda, Novog Sada i Bora, zaposlenima na određeno vreme u različitim državnim kulturnim ustanovama. Tokom dvodnevnog seminara/debate započeta je diskusija o motivima i rezultatima ankete sprovedene u muzeju Reina Sofija, koja se razvila ka temi radnih odnosa i iskustva rada u kulturnim institucijama u Srbiji. S time na umu, čitanje i analiza pitanja postavljenih zaposlenima u muzeju Reina Sofija (revidirana verzija Marksove radničke ankete) vodilo je do ispitivanja uloge i funkcije takvih pitanja u specifičnom kontekstu Reina Sofije i indirektno do drugih/opštih konteksta rada u oblasti kulture.

Radnička anketa Beograd-**Novi Sad**

Iz debata u Kulturnom centru Rex izrodio se poziv da se anketa revidira u kontekstu sfere srpske kulture. Ovaj put su istraživanje sprovedeli Bojana Piškur i Đorđe Balmazović (kojeg je tim Rexa predložio kao saradnika na projektu). Metodologija istraživanja je i u ovom slučaju bila zasnovana na Marksovoj radničkoj anketi, dok su pitanja bila prilagođena specifičnoj lokalnoj situaciji i Srbiji. Anketa sadrži 85 pitanja, trajanje pojedinačnih intervjuja je od pola

sata do sat i po. Pitanja se vežu na nekoliko tema: prvi deo - obrazovanje, studentski rad, volonterski rad, političke aktivnosti tokom perioda studija, drugi deo - sadašnji rad intervjuisanih, vrsta zaposlenja, tip ugovora, socijalno osiguranje, treći deo: konflikti na poslu, cenzura, društvene / političke pozicije, ušešće u demonstracijama, praćenje radničkih protesta. Ankete su obavljene na lokacijama koje su birali sami učesnici, što su uglavnom bila radna okruženja. Za razliku od Madrida u Beogradu i Novom Sadu su se svi intervjui snimali za arhivu projekta. Tokom intervjua Đ. Balmazović je napravio i niz crteža, koji su kasnije upotrebljeni u fanzinu/publikaciji. Ukupno je obavljeno 12 intervjuja sa radnicima u kulturi. Za nas, istraživače, bilo je od velikog značaja ne samo da formulišemo smislena i relevantna pitanja, nego pre svega da se suočimo s tim pitanjima u kolektivnim situacijama i da stvorimo novu vrstu zajedničkog znanja koje bi bilo shvaćeno kao dvoznačno: teoretsko razmišljanje praćeno politički aktivnim stavovima.

Faze i metodologija rada

Pripreme za RA istraživanje se sastojalo od sledećih faza:

- priprema ankete (pitanja) u saradnji sa Nebojšom Milikićem (Rex),
- izbor učesnika odnosno kulturnih radnika koje smo intervjuisali (u većini kognitivni kulturni radnici, aktivni u polju kulture i politike, neki od njih su imali konflikte na radnom mestu),
- kontaktiranje svih učesnika i njihovo upoznavanje sa procesom i ciljem projekta,
- sami intervjui su bili zasnovani na metodologiji militantnog istraživanja.

Ciljevi ankete Jedan od ciljeva istraživača je bio da ukažu na načine i različite nivoe eksploatacije ispitanika, koji bi potencijalno mogli stimulirati dalje akcije protiv eksploatacije i komodifikacije njihovog rada. Ovdje bismo mogli da skrenemo pažnju na Marksov argument o tome kako kapitalizam sakriva svoje metode eksploatacije. Ono što nas je pre svega interesovalo jeste način na koji se dogodilo to da, uprkos relativnoj autonomiji stvaralačkog čina, kontradiktornost rada u kulturi bude sakrivena u toj meri da je rad često smatran ne samo stimulativnim i ispunjavajućim, nego i slobodnim od elemenata eksploatacije. Ključ razumevanja eksploatacije leži u određivanju načina na koji ona oblikuje rad i život radnika, od fleksibilnosti do odsustva socijalnog i zdravstvenog osiguranja, nesigurnih uslova rada, kao što je na primer život na i od rezidencija, između projekata itd. Da preciznije elaboriramo: u kapitalizmu je umetnički rad uvek smatran relativno besplatnim, predstavljajući ideal oslobođenog rada, otklonjenog od tradicionalnih antagonizama između radne snage i kapitala. Rezonovalo se da umetnost ne može biti nametnuta silom. Zato su umetnici uvek imali određenu autonomiju i njihova dela su nosila obeležje singularnosti. Ali, osamdesetih godina prošlog veka, ustoličen je relativno novi kulturno-ekonomski model (pre svega u Zapadnom delu sveta) koji je uveo drugačije i komplikovanije odnose između umetnosti i autonomije sa jedne strane, i radne snage i kapitala sa druge **2**. Dok je umetnička proizvodnja i dalje

2 Za temeljniju analizu ove problematike videti: Isabell Lorey, 2006, *Governmentality and Self-Precarization: On the normalization of cultural producers*, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en#redir>; Gašper Kralj, 2010, *Precarious Alternative*, <http://radical.temp.si/2010/04/precarius-alternative-by-gasper-kralj-2/>; George Caffentzis / Silvia Federici, 2007, *Notes on edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism*: <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/caffentzsfederici/en>; Maurizio Lazzarato: *Proizvajanje zadolženega človeka*, Maska, Ljubljana, 2012.

uživala relativnu kreativnu slobodu, pogoršanje materijalnih uslova za umetnički rad, kao i sve manja kontrola umetnika nad reprodukcijom i distribucijom njihovih ideja, znanja i dobara, guralo ih je sve dalje u svojevrsan ugovorni odnos sa kapitalom – u najamnu radnu snagu. Pored toga, umetnici su, baš kao i kustosi i drugi radnici u kulturi, postali deo nove, proširene radničke klase. Ali to ne znači da su se identifikovali sa njom. Štaviše, ostali su u kontradiktornom položaju između najamnog rada i iluzije privilegija određene klase. Kada je, nakon 1989, kapitalizam postao preovladavajuća ideologija bivših „komunističkih država”, gorepomenute karakteristike su prevedene – doduše, ne direktno – i na post-socijalističke države bivše Jugoslavije. Pitanje načina na koji bi se prevazišla podela između umetničke proizvodnje i najamnog rada postalo je ne samo pitanje strategije opstanka nego i politički problem. Na primer, jedno od pitanja koja su postavljena u okviru Radničke ankete - i koje je otvorilo jednu potpuno novu teritoriju diskusije – bilo je: šta se događa ako odbijete da napravite otklon od rezultata sopstvenog rada? Ovo pitanje je bilo od naročitog značaja za diskusiju u Srbiji, gde je anketa sprovedena među radnicima u kulturi koji su, iz različitih razloga, kao što su politički i društveni aktivizam, seksualna orijentacija, kritika neoliberalnih tendencija u kulturi itd, izgubili poslove ili su bili šikanirani ili čak fizički napadnuti u svom radnom okruženju.

Rezultat istraživanja Diskusija o RA istraživanju i mogućim strategijama i savezima za pružanje otpora eksploataciji i komodifikaciji u sferi kulture Srbije i prezentacija istraživanja u Kulturnom centru Rex, januara 2013. Proizvodnja fanzina (srpske i engleske verzije) u 2012. I 2013. Prezentacija projekta u okviru Parallel Models Of Curating projekta (organizovanog od strane Clark Art Institute, S.A.D. i Moderne galerije, Ljubljana) novembra 2012; prezentacija Unexpected Encounters izložbe u Gracu, Austrija, septembra 2013.

Sažetak/procena ukupnog projekta istraživanja

I. Sažeci intervjuja, ključne topike

Najamni rad / kulturni (umetnički) rad: Kreativna autonomija koja proizvodi višak vrednosti nasuprot sve lošijih uslova za rad umetnika (radnika u kulturi) koji ih dovode u ugovorni odnos sa kapitalom.

Autonomija / eksploatacija: kontradiktornost rada u kulturi je sakrivena u toj meri da se rad često smatra ne samo stimulativnim i ispunjavajućim, nego i slobodnim od elemenata eksploatacije. Štaviše, radnici u kulturi su se u velikoj meri prilagodili ulozi „udarnika“, radeći prekovremeno bez plate (neplaćeni rad) ili ostalih zakonom garantovanih prava.

Individualna / kolektivna borba: problemi vezani za nepravedne uslove rada su u velikoj meri još uvek shvaćeni kao individualna, a ne kolektivna pitanja. Zbog toga uglavnom ne postoji želja da se suoči sa sistemskom prirodom ovih problema. U većini slučajeva, kolektivne akcije se pokušavaju pokrenuti sa namerom da se reše individualni problemi. Radnici u kulturi često sebe vide kao žrtve sistema.

Antagonizmi u produkciji, antagonizmi u radu: u sferi umetnosti i kulture, ljudi se često suočavaju sa dobrovoljnom samo-prekarizacijom: neplaćen rad – kao praksa u svetu umetničke proizvodnje, lažna obećanja o dobijanju stalnog radnog mesta ili izgradnja mreže sopstvenih kontakata... što sve vodi isključivo otklonu od rezultata sopstvenog rada i atomizaciji – pogrešnim doživljajima autonomije.

Pitanje otpora protiv eksploatacije i komodifikacije: Glavno pitanje je kontekstualizacija borbe protiv eksploatacije, politička i kolektivna, u okviru sistema koji podstiče usitnjavanje radne snage. Manjak solidarnosti i visok stepen autocenzure su integralni deo procesa prilagođavanja zahtevima kulturne proizvodnje.

Kontradiktorna pozicija: najamni rad versus iluzorne privilegije neke određene klase: iluzorna privilegija da ste deo umetničke scene, da putujete na različite rezidencije, da ste deo međunarodnih projekata i bijenala i



da imate određeni „status“ u okviru umetničke scene. U stvarnosti, ove privilegije su privilegije samo za odabranu manjinu, ostatak prosto „živi“ od jednog do drugog načina da prikupi sredstva za izdržavanje sebe, svojih projekata, izložbi i publikacija, bez shvatanja da takvi sistemi samo pogoršavaju uslove za rad, za njih kao i za ostale radnike u kulturi. Pitanje od suštinskog značaja koje bi trebalo postaviti ostaje sledeće: ko prisiljava radnike u kulturi da tako čine? Zašto praksa „odbijanja rada“ (reči NE) još uvek nije ušla u diskurs kontra-kulturnih i političkih pokreta u Srbiji?

2. Zajedničke tačke anketa

Visok stupanj otuđenja od proizvoda rada Jedna ispitanica je objasnila da su odnosi dominacije i subordinacije u sferi kulture reprodukovani baš u segmentu organizacije proizvodnje, a ne samo u čistom protoku ideja i misli kao što je uobičajno shvatanje (takozvano „nasilje proizvodnje“, bile su njene reči). Ovo uključuje, na primer, honorare, plaćenje za rad izvan proizvodne rutine, autorska prava itd. Ipak, tokom intervjua, otklon je najčešće shvatan kao eksploatacija koja uključuje um, jezik i emocije sa ciljem stvaranja vrednosti, tj. proizvod rada (umetničko delo, tekst, koncept itd.) postaje vlasništvo nekog drugog (muzeja, univerziteta, korporacije, fondacije). Većina ispitanika je bila saglasna da je jedan od najčešćih uslova za otklon danas to što se radnici u kulturi njemu dobrovoljno podvrgavaju.

Odsustvo socijalne i druge sigurnosti, fragmentacija radnog vremena, nestabilan život

Dok sa jedne strane (uglavnom u državnim institucijama kulture u Srbiji) nalazimo stalno zaposlene sa svim socijalnim i drugim zaštitama (ovaj tip položaja je nasleđen iz vremena SFRJ), na drugoj postoji ogoroman i rastući broj onih koji su fleksibilno zaposleni (i to ne samo u mladoj generaciji) i kojima se ne garantuje bilo kakav vid socijalne zaštite. Većina ispitanika/ca su prekarni radnici, bez očekivanja stalnog zaposlenja... posvećeni projektima koji ih potpuno funkcionalno i motivaciono integrišu na par nedelja ili meseci posle čega nastupa praznina ili iščekivanje novog projekta. Naravno, ovo utiče na život i svakodnevnicu u velikoj meri. Ispitanici su govorili o nedostatku solidarnosti zaposlenih u državnim institucijama sa prekarim radnicima. Iz odgovora smo takođe mogli da zaključimo da su žene u naročito ranjivom položaju u Srbiji, pošto je samo jedna od ispitanica imala pravo na plaćeno porodiljsko odsustvo.

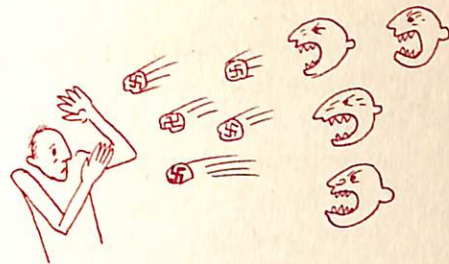


Visok nivo cenzure ili autocenzure Većina ispitanika je pomenula visok stepen autocenzure koji se susreće u upravljanju projektima. Neki su govorili o autocenzuri kao integralnom delu oblikovanja sadržaja ili prikupljanja sredstava. Većina se susrela sa nekim vidom situacija u kojoj je njihov rad cenzurisana. Troje ispitanika je moralo da napusti svoje položaje zbog konflikta na radnom mestu vezanih za cenzuru. Zanimljivo je da je jedan od ispitanika opisao autocenzuru kao „poslovnu inteligenciju“ čime se samo pokazuje koliko je autocenzura duboko ukorenjena (i nekada se uzima zdravo za gotovo) na polju kulture.

Prekovremeni rad koji se nigde ne računa – samoeksploatacija Postalo je „normalno“ u Srbiji (kao i svugde gde je prekarni rad postao deo transformacije u neoliberalni oblik vladavine) da se prekovremeni rad prekarno zaposlenih nigde ne evidentira, a kamoli plaća. Nametnut prekarni položaj prisiljava ljude da se praktično non-stop radno angažuju; pored „posla“ kao takvog, tu su i stalna dostupnost (putem interneta, mobilnih telefona, društvenih mreža), neformalni sastanci i emocije. Ukratko, za većinu ispitanika ne postoji ništa nalik radnoj rutini od 9 do 5.

Konflikti sa političkim, institucionalnim ili desničarskim strukturama Više od polovine ispitanika je imalo neku vrstu konflikta sa političkim, institucionalnim ili desničarskim strukturama na radnom mestu. Radnici u kulturi su bili pod pritiskom ekstremno desničarskih organizacija zbog svog aktivizma ili političkih stavova ili su proizvodili programe koji su smatrani za

previše (levo) političke/ radikalne/itd. od strane uprava institucija. Jedan od ispitanika je takođe ušao u konflikt sa Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom zbog izložbe čiji je kustos bio.



Nepoverenje u postojeće sindikate Od 12 intervjuisanih, samo je jedan bio član strukovnog sindikata u prošlosti. Prema njihovom mišljenju, aktuelna situacija sa sindikatima je takva da sindikati nisu u mogućnosti da pomognu po bilo kom pitanju. Nemaju snage da promene situaciju kada se to od njih traži. Takođe, strukovni sindikati „predstavljaju“ isključivo zaposlene u državnim institucijama, ne i prekarno zaposlene. Većina ispitanika samu ideju „predstavljanja“ smatra zastarelom. Čulo se i mišljenje da su sindikati samo produžena ruka političkih stranaka.

Potreba za uspostavljanjem i organizovanjem borbe protiv postojećeg stanja Većina intervjuisanih radnika u kulturi je govorila o potrebi za organizacijom na drugom nivou, kako bi se mogao pružiti otpor ne samo postojećem stranju, nego i u cilju borbe protiv tog stanja na način koji će imati jači društveni uticaj u sferi kulture. Čuli smo predlog da se uspostavi međunarodni sindikat radnika u kulturi. Jedan ispitanik je kao jedini način da se promeni situacija radnika u kulturi predložio promenu politike. Samo kada radnici u oblasti kulture i drugim sektorima dođu u posed sredstava proizvodnje i postave radničke savete u kulturi, radnici u kulturi će moći da kažu da imaju osnovu za poboljšanje uslova rada.

Pitanje solidarnosti Pitanje koje je razmatrano tokom RA je implicitno sadržalo pitanje o njenim prikrivenim antagonizmima. Većina ispitanika je naglasila značaj transverzalne solidarnosti, ne samo između radnika u kulturi na jednoj strani, nego i sa „radnicima” na drugoj. Ispitanici su takođe govorili o dezorijentisanosti u sferi kulture, gde ljudi ili nemaju kognitivni aparat da se nose s takvim pitanjima ili im jednostavno nije stalo do toga. Još jedan antagonizam o kome je govorio jedan ispitanik je bio „imperativ konkurentnosti“ koji je postao dominantan u kulturi, time transformišući saradnika u konkurenta, umesto u političkog saveznika.

3. Zapažanja Kulturno-umetnička scena je usmerena prema razrešavanju međusobnih konflikata. Kao u svakoj manji sredini i tu postoji visok nivo „neproverenih tračeva.” Umesto traženja zajedničkih tačaka i mogućnosti kako raditi zajedno scena je fragmentirana i više orijentisana ka nekonstruktivnom traženju razlika. Radnička anketa je možda u tom kontekstu bila neke vrste pokušaj prema mogućnostima za drugačiji način organiziranja. Kao što znamo zajednička identiteta ne postoji, samo zajednička iskustva eksploatacije. Ili drugačije: moć leži u samoorganizaciji i ne u zastupništvu. Postoji i konceptualni problem jezika i potreba za artikuliranjem pojmova na primer: prekarni rad, radnik/radnica, klasna borba, država, otuđenje od rada, eksploatacija, najamni rad itd.

Problematičan je na početku bio subjektivni izbor anketiranih. Pitanja su, kako su komentirali neki intervjuisani, preširoka. Mali broj intervjua nije dovoljan za analizu stanja u kulturi. Prevelika očekivanja „od vani” koji ne poznaje Problematična i pozicija istraživača „od vani” koji ne poznaje dovoljno situaciju odnosno kritika, da bi zbog toga Radnička anketa mogla postati „još jedan međunarodni sexy projekat”.

Kako se uspostavilo potrebno je još više analiza stanja radnika/ca u kulturi, da bi se na taj način istražila zajednička iskustva eksploatacije, a posledično i zajednički intervjuisani su bile u pravcu uspostavljanja udruženja. Neki su pravnik (velik je problem kod državnih aparata, istraživača, nezavisnih sindikata, Povezivanje grupacija, gnu

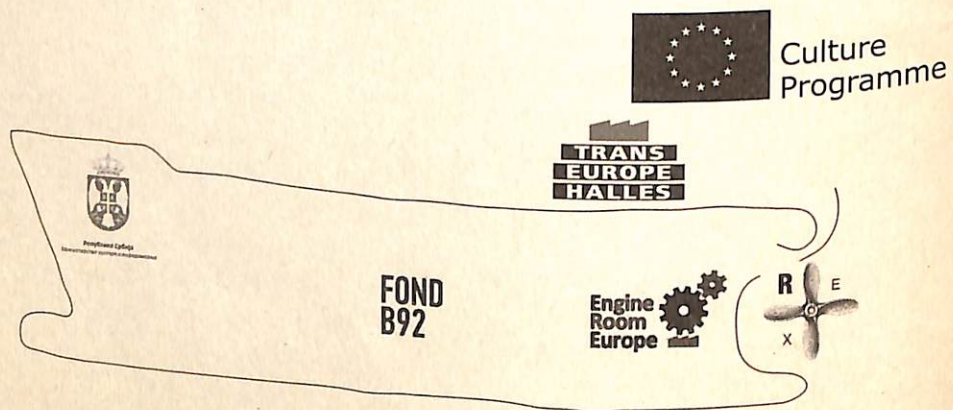
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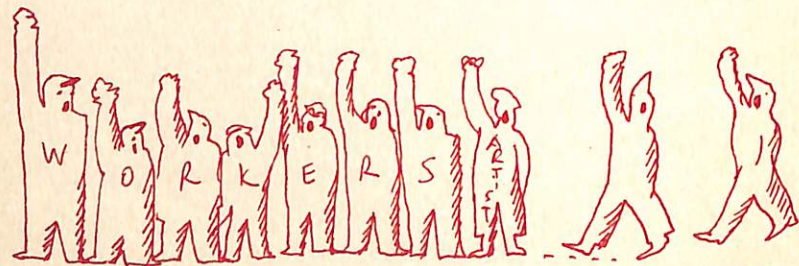
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ARTISTS

