Creative City Ljubljana?

A Cultural-Anthropological Approach to "Making" a Creative City

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ABSTRACT
This article presents theoretical and empirical insights into how Ljubljana is integrated into the discourse of a creative city through top-down discourses and practices, and how bottom-up activists and stakeholders actively position themselves towards this development. The phenomenon described is an example for the realization of European cultural policy in a local context on the geopolitical and imaginative periphery of "EU-rope": Slovenia.
KEYWORDS
creative city, making of EU-rope, Ljubljana, cultural policies, urban development

IZVLEČEK
Razprava prinaša teoretski in empirični vpogled v diskurze in prakse od zgoraj navzdol (top-down), ki Ljubljano vključujejo v diskurz ustvarjalnega mesta, hkrati pa predstavi odnos aktivistov in nekaterih deležnikov do tovrstnega razvoja, ki se kaže kot odziv od spodaj navzgor (bottom-up). Opisani pojav je primer uresničevanja evropske kulturne politike v lokalnem kontekstu na geopolitični in zamišljeni periferiji EU-rope, v Sloveniji.
KLJUČNE BESEDE
ustvarjalno mesto, oblikovanje EU-rope, Ljubljana, kulturne politike, urbani razvoj

Introduction

Is Ljubljana, the Slovenian capital, being turned into a "creative city"? When Slovenia joined the European Union in 2004, it entered the global competition for attracting international investors, tourists, and, in general, attention. To gain attention, it is essential to develop a unique image, or at least an attractive one. However, how can this be realized? In post-Fordist societies, it became necessary to develop new economic fields to ensure economic growth. In this context and under the influence (among other things) of neoliberal urban development strategies, which started to grow in the 1970s due to decreasing

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social state management, the stimulation of urban growth through hard and soft location factors as well as symbol- and idea-generating forces such as the cultural and creative industries have gained new importance.[1] In this context, the American economist Richard Florida[2] developed the specific concept of the creative city.[3] In a nutshell, his idea is that cities need to be attractive for the creative class[4] to ensure competitiveness in post-Fordist societies. In Florida's view, cities are attractive for the creative class if they command technology (measured by the number of patents and high-tech industry), tolerance (the relation of diversity and number of creatives), and talent (the number of people working in the cultural and creative industries).[5] Florida's approach (and others) was integrated in European cultural policies,[6] leading to neoliberal conceptions of culture and creativity.

When Slovenia joined the European Union, it was confronted with this particular view on culture and creativity. Using a cultural-anthropological approach, I questioned the realization of this European cultural policy in a local-urban and post-communist context on the geopolitical respective imaginative periphery of "EU-rope." The focus of my work was on concrete practices and discourses developed by various actors and groups at various levels with the aim of forming and defining the nature of urban public space, culture, and creativity.

The main hypothesis for my research was that the political and administrative level of Ljubljana is implicitly turning the Slovenian capital into a creative city in order to attract new residents, tourists, businesses, and investments by developing a certain image of the Slovenian capital.[7] Using mainly

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[1] Harvey, From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism; Pelizzari and Zeller, *Service Public.*

[2] Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class*; Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*; Florida, *Reset.*

[3] The topos of the creative city is not new nor was it "invented" by Richard Florida; authors such as Charles Landry (*The Creative City in Britain and Germany*) and Franco Bianchini (*Remaking European Cities*) shaped the narrative of the creative city. In my work I was interested in the specific concept of the creative city developed by Richard Florida because he gained much attention for it. This might be the consequence of his offensive communication strategy, but also with the economic bias he included, leading to the hope of new impulses for economic growth (Heßler, *Die kreative Stadt*, p. 40).

[4] Florida differentiates between a creative core (people that develop new ideas, technologies, and content) and creative professionals whose task is to solve complex problems. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 8.

[5] Ibid., pp. xvii–xx.

[6] One example is the Green Paper of the European Commission, *Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries.*

[7] Ehrlich, *Creative City Ljubljana*, pp. 80–82.

qualitative and ethnographic research methods,[8] on the one hand I focused on the making of a creative city in Ljubljana by administrative and political actors through political programs, discourses, participation in EU-funded research and development projects, and public conferences on the topic. On the other hand, I analyzed discourses and practices of cultural and creative actors, mainly non-institutionalized ones, and their approaches toward these developments by producing counter-discourses toward the official conceptualization of creativity and culture, and alternative visions for urban public space. It is important to stress that, although I analyzed two groups and levels of negotiation, these do not present fixed dualistic positions because one finds negotiations, critics, and different positions within and between the two levels of analysis.

Below, I explain the theoretical-conceptual approach of my research, presenting the basis for my fieldwork, and I offer insights based on some of the empirical findings.

Theoretical-conceptual approach: Europe(-anization) and crypto-colonialism

The cultural-anthropological and ethnologic research on Europeanization understands the political integration of EU-rope mainly as a cultural process. Welz and Lottermann stress that this is the result of a shift within German-speaking European Ethnology in the last fifteen years.[9] Until then, research had mainly dealt with questions of European identity.[10] Over time, the research focus shifted to concrete social and everyday practices that are being developed due to the political integration of EU-rope.[11]

Here, I refer to different concepts of Europe: the term *EU-rope* refers to the space that is formed by the current EU member states and the countries that have initiated membership negotiations with the European Commission.[12] From a historical point of view, the term *Europe* presents rather an idea or

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8   This included: a) analysis of discourses at the local, regional, national, and European levels as well as analysis of statistics (share of cultural/creative industries) and b) qualitative-ethnographic methods: between 2009 and 2011 three field working phases: 1) participating observations, forty-five semi-structured interviews with politicians and administration (local, regional, national level); 2) scientists, NGOs, and artists; and 3) go-alongs.

9   Welz and Lottermann, Einleitung, pp. 11–12.

10 E.g., Johler, Local Europe; *Turn to Europe*; Kaschuba, Europäisierung als kulturalistisches Projekt.

11 Ehrlich, *Creative City Ljubljana*, pp. 22–23.

12 Poehls, *Europa Backstage*.

symbolic figure that, among other things, stands for universality, enlightenment, modernity, colonialism, and the process of nation-building.[13] For my work, the term *Europe* was important when analyzing the cultural-creative and social-spatial practices of cultural actors and asking whether they develop other concepts of European identity in a specific local-urban context.

Furthermore, the concept of Europeanization refers to the process of making EU-rope.[14] This making refers not only to political-economic processes, but also takes cultural practices into account, which also influence the political-economic process.[15] In this understanding, Europeanization is not seen as a one-directional process because different actors are involved in shaping and negotiating EU-rope. This means that the entire process of Europeanization is shaped from "above" (top-down) and from the "bottom" (bottom-up) at the same time.[16] Although they have unequal political and economic power, it is not only official, political, and/or administrative decisions and practices that contribute to the formation of EU-rope; everyday artistic practices from non-institutionalized citizens, artists, and critics also shape Europe. This process of Europeanization is also happening at the "edge" of the European Union. The label "edge" refers on the one hand to the geopolitical location of the research domain. When Slovenia joined the European Union in 2004, it physically lay on the border of the European Union. On the other hand, this label refers to imaginations and ascriptions made by politics and science.[17] Furthermore, this view of Slovenia can also be found in self-labels. For example, curator Zdenka Badovinac describes Slovenia as a "peripheral place"[18] when quoting the chief executive officer (CEO) of a Slovenian enterprise: "that an enterprise that has its headquarter [*sic*] located in Slovenia is less visible . . . . than it would be when being located [*sic*] in Finland or Switzerland."[19]

David Bole, a geographer and researcher of cultural and creative industries at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts Research Center (ZRC SAZU), describes Ljubljana as a peripheral place. During the interview, he mentioned a strategy for local artists to be accepted as "serious" market actors outside of Slovenia: "in terms of the European Union [Ljubljana] is peripheral for sure. It's outside of this I don't know European thing . . . . What I actually found out is that companies that work here, which were founded here by local people,

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[13] Kaschuba, Das alte und das neue Europa.
[14] Welz, Ethnografien europäischer Modernen.
[15] Römhild, Reflexive Europäisierung.
[16] Ibid.
[17] E.g., Buchowski, Hierarchien des Wissens; Niedermüller, Transformationen der Moderne.
[18] Badovinac, Contemporaneity as Points of Connection, p. 5.
[19] Krämer, *Marginal Nation*, p. 66.

have their postal address in London. But in London they only have an office and a mailbox and that's it."[20]

From the perspective of cultural anthropologists Gisela Welz and Regina Römhild, research at the "edge" of EU-rope allows new insights into the processes of negotiating public and urban spaces and culture that may lead to a new understanding of the process of Europeanization. It also makes it possible to reveal – and thereby question – the hegemonic position of the European Union regarding the production and labeling of such spaces.[21]

The cultural-anthropological perspective on making EU-rope reveals (re)-structuring of hierarchical, hegemonic positions on Europe. With the accession of post-communist countries to the EU in 2004 and 2007, differentiation between the "new" and "old" countries was emphasized by actors from the "center" of the European Union, resulting in the reproduction of dualisms such as "west" versus "east." Such dualisms result from imaginative constructions from the eighteenth and nineteenth century during nation building and colonialism. Such constructions have led to an equation of modernity with the west and backwardness with the east.[22] Still today and during the accession of new member states, the "east" is constructed as something not yet modernized enough, which needs to be adjusted to western standards. Examples of such equations can be found during the negotiations for Slovenia's accession to the EU: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Commission defined standards from a western point of view that needed to be fulfilled by the accession countries. Also during the economic crisis of 2008, one could observe an inner exclusion, separating northern countries from southern ones and equating geopolitical locations with ideas of laziness and not working hard enough.

Closely connected to the process of equating the west with modernity and producing subordination is the concept of crypto-colonialism. With the concept of the crypto-colonial, Herzfeld extends the notion of the colonial and refers to countries (such as Slovenia) that are apparently independent but internalize western cultural standards. Countries thereby produce subordination while longing for the acceptance of their image from western countries.[23] My approach is to say that Ljubljana is a postcolonial city. This term describes a city whose politics, culture, society, and economy were and are still influenced by two

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[20] Interview with David Bole, November 17, 2010.
[21] Welz, Ethnografien europäischer Modernen, pp. 26–27; Römhild, Reflexive Europäisierung, p. 262.
[22] Kaschuba, Das alte und das neue Europa.
[23] Herzfeld, The Absent Presence; Herzfeld, Crypto-Colonial Convulsions.

"centers" of power.[24] Applied to Ljubljana, this means that on the one hand the city (and of course Slovenia as a whole) was under the (in)direct influence of the (former) colonial power of the Soviet Union. Even though this influence did not last long due to Yugoslavia's break with the Soviet Union, specific cultural processes and modes of behavior were developed over the long term. Now, after independence, Ljubljana and Slovenia are again influenced by colonial practices and powers through integration into the neoliberal global system. In the research field, this becomes visible with the application of the western urban and cultural model of a creative city in official development programs and measures during and after Slovenia's accession to the European Union. My assumption is that Slovenia (and more precisely Ljubljana) thereby wishes to be perceived as a western, modern, and international place. By doing so Ljubljana and Slovenia also produce imaginative borders and exclusions in the region: "we" (Slovenia) are a western and modern country because "we" are a member of the EU and apply western-oriented models like that of the creative city. This implies a distinction from neighboring countries like Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Kosovo, marking them as not being modern (yet) and thus not part of the global competition.[25] In addition, a second condition of the crypto-colonial becomes visible in the research field: following Herzfeld, crypto-colonial states are positioned in a hierarchical in-between. In concrete terms, this means that Slovenia tries to combine two different and in part contrary understandings and approaches towards creativity and culture. On the one hand, Slovenia tries to overtake and integrate an understanding of culture and creativity that has been produced in a western capitalist system, focusing increasingly on economic value and exploitation of it (more market-driven). On the other hand, Slovenia strives to conserve and maintain its national culture (more state-driven). Through this it seeks to combine two different and partly opposing cultural understandings and concepts. This strategy becomes visible, for example, in the *Strategy for the Cultural Development of Ljubljana 2008–2011* prepared by the City of Ljubljana.[26] It recommends developing strategies for greater efficiency in managing national and local museums. The national museums still have the role of conserving and maintaining Slovenian national culture, and at the same time the fusion of various institutions was realized and the measurement of visitor numbers introduced.

This entire process is not limited to the phenomenon of the creative city.

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[24] Tötösy de Zepetnek, *Comparative Cultural Studies*, pp. 4–5.

[25] Although this may be the result of lower economic performance and development in these countries, here I am referring to a form of "othering" (Said, *Orientalism*) with the aim of distinguishing Slovenia from neighboring countries.

[26] *Strategija razvoja kulture v Mestni občini Ljubljana 2008–2011.*

When I returned to Ljubljana in 2016, I participated in a conference dealing with urban gardening and alternative concepts for the use of urban public space.[27] In the same year, Ljubljana won the European Green Capital Award, an initiative of the European Commission rewarding local efforts to improve environmental challenges based on predefined indicators that must be fulfilled.[28] Again, Ljubljana entered the European global competition, orienting itself towards defined standards that were produced in the "center" of the European Union based on the conditions there. Parallel to this development, one can observe alternative practices that create something new and are not necessarily adjusted to given standards and indicators.

Insights from the "edge" of EU-rope

The negotiation of different approaches and developments regarding the urban development and image of Ljubljana as a creative city in the context of the integration of Slovenia into EU-rope and the global competition in general can be observed in various ways. During my empirical field work (2009–2013), I searched for discourses and practices developed by various stakeholders and levels concerning the urban development of Ljubljana in the context of the creative city discourse:

On the one hand, I analyzed top-down negotiations, discourses, and practices at the local, regional, and the national levels that (implicitly) followed the aim of shaping a creative city. I call them top-down because they are realized by stakeholders and institutions through "official" instruments. However, this does not mean that the stakeholders from "above" are a homogeneous group – there one can also discover counter-discourses and various positions regarding the positioning of Ljubljana as a creative city. Examples of such top-down negotiations are, first, the participation of the City of Ljubljana in EU-funded development projects that are concerned with the renovation of brownfields with the help of art and culture (Second Chance) and with the development of appropriate environments and networks for the development of creative and cultural industries (Creative Cities).[29] A second area of intervention is concrete construction projects such as the New Coliseum (Novi Kolizej). Here, on the premises of a former military area the Carniolan Investment Company wishes

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[27] Conference *Creative Green Ljubljana*.
[28] *European Green Capital*.
[29] For an extended description of both projects, see Ehrlich, *Creative City Ljubljana*, chapter 4.1.1, pp. 101–111.

to erect a private opera hall, luxury apartments, restaurants, and offices. This public-private partnership aims to attract new business, investors, tourists, and residents, and to develop a new image of the city. Finally, policy development at the local, regional, and national levels also contributes to the formation of a creative city image. This includes a new understanding of culture and art. The traditional understanding of culture, with a focus on national and elite culture delivered by the national state, is supplemented by an economic understanding of culture in the form of cultural and creative industries.[30] However, one does not observe a sole overtaking of a new understanding, but rather an integration of specific local features. For example, in Ljubljana one can observe a strategic focus on the development of design and architecture branches in the context of cultural development. This is a consequence of the historical legacy of Ljubljana, with a former strong furniture industry and influential persons such as the architect Jože Plečnik, who was decisive in the development of national identity.[31]

In addition to top-down negotiations and practices, one can also observe developments on the "bottom," mainly referring to non-institutionalized artists and (political) activists that in return develop their own ideas and concepts for urban space and cultural development. Sometimes their practices directly relate to official plans and discourses, but not necessarily. Here, it also becomes evident that this is not a homogenous group. On the "bottom" I discovered social protests, exhibitions, workshops, interventions addressing among other things the privatization of public space (which hinders the development of alternative approaches towards urban spaces and culture), the commodification of urban space and culture, and homogenization processes. At the same time, I spoke to actors that see the focus on cultural and creative industries as a chance for new funding options, new markets, and an increasing perception beyond national borders.

Community garden

One example for the active positioning of (non)-institutionalized actors toward the positioning of Ljubljana in the global context by official stakeholders and institutions, with consequences for the free and non-commercial use

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[30] *National Programme for Culture 2008–2011*; *Strategija razvoja kulture v Mestni občini Ljubljana 2008–2011.*
[31] Ehrlich, *Creative City Ljubljana*, p. 162.

Figure 1: Ljubljana community garden (photo: Kornelia Ehrlich).

of urban space, is the project Beyond a Construction Site (Onkraj gradbišča), a community garden close to Ljubljana's central train station.

Two of the initiators of the project, Urška Jurman and Stefan Doepner, see it as a direct reaction to the city's cultural and urban development policy.[32] These critics concern available spaces for artists, the focus of Slovenian cultural policy on representative artistic products, and the precarious situation of artists. This goes along with the shift of national, regional, and local cultural policies towards an increasing economic view on culture and creativity. This shift became visible after independence in 1991, with major privatization of public cultural institutions, denationalization of cultural infrastructure, and the harmonization of national legislation with EU legislation.[33] With the community garden, the initiators are following several aims and implicitly referring to the consequences that neoliberal urban development has on the free use of public space:

1) They want to develop an alternative approach towards the neoliberal urban policy. The city sold this area to a private investor, who wanted to build

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[32] The community garden was established in the context of the EU-Interreg project Sostenuto as part of the art festival Young Lions (Mladi levi), which was organized by the Bunker association.

[33] *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, pp. 2–3 and 11; *National Programme for Culture 2008–2011.*

apartments in the area; however, the investor went bankrupt and it became a decaying area, with people throwing trash into the construction site. The neighbors were annoyed by this situation. In 2010 the garden activists reached a compromise with the city to temporarily use the area as garden and community space. In the following month they removed the trash from the area, installed raised beds, and opened the area to people interested in participating.

2) Another aim of the project is to shape a place for communication and community. These are two features that, from the point of view of the garden activists, might become lost in a city that mainly focuses on being attractive to investors, business, and tourists.

> The role of the public and its more active inclusion in decisions about the development and organization of the space have been significant aspects of the project. The participation of the public in urban and architectural planning seems today to be an important opportunity for overcoming the limitations of neo-liberal urban policy, whose only goal is economic growth. The concept of community that we try to follow is one of a form of relationships rather than a unified, homogeneous entity (a collectivity). A unified community erases the differences and contradictions, as well as the productive conflicts and negotiations that are necessarily connected with the aim of sharing (space, tools, water, etc.). In contrast to an idea of community based on a notion of identity and belonging ("being in"), which is, in this sense, always exclusionary for "others," we are striving for a community that produces more open and fluid relationships in order to foster a sense of "being with."[34]

The enabling of community and integration of different social groups stands in contrast to typical small garden plots, where gardeners have their own fenced garden.[35] Beyond a Construction Site project is conceived openly and democratically: although gardeners have their own beds, they also work on common beds, they come together and socialize in a common social space, share a shed for tools and equipment, and have installed a treehouse and a sandbox for children. When I visited the garden in 2013, a fence still surrounded the entire premises, making it impossible to look inside. However, the gardeners have managed to replace parts of the closed fence with a chain link fence so that people walking by have the opportunity to have a look at what is happening behind it and might be motivated to visit the garden.

With the example of the community garden, I would like to highlight the following: the activists and the responsible stakeholders of the city started negotiations regarding the use of the decaying area and reached a (temporary) solution while allowing the establishment of the community garden.

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34   KUD Obrat, Beyond a Construction Site.
35   Werner, Grüner Daumen, p. 32.

This reveals a change of mindset (or at least a contradiction in the actions of the city administration):

> The city's current [2012] policy and measures for organizing gardens . . . . represent a rigid, standardized, and overly formalistic approach; the criteria for leasing a garden plot (age and income) are turning the gardening areas into social ghettos; the gardens are being relegated to the city outskirts; and what is more, it is predicted that there will be a drastic reduction in the amount of land allotted to community gardens . . . . In the second half of the decade [of 2000], the municipal administration did its best to block spontaneously expanding organized gardening areas, by removing, first of all, gardens that were spatially and visually "inappropriate".[36]

From my viewpoint, the changed mindset makes two things visible.

First, the idea that cities should become more "human-friendly" (for a specific socio-economic group of people) is among other things integrated in Florida and his idea of a creative city. The spatial consequence of Florida's concept of the creative city is based on open, innovative, and creative spaces that convey a specific image and feeling and attract people that are highly qualified and economically active (and successful) in emerging future branches (the creative class).[37] This might be a reason for the city authorities to allow (temporarily) projects like the community garden in order to develop or retain features that might attract creatives and cultural activists.

Second, the notion of openness, flexible use of public urban spaces, and enabling heterogeneity that is being developed by activists like the ones that established the community garden, is also appropriated by those "above." In addition to the aforementioned development of attractiveness for creatives, this "support" might also be a form of support from those "above" to those "below" to allow them to "survive" in the new cultural economy because the focus on and support for cultural and creative industries is included, among other things, in (national) cultural policy.[38]

International Brigadiers (Španski borci)

International Brigadiers (Španski borci) is another example of how initiatives position themselves towards the economic focus on culture and creativity in Ljubljana and which challenges they face. International Brigadiers was founded in 1981 as a cultural venue with a focus on theater. After Slovenian

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[36] KUD Obrat, Beyond a Construction Site.
[37] Reckwitz, Die Selbstkulturalisierung der Stadt, pp. 6–7.
[38] *CCISS: Cultural and Creative Industries – Slovene Style.*

Figure 2: International Brigadiers from the outside (photo: Kornelia Ehrlich).

independence and due to a lack of financing it was shut down; it re-opened in 2009. The building is run by the NGO En-Knap, which established its own dance company in 2007 and needed its own premises.

International Brigadiers is located on one of Ljubljana's arterial roads, near the Ljubljana University Medical Center. Downstairs there is a café, a bar, and smaller rooms for events. On the upper floor there is a department of the Ljubljana City Library; through its open and transparent architecture, it invites users to enter. The central event hall of International Brigadiers is also located here. Additional event premises and the offices of En-Knap are located in the basement. From the outside, the building is not very appealing; one reason is that the facade appears dirty and rundown. In addition, there are no large windows that open the building into the neighborhood.[39]

This problem should be solved, although funding is still unclear. In addition to options to improve this impression through cleanup efforts, En-Knap would like to shape a public place where various social and interest groups can come together. They have developed various formats to achieve this:

> For us it is important that this place become an open place where people
> enjoy coming together. That's why we initiated a project together with the

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[39] Fieldwork diary, April 13, 2011.

public library on the upper floor of International Brigadiers. We offered them a place downstairs where they can put interesting journals related to dance . . . . We envisioned that people would sit there, read the journals and enjoy a coffee. But it's not really working. People do come and read, but they don't drink coffee and socialize.[40]

Other formats should also facilitate free and easy access to International Brigadiers. However, this is only partially working:

KE: "How is the building accepted by the neighbors? Are there many visitors from Moste [the district Ljubljana where International Brigadiers is located]?"

Marjeta Lavrič: "No, I think only a few people from Moste visit us. Maybe the program is too special and not attractive for a broad range of people. We've tried; for example, we offered dance classes for seniors. But only a few people would come to us for such things. Maybe it will take some years."[41]

With International Brigadiers, the NGO and dance company En-Knap has its own permanent premises. Although the company is very successful on the international scale, which is reflected in various prizes, guest appearances, international cooperation, and co-productions, a broader audience is hard to reach. This can be related to the aforementioned inner-urban non-central location of International Brigadiers and also to the social structure of the Moste district, where International Brigadiers is located. However, Marjeta Lavrič emphasized that the City of Ljubljana is increasingly supporting contemporary dance. For example, in 2011 three contemporary dance festivals were supported by the City of Ljubljana.[42]

The support of bottom-up initiatives (such as the community garden) as well as the promotion of artistic formats and branches aiming at a special audience shows that the position of the city administration in terms of art and culture is not homogeneous and exclusively focused on economic relevance. Although the focus of the city administration is increasingly on the economic turnover of culture and creativity,[43] it simultaneously supports institutions, initiatives, and events that are not attractive from an economic point of view. In this it still follows the logic of the creative city as it was formulated by Richard Florida, among others. While retaining and supporting a lively and cultural diverse atmosphere, the city is also (or is becoming) visible and attractive for the creative class (similar processes can be observed, for example, in Berlin,

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[40] Interview with Marjeta Lavrič, production manager of En-Knap, April 13, 2011.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Slovenian Platform, Exodus/Balkan Dance Festival and Spring Forward.

[43] *Strategija razvoja kulture v Mestni občini Ljubljana 2008–2011*; *Spatial Development Vision Ljubljana 2025*; *The New Spatial Plan for the City Municipality of Ljubljana*.

Leipzig, and other urban places). Although individual sectors might not be attractive economically, they contribute to the attraction of creative people, who contribute to economic growth in other sectors.

Conclusion

Ljubljana is integrated into the international discourse and image process of a creative city. This becomes visible through "official" top-down discourses and practices such as strategic documents concerning the urban and cultural development of the city, the region, and the country; the preparation and realization of building plans; the focus of cultural policy; and participation in projects and competitions. At the same time, one can observe a positioning of artists, activists, and stakeholders from the "bottom" – some institutionalized (such as culture managers), and some non-institutionalized.

With their discourses and practices, these bottom-up players also produce other possible Europes: on the one hand, this term refers to the production of alternative visions and ideas of Europe by (often marginalized) social and cultural milieus. One example from research for the production of other possible Europes is the artistic collective Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK). They realize this, for example, through over-identification with political ideologies and systems through the use of their ideological symbols and language in their artist works (the most prominent example is probably the musicians of Laibach, which is part of NSK). Through the application and strong repetition of political symbols and ideologies, they try help to reveal these ideologies and the effect they have on people. With their artist productions, NSK defines the "east" from a new perspective and shows that it has the potential for the development of utopias, critiques, and perspectives that cannot be described as unmodern, but as something productive and innovative. Through this, NSK may also contribute to new visions of Europe.[44]

With the term *other Europes* (and not "EU-rope"), I would like to stress that the development of other possible Europes is not only realized in terms of the institutional borders of EU-rope. It implies much more and highlights that Europe is also imagined and produced in cultural, social, and economic ways so that marginalized groups and positions become visible in the discourse over what Europe is. It also makes it possible to envision Europe beyond classical and hegemonic imaginations. To me this is an important and valuable

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[44] Ehrlich, Challenges of and from the East, pp. 45–47.

practice, especially in times of extreme political ideologies and a return to national-centered thinking and politics.

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Ustvarjalno mesto Ljubljana?
Kulturnoantropološki pristop k procesu izgradnje ustvarjalnega mesta

Povzetek

Razprava prinaša vpogled v terensko raziskavo v Ljubljani, ki je bila med letoma 2011 in 2013 izvedena v okviru doktorske disertacije na Humboldtovi univerzi v Berlinu (2013). Osredotočila se je na uresničevanje evropske kulturne politike v lokalnem kontekstu na geopolitični in zamišljeni periferiji EU-rope, v Sloveniji. Prakse in diskurze, ki jih v pogajanjih za urbani javni prostor ter funkcijo kulture in ustvarjalnosti razvijajo raznoliki akterji na različnih rav-neh, so bili obravnavani s kulturnoantropološkega vidika. Hipoteza raziskave

je bila, da politika in administracija implicitno spodbujata razvoj Ljubljane v *ustvarjalno mesto*, da bi pritegnili nove prebivalce, turiste in podjetja, hkrati pa razvili konkurenčno podobo mesta. V raziskavi so bile v glavnem uporabljene kvalitativne in etnografske raziskovalne metode. Po eni strani se je avtorica v njej osredotočila na prakse administrativnih in političnih akterjev, s katerimi so Ljubljano oblikovali v *ustvarjalno mesto*, tj. na njihove politične programe, diskurze, partnerstva, evropske projekte in javne konference. Po drugi strani je analizirala diskurze in prakse kulturnih in ustvarjalnih akterjev, predvsem neinstitucionalnih, in njihov pristop k temu razvoju, ki razkriva kontradiskurze in alternativne vizije urbanega javnega prostora. Vendar pa te entitete, ki delujejo od zgoraj navzdol (*top-down*) in od spodaj navzgor (*bottom-up*), ne zavzemajo fiksne dualistične pozicije, saj na obeh področjih analize in znotraj posameznega področja zasledimo pogajanja, kritike in spreminjanje položajev obravnavanih akterjev.