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Remapping Athens: An Analysis of Urban Cosmopolitan Milieus

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not
been and will not be, submitted in whole
or in part to another University for the award
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UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

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SUMMARY

The study makes a claim for a critical cosmopolitanism situated in daily performances and encounters of difference in Athens. In the wake of mass migration and economic crisis, the contemporary urban environment changes, creating new social spaces where identities and cultures interact. Festivals are seen as sites of creative dialogue between the Self, the Other and local communities. Festivals are examples of those new spaces where different performances of belonging give rise to alternative social imaginations. This study explores the emotional, cultural and political aspects of cosmopolitanism with the latter leading to the formation of an active civil society. As such, it seeks to evidence cosmopolitanism as an embodied, everyday practice. The research thus extends the current field by locating its empirical lens in a specific milieu.

Empirical analysis of grounded cosmopolitanism anchored in behavioural repertoires redefines ubiquitous polarities of margin and centre, pointing towards social change in Athens. Fieldwork was conducted in Athens over eighteen months, comprising of building communities of participants involved in three festivals, including both artists and organisations. Research methods included observation and participation in the festivals, which were photographically documented for research visual diaries. Semi-structured interviews formed the core of the fieldwork. The approach allowed access to experiences, feelings and expressions through artworks, embodying 'third spaces'.

In the milieu of rapid social change, as urban localities transform as a result of economic and social crisis, the need for redefining politics emerges. The case studies explore how change in a celebratory moment can have a more sustainable legacy encouraging active citizenship. The analysis highlights the value of a model of cosmopolitanism in action, positing that transformation of the social and political must be local and grounded in everyday actions if it is to engage with promises of alternative futures.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF IMAGES

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This thesis would not have been possible without all of you. I know we will always be nomads in search of our invisible city. Thank you for being who you are.

PREFACE

I have an urban confession: I have spent most of my life in love with Athens. So this was always the research project I wanted to do, shaped by the desire to get closer to understanding this city of contradictions.

When I was nine years old on a typical school trip to Acropolis, our teacher explained the values upon which the ancient Greek 'glorious civilisation' was built. I remember him mentioning the word democracy many times, but this is all I can recall from his lecture as I was trying to read an ancient marble sign almost buried in the weeds and hidden beneath the statues. The sign read: 'Diogenes: a citizen of the world'. Immediately fascinated, I asked my teacher how I could be a citizen of the world myself. He smiled and, pointing towards the ancient city walls, explained that these were the limits of the city and, therefore, citizens were those living in that space. So for Diogenes, being a citizen of the world was to be a citizen both inside and outside these walls. Due to my fascination and constant questions our teacher told us one more story: Diogenes used to walk in broad daylight holding a lantern in his hand, and when asked why he said he was looking for human beings. My curiosity was kindled. In my childhood imagination Diogenes and his cosmopolitan declaration became a preoccupation: a central engine to my later urban explorations. Growing older I crossed city walls, borders and dotted lines on maps in my own personal search for human beings.

This project was shaped and influenced by three further moments in which the determined belief that I would discover the possibilities of dismantling exclusionary boundaries was revealed as deeply political. Furthermore, that my embodied witnessing of border-crossings was also inscribed by values, hegemonic norms and privilege. Cosmopolitanism, it seemed to me, was a frame that could provide some sense to these charged moments.

December 2000

I was preparing for my Bachelors in development studies, frantically reading books, consuming ideas, and witnessing the first signs of Athens'

transformation to a multiethnic society. In the city centre the public square of Koumoundourou was transformed into a refugee camp for Kurdish people fleeing escalated conflict in Turkey. They requested political asylum, hoping to become citizens; remaining in the public square for three months. As a member of a local action group I visited the square, and, like other Athenians, felt as if I was crossing invisible borders of belonging; citizens outside the square and asylum seekers within.

> 21st of December, and I'm on my way to the square carrying blankets. Around me are Christmas lights, happy songs and an air of celebration. When I arrive at the square, there is a shift in the atmosphere, different voices. I can hear a man's voice. I can see him standing in the middle of the square, covered in gasoline. He is holding a lighter, screaming in Kurdish. He sets himself on fire.

Was he also looking for human beings, or was he looking for his right to be treated as a human?

December 2004

As a final year undergraduate in search of a wider understanding of other cultures, I travelled to Thailand for a research visit. In my travels, I had been exploring and consuming the exotic cities and rural splendours of the Far East, and had become aware of the vast distance between Western privilege and local realities. My research holiday was dramatically curtailed by the Tsunami. Four days afterwards, I was being transported back across borders, to safety. In those four days I hoped that nationality and passports had become meaningless in the face of such a disaster. Instead Western survivors were prioritised in search and rescue missions and in getting water provisions.

From the multiple images that have stayed with me from the aftermath of the devastating event, the one I recall most vividly was walking in desolate streets full of debris, seeing local people holding lanterns, searching for their loved ones. They too, were seeking human beings.

December 2008

I was back in Athens full of enthusiasm for this research project, on a trip to see the family and start conversations about fieldwork. I was unaware that just the day before my arrival, large scale protests had erupted in Athens. Photography has always been part of my relationship with the city - holding my camera in search of urban semiotics is part of my daily practice. I was surprised, then, when my camera was seen as proof of my complicity in the riots; and appalled that my right to the city was denied by police.

I was detained and hospitalised. My crime: holding my camera, capturer of light, in search of urban dwellers and city corners. My broken ribs testify to the limits of my right to the city. I had transgressed unspoken boundaries that I could not have known existed.

These three moments, coupled with my early stimulation regarding belonging, set the starting points for this research. My desire to find new ways of traversing the false borders between citizen and 'illegal immigrant', the city and its limits, and my intrapersonal grappling with belonging has accompanied me during this process.

This was always the research project I wanted to do but this is not the city I had imagined.

INTRODUCTION

According to Michel de Certeau, 'what the map cuts up, the story cuts across' (1988: 129). This pithy remark captivates a postcolonial world traversed by diasporic affiliations and the multiple migrations of people. Transnational narratives traverse the generalities and specificities of global dependencies. This research aims to add a further story in an attempt to circumnavigate the ways in which everyday experiences of Athens as a metropolis are transformed by the causes and effects of human mobilities. The project is concerned with how cosmopolitanism as a grounded phenomenon is practiced through cultural exchange in sites of urban contingency. What is more, these practices carve passages for imagining the steps necessary to craft social change. This is explored through three festive moments in the city: each questioning micro-levels of cultural participation, layers of representation and modes of civic performances.

'Marginality is today no longer limited to minority groups, but is rather massive and pervasive; [it is a growing] cultural activity of the non-producers of culture' (de Certeau, 1988: xvii). De Certeau allows us to perceive marginality as a site for creative cultural participation, in which margin/centre binaries can be disrupted and renegotiated. In addition to the political sphere, one of the primary modes of such disruption is through the arts, characteristically extending and transgressing hegemonies and seeking to explore new ways of expressing and invite alternate means of engaging with the world. The research project identifies three distinct arts festivals; arguing that in their pursuit of social transformation we may apply principles of cosmopolitanism. Indeed, the festivals are not merely read as exemplars of cosmopolitan theory, but have determined distinct categories of what I term the model of cosmopolitanism in action.

Frantz Fanon reflects that 'every human problem must be considered from the standpoint of time' (1967: 14-15). His call for social scientists to conduct research with a 'temporal architecture' demands a local response to situate research in a precise milieu. I contend that this particular moment in European

socio-political terms holds unprecedented uncertainty, fear and anxiety related to both economic instability and mass immigration. Greece, in particular, faces further vulnerability in coming years as its position in the European Union is questioned, its population faces stringent austerity measures, and nostalgic narratives of national identity are crumbled. Whilst these factors are currently evident in Greece, the consequent effects are relevant to a wider European sensibility; and it is thus necessary to question belonging, to engage in collective imagining and to consider how emancipation might change the landscape of contemporary Europe.

For the purpose of this analysis a map is used as a symbolic multi-layered metaphor in certain ways: to highlight relationships between individuals, groups and communities; to represent the power dynamics that construct and reconstruct social borders; to define 'home' and feelings of 'belonging'; to foreground social gaps, contradictions and non-places; to outline bridge building and social change processes. Mapping moulds new relationships between spaces and lived experiences and the social dynamics that form dialogue around them. Map-making is closely linked with the way we perceive the world that surrounds us and the current characteristics of our historical moment; and therefore a choice structure for charting a spatial/social mode that is of a particular milieu. If we consider maps as representations that chart known terrains, and always underpinned by certain discourses – namely power, territory, politics – then we might also conceive of remapping as a procedure that reconstructs the terrain as well as provides new symbols for charting it. This procedure critically investigates the discourses that are taken for granted, as a means of telling 'other stories' that may not feature in hegemonic systems. My choice of a map as extended metaphor allows alternative stories, marginalised voices and new perspectives on the subject of Athens. In short, the potential offered by this choice of metaphor allows for a multilayered investigation into the urban landscape; as a process of cosmopolitanism, it applies hybridity, openness, and complexity as central tenets to such a research project. Urban communities remap the urban fabric as they navigate through it, but their map remains constantly in motion, providing more of a liquid display than a fixed sense of Athens. This brings to mind de Certeau's analysis of the

'moving, intersecting writings' of everyday city residents 'shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of space' (1984, 93).

Cosmopolitanism is embedded within postmodern urban ways of living. As Gavin Kendall, Ian Woodward and Zlatko Skrbis state, it 'is a project and not a nirvana-like state of social existence and harmony' (2009: 53). This warning is made in response to the populist conception of cosmopolitanism which is associated with a positive attitude, and abstract theorisations which do not translate to a useful analytic tool. Cosmopolitanism is not only a mental phenomenon, or simply an attitude, it is an ethical and political form; in particular, a form of understanding the Self through the lens of the Other.

This study engages with cosmopolitanism as a progressive and ongoing project which considers how erosion of nation states and increased mobilities result in changing communities, and is concerned with how these changes manifest shifts in expressions of culture through everyday actions (and not merely as writ in policy at national level). This is vital since it is in the embodied, performed actions and reactions of people that culture is constituted. It is the contention of this project to grapple with critical cosmopolitanism in action; with forms of 'actually existing' (Robbins, 1998) cosmopolitanism of the 'everyday or ordinary variety' (Lamont and Aksartova 2002). Cosmopolitanism in action is a behavioural repertoire which can only be grasped with reference to certain political, social and cultural conditions of the historical moment in question. In this line of thought, globalisation and postmodern features (mobility, fluidity, diversity) may be understood as necessary preconditions of the cosmopolitan moment analysed in this research.[1]

The questions which arise here are how 'dis-locations' and 'de-territorialisations' caused by the wear-and-tear of globalisation change the form of our map; and in what ways we can unpack the new dynamics between local, global and cosmopolitan (Delanty, 2006). In short, globalisation challenges and creates

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[1] I draw on theorists such as Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 2003); Ulrich Beck (2002, 2006); Homi Bhabha (1993, 2001); Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (1998); Gerard Delanty (2000, 2001, 2003, 2006); Gavin Kendall and Ian Woodward (2009); Mica Nava (2002); and Zlatko Skrbis (2004, 2007), who have engaged in critical conceptions of cosmopolitan theory.

new affiliations and questions the way we situate ourselves on the new map. Indeed, there is a common understanding that the dichotomy between local and global needs to be redefined. This redefinition provides space for shared connections and inspiration beyond closed categories. As such, cosmopolitanism today can only be understood with reference to the cultural, social, economic, philosophical and political features of the postmodern globalised space. This space is characterised by multiple layers in which identities, cultures, ideas and politics are embedded in the national, transnational, international and global spheres. Therefore, by definition, cosmopolitanism rejects the binary oppositions local/global and national/non-national. Rather, it favours the formation of gaps within which other elements encounter and transform each other. To rephrase, the local does not stop to exist but it transforms into a more complex space; a space where the particular and the universal interact. Of primary interest then, are the effects of globalisation evident in urban areas. As David Chaney has pointed out, 'cosmopolitan dispositions are closely related with cities, as cities have long been the sites for markets and the mixing of people, commodities, ideas and cultures' (2002: 158).

One of the first contributions to the idea of cosmopolitanism goes back to ancient Greece and Diogenes, who claimed, when asked where he came from, 'I am a citizen of the world' (Diogenes, 1925: 65). Though cosmopolitanism is a key concept in contemporary social sciences, I nevertheless became aware of a gap from the perspective of postmodern Athens and Greece. One can find numerous books and studies on ancient Greek philosophy and the *polis* of Athens, but little is written with a focus on its contemporary transformations as far as Athens is concerned. Furthermore, current research projects on immigration tend to be focused on issues of labour, micro-scale interactions and the new architecture of the city creating a gap with respect to the cultural aspects of immigration. This gap might be partly explained by the absence of an up to date critical language and the perpetuation of classical nostalgia that

surrounds the idea of Greece in academia.[2] This research project is shaped around these perceived gaps. There have been several theoretical arguments made in favour of what Lamont and Aksartova call 'a sociology of everyday practical cosmopolitanism' (2002: 18).[3] Yet, there has been little empirical research to support the theoretical position. Festivals as sites of encounter, celebration, and sites of identity formation are gaining critical currency (Giorgi, Sassatelli & Delanty, 2011). This project thus extends the contribution to the field providing timely accounts of a contemporary city. The research adds to the empirical accounts of festivals, and provides a new perspective on how moments of festivity interact with cosmopolitan narratives in the context of Athens.

As a primary research question, I consider to what extent Athens can be seen as a cosmopolitan city. In preparation for refining further research questions, I take globalisation and postmodernity as preconditions, leading to the need for a third space in which to question and debate personal and national identities.

The challenging of our sense of **'belonging'** leads to the understanding that old structures of oppression, domination and exclusion need to be reconceptualised. In the first instance, this is reflected through the transaction between the Self and the Other. I ask: when and how do we start to question our modes of belonging? Under what conditions do such dialogues occur? What are the existing barriers? How do we enter the space of deliberation? Starting from that understanding, new narratives of belonging and communities need to be framed. In this regard, and through the dimension of **'imagination'**, I pose the questions: what do such communities look like? What are the everyday practices that build these communities? How is tolerance and openness translated to recognition? Finally I conceive of **resistance**, asking: What is the

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[2] A recent example is from a high profile conference *Athens Dialogues* hosted by the Onassis Foundation in November 2010, at which more than half the contributions were Classical or Byzantium studies; and contemporary reflections referred only to economics; as though dialogues on any other element of Athenian culture and society was out of bounds.
[3] See, for example, Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Delanty, 2006; Held, 2010; Holton, 2009; Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Nava, 2002; Nowicka & Rovisco, 2009; Papastergiadis, 2007; Regev, 2007a, 2007b; Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002; Werbner, 1999.

transition from 'imagining' social change and becoming an agent of social change? What are the steps between 'active resistance' and 'cosmopolitanism in action'?

The research views Athens as a configuration of cultures and practices, each one having a unique character occupying a distinct space within the urban map. Such an approach can be a useful tool towards understanding a complex interplay of cultures and identities. I make a claim for a critical cosmopolitanism situated in daily performances and encounters of difference. The initial chapters chart Athens as an urban space that has recently been inscribed with Otherness, in the sense that mass immigration is visibly changing the city streets. The new citizens and the spaces they create carry markers of difference in terms of race and ethnicity, and also inevitably, of cultural performances. The research findings are presented as three case studies, followed by analysis and synthesis of the practices of cosmopolitanism in the current milieu in Athens. In addition, I include visual artworks as appendices, as a means of providing direct access to the voices of the artists; my research has been in conversation with exclusions and marginalities. In this section, I offer their artwork as a counter-point – in the form of visual diaries – which sit alongside my critical writing. I see this as enacting the cosmopolitan principles for which I argue.

The research begins by mapping the terrain, referring to its theoretical and empirical contexts. Lez Smart says that 'mapmaking is an endless quest for perspective' (2004: 10), characterising mapping as a means of exploring but also making an account of the exploration. Stories help set coordinates for how others might discover the territory in future. Mapping is thus not only about landmarks, but imagination. In this light, maps 'form one of the ways by which society has sought to represent, record and communicate its world' (Smart, 2004: 11). This remapping project attempts to revise and reveal the assumptions and prejudices which may have determined what terrains were mapped, and what landmarks, stories or spaces were included in the hegemonic blueprint. 'Remapping Athens' is, therefore, a critical collection of shifting landscapes, border-crossing stories and the emerging cosmopolitan

possibilities. This project is the researcher's attempt to place these new elements in a way that they would create a multiplicity of stories.

Chapter one asks the reader to imagine Athens through particular moments that changed the city's character and created tensions which led to the widespread re-evaluation of certain everyday practices of social behaviour. Simultaneously, the story of Athens outlines preconditions of globalisation and postmodernism that set the stage for an emerging cosmopolitan discourse. The next chapter focuses on such discourse, situating the research in the wider academic debates on cosmopolitanism. It specifies the term in relation to multiculturalism and pluralism, detailing three core dimensions. Cosmopolitanism is described as visible in cultural performances. Chapter three provides a translation of the theoretical dimensions into researchable social indicators of critical cosmopolitanism which can be applied to empirical research.

The next section (chapters four, five and six) offers three case studies representing contours, connecting points and deviant markers of the city's cosmopolitan milieu on a case by case basis. Urban gaps, seen as unintended outcomes, are also included. Each festival is explored through evocative descriptions of the events, alongside critical examples of how practice and ethos resonate with the indicators. In chapter seven, there is a further frame of analysis that emerged through the practices of conducting research. Such an approach forms the opportunity to engage with new perspectives through insights and ideas springing from data collection and case study analysis. The final model (Cosmopolitanism in Action) is presented through an analysis of the different layers of the map's fabric: the original research questions, the research journey with distinct festive moments, and the theoretical dimensions and outcomes. The terminal station in the analysis journey focuses on the deductions, formulating broader perspectives and making bridges with other studies. Future research routes and generalisable models for cosmopolitan remapping are offered.

I have set out the overall objectives of this study, placing the empirical research within a context that is temporally and spatially determined. Athens is drawn as

a contemporary city of changes and the urban playground for the three events and incidents studied. The manifestations of cosmopolitan practices are analysed, revealing connections between the different festivals, conveying narratives that can give a sense of Athens as a maddening, interesting and socially rich place rather than relying on the barren landscape offered by quantitative data. This project is reflexive, with practical intent, engaging contemporary moments in order to map cosmopolitan paths to the future.

CHAPTER 1

SITUATING ATHENS: CULTURE AND SOCIETY

> "I have also thought of a model city from which I deduce all the others", Marco answered, "It is a city made only of exceptions, incongruities, contradictions" (Calvino, 1997: 61).

In attempting to document the complex and multilayered city of Athens, one must counter the prevailing discourse in which any analysis of Athens is synonymous with a view of the city's 'glorious past'. The stereotypical notion of Athens as the archetypal city – the place where democracy and philosophy were born – has become emblematic, and indeed, is rarely questioned. These same stereotypes have trapped Greek identity and have created fixed patterns of social behaviour. Instead, an alternative reading of Athens focused on the contemporary character of the city is proposed. This by no means signifies the absence of the city's history altogether; contemporary Athens does not explicitly tell its past but contains it. Iain Chambers has suggested that cities only really exist as doubles – official and hidden versions, real and imagined places, in which material networks and structures parallel the maps of hopes, attitudes and customs in which urban subjects navigate daily. He reflects: 'we discover that urban reality is not single but multiple, that inside the city there is always another city' (1986: 183).

This chapter thus intends to explore the doubleness Chambers identifies, so that Athens may be seen as more than a residing place for legacy and tradition. A dynamic urban environment in which space and people mutually create one another, and in which the stories of both can be explored through investigating the narratives laid bare by festive moments, protests and on the city walls. Throughout the research, primary attention has been paid to the place and the people, the placing of people, and the spatio-temporal interaction of these elements in order to document and dissect how an urban environment can manifest and be manifested by cosmopolitan principles.

This chapter offers a more immediate voice to tell the story of Athens, cognisant of the contemporary multiplicity of narratives this city speaks. I deliberately insert a political, embodied perspective in order to locate myself as a researcher embedded within this context as not merely an objective observer, but as an active participant. In telling the tale, I ask readers to imagine a city, which, in later chapters, will be the site of three case studies. My story unfolds in postmodern Athens and is an attempt to question (and dispute) the processes though which stereotypical descriptions determine behavioural patterns and identity formations. 'Remapping' is an attempt to grasp the possibility of both collective and individual actions against such stereotypes.

What follows is an analysis of distinct moments - or what Bhabha calls *petits-recits* - that changed the city's character and created tension which led to the widespread re-evaluation of certain everyday practices of social behaviour.[1] The story begins by locating Athens within a temporal context providing an historical setting for the social phenomena of the contemporary city. The subsequent four sections outline precise conditions which have affected daily life in the city; namely increased immigration, street level activism in the form of protests, and the related influence of the economic crisis. The resultant overview of the city sketches an urban environment somewhat burdened by its historical legacy, fundamentally changed by new social dynamics caused by migration, and bound by the rules of austerity packages that together combine to form the backdrop to everyday life for Athenians. The task of this chapter is to locate instances of cultural practice in the social structures of Athens, and to critically investigate the terms that are employed in such *petits-recits*.

Urban (Re)visions: From Emigration to Immigration
Whilst the insidious reliance on ancient ideals permeates critical work on contemporary Athens, and a wariness of repeating such traps, the impact of classic Hellenic ideals on modern Greek identity must be acknowledged. The construction of homogenous ethnic identities through appealing to an ancient ideal and exceptional heritage is not a rare phenomenon, yet Vali Lalioti points

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[1] Bhabha (2009: 428) considers *petits-recits* the lived experiences that constitute (both as affirming and as counter narratives) to the grand narratives post-modernism seeks to identify and deconstruct.

out that the 'ancient ideals are supported by worldwide admiration' (2005: 450). Such idealised heritage makes forging new alternatives a difficult task. Indeed, as Paul Sant Cassia writes, Greece 'is characterised by two diverging forces: the certainties of its past and the uncertainties of its modern vulnerability' (2000: 298).[2]

Greece is a country of about eleven million inhabitants, half of whom live in the capital (ESYE, 2011). To this we can add the consideration that 60 per cent of Greek urbanites were born elsewhere, most maintaining a strong connection with their birthplace and not recognising Athens as their 'home' (Petiffer, 1993: 92). Internal migrations largely happened before the influx of immigrants in the mid-90s, who now constitute one-fourth of the city centre's inhabitants (Tzirtzilaki, 2008: 18). Athens is repeatedly accused of being a 'city of strangers' - some 'more strange' than others. The city's most recognisable signifiers lauding ancient civilisation and democracy sit alongside the evident urban decay underscoring the tensions and difficulties of conceiving a unified urban identity (if such a thing is possible, or desirable). Rather, the 'grand narrative' tells a story of conflict, occupation and xenophobia uncomfortably juxtaposed with the romanticised idealism of the birthplace of 'civilisation'.

In contemporary history, up until the late twentieth century, Greece had been characterised by consecutive waves of emigration. Consequently, there had been a conscious drive to determine a national identity that would serve to unify Greeks after the revolution ended the junta in the early 1970s.[3] The relative absence of immigration at this time may partly explain the gap in the constitutional and institutional conception of the reception of minorities (Koromilas, 2009: 386). Furthermore, this could serve as an explanation for the

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[2] In other words, one might say that modern Greek identity is based on certain dichotomies: East/ history/ past certainty versus West/ progress/ future vulnerability. This generates a tendency among many non-native academics to see Greece as a nation in constant pursuit of its identity (see Faubion 1993; Herzfeld 1982, 1987; Lalioti, 2005; Petiffer 1993; Sant Cassia 2000).

[3] A great number of non-Greek academics, in their research on what constitutes modern Greekness, claim religion and church institutions as the most prevailing characteristic after Greek language (see for example, Faubion 1993; Padel 1992; Pettifer 1993; Roberts & Legg 1997). Yet, such studies do not recognise the church as having retained autonomy during Ottoman occupation, and thus holding credibility as social sanctuaries from oppression, and not merely sanctuaries for the pious.

peculiar pathologies of the expression of Greek nationalism: as it deals with the demands of a unified national culture, Greekness becomes characteristically narrow-minded, experiencing itself as both superior and inferior to western culture, being simultaneously xenophobic and xenomanic. Whatever connects Greece with its 'glorious past' or its present as a member of the European Union is unquestioningly accepted, incorporated and reproduced; while anything that serves to remind Greece of its rule by the Ottoman Empire gets rejected with no second thought.[4] These selective procedures serve to create the hybridity of Greek identity.

Traditionally a nation of diasporic attachments, for the first time in the mid-1990s Greece received a considerable number of immigrants. For Greece, and for many other European countries, the 1990s was undoubtedly a decade of intense alterations caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the proliferation of globalisation, the constitutional and institutional deepening of the European Union and, finally, the violent eruption of Balkan nationalism. The starting moment of analysis is the mass influx of immigrants and the ways this shifting demographic has influenced Greek identity. Lalioti states that the traditional polarity of East/West has shifted, resulting in transformations in how Self and Other are questioned, stating that 'immigrants constitute a third axis around which the negotiation of ethnic identity and otherness in Greece is now conducted' (2005: 452).

Greece's geographical position borders the European Union with the Balkans, Asia and Africa with 92 per cent of the borders coastline, making it extremely difficult to have a secure border control system. These factors make Greece the ideal 'gate of entrance', for some legal but mostly 'illegal' immigrants,[5] into Europe (Papataxiarhis, 1998). It is currently almost impossible to gather accurate data on immigration, with the next in depth study from the National

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[4] Such superficial acceptance of the EU's authority has been more virulently questioned in the wake of the most recent credit rating in Greece, and the subsequent austerity measures implemented. In response, citizens are demanding more national autonomy, seeking to distance themselves from the EU. This is further analysed in the conclusion, see p. 190.

[5] I use the term 'immigrants' to describe illegal immigration, since naming a person illegal creates *de facto* negative identification, without making allowance for the multiple reasons people may have come to be in a country other than their own without the requisite papers.

Statistics Office to be released in 2012. The migration phenomenon in Greece is described as statistically invisible due to the high percentage of undocumented immigrants (Papataxiarhis, 2006: 45). However, estimates by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and migration experts have suggested that immigrant numbers have swelled to 1.5 million in 2011.[6] Most choose central Athens as their final destination because they are closer to their compatriots, friendly NGOs, supportive official institutions and there are more job opportunities.

Eleni Tzirtzilaki (2008) explores how immigrants transform the inner city in her book on Athenian dislocations. Her view is that relocations transform the city centre into a social space of cultural hybridities, contradictions and incongruities. The mere fact that more than 1 million immigrants settled in the city centre over the last decade does not itself make Athens 'multicultural' or 'cosmopolitan'; yet it raises interesting questions regarding the basis on which Greek society is constituted. In other words, it leaves an open space for the redefinition of the Self and the Other, as well as reflecting in the material conditions of the cityscape.

Since the mid-90s, the government showed a narrow recognition of difference and perpetuated an 'us and them' dichotomy, while in the mass media immigrants were portrayed as undesirable intruders. For many years scapegoating immigrants was a regular feature in the media so that immigrants were 'to blame' for all the evils in contemporary Greek society—unemployment, high crime rates and human trafficking (see Lalioti 2005; Lazaridis and Wickens 1999).[7] Resultingly, a recent survey conducted by the National Centre for Social Research on xenophobic attitudes showed that percentages of negative

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[6] Reports on immigration numbers and living conditions provided by the 'Lawyers for Refugees and Immigrants' Rights' (2011).

[7] There was a shift in the way 'liberal' media presented immigrants: people were no longer numbers for surveys, there was a personal story of oppression and suffering behind every number. In this view, the 'ideal immigrant' was tired, desperate, weak and had suffered a dangerous trip in order to get a chance for a better life. This stereotyped image of the 'poor immigrant' awakens feelings of pity and empathy. Until recently the media reproduced images which retained the superiority of the nation over immigrants, in which the Other is subjugated and sublimated by the grand narrative of nationhood.

perceptions of immigrants were double in Greece than that in the rest of Europe (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2009). This is a fairly predictable outcome for a nation mainly developed on the basis of what Anthony Smith calls 'ethnic nationalism' (1991), in which the goal is the formation of a homogenous society.

However, that view has obvious limitations, and despite incessant media attempts to characterise immigration as the root of all evil, everyday practices translated into a contradictory experience of simultaneous welcome and rejection. The fact that Greek emigrants had suffered from poverty and xenophobic prejudice, just as incumbents to Greece do nowadays, creates a feeling of empathy. We might see it as the understanding of the Other through the lens of the Self. Michael Herzfeld (1987) reflects this dual ethical response, as does Evthymios Papataxiarhis, saying emigrants' stories of dislocation affected the ethical responses and social understandings of immigration to Greece (2006: 440-41). One of the explanations might be seen in one of the strongest elements of Greek tradition - that of *philoxenia,* the custom of hospitality - that does not allow for a closed attitude towards immigrants.

After the first shock of the sudden disruption of homogeneity, many members of Greek society openly expressed their solidarity to immigrants. Institutional politics together with NGO's supported immigrants who were slowly creating their own communities. Also among the traits of Greek cultural heritage is a sense of political duty to defend democratic values, and one performance of Greek identity is the condemnation of fascist and racist attitudes.[8] In addition, most Greeks consider it their national duty to follow cultural elements of Greek tradition. This generates some thought-provoking contradictions: a contemporary xenophobic society with a strong tradition of *philoxenia*. At this point it is important to distinguish the individual from the collective. An immigrant seeking integration into Greek society might be treated with a certain degree of hospitality on the individual level; though once at the collective level, hospitality is transformed to scepticism and hesitancy. At an institutional level, scepticism

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[8] Recent history has seen Greeks overcome fascist occupations by Germans and Italians in the Second World War, overthrown a fascist regime (junta, 1973) and had, as emigrants, faced racism.

translates into slow bureaucratic processes of integration. The second point of analysis follows the urban trajectories of immigrants and their territorial stigmatisation after the major regeneration programmes that took place for the Olympic Games in 2004.

Whose City? Urban Outcasts and the Immigrant's Enclave
The Olympic Games were considered a great opportunity and a challenge to enlarge the city's development prospects and put Athens on the map as a major metropolitan centre in Southeast Europe (Economou et al, 2001: 12). The underlying objective was to promote multi-nucleic urban regeneration and development, with projects scattered all over the city (Beriatos & Gospodini 2004: 192). Athens upgraded its infrastructure by installing a new transportation network, including motorways, a tramway, a metro system and the Egnatia highway that connects Athens with the wider area of the Balkans. The idea was to promote Athens as the centre of the Balkans – the only modern metropolis in the area (Beriatos & Gospodini 2004; Economou et al, 2000; Kotzamani 2009). The Olympic preparation projects created hundreds of job positions mainly attended by immigrants. For a while everyone was happy. The locals saw their city changing into a vibrant metropolis; immigrants could easily find work, earn money and declare their space in the city; while politicians and the media were celebrating a new era for the city (Rozakou, 2006: 333).[9]

While Athens was busy celebrating, an invisible side effect of the Games was taking place in the centre of the city almost every day. New security measures for the Olympics included a CCTV system installed in greater Athens and new heavily equipped police forces were scouring the neighbourhoods. Homeless people, drug addicts and immigrants were forced to leave the commercial and tourist areas. In the hyper-security conscious milieu, it seems the Olympic Games and the newly upgraded Athenian landscape could not include everyone. This was the second-tier regeneration programme of 'invisible transformations' resulting in new ghettos for the excluded and destitute. The reformed areas of the city centre stayed clean and visible with areas that were

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[9] Of course, it is evident that accountability and transparency were lacking, since 'illegal immigrants' form a cheap and exploitable workforce. Job insecurity, economic invisibility and human rights abuses clearly overlap in this example of capitalism masked as regeneration.

not included in the regeneration and reformation plans remaining those of the socially 'excluded', rendering the 'unsavoury' elements of society invisible to the visitors (Totsikas, 2006).

In constructing the ideal host city for the Olympics, there was no political or social capital in the imagery of poor and marginalised people, and thus ghettoes of exclusion, deprivation and poor living conditions were created. These ghettoes were not based on strictly cultural or racial boundaries, but rather exclusionary factors were dominated by the prejudice of capitalism. As such, some excluded Greeks were part of this collage of religions, nationalities, languages, symbols and dreams. Tension, violent incidents and high levels of criminality were unavoidable in these areas; but nothing could break the 'happy bubble' the Games and the renovation and regeneration had created. As Maurice Roche (2002) has claimed, mega-events such as Olympic Games have become emblems for the hosting cities, reinforcing feelings of national pride based on stereotypes imposed by the dominant culture.[10] At the same time, the media coverage enables a widespread distribution of ethnocentric delirium to the watching world (2002: 165).

Yet, regeneration under the mask of modernisation comes at a cost, and this is only one side of the story. After the Games many intellectuals and local communities accused the state of creating a tourist city using a Western/American formula of regeneration not suitable for Athens (Gyparakis, 2005; Kazeros, 2005; Martinidis, 2005; Ntaflos, 2005). Their main argument was that some of the money could have been used for innovative programmes in the education system, for additional support of immigrants, and for the reformation of the health care and welfare systems. 'Instead of making specific groups of people invisible, we could help them integrate' (Kazeros, 2005: 103). The contention was against the tendency to create a commodified 'window display' of a multicultural city while simultaneously clearing up the by-products of poverty, exclusion and deprivation. The wasted investment could have been

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[10] A more recent example is the royal wedding in the UK (29 April 2011), in which nation building is predicated on the consumption and celebration of spectacle and festivity.

used on achieving better quality of life in the city for all its inhabitants, and instead, the state bank-rolled a failed vision of multiculturalism.

After the Games, central Athens was an area with gaps. On the one side the simulation of a 'microcosm of the West' (Baudrillard, 1994) that satisfied Greek xenomania; and on the other, ghettos for the excluded that added fuel to growing xenophobia. What happens in between those areas? What happens when people from one area want to cross the border and enter the 'forbidden territory'? The official answer was to intensify police control so the excluded would remain invisible. The heavily policed ghettoes in central Athens created negative reactions as Athenians tried to redefine their space in their everyday activities. A positive outcome is that the situation triggered considerable attention from local NGOs, meaning that excluded groups gained some support.

The Olympic Games prefaced the story of a society who experienced the Cinderella phenomenon: 'the city transformed for a little while and when the celebration was over, returned confused to its previous condition' (Politis, 2005). I would say that Athens returned confused and abused to its previous condition, because the Games translated to huge public debt and a series of corruption scandals. This added to people's dissatisfaction and less than two years after the Games everyone had forgotten that the magic city had achieved its pumpkin chariot - a European profile.

According to Politis the real change in the ways we think, act and live our lives happens only from within (2005: 220). As such, change is a product of thought and is produced from education and culture, which cannot be achieved with artificial imposition. Such imposition of superficial changes is like the mask at the ball. Once the revelry is over, Cinderella goes back to her former condition. And that was exactly the case with Athens.

Urban Protests: The Return of Street Politics

The state did not proceed with any of kind of institutional reformations; the government's commitments did not translate into implemented policy plans; no effective measures were taken to downsize national debt. The promised changes to immigration laws did not materialise; the basic salary went down to 700 euros; and no actions to improve the education system were made.[11] To this litany of public complaints one can add a series of corruption scandals along with the continuous police assaults in borderline areas of the city centre. Social conditions were unstable, and public confidence had reached an all time low. Some commentators used the word 'crisis'.

In early December 2008 a mass circulation newspaper published a special edition concluding that contemporary Greek society was in crisis, demonstrated through widespread expressions of dissatisfaction and the pursuit in every direction for a new belief.[12] The early assessment of crisis resulted in a volatile hostility towards the existing state of affairs, with the assertion that if Greeks rejected whatever already exists, new meanings would be forged. The articles concluded that only a mass movement which would be constructed through direct participation in attaining a common future which had been envisioned by the movement itself could liberate Greece from the existing structures of oppression. There are two prerequisites for such a movement to exist: someone or something to revolt against and someone who would set off the rebellion. This article outlined the former, and the same day, police violence provided the conditions for the latter, sparking massive protests that were unexpectedly intense, but not surprising in their expression of the structures of feeling that had been evident at a street level for some time prior.[13]

Rania Astrinaki writes of the resulting rebellion as an 'unprecedented' civilian resistance against the condition of the 'exclusion of political conflict from the

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[11] Since the austerity measures in 2011, basic salaries were further reduced to 400 euros. (Ignatiadis, 2011) Further constitutional changes as recently as August 2011 removed all reference to basic salary.

[12] *Kathimerini* published a special report on the Greek 'crisis' on Saturday 6 December 2008.

[13] This assertion bears some resemblance to the most recent revolts in London and across the UK in which widespread looting has been reported as symptomatic of more general social inequalities, with conservative commentators referring to 'Broken Britain' and liberal perspectives calling them the result of 'monstrous inequality' (See Chakraborty, 2011b).

political and symbolic order, a form of urban street politics partaking of both national and global processes' (2009: 99).[14] The events of December 2008 (now commonly referred to as 'December') became an opportunity for civilians to express their dissatisfaction in protests, marches, and ultimately, destruction of public property in riots that lasted for 22 days.

The incubating incident was relatively minor: a special forces policeman killed a young boy in a routine inspection in central Athens without provocation.[15] Public attention was drawn to the killing via social media, mobile phones and through word of mouth, with immediate effect: 'In less than two hours, more than 20,000 people were gathered, the news concerning the murder spread rapidly' (Kyriakopoulos & Gourgouris, 2009: 3). It is not in the scope of this research to provide a detailed report of the riots, yet they remain defining events that shaped the city's identity and brought into being new forms of subjectivity and new ways of urban belonging, through communal expressions of solidarity in street politics.[16]

Reactions in response to police murders are not historically unusual, but what happened in Athens quickly evolved into a much wider movement which found expression in a wide variety of actions, from attacking the parliament building and police stations to occupying universities and the national theatre building. These civic actions are responsible for a general questioning of many different aspects of Greek society, particularly amongst those who considered themselves excluded or marginalised. University students, young workers of the '700 euros generation', the unemployed and immigrants were among the people who joined the movement, creating the first 'multicultural' and 'multinational' rebellion in modern Greek history. Astrinaki asks what 'prompts this heterogonous people to join together?' (2009: 103). A critical consideration in the aftermath of the riots was the unique generalised ownership of the rebellion, in the sense that there was no single manifesto or agenda at play in

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[14] Astrinaki suggests: 'Parallels were drawn with the 2005 events in Paris, and less often with the 1992 events in Los Angeles, and May 1968 served as the touchstone and ideal' (2009: 99)

[15] It would be crass to suggest that civilian death is minor, yet as the apparent tipping point of public sentiment, the response seemed out of proportion.

[16] For a detailed description of the riots see Kampuli, 2009 and Wendy, 2009.

the staging of the uprising. People who had joined the movement were talking about the need to overcome individual isolation and the obligation to reclaim their lives and their city. The media could not find a way to stereotype and propagandise the movement because there was not a common profile among rioters.[17] They were males and females, students and their parents, young workers and older pensioners, Greeks and non-Greeks, lower class and middle/upper class, political but at the same time not belonging to a political party, they were those who had been oppressed by the existing power elite. Such diversity was one of the strong elements of the Greek uprising: it had created a faceless, borderless, multicultural, and polyvocal movement.

Many innovative resistance techniques were displayed in the streets of Athens, all with the common target of interrupting the everyday conditions of oppression and awakening people's consciousness. The rebellion was a space of political emergence, creating the opportunity for communication between disparate groups, in which a commonly felt sense of 'communities' was forged, albeit superficially. In light of this research what I perceive as the most important element of the rebellion is the openly expressed solidarity towards marginalised groups in the face of a common enemy. It was the first multiethnic performance *en masse* in modern Greece. As a means of giving voice to the movement, some of the rioters' words, found in leaflets and communiqués from that time, are reproduced:

> There is a mass participation of the second generation immigrants and many refugees also… They are part of the Greek society, since they've lived in no other… These days are for the hundreds of migrants and refugees who have been murdered at the borders, in police stations, workplaces… [These days] are for the humiliations at the border and the migrant detention centres, which continue... for all the times when we did react and we were alone because our deaths and our rage did not fit pre-existing shapes…These days belong to all the marginalised, the excluded, the people with the difficult names and the unknown stories… These days are ours too.
> *Signed by the 'Steki of Albanian Migrants'*

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[17] Astrinaki refers to the use of 'hoods' by the rioters – often demonised as the apparel of anti-authoritarians – now appropriated as a means of disguising personal identities. Aside from the obvious security reasons, masks or hoods are symbolic, representing the faceless majority excluded from decision-making.

> The democratic regime in its peaceful façade does not kill an Alex every day, precisely because it kills thousands of Ahmets, Fatimas, Jorges, Jin Tiaos and Benajirs: because it assassinates systematically, structurally and without remorse, the entirety of the so-called third world.
> *Signed by the Initiative from the Occupation of the Athens School of Economics and Business*
>
> We no longer have anything to do than to install ourselves in this possibility transforming it into a living experience: by grounding it in the field of everyday life, our creativity, our power to materialise our desires, our power not to contemplate but to construct the real. This is our vital space now.
> *Signed by the immigrants who are under constant state control because they have the wrong colour.*
> (December collected communiqués, 2008). [18]

The legacy of the riots created a sense of civil society. The impacts could be seen in the ways in which central Athens' neighbourhoods retained the sense of community that had developed during December. People stayed mobilised, and communities organised themselves at a local level which allowed instant participation. One political concession to the demands was that second-generation immigrants were told they could become Greek citizens.[19] Moreover, twelve squatted buildings in central Athens were given to immigrants, two of them operating as schools and giving free Greek lessons (since language learning is considered a key factor in integration policies in Europe). The visible aftermath of December is what Maria Theodorou terms 'architectural resistance' (2009). Buildings that were no longer in use were squatted and became independent art hubs, theatres and places where people meet and exchange ideas. Urban gaps were transformed to green spaces actively welcoming and supportive of immigrant communities. Further, there is also a big movement of political street artists contributing to the new city aesthetics. According to Theodorou people began to 'redefine their being in the city' (2009).

In the months afterwards, the movement of December was neither crushed nor quelled; it was transformed into new ways of being in the city, with a new mode of examining Greek relations with Others. Everyone who participated shared a common experience that had nothing to do with language, nationality, religion or culture. There was a collective need to break individual isolation. The rebellious

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[18] These collected communiqués were distributed as leaflets, and were translated by myself.
[19] This law is No. 3731/2008 (Φ.Ε.Κ. A, 263) [Government Gazette Vol. 263]. See enet.gr (2009) for more information.

experience was a common activity based on the realisation that the issues raised by the rioters concerned everybody. After all, as the rioters said 'December was not the answer, but the question'; a question calling for the redefinition of our subjectivity and the recognition of the Other.

Economic Crisis: State of Emergency or Emergence?[20]
Where the riots of 2008 had been driven by ideology, the daily socio-economic conditions during late 2009 and 2010 were increasingly desolate. Post-riot, the mobilisation that had emerged turned against government in addition to the police. The dissatisfaction at corruption, mismanagement and police brutality was now underscored by a growing economic instability, which had resulted in massive job losses, high taxation and social welfare reform. Resultingly, there were two main reactions: firstly, the victim approach: to see enemies everywhere, with Greeks cast as victims, and secondly, the resistance approach: demanding wide reformation of policy, social structures, and fiscal management.

Crime increased as a result of job losses, and immigrant communities were demonised, and as confidence in the government dwindled, politicians lost seats to right wing parties in local elections. Furthermore, the inability of the government to react effectively to immigration has meant that social deprivation worsens even as the numbers of immigrants without access to papers increases daily. It is a wide-scale problem with far-reaching consequences.

Since events are currently unfolding at a rapid rate, with ever more dramatic threats of social instability linked to the potential bankruptcy of the country, it seems prudent to avoid conjecture, and instead consider the social zeitgeist evident on Greek streets. These are, for example, deep seated mistrust of authority: whatever can be seen as a symbol of the existing situation that led to the crisis is under attack. A sense of political awareness such that the communities formed after December 2008 do not share the apathy towards politics shown by the government-controlled unions. If the government does not

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[20] The subtitle borrows from the following quote from Bhabha: 'the state of emergency is also a state of emergence' (1994: 59).

pay attention to their demands, they take to the streets and protest. Fundamentally, people have experienced a crisis of values and beliefs: the crisis is not merely financial, but calls into question the performances and habits of a generation implicated in bribery, corruption, false accounting and state kickbacks.

Symbols of the 'old world' are under attack in an attempt to crystallise national identity in terms of participation in the production of contemporary culture and not through the historical continuity between ancient and modern Greece. The innovative element is not the enforced window dressing of multiculturalism, and the fluidity of our post-modern environment, but the pervasive awareness of it. The fact that people in central Athens form communities and declare their rights out on the streets demonstrates that awareness. Moreover, it is the realisation of a 'common enemy' and a vision for a common future that generates feelings of empathy and solidarity that gave birth to the multicultural protests in central Athens. Such awareness comes with the sense that viewing Greek identity (or any other kind of identity) through oppositions puts emphasis on boundaries and does not encourage a collective declaration of a 'better future' and a 'better Athens'.

Concluding Remarks

According to Henri Lefebvre, the city is always related with society in total: its history, main elements, functions and the synthesis thereof. Thus, the city changes whenever society shifts. However, the transformation of the city is not the passive result of social cycles. The city is also dependant on the direct connections between persons and groups that form society (Lefebvre, 1977: 63). The central Athens of previous years is now a terrain of conflict and metamorphosis. Urban identity was inevitably affected by the phenomenon of mass immigration (Kondylakis, 1999: 49). Since immigration constitutes a meeting point of 'us' and the 'Other', meaningful alterations are derived from those meetings.

Perhaps in these concluding remarks it is fitting to situate myself in the city: my hometown of urban contradictions that have always held enormous fascination

for me. In this research I navigate my in-betweenness as insider and outsider to this city, and have needed to explore the murky details of the corrupt and slow moving bureaucracy alongside often surprising moments of festive expressions of resistance. Some might consider the chasm too wide, yet emergent discourses of cosmopolitanism celebrate these gaps as they contain the potential for negotiation. Cosmopolitan attitudes arise from the juxtaposition of difference within one's own life in which new social routines take shape and where new spaces open up leading to a potential social transformation. There is continuous compromise and dialogue within any culture, or to use Bhabha's words, by engaging in 'cultural translation' (1992) individuals deconstruct and reconstruct the way in which society is experienced and expressed. In his view cultures are dynamic products of translation between different systems of meaning. 'The Otherness is the place that displaces the original thereby opening the possibility of articulating different cultural practices' (1992: 210-11). In the following chapters the social production of cosmopolitanism is analysed through gaps of cultural controversies and contradictions; gaps that form spaces for dialogical imagination in everyday life.

CHAPTER 2
CHARTING COSMOPOLITAN THEORY

The Stoics suggest that we should imagine ourselves not as bounded to local affiliations but as surrounded by a series of concentric circles of inter-connections. 'The first one is drawn around the Self; the next one takes in one's family… outside all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole' (Nussbaum, 1997: 9). Cosmopolitanism as an idea arises from this simple model of concentric circles. Such a view supports the inclusion of every human being while at the same time critically questions the relationship between the Self and the rest of the circles included in the model. In brief, it challenges the relation between the Self, the Other and the world.

More than 2000 years after its birth, cosmopolitanism has become an important approach in social theory. It has been associated with many different values, activities and institutions with a Stoic genesis, Kantian influence and contemporary manifestations. It is valuable to acknowledge this long tradition, since the Stoic cosmopolitan project was primarily ethical and political, while Immanuel Kant advanced the concept through what Patrick Hayden calls 'unification of the moral, legal, and political in Kant's thought', elevating the tradition to a more complex 'genuinely global political project' (2005: 17). Yet this research considers cosmopolitanism in a contemporary milieu, acknowledging its historical trajectories, but seeking to chart new routes through its current applied manifestations. These multiple strands have made cosmopolitanism a vigorous, yet ambiguous and hazy concept. The ambiguity might be seen in the variety of ways cosmopolitanism has been conceived of by both intellectuals and in popular culture. In recent years, thinkers have sought to further delineate and specify the core of cosmopolitan theory, resulting in an overwhelming range of conceptions.[1] Perhaps this is because postmodern

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[1] Examples of the range of conceptions of cosmopolitanism are: visceral cosmopolitanism, rooted cosmopolitanism, comparative cosmopolitanism, national, vernacular, banal, situated, actually existing, unconscious, imagined, South Asian cosmopolitanism and so forth. And that does not even count what Hollinger (2002) calls the highly significant use of adjectival forms of cosmopolitanism to determine other ideologically salient nouns in the same domain: cosmopolitan democracy, cosmopolitan nationalism, cosmopolitan patriotism, post-colonial cosmopolitanism amongst others.

understandings fundamentally question presumptions of universality; and thus cosmopolitanism cannot be conceived as a unified and universal ideal. Rather, since it is contingent on identities and culture, it is necessarily always in process and under contention. It is this potential for negotiation, and the need to consistently re-evaluate, refine, redefine and even remap this concept, which means that doors of possibility can be opened. Questioning the very essence of the concept is itself a cosmopolitan action.

On the other hand, there is an ongoing and disempowering appropriation of cosmopolitanism in the way it has been co-opted by popular culture, resulting in banal identifications of positivist harmony. For example, glossy tourist brochures advertising 'cosmopolitan cities', suggesting that foreigners and Others would be 'at home' even when far from home. The globalised consumption of this fantasy of a 'global village' means that the spaces opened up for dissent and disagreement are minimised. In fact, popular representations uphold the myth of an untroubled, smooth path of co-existence with Others. However, the understanding of the globalised world as resulting in 'sameness' has meant that the need for reviewing of cultural, social, and linguistic assumptions is erased. It is politically naïve to believe that a new humanity of tolerance and 'world-sensitive sensibilities' (Skrbis et al, 2004: 132) would be constructed from a zero point without agony, struggles and grief.

In reaction to this banal appropriation of cosmopolitanism, and as a means of using cosmopolitan discourse as a valuable tool for social research contemporary thinkers have engaged in a more critical conception of cosmopolitan theory.[2] This study deals with the project of critical cosmopolitanism in action. Critical cosmopolitanism can only be understood with clear reference to the political, social and cultural features of the historical moment in question. As such, the cosmopolitan question in this research is highly influenced by the unique features of late 20th and the early 21st centuries – i.e. globalisation and the new dynamics it creates in which identities, cultures

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[2] Such as: Bauman, Z., 2000, 2003; Beck, U., 2002, 2006; Bhabha, H., 1993, 2001; Delanty, G. 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006; Kendall, G. et al 2009; Nava, M., 2002; Papastergiadis, N., 2005, 2007; Routledge, P., 1996, 2009; Skrbis, Z., 2004, 2007.

and politics break national borders along with the postmodern celebration of mobility, hybridity and multiple subjectivities.

This chapter is designed as a conceptual map of the cosmopolitan condition in our postmodern, globalised terrain. Therefore, it starts by outlining globalisation as a precondition of the emerging discourse of cosmopolitanism, then considers its value as opposed to multiculturalism and pluralism. It proceeds by considering the micro-level of identity formation and the increasing reconfiguration of our modes of belonging echoing the moral and ethical dimensions of cosmopolitan theory. It then moves to cultural aspects of cosmopolitanism with a focus on everyday activities and practices through imagination. A prominent feature of the argument centres on the open space for exchange created by socio-economic interdependencies and cross-border mobilities. The next section of this chapter puts emphasis on the self-transformative drive to remake the world in concrete and local terms through active participation. Strongly connected to this idea, is the understanding of cosmopolitanism as a social performance.

Laying the Ground: Globalisation as Precondition
Globalisation has been maligned as a recent concept, often simplistically considered a project of the hegemonic West, as a means of spreading capitalistic patterns of consumption and behaviour under the regime of the open market. However, it is not a new phenomenon; with world religions responsible for erasing great distances with their capacity to spread beliefs and ideas. What *is* new is humanity's unprecedented interconnectedness, mobility, and access to technology. Inevitably this means that globalisation becomes a more pressing concern and influence in the everyday lived reality of people. Yet, globalisation is not an external project happening somewhere distant; but rather a procedure with great impact on everyday circumstances. John Tomlinson refers to 'the globalising of local experience' to describe the effect of globalisation in our locally situated everyday activities (1999: 58).

It is important to note that globalisation is an uneven phenomenon. It privileges certain groups of people, disempowering others, thereby introducing new

patterns of domination and subordination. Tomlinson says that the 'power geometry' of globalisation is 'not about people being excluded from the process, but about the differential access to control over events within the process' (1999: 132). No one is excluded from this dominant narrative: even marginalised groups experience a transformation in their local environments. Equally important is the fact that globalisation is an irreversible and incontrovertible phenomenon. What is increasingly evident as we move into the 21st century is that the boundaries between here and there, home and away, local and global have become blurred.

The massive wave of globalisation has expanded the speed and scale of worldwide flows of people, ideas, capital and goods. For Arjun Appadurai (1996), mobility has become an emblematic concept of life within the globalised world, expressed in fluid terms of cultural 'flows' and 'scapes'. Mobility is conceived in all its complexity, from diasporic movements to the circulation of resources and ideas. Thus, globalisation changes the understanding of fixed borders and calls for a critical redefinition of the way human beings inhabit and understand the world. The context for thinking about where we belong can no longer be specified according to a purely geographical notion of place and historical sense of connection.

What is at stake is the very constitution of being, our modes of experiencing the world and our everyday interactions. Globalisation is a daily phenomenon involving human agents in the active construction of social forms and global flows. In these series of transactions there are social structures, cultures and forms of power that are produced, reproduced and of course transformed through everyday interactions.[3] A global market has been created along with networks of production and commodity chains, which has wide ranging consequences on social structures, such as increased urbanisation; a new geometry of poverty; massive population mobility; and huge migration waves, all of which cause alarm and anxiety. Yet, 'the state of emergency is also a state of

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[3] A good example of this is digital communication with its capacity to compress time and space resulting in globally connected communities of people.

emergence' (Bhabha, 1994: 59). Consequences of globalisation give rise to transnational identities, new forms of cultural hybridity, alternative realisation of belonging, and new visions of civil society. This partly explains the contemporary resurrection of cosmopolitan discourse. This is not to claim that globalisation is the same as cosmopolitanism, as Skrbis ironically says; 'globalised we all may be but this does not make us cosmopolitans' (2007: 730). Globalisation and the resulting postmodern subjectivities transform personal, cultural and political territories. Since globalisation has increased the pace of the commodification of culture, there is an urgent need for stories that reflect the complexity of difference, assimilation, inclusion and exclusion to be shared.

Social solidarity is translated into active citizenship in order to provide the ground for a glimpse of an alternative society. Cosmopolitanism seeks to create compelling narratives of the possibility for change. It is my claim that cosmopolitanism needs an account of how this can happen; particularly through the specificity empirical examples can offer. Before moving on, in an attempt to define critical cosmopolitanism and defend the need for a cosmopolitan perspective, I will situate myself in the 'cosmopolitanism *vis-à-vis* multiculturalism and pluralism' debate.

Cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis Multiculturalism and Pluralism
Broadly speaking, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and pluralism are concepts associated amongst others with migration issues, emerging postnational communities and the notion of global civil society. To crystallise the notion of cosmopolitan discourse I will start by addressing common puzzlements: is cosmopolitanism just another term to celebrate what is widely known as multiculturalism? Is every non-homogenous society a cosmopolitan one? And why is there a need for a critical cosmopolitan agenda? The specificity of the term will be determined in this section.

The key conceptual difference is between the multicultural approach to discover common ground the cosmopolitan engagement with human diversity. For cosmopolitans the variety diversity of humankind is a fact; for multiculturalists it is the beginning of the puzzlement. What causes confusion is the fact that both

theories share an understanding of heterogeneity. Yet, multiculturalism is based on preserving inherent differences while cosmopolitanism focuses on bridge-building procedures. As Gayatri Spivak claims,

> cosmopolitanism urges each individual and collective unit to absorb as much varied experience as it can, while retaining its capacity to achieve self-definition and to advance its own aims effectively (1988: 278).

The multicultural claim for 'either sameness or diversity' is a false debate between false alternatives, which can be resolved through handling of diversity in which strategies are 'recognised, demarcated and related to one another in accordance with the both-and principle' (Beck, 2008: 67). Cosmopolitanism essentially means recognition of otherness, such that differences are neither ranged in a hierarchy nor dissolved into universality, they are accepted as they are. As Sidney Tarrow points out 'it is through difference that we understand the Self… it is through people's relation to significant Others that cosmopolitan attitudes are shaped' (2005: 41).

Furthermore, because multiculturalism is based on the rhetoric of inclusion it cannot properly address the politics of exclusion and thus it cannot reflect the complexity of daily situations. Who participates in cultural production and how can marginalised voices find their own space for representation? Rather than aiming to erase differences or to 'even things out', cosmopolitanism uses a basis for community, identity and struggle against the existing power relations at its source. Cosmopolitan theory is more oriented to the individual, while multiculturalism favours group formations and as such it usually identifies the individual with reference to a fixed community. Cosmopolitanism is neither a dialogue among static closed cultures, each of which is homogenous; nor a celebration of a collection of closed boxes. It can be envisaged as the modern Pandora's Box: acknowledging spaces of disconnection and suffering, recognising moments of tension and dissatisfaction, while at the same time proposing a dynamic invention of a new space; a space of transformational encounters imbued with contradictions, ambiguities, ambivalences, traces of feelings and practices escaping fixed notions of identity. It is in such spaces that cosmopolitan theory can offer an alternative vision for being in the world.

Bhabha describes this space of critical exchange as a 'third space' which holds the promise for an alternative society. For him, the collective site-building of such a third space would involve discursively and practically conceptualising an international culture which does not exoticise (as multiculturalism does), nor uphold 'diversity', but prioritises hybridity. He calls for the recognition of

> the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, anti-nationalist histories of the 'people'. And by exploring this Third Space we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of our selves (1994: 38).

Moreover, multiculturalism has, on many occasions, become commodified. The glitter of cultural differences sells well: ethnic cuisine, world music, exotic beauty are all products ready to be consumed in the global market. Cosmopolitanism should and must avoid the trap of becoming a trendy term cannibalised by the global market. Thus, this research is a call for a more critical unpacking of cosmopolitan theory that maintains a political commitment to radical social change. Such a theory moves towards empowering a multiplicity of resistances rather than searching for the singular transformation that somehow must precede and guide all others.

A further discourse that causes misunderstandings is 'pluralism'. Both the cosmopolitans and pluralists are advocates of diversity and tolerance, but cosmopolitanism is more liberal in style, oriented to the individual, it 'favours the formation of new communities of wider scope made possible by changing the historical circumstances and demographic mixtures' (Hollinger, 2002: 231). Pluralism is more conservative in style, since it 'is oriented to the pre-existing group, and protects the cultures of already well established groups' (Hollinger, 2002: 232). Thus, cosmopolitans are experts in the creation of the new, while cautious about destroying the old; pluralists are experts in the perpetuation of the old and cautious about creating the new.

Cosmopolitanism is not multiculturalism, nor pluralism, it is a reflexive process that favours a dynamic of mutual transformation rather than 'a static respect for each other's integrity or a pledge to a universal notion of humanity' (Feher,

1994: 276). It is cosmopolitan philosophy that can intensify mutuality by making it more compelling, more seductive, more of a lure for feelings and actions; and gradually link everyday practices with the belief that an alternative society can be constructed. It is the framework which combines personal ethics, practices and imagination with social action. It is not just longing for a better future, or wishing for a rainbow community to emerge. The potential already exists in the small everyday gestures, in the fluid structures of the postmodern community. Particularly in this turning point of Greek[4] and European[5] history, where there is a shared dissatisfaction with the progress of the multicultural approach, 'cosmopolitanism can be the way out of crisis' (Beck, 2007). The final conclusions of the study will further compare multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism through practical and grounded approaches.

Cosmopolitan Attachments: Investigating the Question of Belonging
People have for centuries constructed their sense of belonging and their understanding of home along the idea of certain socio-spatial attachments. The notion of belonging in modernity was anchored to local and national attachments. Benedict Anderson (1983) coined the term 'imagined communities' to state that a nation is a socially constructed community since it can be imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that community. But how should people imagine their communities under the new dynamics created by globalisation? As Beck argues

> to the question 'Who am I'? Where do I belong? There is no longer a single answer that remains the same throughout one's life. Instead, there are a variety of possible answers, just as there are a variety of modes of belonging and layers of identity. Which answer is chosen and which identity is prioritised in a given case depends on external circumstances and on the desires and inclinations of the agent in question (2006: 26).

Our sense of 'who we are' and 'where we belong' has been intersected by a variety of global conditions. The circulation of symbols, the migration of people,

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[4] Greek Prime Minister Georgios Papandreou, in a speech for the International Migrants Day, on 18th December 2010, claimed that 'multiculturalism is not working for Greece…There is a greater need for new approaches and political reforms' (transcribed Tsilimpounidi 2010).
[5] In a speech to young members of her party the German chancellor Angela Merkel was explicit "This multicultural approach, saying that we simply live side-by-side and live happily with each other has failed. Utterly failed' (Hewitt, 2010).

and consumerist culture alongside 'economic crisis' have all radically affected previously held associations with place. Although we all have certain feelings of belonging, today we are more like passengers in a project called postmodernity than we are inhabitants of a single given place. The forces of globalisation have pushed to the fore issues of identity, ethnicity and belonging as they reshape geographies/localities, cultures and politics. Jürgen Habermas speaks of a 'post-national constellation associated with globalisation' (2001: 3). Beck detects 'the emergence of a post-national epoch in the revolution of modernity' (2006:9), while for Martin Köhler, this transition is represented as a shift from a national towards a post-national public realm. This occurs, he asserts, when social activities are predicated around collective values and interests 'such as human rights, democratic participation, the rule of law and the preservation of the world's heritage' (1998: 231). Beck considers that the resulting interdependencies 'give rise to new kinds of human sociability' (Beck 2002b: 30), and create a terrain for cosmopolitan attachments.

Such concepts that appear to rest on postmodern contingencies do not erase or replace principles of modernity, according to Edgar Grande, who insists that

> if cosmopolitanism is to have lasting effects, it must become reflexive and incorporate an awareness of its own conditions of possibility. Consequently, cosmopolitanism must achieve a meta integration of principles of modernity (quoted in Beck, 2006: 68). [6]

Put another way, cosmopolitan theory suggests a different interpretation of the meaning and significance of belonging and those related concepts such as place, locality, home, city, country and nation. In encouraging people to think differently, cosmopolitanism is not suggesting that we should discard old and familiar ways of thinking about belonging, but rather to question them in new ways that aim to open up and expand the meaning and critical sensibility of already established imaginations. It is a radical and critical cosmopolitan perspective with reference to the deconstruction and strategic reconstruction of conventional modern patterns of thought.

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[6] Edgar Grande (2003) and Ulrich Beck (2006) use the term 'reflexive cosmopolitanism'. According to them 'reflexive cosmopolitanism would be the regulative principle by means of which the combined action of universalist, nationalist and cosmopolitan norms must be regulated in the second modernity' (Beck, 2006: 68).

Society is no longer simply equated with national society and national space, yet the ever-increasing mobility of people has produced 'a peculiar uprootedness that consists not so much of lacking roots but of having roots in various places' (Appadurai, 2001: 8). What is new in our era is the increasing number of people and groups 'whose relations place them beyond their local and national settings without detaching them from locality' (Mau et al, 2008: 5). On such grounds, some rushed to celebrate a forthcoming cosmopolitanisation of reality, as if merely by mobilising people, goods and ideas, the result would be fully adjusted connectivity. According to Beck 'cosmopolitanisation means that reality itself, i.e. social structures, are becoming cosmopolitan' (2006: 71). In his view, we are witnessing the emergence of an increasing dependence that demands the 'transformation of the foundations of everyday consciousness and of identities' (2006: 73).

Beck's argument is important as he foresees a cosmopolitan possibility arising. The mere fact that cross-border mobilities exist is insufficient for the realisation of cosmopolitanisation, which requires a consciously adopted awareness of intercultural openness. A cosmopolitan perspective cannot be fulfilled through the view of global interdependencies; rather, it is an alternative imagination which transforms the local into a more complex space with multiple layers of attachment. One way of grasping the dynamic local/global interaction is through the concept of 'glocalisation' developed by Ronald Robertson. According to him the local and the global – or, in his terms 'the particular' and 'the universal' – do not exist as 'cultural polarities but as mutually interpenetrating principles' (1995: 29-30). [7] Therefore, cosmopolitan theory provides a new way of engagement between the local *and* the global. A similar point has been raised by Delanty when he speaks of

> a sociologically driven critical cosmopolitanism [which] concerns the analysis of cultural modes of mediation by which the social world is shaped and where the emphasis is on moments of world openness created out of the encounter of the local with the global (2006: 27).

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[7] In chapter 3 I analyse the methodological advantage of the concept.

In their 'belongingness hypothesis' Roy Baumeister and Mark Leavy argue that the need to belong is a fundamental human motivation and that therefore 'humans have a pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive and significant interpersonal relationships' (1995: 497). That is, a sense of belonging is central to the experience and performance of elementary human interaction. Furthermore, a personally rewarding sense of belonging is derived from the need and the capacity to engage in multiple and meaningful attachments. Belonging is a reflexive mode, it is about 'being proactive and taking responsibility for a common future' (Appiah, 2005: 212).

Benjamin Barber claims that people tend to develop attachments and a sense of belonging to specific, tangible things, rather than the abstract; certain neighbourhoods, areas, communities and families: 'Our attachments start parochially and only then grow outward' (1996: 24). The significance of Barber's position is in its emphasis that a capacity to built attachments goes along with the ability to feel comfortable and rooted in a particular place. This fully supports the position that the cosmopolitan possibilities and local attachments are not mutually exclusive, which in turn reinforces Ulf Hannerz' claim that 'there can be no cosmopolitans without the locals' (1990: 239). For Kwame Anthony Appiah cosmopolitanism is only imaginable as rooted within a particular place, with its impact measured in local participation: 'a citizen of the world can make the world better by making some local place better' (2005: 241). Consequently, acknowledging roots, points of departure or origin does not negate cosmopolitan theory; yet the cosmopolitan agenda moves beyond celebrating to forging new sense of belonging.

Craig Calhoun critiques 'cosmopolitan liberals' for their tendency to characterise their own position as freedom from belonging, without recognising that it is a special kind of belonging; 'a view from nowhere or everywhere rather than from particular social spaces' (2003: 532). No elements of the population should be seen as free-floating monads, but rather as linked to multiple spaces. Cosmopolitanism, after all, 'is a presence not an absence, an occupation of particular position in the world' (Calhoun, 2002: 89). Having local affiliations does not restrict anyone from holding a cosmopolitan vision. Instead of *a priori*

privileging either cosmopolitans or locals, we should recognise their reflexive interdependency, since individuals hold the capacity to navigate between them.

Cosmopolitan theory offers a way of addressing the complexities surrounding the question of 'belonging': in particular, the tension between belonging to a local community and to humanity as a whole. A cogent example of this tension is found in Hannah Arendt's example of personal/human responsibility. Arendt linked Nazi war crimes with the idea of humanity; she argued that 'guilt must go beyond war guilt and must include crimes against humanity' (1994: 49). Accordingly, the emergence of 'crimes against humanity' assumes the prior emergence of humanity *per se* and is the product of 'belongingness' and collective responsibility for a common fate. To return to the Stoic model of concentric circles, what Arendt did was to highlight the largest circle of humanity as her point of reference.

Bruce Ackerman (1994; 2009), Appiah (2005), Mitchell Cohen (1992) and David Hollinger (2002) use the term 'rooted cosmopolitanism' to acknowledge a sense of location and a point of departure, as a way of thinking and living in terms of inclusive oppositions. A rooted cosmopolitanism is grounded in the socio-cultural specificities of the nation-state, while also taking violations of human rights outside the national space seriously. The moral advocacy of rooted cosmopolitanism rests on the proposition that 'attachments to the local space [do] not necessarily imply ethnocentrism or nationalism' (Ackerman 1994: 517). As Victor Roudometof (2005) argues cosmopolitanism should not be confused with the negation of national identity. What is 'rooted' in this concept is that, as

> individuals move cognitively and physically outside their spatial origins, they continue to be linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences and opportunities that place provides them with (Hollinger 2002: 235).

Cohen returns to the notion of concentric circles, suggesting that a rooted cosmopolitanism takes multiple possibilities into account, all of which may stand in many circles but which nevertheless have common ground (1992: 480, 483).

Following the same line of thought Bhabha coins the term 'vernacular cosmopolitanism', as 'vernacular shares an etymological root with the "domestic" but adds to it the process and performance of translation, the desire to make a dialect' (2001: 48). It is that desire for dialogue that makes cosmopolitanism a vigorous concept which holds the promise of new imaginaries. Accordingly, Nava says that cosmopolitan aspirations need to be understood not only in relation to critiques of nationalism from political and ideological points of view, but also from interpersonal and psychosocial senses of dislocation and non-belonging (2002: 89). Nava's view is that national cultural identity becomes permeable, and that vernacular cosmopolitanism is evident in the '*ordinariness* and *domestication* of difference' (2002: 94, emphasis in the original). In this view, cosmopolitanism is not so much an idealised approach as an embodied and everyday phenomenon of multiple negotiations.

In addition, Stuart Hall sees cosmopolitanism as 'the ability to stand outside of having one's life written and scripted by any one community' (2002: 26), meaning that in this view it is possible to dictate 'belongingness', without it being ascribed by predetermined categories such as race, ethnicity or class. A similar formation is echoed in Benita Parry's term 'postcolonial cosmopolitanism' (1992) which proclaims multiple cultural detachments and reattachments from within a critique of imperialism, hierarchies and hegemonic structures. In her view, cosmopolitanism contains the possibility for power struggle. Anthropologist Hannerz also demonstrates that cosmopolitan connections occur, in varying ways, and with a range of coexistent tensions, multiple allegiances, and intersubjectivities. His conception allows for 'divided commitments, ambiguities, and conflicting resonances as well' (1996: 90).

What retains significance for cosmopolitan theory is the positive outcome of global attachments and postmodern hybridity connected with the acknowledgement that forms of 'belonging' and identity are constructed through a navigation of difference and that the presence of gaps and contradictions is not necessarily a sign of failure, as Papastergiadis suggests (1997: 258). In the remapping process change is seen as far more crucial than any kind of continuity. To remap means to constantly redefine our own positions as

attached to neither national nor global terrain, but in the in-between spaces created by the erosion of binary oppositions. In contrast with the idea of local detachment as a symptom of globalisation, cosmopolitanism promotes the reality of reattachment in the form of multiple subjectivities. Indeed, for Paul Rabinow, cosmopolitanism should be conceptualised as an 'ethos of macro-interdependencies' with a sense of the particularities of 'places, characters, historical trajectories and fates' (1986: 258).

Cosmopolitanism is an unfolding sequential trajectory of self-development; inclusion of the Other; and fruitful meaning-making among individuals, cultures and traditions. As such, it holds a sense of mutuality in 'conditions of mutability and to learn to live tenaciously in terrains of historic and cultural transition' (Pollock & Bhabha, 2000: 580). Such transitional terrains - emerging third spaces - provide the possibility for new and varied forms of bonding. Scott Lash and John Urry suggest that 'modern society is a society on the move' (1994: 252) which no longer requires individuals to adhere to pre-existing forms of belonging. There is a growing awareness of the desire to create new communities, new locations of resistance, meeting places where new and radical encounters can occur. Such desires, moments and places which question fixed boundaries (ethnic and cultural, for example) and unchangeable customs, thus allow the cosmopolitan imagination to flourish.

Cosmopolitan Imagination: Reflections on Possibilities
In order to crystallise the domains of experience and expectations, Beck calls for the internalisation of difference. He sees this as mutual coexistence of contradictory differentials in terms of lifestyle and certainties for individuals and societies (2006: 89). By this is meant a world in which it is necessary to understand, reflect and criticise difference, and in this way to recognise and accept oneself and others as different and, hence, of equal value. The cosmopolitan outlook and sensibility opens up a space for what he terms 'dialogical imagination' in daily practice. According to him, 'cosmopolitan competence, as a fact of everyday life, forces us to develop strategies for translation and bridge-building' (2006: 90). This involves two things: on the one hand, 'situating and relativising one's own form of life within other horizons of

possibility' (2006: 90); and on the other, developing the capacity of perspective taking, since imagination transcends boundaries.

The cosmopolitan imagination focuses on attitudes that are socially and politically contextualised. As such, cosmopolitanism is not framed as a purely cognitive concept but anchored in everyday encounters and small gestures. Beck (2002c: 8) suggests that only when 'cosmopolitan ways of thinking and perceiving become incorporated into people's identities, rituals and dispositions that the former can become an effective force in the world'. Vertovec and Cohen understand cosmopolitan agents as having a set of attitudes, and a distinctive corpus of practices. They usefully distinguish between practices and attitudes, suggesting that 'to be a cosmopolitan involves a mode of acting or performing, as much as it does thinking and feeling' (2002: 13). In doing so they create a direct link to banal identity performances and everyday cultural practices.

In this light, cosmopolitanism should be conceived as the ability to mediate between diverge ethnic cultures, different lifestyles, and alternative communities of fate. It encloses a dialogical possibility with the discourses, cultures, and traditions of Others and aims at the expansion of one's own framework of prejudice and meaning. Hall suggests that such a conception of 'cultural cosmopolitanism' proposes a society that is not homogenous, but which comprises traces of a multiplicity of cultural and ethical systems. For Hall, this involves the capacity to 'take distance from one's own culture and be able to draw selectively on a variety of discursive meanings' (2002: 26). Delanty furthers this concept suggesting that culture as a dimension in cosmopolitanism is evident 'more in the creation and articulation of communicative models of world openness in which societies undergo transformation' (2006: 35).

The definitional overview provided above relies on theoretically tracing the potential of cosmopolitanism. In addition, contributions which endorse the plurality and variability of cosmopolitan theory by linking it to fields of social engagement and everyday encounters serve to ground the approach by creating the need for empirical explorations of the phenomenon. An example is Michèle Lamont and Sada Aksartova's call for a study of 'everyday, practical

cosmopolitanism' (2002: 13). They propose a valuable definition of cosmopolitanism in terms of a *practice* used by ordinary people in bridge-building with Others. They grasp cosmopolitanism as 'a cultural repertoire of particular universalisms by which individuals understand human similarities' (2002: 3). Cosmopolitanism is not an abstract concept dwelling in theoretical towers but a daily performance by different people in real life situations. It is closely related with what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as 'habitus' – a set of socially learned principles engaged when people interact with others (1989).

David Held applies the notion of habitus, but is selective and precise in his listing of cosmopolitan repertoires. In his view, there are three requirements for the cosmopolitan outlook. These include the

> recognition of the interconnectedness of political communities, an understanding of overlapping collective fortunes, and an ability to empathise with others and to celebrate difference, diversity and hybridity (2002: 43).

Hannerz approaches cosmopolitanism through an aesthetic lens. For him the relevant characteristics of a cosmopolitan attitude includes being willing to engage with the cultural Other 'both in an *aesthetic* and intellectual sense' (1990: 34, emphasis added). Hannerz speaks of a cultural globalisation blurring the boundaries between what counts as 'interior' and 'exterior' to national culture. Therefore, 'transnational culture can be a matter of effective responses prompted by ideas of home and belonging' (1990: 36). Following this line of thought, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is not the exception in contemporary urban environments, but rather the norm – as seen in Robertson's concept of glocalisation. Hannerz goes a step further and compares the new aesthetics of cosmopolitanism with the formation of *imagined communities* for him, 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism resembles ethnic nationalism in one respect: it involves "thick" and deeply felt, imagined affiliations' (1990: 36).

The practice of cosmopolitan imagination includes a curiosity about other places, peoples and cultures; certain feelings of openness to the distant other; a celebration of difference, diversity and fluidity; critical reflection on fixed identity markers and stereotypes; and the ability to engage with the point of view of

others. In Edward Saïd's analysis, in order to create conditions for engaging, one should

> be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships, all of them coexisting and interacting with others (1993: 32).

The common element of many contributions to the theory of cosmopolitanism is the need for openness, readiness to engage and a personal willingness to actively pursue encounters with difference, and reflect upon such difference (Hannerz, 1990). Cosmopolitanism in this line of thought is seen as 'a perspective, a state of mind, or a mode of managing meaning' (1990: 238), to which Szerszynski and Urry add the element of aesthetic openness (2002: 469). However, the notion of 'openness' could be seen as vague and abstract. How is such openness manifested? Urry suggests such openness 'is a search for contrasts rather than uniformity' (2000: 52). Additionally, openness must also go alongside emotional and moral commitments. These commitments can be expressed in a range of ways, yet fundamental to these is a common feeling of empathy for Others.[8]

As such, cultural cosmopolitanism presupposes the changing of our patterns of interpretation, communication and representation. It is in the ways we see and the ways we countenance others that we make our presence felt by refusing to reproduce the cultural hegemony. It is an evolving mode of self-transformation driven from an inner need to engage and to create communities based on mutual respect and recognition. This practice is itself a radical act of imagination. We might see practices of cosmopolitanism as a multiplicity of imaginations always in conversation with the local sites of contestation. Engaging in cosmopolitan imagination is a political state which echoes the need to carve out actions within a mutable present with a consciousness of an uncertain future. Cosmopolitanism becomes our personal compass to navigate through terrains of cultural transition. When we imagine the erosion of boundaries and the creation of new territories of dialogue, we should be able to

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[8] Further analysis of the aesthetic element of cosmopolitanism is provided in Chapter 5: Puzzle Festival: An Arts Festival with a Political Agenda. See p. 114.

remap our indigenous landscapes in order to include those who remained invisible and marginalised because they could not fit the cognitive, moral or aesthetic map of the dominant world. For example, contemporary new forms of racism are no longer based upon biological theories of superior and inferior races; instead racism is discursively predicated upon cultural differences (Back & Solomos, 2000; Bhabha, 2000; Taguieff, 2000).[9] To paraphrase Bauman (1997), the chance of human togetherness depends on the rights of the marginalised, not on the question of who is entitled to decide who the marginalised are.

The imagination offers a realm in which to consider new means of association and collaboration and to explore the possibilities of belonging and resistance. In reflecting on the place of imagination, self-expression and collective cultural creation as an embodied means of engaging with the cosmopolitan project, Appadurai calls for a view of imagination as a popular, social and collective fact, with a split character.

> On the one hand, it is in and through the imagination that modern citizens are disciplined and controlled—by states, markets, and other powerful interests. But is it is also the faculty through which collective patterns of dissent and new designs for collective life emerge (2000: 6).

Cosmopolitan imagination is performed as an act of resistance towards the hegemonic culture. A resistance formed in ordinary, rooted and vernacular characteristics. This is a bottom-up cosmopolitanism flirting with the idea of a new civil society. Interdependence, engagement and interaction lead to shared moments and experiences and thus, to shared meanings and feelings. The emergence, growth and spread of identities, interests and understandings point towards a possibility of alternative modes of citizenship. 'Cosmopolitanism is not only embodied, but also felt, imagined, consumed and fantasised' (Skrbis et al., 2004: 122). Cosmopolitanism imagination performed in everyday instances draws a frame of emancipation. It is a counter-hegemonic and anti-authoritarian

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[9] Further analysis of racism in relation to cosmopolitanism is provided in Chapter 4 Antiracist Festival: Activism through Festivity, See p.88.

point of view. As such, it is not going to be manifested without struggles; its integration involves social action.

Emancipatory Cosmopolitanism: Beyond Words and Definitions

Martha Nussbaum points out that 'we should give our first moral allegiance to *no* mere form of governance, *no* temporal power. We should give it instead to moral community made up by the humanity of all beings' (1997: 9, emphasis in the original). This does not mean the abandonment of local affiliation, but rather calls for the realisation of the Stoic model of concentric circles. Stoics typically reflected on social situations in which the cosmopolitans might find themselves called upon to act. In addition, for Kant, the core of cosmopolitan theory lies not so much in political regimes, but in regulative moral ideals that arise through everyday experiences. What is interesting in both Stoic and Kantian versions of cosmopolitanism is, according to Robert Holton, 'their grounding in social action that is rational but not narrowly self-interested' (2009: 89). In the contemporary milieu, such action is often locally rooted but with reference to wider concerns, in particular, against the effects of globalisation.

Cosmopolitanism has been characterised as a grassroots counterpoint to globalisation (Pieterse, 2006), and called variously grassroots globalisation (Appadurai, 2000) and second order globalisation (Apel, 1980). Yet, defining cosmopolitanism as a second order globalisation secures it within the discursive limits of existing social structures. Although such formulations are important because they recognise the emancipatory potential of cosmopolitanism, they tend to describe and limit a set of processes that resist neat deterministic categories. The term becomes reduced, losing its analytic value and the recognition of emancipation is obscured. Cosmopolitanism needs to engage with new vocabularies in order to resist such reliance on the terms and knowledge claims of the globalised hegemonic culture. Walter Mignolo's work (2000b) distinguishes cosmopolitanism from globalisation through its connection with expansive forms of social emancipation, whereas globalisation is seen as connected with managerial control through imperialism and colonisation.

While global capital prevails in financial markets and governmental regulations proposing a new world order; emancipatory cosmopolitanism emerges in the face of new institutions. The most easily recognisable example of these institutions is the worldwide network of NGOs. These organisations are usually local groups working on matters of justice, equality, access and public good and simultaneously connect local instances with wider national, international, and global moments. In Peter Evans' view, the increased presence of NGOs and the resulting human transnational networks set the scene for a new civil society fighting for a 'counter-hegemonic globalisation' (2005: 14-6).

Emancipatory cosmopolitanism is an ongoing process of critique, creativity, and bridge-building, which involves transformations in Self, society, culture and polity. It is anchored to 'the belief that human agency can radically transform the present in the image of an imagined future' (Delanty, 2006: 38). Such an imagined future is closely associated with the Aristotelian model of citizenship, which focuses on the mutual conditionality of the autonomy of a community and the autonomy of every member to be able to raise particular issues. At the same time individuals should retain the belief that it is within their power to engage with these issues and improve inequalities. Martha Ackelsberg refers to the power of individuals to engage with wider projects of social change, saying:

> When people join together to exert control over their workplace, their community, the conditions of their day-to-day lives, they experience the changes they make as their own. Instead of reinforcing the sense of powerlessness that often accompanies modest improvements granted from the top of a hierarchical structure of direct action enables people to create their *own power* (1997: 167, emphasis in the original).

A cosmopolitan revolution does not favour the erasure of existing structures, it rather seeks to challenge the conditions which the dominant order is built upon. For such transformation to be meaningful it needs to be in a constant interplay with aspects of daily life and performed though various forms of mutual solidarity.

The question arises, at what point does dissatisfaction with the existing *status quo* translate into forms and activities of resistance? Whilst it is possible to list

numerous cases of historical inequalities and the disempowerment of specific groups, such oppression has not always resulted in the resistance necessary for social transformation. I would suggest that the two elements necessary for this to occur are: firstly, cosmopolitan attachment, as it enables connections to be drawn that extend beyond the Self, the local and the particular; and secondly, the cosmopolitan imagination, in order to respect differences and create the conditions for engaging in the pursuit of a potential imagined future.

According to Bauman, individuals need to critically re-engage in the public domain of political decisions and actions. That is the only possible way to strengthen their self-assertion in a space of democratic politics. Bauman refers to the value of a public space in which matters of locally grounded problems can be raised to a public platform in order to influence policy. He refers to the value of the *agora*, which was such a platform, suggesting that the abandonment of such direct public participation in democratic mechanisms causes the 'current gap between individuality as a fate and as a choice' (2002: 50).[10] Bauman explores potential avenues of the enforcement of civic bonds and associates the manifestation of human emancipation with the realisation of critical cosmopolitan values, such as openness, celebration of difference, feelings of empathy, solidarity practices, social action and the formation of new communities. In his words, 'the emergence of a global civil society reflects a large increase in the capacity and will of people to take control of their own lives' (2002: 75).

For commentators such as Held (2002), who suggests that a new political order needs a new type of transnational citizen, cosmopolitanism may be seen as a step towards democratic governance. Other approaches engage with this notion of active citizenship as critical to the understanding of emancipatory cosmopolitanism suggesting that 'to be a cosmopolitan now is no longer simply to feel oneself a citizen *of* the world but also, and above all, a citizen *for* the

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[10] Recent events in Greece have highlighted the value (and risks) of engaging in public democracy with the impromptu model of the agora being set up opposite parliament during ongoing protests against austerity measures during summer 2011. For a detailed analysis of individuals' role within a project of social change, refer to Douzinas (2011) and Douzinas and Papaconstantinou (2011). A wider discussion of these issues is to be found in Chapter 7: Topographies of Belonging, Imagination and Resistance: Cosmopolitanism in Action, p.186.

world' (Archibugi, 2003: 264). Cosmopolitan theory offers a valuable redefinition of the negative construction of the masses, which is positively recaptured in the shape of a civil society majority. As Seyla Benhabib argues

> These citizens' groups and social activists are the transmitters of local and global knowledge and know-how; they generate new needs and demands that democracies have to respond to. They are members of the new global civil society (2007: 31).

Active citizenship and the practice of mutual solidarity form the basis for this alternative concept of civil society. Solidarity rests upon collective experiences and interpretations and retains the capacity for political action.

Yet, the critical turning point remains in the need to ground cosmopolitan structures of belief in action, as Bhabha has pointed out that it is not enough to merely 'change the *narratives* of our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live, to be, in other times and different spaces' (1994: 367, emphasis in the original). Bhabha's point warns of the tendency to use cosmopolitanism as a superficial veneer, insisting that transformation is the goal. Yet, in order for transformation to occur in all its messy complexity, it can also include negotiations that move beyond pleasantries and politeness, and might indeed include the 'necessity of betraying one's culture of origin' (Bharucha, 2002: 36) in the act of performing cultures in different environments. This points back to the need for generous and deep rooted openness alongside the belief that change is necessary. In order for this to occur, performances of solidarity need to be upheld by consistent collaborative redefinitions of third spaces in which change is discussed and actively pursued.

What becomes clear then, is the need for systematic and dynamic social performances which drive towards cosmopolitan agendas. Emancipation is not achievable through claiming to resist hegemonies, but require action. As the third core principle of cosmopolitanism, resistance must recognise that there are multiple forms of attachment, varying degrees of dependency and different understandings of autonomy. There is the need to self-reflexively navigate through the quagmire of entangled allegiances, in order to reach the third space

in which marginalised, heterogeneous voices can be platformed, recognised, and made visible.[11]

Cosmopolitanism and Social Performances

Characterising cosmopolitanism as a series of unfolding performances insists that it is in the practices of daily life that consultation can occur, and, importantly, that it is in the empirical analysis of such performances that we can better understand the micro-level clues that are performed as elements of wider social systems (de Certeau, 1988). During a period of interdisciplinary research, Victor Turner and Richard Schechner developed a theory of 'performativity' when considering how social scientists might continue to reflect on the social 'acts' of cultures other than their own. Importantly, for them, cultural performances are not only expressions of discrete elements of a culture, or representations about how culture may be changing, but may themselves be 'active agencies of change, representing the eye by which culture sees itself' (Turner, 1986: 24) as well as the canvas on which the social actors manifest potential new ways of being in the world.

In his valuable work on the productive capacities of performativity, Turner (1986) puts emphasis on the political aspects of performance as *kinesis*, a movement that represents the energies that break boundaries and trouble closure. Following Turner, Bhabha uses the term 'performative' to refer to actions that incessantly insinuate, interrupt, interrogate and antagonise powerful master discourses. To unpack the complexities of social performances of cosmopolitanism, this project engages with Turner's emphatic view of performance as 'making not faking', and then moves to Bhabha's 'politically urgent view of performance as breaking and remaking' (Conquergood, 1995: 138). Simply put, the basis for understanding social performances is the extent to which they are evidence of how the collective agrees to imagine and then construct new possibilities in an imagined future.

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[11] For further analysis of how cosmopolitan processes in which Other is made visible, see Chapter 6: Street Art Festival: A Visual Dialogue in Urban Space, p. 140.

Social performances function as vital acts of transferring knowledge and a sense of identity. The learning process most common in human societies is imitation, the ability to repeat an observed behaviour, or what Schechner terms as 'twice-behaved behaviour' (1985). In his pioneering book *Between Theatre and Anthropology*, he views life as social theatre, and thus, everyday situations are seen as repetitive performances, or 'restored behaviour'' (1985: 36). Furthermore, for Marvin Carlson, performance 'is based upon some pre-existing model, script, or pattern of action' (1996: 12). John MacAloon has similarly said that 'there is no performance without pre-formance' (1984: 94). That is to say, present action draws both on experience as source material and the potential vision of future reality in a series of revisions that demands collaboratively agreed upon images of possibility.

In this regard, cosmopolitan actions recreate past rehearsals—both practical and philosophical—in order to create not only an alternative point of view in the present, but to form a future pathway for society. People are exposed to signs and symbols of repeated behaviour, from simple acts that are agreed upon for navigating daily life, to those habits that become entrenched in law. Cosmopolitanism is a non-stop performance based on many rehearsals, though these performances demand critical reflexivity if they are to remain vital. As Turner continues:

> performative reflexivity is a condition in which a sociocultural group, or its most perceptive members acting representatively, turn, bend or reflect back upon themselves, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings, codes, roles, statuses, social structures, ethical and logical rules, and other sociocultural components which make up their public 'selves' (1986: 24).

The emphasis on cosmopolitanism as social performance encourages an approach that is not simply tied to theory and texts, but extends critical attention to the ways that cosmopolitanism is performed through various modes of communication, inter-personal relationships, gatherings of every kind, and the consumption of goods. This in turn breaks down a common supposition that cosmopolitanism is of the mind, rather than the body. Holton (2009) and Szerszynski and Urry (2002) insist that it is also an embodied series of actions.

The challenges for cosmopolitanism are not so much in theory but in practice. Cosmopolitanism includes actions which can question prejudice and challenge oppressive power formations.

Schechner makes a critical distinction between performances which can result in 'transformation' and those which temporarily 'transport' their audiences (1985: 10). Single acts, he argues, are not sufficient for audiences (or performers themselves) to be transformed. However, since they may experience a transportation of position, belief, and reaction to the act, this small shift becomes key to building towards fundamental change. If we thus approach cosmopolitanism as a performance which 'registers and radiates dynamic structures of feeling' it becomes a means of asserting innovative epistemologies that move beyond cognition (Conquergood, 2002: 149-50). The conception of repeated rehearsals of possibility for a new civil society runs concurrent to Delanty's assertion that active citizenship involves learning. 'It is a *learning process* in that it is articulated in perceptions of the Self as an active agency and a social actor shaped by relations with others' (2003: 602, emphasis added).

The need to understand social processes as learning demands the examination of everyday behaviours, acts, dreams and desires in ways that are framed. For Erving Goffman, frames offer defining features for sociologists to generate meaning through exploring how ordinary activity emerges through the negotiation of rules. Frames provide models through which to learn about society. He says 'these lively shadows of events are geared into the ongoing world but not in quite the close way that is true of ordinary, literal activity' (1974: 44). In this research, festivals are identified as the frames which point towards the meaningful activity of the everyday. This does not mean that festivals are seen as 'daily' activities, since by their nature they are organised, structured, and set apart from the highly structured flows and movements of daily life in the city.

Festivals with an activist agenda hold the potential to create spaces of thresholds of understanding and mutual experience through the arts. This, I

believe, ties in with the Bakhtinian conception of the carnivalesque (2009). In carnival, according to Mikhail Bakhtin, there is the desire and motivation to create social interactions that lie beyond existing social norms and forms; in other words, a move beyond the socially constructed order, in a radical, playful and celebratory moment. Such moments of transgression of established social structures are always already, for Bakhtin, temporary (1993). Yet, while 'carnival' might be rejected as frivolity, festivals as cultural performances, as MacAloon asserts,

> are more than entertainment, more than didactic or persuasive formulations, and more than cathartic indulgences. They are occasions in which as a culture or society we reflect upon and define ourselves, dramatize our collective myths and history, present ourselves with alternatives, and eventually change in some ways while remaining the same in others (1984: 1).[12]

Such a view is valuable for a consideration of cosmopolitanism since he insists on such performance as a turning point or moment of potential change.

Performance studies developed as an interdisciplinary approach to exploring the intersections between social science approaches to human behaviours and the ways in which performance offered productive ways of generating new epistemologies out of cultural practices. Phillip Zarrilli (1986) points out that there is value in the use of performance as a model of exploring social worlds, everyday behaviours and particular events, such as festivals. He considers that the metaphors and methods of performance allow researchers the opportunity to see cultural events as processual and not merely fixed outcomes (or final products). For Kosofsky-Sedgwick and Parker, it is in the 'mobilizing and epitomizing [of] … transformative effects on interlocutory space' that the explicit performative is associated with performance, and 'by the same token, with political activism, or with ritual' (1995: 13). Thus, performativity can be seen as a means of exploring agency of individual and group behaviours, and forms a valuable lens through which to explore social and cultural performances, such as festivals.

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[12] MacAloon's description of cultural performances is heavily influenced by the work of Goffman, concerning the micro-sociology of performances of everyday life (1959); as well as Schechner (1985) who was influenced by Turner's view on ritual and liminality (1982; 1986; 2005).

In addition the social worlds of political activism and performance borrow from one another, overlapping, interacting and blurring diffuse boundaries, as David Schlossman suggests (2002). His work proposes a taxonomy of how performative strategies are used by activists in protests – particularly activism that seeks to 'reshape rather than merely reflect social reality' (2002: 87). How then, does performativity become a useful concept for the consideration of cosmopolitanism? If we consider that cosmopolitanism ought to be studied in everyday actions, and if everyday acts are also social performances, then it is possible that the empirical evidence of performances can provide a view of cosmopolitanism. There is further value in considering cosmopolitanism as 'performative', if we attempt to engage with its rooted and everyday actions and effects.

A truly emancipatory and revolutionary cosmopolitanism is based on multiple performances which reflect the essential 'action' aspects of the theory. The task is to find a way to create frames for learning which will expose people to new imaginations, desires and ideas. Such learning might take the form of a Bakhtinian subversion and sabotage, if the dimension of resistance is necessary, as I argue. In order to achieve this, the cosmopolitan milieu should build a movement suggesting avenues of both vision and action for turning theory into social applications. Ultimately, however, there is no guarantee. It is an unending struggle of redefinition and new performances, since collective actions towards achieving a new civil society will lead to further understandings of new forms of oppression.

Concluding Remarks

In the in-between spaces necessary for the cosmopolitan approach, people must sustain critical, non-absolutist strategies for survival and action. In a world where territories are always already invaded, transgressed and where borders become spaces of radical contingency there is an urgent need for remapping. To remap means to engage into a compelling negotiation of firstly space, in which the local and the global are combined in many different ways; secondly, stereotypes which critically reflect on identity markers and hegemonic patterns of exoticising the other. Finally, there is the need to consider feelings of

empathy, engaging with perspective-taking, the ability to experience from the point of view of others; and practices such as inclusion, recognition, and openness.

In order to remap one must transcend personal boundaries and insecurities; if mapping the world starts by defining 'home', then remapping starts with the understanding that the old home needs to be left behind because from the cosmopolitan perspective it is locked into the frozen time of national and fixed imagination. Home is more of a symbolic space than a physical place. Remapping as a project attempts to leave behind closed traditions and engages with ideas of an open present, encourages mobility over stability, promotes difference as the stimulus of novelty, suggests that decision making should be participatory, and recognises that reason bows to no absolute truth. In essence it holds the promise of a new land, an imagined world where many worlds fit. It is a dynamic concept defined by the vigour for (and of) change.

Belonging: from intimate personal attachments, individuals move beyond national identifications without erasing them

Imagination: personal feelings towards Others, reflected through everyday circumstances

Resistance: reactions against hegemonic discourses, seeking to create new communities
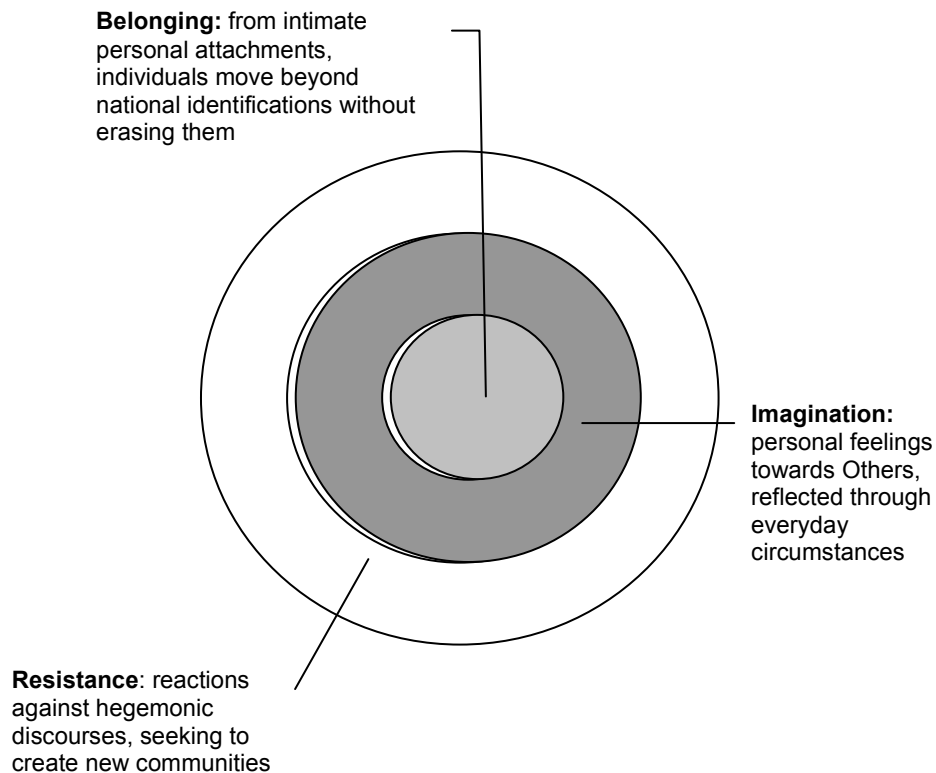
Table 1: Concentric Circles of Cosmopolitanism

In conclusion, I return to the Stoic model of concentric circles in order to summarise my approach to researchable dimensions of cosmopolitan theory. At the centre of the argument is the need to distinguish between cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism and pluralism. This inner core comprises an energetic, fluctuating mode of negotiation between Self, Other and the world. The concentric circles of my argument are formed by the key dimensions of cosmopolitanism, each one shifting in influence and scope, not experienced discretely, but rather, informing and interrelating. Lastly, what cuts across the concentric circles is the conception of cosmopolitanism as social performance, which provides a means of understanding the three dimensions.

Thus, employing Goffman's frames in this research becomes a means of identifying structures of meaning through which to reflect on everyday life. The distinction here is between developing taxonomies of meaning through a theoretical frame and generating theory from the frame of an event itself. Instead of concerning the research with banal daily acts, the project has considered festivals as researchable frames through which to reflect on the everyday. The research is anchored in action by examining grassroots activities and events which can be considered cosmopolitan, with three festivals offering multiple performances, deliberations and critical questions regarding how and to what extent cosmopolitanism is playing out on the streets of Athens.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aims of this chapter are to outline and contextualize the qualitative research methodology and techniques that underpin the empirical inquiry in this study. This case study research is an in-depth investigation into a 'contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2009: 18). The chapter focuses on a number of key issues. Firstly, it outlines the burgeoning interest in methodological approaches that can depict contemporary postmodern urban environments. This section positions the researcher within a specific context. Secondly, the methodological terrain of empiricism is explored, specifying the value of case studies. Then, it details the research methods, identifying measurable indicators examined in the three case studies. Next, an overview of data collection and data analysis methods is provided. The penultimate section makes the claims for validity and reliability of the chosen methods. Finally, the chapter reflects on the ethical position of the qualitative researcher.

Cosmopolitan Methodologies[1]

As an attempt to consider this milieu within the context of Athens, and to provide three case study examples of how festivals respond to social and political discourses through cultural participation, I have grounded my study in critical cosmopolitan theory. The recent debates within this theory seek to describe cosmopolitan universalism in opposition to methodological nationalism (Beck, 2006; Chernilo, 2007; Fine, 2003). Yet, the project of critical cosmopolitanism is empirical and interpretive; particularly concerning how lived experiences of transformation in the present can be analysed (Delanty, 2009).

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[1]Methodology is not just about research methods, it also a method of analysis it is the discourse or lens through which the researcher firstly delineates the field of research, develops appropriate research questions and then defines indicators. In short, methodology is an argument for why the approach is valid and contributes to the field. It must make a compelling argument for the choice of theme, moments examined, approach to gathering material and develop the need for this stance within the wider field.

In this section I develop an overview of how cosmopolitanism has been construed as an ideal that supersedes nation-states and outline the developments of its methodological application in classical social theory. Finally, I make an argument for a multiply-framed lens for the generation of a critical cosmopolitan theory. In doing so, I propose not to erase the foundations of classical sociology.[2] Rather I extend the application of critical cosmopolitanism, as outlined by Delanty (2006, 2009) in which assumptions of a 'world republic' are critiqued as Eurocentric, hegemonic presumptions are exposed. My approach therefore develops critical consideration of rigid definitions in relation to fieldwork.

In his renowned critique of classical sociological methods, Beck (2006) refers to 'methodological nationalism', which, he asserts, reinforces the notion that societies are contained by nation states and are generally seen as subordinate to the international. According to Beck the cosmopolitan contains the national project and simultaneously extends it.[3] This global/ local dialectic includes the redefinition of the local in order to incorporate the global. If applied to methodology, the trap of this approach becomes the tendency to generalise from particular situations into universal social models (as in classical sociology, according to Beck). In contrast, Kendall et al summarise Beck's concerns, but further reflect on the value of classical sociology that allows for 'the generation of plausible accounts of the actions of others' (2009: 70).

One of the defining features of the recent developments in cosmopolitanism is the critique of classical sociology's reliance on normative universalism as the principle of cosmopolitanism. For example, Daniel Chernilo's point of departure is that Beck's scepticism does not need to result in an outright rejection of classical methods, which have conceptual tools that can be adopted usefully. Namely, that classical social theory remained critical of the 'translation of political preferences towards nationalistic politics' (2007: 22).

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[2] In particular, I am concerned with a departure from an overreliance on Kantian dialectics, as outlined by Fine (2003); and outmoded models of analysis of Marx, Weber, Simmel & Durkheim, described by Chernilo (2007).

[3] This is similar to Robertson's concept of 'glocalisation', referred to in Chapter 2, p. 37.

Developing a method that attempts to pin down a certain group's experience of cosmopolitanism within a precise time and place would be to assume a false fixity. Instead, this research design aims to reflect the uncertain, shifting and processual understanding of an ontological cosmopolitanism. 'The cosmopolitan methodology opens up a space of dialogical imagination in everyday practice' (Beck: 2006:89). This is echoed in Michel Maffesoli's claim on the need for a researcher's perspective in 'the sociology of everyday life' (1989). According to him, researchers are participants in social life, encounter and analyse everyday experiences (that is local, situated and embodied), and demand rethinking of closed boundaries of analysis. In this research cosmopolitanism is not treated only as a mental phenomenon; there is an emphasis on everyday gestures and material culture. Cosmopolitanism involves certain practices and behavioural repertoires. It is through these everyday habits that cosmopolitanism can be understood as an emancipatory alternative. Maffesoli calls for a means of re-evaluating how such perspective is gained by demanding a new approach to methodology.

In the same vein, Robert Fine provides an overview of the classical applications of cosmopolitanism, particularly considering the impact on laws that transcend national boundaries. His treatise is concerned with how social theory has reinforced the notion of the social as analogous to the nation state, arguing that cosmopolitanism is grounded on 'the attainment of a postnational, transnational or global democracy' (2003: 454). Therefore, he asserts the need to refute classical social theory's 'categories of understanding and standards of judgment that depend on a national framework' (2003: 454). Instead, he argues, cosmopolitanism becomes an ideal to be applied in an active pursuit of eradicating universals and particulars. For Fine, however, there is an intricate interplay between certain groups in specific milieus. Simultaneous to distancing itself from classical sociological frameworks, cosmopolitanism 'seeks instead to reconcile the idea of universal species-wide solidarity with particular solidarities' (2003: 462).

Key to understanding the distinction with critical cosmopolitanism and earlier notions of cosmopolitanism, is the extent to which universalism is conceivable

(Nussbaum, 1996). Whilst simultaneously drawing on many of the values of previous understandings of cosmopolitanism, Delanty's definition of critical cosmopolitanism resides in moments of openness which, he argues, form the fountain of cosmopolitan imagination. For him, then, a culture of cosmopolitanism is predicated upon the extent to which complexities and counter-narratives of individuals and minorities are reconciled with larger (more universal) rights and recognitions (2006: 29). Delanty is concerned with how increased mobility has affected the need for a new conceptualisation of belonging through self-understanding, identities and loyalties. In this argument, culture is seen as an 'on-going process of construction' (2006: 31). The central tenet of this methodological approach follows the task outlined by Delanty, 'to discern or make sense of social transformation by identifying new or emergent social realities' (2006: 39).

Translating these concerns to this research project, I perceived the need to embrace a contemporary understanding of cosmopolitan methodologies in order to outline the field of research, choose particular cases, and ultimately, determine valid and trustworthy means of analysing the cases. Saying that does not imply that by definition the case studies are emblems of cosmopolitanism in the cultural map of postmodern Athens; it rather implies that they hold the potential towards a cosmopolitan perspective. The case studies are seen as doors which can lead to a third space of dialogue, redefinitions and new imagination.[4] In balancing my own position as a researcher and the constant transformation of Athens' urban environment and social milieus, I make a claim for the value of innovative sociological research and an interdisciplinary approach.

Methodological Terrain
Rather than attempt to quantify the extent of cosmopolitanism, I have developed a qualitative empirical approach in order to represent and reflect on cultural moments in Athens. Empirical research is crucial to finding out what cosmopolitanism really is. As long as cosmopolitanism does not meet its empirical discourse it will be easily dismissed as a utopian idea, as a vague

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[4] This corresponds with the definition of critical cosmopolitanism I outline in chapter 2.

philosophical project. Ironically, the Kantian dictum comes to mind: 'observations without concepts are blind, concepts without observations are empty' (1929: 92). This project suggests a more critical understanding of cosmopolitan theory in line with contemporary thinkers. However, rather than rely solely on empirical methods of interviews, observation and hypothesis testing, I have included supplementary research methods that allowed direct engagement with research subjects, including a long term curatorial role with one festival and the development of a practical focus group with street artists.

Patricia Leavey refers to empiricism as ontologically and epistemologically positivist (2009: 5). As a cornerstone of the quantitative paradigm, this viewpoint sees a knowable reality that can be uncovered, measured and controlled by researchers that remain neutral. In the shift to a qualitative paradigm as a means of describing and explaining certain phenomena, researchers need to consider the 'validity and trustworthiness' (2009: 6) of their observations, since knowledge is usually built through inductive approaches. As a collaborative means of developing understandings, researchers using a qualitative approach need to develop rapport with their participants, in order to undertake a mutual 'unpredictable intellectual as well as emotional process' (2009: 10).

In the qualitative paradigm, Michael Jackson connects experience and empiricism. He names his project 'radical empiricism' and positions it against 'traditional empiricism' which 'attempts to control, suspend, or bracket out the empirical reality of our personal engagement with an attitude to those others' (1989: 34), suggesting that there is an urgent need for foregrounding 'the intersubjective grounds on which our understanding is constituted' (1989: 34). As an empirical project this responds to a postmodern everyday reality. This means a shift from monologue to dialogue, from information to communication. In terms of this research that translates to active participation, long term relationship building and a dialogic approach to generating meaningful data.

As Leavey asserts, the qualitative approach is necessarily a complex one, relying not only on a linear design, but an iterative one, in which meaning emerges through a means of 'labelling; identifying; and classifying emerging

concepts; interrelating concepts and testing hypotheses; finding patterns; and generating theory' (2009: 10). Leavey makes the case for the 'interface between interpretation and analysis as a holistic process' (2009: 11). Further, she highlights that the dialogic practice in research approaches is predicated upon evoking meanings rather than denoting them. Accordingly, meaning is generated through the research activities as a cultural creative practice that is established by the form, and determined by the participants as co-creators of meaning.

In order to explore how, and to what extent cosmopolitanism is being practiced and how it may create spaces for an emancipatory alternative, I have focused on three cultural events or 'moments' in Athens. I develop three case studies in order to provoke new understandings of what may be meant by 'discursive spaces' in a cultural frame. The use of case studies is twofold: firstly to provide a clear and detailed description of specific events, and secondly, to connect these events to wider theoretical applications. As a means of constructing a valuable frame through which to present the three moments I have elected to examine, I have considered how each case outlines circumstances, actions and outputs in order to generate a fuller sense of how cosmopolitanism is practiced. To summarise, the cases seek to generate and explain theoretical relationships.[5] In what follows, I provide a background understanding of what constitutes a valid case study, and then describe in detail the design and approach to conducting the fieldwork leading to the development of the case studies. Throughout, I return to the defining features of a critical cosmopolitan methodology, as I interpret it.

Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba's seminal work *Designing Social Inquiry* claims that social science research should be 'both general and specific: it should tell us something about classes of events as well as about specific events at particular places' (1994: 43).[6] In formulating an appropriate research

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[5] McKeown cites Mitchell, saying that a good case is a 'telling case' in which the 'particular circumstance surrounding a case seem to make previously obscure theoretical relationships sufficiently apparent' (2004: 153).

[6] However, despite making important steps in outlining the argument for case studies as research tools, King et al*'s* work places value in quantifiable results, as pointed out by Brady

design, the fieldwork model enacts an iterative cycle of reflection, theory building and reformulation of the case. For Charles Ragin, this is a valuable mechanism of 'concept formation, elaboration and refinement' (2004: 127), using a multi-directional approach, rather than a simple uni-directional approach of theory testing. This supports the conception of cosmopolitanism as a partial and processual dynamic. Of importance is 'the interplay of categorization and conceptualization' (2004: 125). Therefore, the method of analysis for the case studies will rely on both good description and good explanation since it remains of value to develop solid and valid claims through examining these cases.[7]

In this study, the cases I generate make claims for cosmopolitanism as everyday actions, as well as showcase the indicators that make this possible. I will analyse the concrete dynamics that are present; and the abstract frameworks desirable as conditions for emancipatory cosmopolitanism.[8] Moving away from the positivist approach, I do not claim this research offers a standpoint with a view of the absolute truth. It rather investigates the complexities, tensions, and contradictions of a critical cosmopolitanism investigation grounded in an urban environment. The empirical methodology outlined above answers this fundamental issue.

Rob Amster et al say that methodology 'addresses the principles beneath the formation of knowledge, concerning itself with how we know what we know and how truth is invoked' (2009: 71). To return to the underlying assumptions of cosmopolitanism, I therefore make allowances for multiplicities, rather than impose methodological binaries. My argument is for a multi-disciplinary approach to generating research data, including interviews, observations, participation, analysis of artworks, and collective creation through a focus group.

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and Collier (2004), with McKeown stating that quantitative logic is applied to causal inference (2004: 145).

[7] This undertaking follows the methods of King et al (1994: 44).

[8] In Yin's formulation, cases are selected to be compared either because they predict similar results or because contrasting results are predicted for predictable reasons (2003: 47). Further, he considers a case to have external validity when it establishes the domain to which it is generalised, and internal validity when representing causal relationships (2003: 34).

If we consider the notion of multiple approaches in terms of data generation, as well as lenses of analysis, it becomes necessary to have an iterative approach to defining methods.

THICK DESCRIPTION

Participants' phenomeno-logical points of view

Creating interpretive understandings of participants' meanings

Meaningful patterns and processes of action, interaction & identity

Complexity, fluidity and multiplicity of shared meanings and accounts

Mutual creation of knowledge by viewer and viewed

CASE RECORDS

Interrelationship between action and structure

Multiple realities and the need to frame method to reflect this

Table 2: Applying Methodology (developed from Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004 and Charmaz, 2006).

In table 2, I represent the complex interplay between the meaning generated through the fieldwork (in social practices and festival participation) and how this ties with the key characteristics of cosmopolitan methodology. I make a claim for case records and thick description forming the prism through which the events are reflected.[9]

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[9] Case records are fully introduced in my detailed overview of validity and reliability, p.78.

At the outset of the research, I had a suspicion that the cases chosen for this research project were relevant to my theoretical position and my research questions. Thus, I followed a theoretical sampling logic as described by David Silverman (2010) and Jennifer Mason (1996).[10] This technique is 'concerned with constructing a sample… which is meaningful theoretically, because it builds in certain characteristics or criteria which help to develop or test your theory and explanation' (Mason, 1996: 93-4). As such, sampling in qualitative research is 'neither statistical nor purely personal: it is, or should be, theoretically grounded' (Silverman, 2001: 251). Theoretical sampling, as a method, is drawn from a grounded theory approach. This method is 'concerned with the refinement of ideas, rather than boosting sample size' (Charmaz, 2000: 519). The cases were chosen and participants identified in order to ensure a sufficiently valid sample. In the following section, each case is outlined, proffering the theoretical sampling logic behind each of the cases.

Mapping Research Methods
The previous sections provide a basis for the methodological approach, outlining an argument for the use of case studies. This section returns to explore the capacity of the research methods to provide the data necessary to map these moments of cultural participation, and makes a claim for the rationale of the chosen sites for research. What follows is an introduction to the indicators generated out of the key concepts of cosmopolitanism as outlined in chapter 2. Then, the individual cases are outlined and an account of the fieldwork is provided.

Developing indicators from cosmopolitan theory involved several levels of concept mapping. The key dimensions of critical cosmopolitanism were translated into researchable indicators. Next, considering the need for defining indicators involved descending the 'ladder of abstraction' (de Vaus, 2002, 49). By translating cosmopolitanism into specific dimensions, sub-dimensions and then indicators, the researcher prepares the ground for interview questions (and frames the focus for the research). This is an iterative process, not necessarily

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[10] Theoretical sampling is also a defining method of grounded theory.

fixed beforehand, so that concepts and terminologies can be refined according to what is learned from the respondents.

The indicators were formed by three categories of questions, namely a.) belonging, b.) imagination and c.) resistance. Across the categories, there were also questions relating to wider issues of social transformations occurring in everyday life. Below, I outline the table of indicators, and then proceed to analyse how these indicators translate to valuable and relevant data for the case studies.

To borrow from Ian Dey, indicators are treated as the different 'building blocks' of analysis. To continue with the metaphor, building blocks need to be brought together, and connected by conceptual 'mortar' so that we are no longer 'concerned with similarities and differences between the blocks. What counts is how (or whether) the blocks interact to produce a building' (1993: 47). I offer an account for how the indicators and the conceptual 'mortar' form a solid foundation for the study. The metaphor of building blocks is useful, since there is the tendency to consider dimensions as conceptually discrete. However, it is clear that indicators emerging from categories such as 'belonging', 'imagination' and 'resistance' have significant interplay and overlap. Thus, interviewing strategies and observations could valuably be concerned with how concepts appeared to connect in order to understand how structures of cosmopolitanism may be built from these examples. In particular, under the influence of globalisation, interviews approached how attachments of belonging form our imaginative possibilities and the socio-political aspects of resistance.

DIMENSIONS OF COSMOPOLITANISM		INDICATORS FOR RESEARCH
Belonging: Globalisation and postmodernism as preconditions [A reflexive space: Self in relation to the world]	Cultural Conditions	- Relativisation of national identity - Critique of pre-existing categories of belonging - Desire to create new communities of belonging - Attachments: specific relationship to the 'local', home - Recognition of interconnectedness, a collective fate
Imagination: [Creating conditions for engaging beyond the personal/ local]	Emotional Conditions	- Curiosity about places, peoples, cultures - Openness to the Other - Reflecting critically on identity markers - Critical engagement with symbols - Questioning of stereotypes - Celebration of difference, diversity and fluidity (enacted as benevolent tolerance) - Empathy: perspective taking that is inclusive
Resistance: Need for social change [Activism/ Action]	Political Conditions	- Formation of new communities: practice of solidarity, bridge building - Activism/ social action - Creating a third space: a world that includes many worlds - Self-determination: production of alternative labels, representations, cultural practices - Participation in wider concerns, social products

Table 3: Developing Indicators for Research

The indicators outlined above were used to chart questions for each of the case studies, each requiring a slightly different translation of the indicators, depending on whether the respondents were participants or participant/ organisers. As an overview, then, the indicators offer a sense of the initial intentions of the interviews. However, as I developed the research from a dialogic perspective, I became aware of the need to refine and redefine some of my questioning strategies. Thus the approach was not fixed or predetermined. This reflects a moral and ethical imagining of the potential for cosmopolitanism and how it can be translated into experiences. The case study reports (chapters 4 – 6) reflect the fluid interplay between the various categories. Across all three

categories, I encouraged participants to engage with the contradictions, gaps and frustrations that arose in their experiences of developing festivals that are inclusive and committed to social change. The festivals in the case studies emerged as cultural moments in periods of self-reflexivity, with a desire to explore, widen and critique notions of belonging and home; and with a stated aim of erasing harmful practices of definition such as Self and Other in the now irreversibly multicultural city of Athens.

In constructing both the methodological approach to the research and the particular research methods and means of analysis of case studies, I have heeded Fine's warning to remain critical of particularistic assumptions and nationalistic prejudices that may be hidden in the multi-coloured Jacob's cloak of cosmopolitanism (2003: 464). I believe that to expose the grit and complexity of the cases I outline below is a means of avoiding the gloss of a utopian sense of cosmopolitanism, as an attempt towards a view of a current milieu, in all its imperfection or ambiguity.

The three cases represent different levels of societal participation. Firstly, Antiracist Festival is analysed as large scale event, long-established on Athens' cultural map. It is a meeting point for governmental organisations representing official state policies, and NGOs which are concerned with issues of inclusion and discrimination, a variety of communities putting forth their own agendas and artists. Puzzle Festival is characterised as an independent arts festival with a political agenda for a particular community. Lastly, the Street Art Festival is a grassroots event, organised by and for a local community within a defined neighbourhood, underpinned by an art form and social agenda. Different layers of participation correspond to different degrees of organisation, diverse practices and final outcomes for each case study. What is common is their claim to open a new space for dialogue, to become a door towards different perceptions of Athenian identity. As a further critical analysis of the research methods, the limitations and complexities of the sample groups constituting the case studies is considered.

In designing the research in accordance with the grounded theory methods I outline later, I intended to engage in fieldwork over two years. The first year was set aside to observe festivals, gathering empirical data through fieldwork diaries, photographs and interviews. I generated further hypotheses out of these initial encounters, continuing to strengthen my engagement with each of the participant communities by supporting their year-round events. I then returned to the second annual festival with more detailed questions, observation strategies and triangulation methods.

Case Study 1. Antiracist Festival: Activism through Festivity

The festival launched in 1996 by a group of activists responding to the first pattern of immigration to the city, and, over the years, it became the cornerstone of antiracist activities (protests, interventions, solidarity events and networking). The festival, according to its organisers, is a political action for promoting social equality for economic immigrants and political refugees who live in Greece. At the same time it is an act of solidarity to all those who are experiencing any kind of discrimination due to their nationality, skin colour, gender, religious- or sexual- orientation.[11] It is a large-scale annual well funded festival, having developed out of street protests against racism and fascism. The festival now boasts a wide range of international performers and artists supporting the antiracist message, alongside a political agenda of participant NGOs awareness building, and the social elements of food, music and cultural performances. The festival is well attended and spans three days each summer. Its agenda is both social and political. In addition, I explore the subsidiary event of the annual antiracist protests.

Participants at the Antiracist Festival were drawn from NGOs and community organisations that developed activities or took part in displays and presentations at the Antiracist Festivals in both 2009 and 2010. In the first year, I conducted observations, and held informal conversations with participating organisations. I then went on to interview respondents from those organisations that could accommodate further interviews in 2010. In total I conducted 22 interviews in

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[11] See www.antiracistfestival.gr.

organisations' offices and public spaces of the participants' choosing, lasting between 40 and 70 minutes. All interviews were transcribed and translated by myself.

Case Study 2. Puzzle Festival: An Arts Festival with a Political Agenda

The festival launched in 2009 creating a multidisciplinary platform for professional immigrant artists living in Athens. It examined the important issue of social integration through a new lens, promoting art as an efficient way of recognising the Other, and engaging in fertile exchanges about the cultural background of a modern metropolis. Puzzle Festival aimed to represent immigrant artwork to a wider audience, challenging stereotypical views of otherness, and creating an inclusive space for exhibiting and talking about artwork. My involvement in Puzzle Festival was multi-layered: in its first year, I was both associate curator and researcher; resulting in a level of access and insight not necessarily granted to other researchers; and in the second, I intended to fulfil only a researcher role. The festival was well supported in its first year, but was cancelled a month prior to its second year.

Since I had sustained access to Puzzle festival participants, I was able to reflect on formative planning and evaluation of the festival in 2009 with organisers and participants. The first interviews were conducted just after the festival in 2009, with six participants who engaged in a group discussion. Since the 2010 festival was cancelled, the follow up engagement with a wider group of participants was not possible. Despite this unexpected outcome, I was able to use the solid relationship generated over the previous years' fieldwork to gather respondents to reflect on the first year and discuss their experiences in the second (abandoned) year of the festival. In order to do this, I approached nine participants to reflect a diversity of art forms, and countries of origin. Each of these interviews was conducted in a location chosen by the participant (normally their studio), with the interview lasting between 60 and 90 minutes. Each interview was transcribed and translated by myself. In the case study I reflect on the impact of being involved in a dual role and the unexpected outcome of its cancellation.

Case Study 3. Street Art Festival: A Visual Dialogue in Urban Space

In this research street art is seen as a social diary on public display, particularly useful as a means of analysis of a socio-political milieu since it is not sanctioned, or commissioned - an expression of public consciousness that springs from lived experience - but which most often is seen as an illegal activity. I argue that a close view of Exarhia's Street Art Festival is an opportunity to understand the political and social views of individuals and groups that would never otherwise be expressed in the mainstream culture or in the media. Further, individual street artists take advantage of the urban environment to expose hidden stories to scrutiny, criticism and thereby enhance awareness in the wider community.

Inclusion of street artists in the research study was limited to those artists that had developed socially engaged pieces in Exarhia, as part of the Street Art Festival held in 2009. As street art is an illegal activity, access to artists that were willing to participate in research was determined by those who were willing to engage with a researcher.[12] Initial access was granted through key contacts made at the festival who indicated their willingness to approach other artists and groups of artists about the potential to be interviewed. Most street artists that consented to engage in the research were interested in the topic, and felt able to commit to the interviews, being identified by their 'tag' names. The procedure of rapport and trust-building with this participant group took a long time, and meant delays to the data collection. The artists chose to be interviewed as individuals or in groups, depending on how they worked.

After the festival observation, the fieldwork consisted of nine personal semi-structured interviews, one email interview, and four follow-up interviews lasting between 50 minutes and 90 minutes. These interviews were held in locations chosen by the artists, mostly in public spaces in Exarhia. Interviews were audio recorded, fully transcribed with extracts translated by myself. In addition to observing the festival, conducting interviews with street artists and 'crews', I

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[12] Further detail on the ethics of sampling with street artists is overviewed in the case study.

organised and observed a creative focus group lasting four hours of 11 artists that was held in late 2010.

The focus group was conducted after the initial interviews since many of the artists indicated they felt isolated after the festival experience. I initiated the focus group as a means of developing a sense of community, and also as a means of gathering diverse opinions and experiences after having established the initial rapport with individuals. It was a twofold strategy to combat the initial delay in data collection, and observe the interactions of artists. However, in order to participate, the artists refused to be recorded (in order to protect their anonymity, and since they may make disclosures that they preferred to have off-record). Because of this, and since I intended to observe the focus group to allow for maximum data collection, I asked a colleague to facilitate the session.[13] As an important consideration of sample's validity, I was satisfied to have included some gender diversity in the group (usually dominated by male artists), and to have engaged immigrant street artists in the participant sample.

Comparing Case Studies

All three case studies are examined as cultural events encouraging participation, with common features including arts as both creators and audiences. Across the examples, I explore how the events 'form communities', and imagine potential futures. A further commonality is the intention to engage and create opportunities for open conversation in public spaces which move away from theoretical reactions against xenophobia and racism but simultaneously seek to engage in active critical creation of potential new formulation of co-existent cosmopolitans. In addition, each of the three cases is designed around a central or initial festival with a subsidiary activist event; a protest, conference, and focus group.

Further, each case claims to reconceptualise 'equality' through practice, and these definitions are critically interrogated; all three represent or directly speak

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[13] The focus group was facilitated by Ally Walsh of Ministry of Untold Stories, who received the brief with the research questions, but was responsible for the days' activities. The structure was designed to engage critical questions, using group work and art-making. Examples of the resultant work can be seen in Chapter 6.

as marginal voices. They have an emancipatory goal: to reclaim the city, to expose an alternative view of the city, and to imagine how alternative means of navigating it can be created. The festivals were responsive to a need for reflecting certain stories, experiences, or marginalized voices. Analysis of these case studies occurs through the indicators, with the following questions forming a hermeneutic of commonality or difference:

- Whether and to what extent the festivals make a claim for change?
- How the activities and structures of the events challenge existing understandings of difference or question stereotypes?
- How the festivals open spaces for dialogue?
- How is the Other portrayed in artworks for- and by- immigrant artists?
- Who participates in cultural production? Whose voice is being heard?
- How are meanings negotiated in Antiracist, Puzzle, and Street Art Festival?
- How are open spaces for dialogue mapped in the city?
- What is the legacy of these case studies as cosmopolitan actions?
- How is art used as a method of creating and critiquing cosmopolitan meanings?
- What is the transition from 'imagining' social change and becoming an agent of social change?

With regards to the practice of cosmopolitanism, each of the three cases embodies a contemporary approach, with activist goals, and in direct response to the lived conditions of a rapidly changing urban environment, as mentioned in chapter 1.In particular, each of the case study chapters explicitly engages with the three indicators of belonging, imagination and resistance. Findings emerging across the three cases are then extensively explored in Chapter 7 which details the ways in which the micro-level examples form a wider map of what I call 'cosmopolitanism in action.

Data Collection Methods

In the following section, I outline the data collection methods, briefly analyse the particular strategies, and evaluate the validity of the chosen methods.

- Semi-structured personal interviews with 47 participants, and one group discussion from the festivals (with particular representation of immigrant respondents as well as Greek respondents);
- Focus Group with 11 street artists, collective creation of documentation;
- Dual role as co-worker and researcher for Puzzle festival allowed privileged access to planning phases in 2009; and
- Informal discussions through field research over two years in Athens.

These methods were specifically chosen as a means of eliciting the most appropriate responses. This is a means of selecting methods in order to gather the most valid forms of data. In this research, that means opinions, experiences, stories and personal insights seen in relation to professional or artistic views. In the subsequent section, I provide justification for each chosen data collection strategy, highlighting some of the problems and possibilities associated with each.

Fieldwork Observation and Visual Diaries

As a means of documenting and recording the researcher's experience of being in the field, I sought additional methods that could capture my reflections of the events, providing data for 'thick description'. Denzin considers fieldwork observation 'as a field of strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, respondent and informant interviewing, direct participation and observation and introspection' (1970: 186).

Furthermore, the use of photography to construct visual diaries of events added another dimension to the data sources, thus 'fighting the tendency to reduce all social phenomena into text' (Saukko, 2003). As Caroline Knowles and Paul Sweetman suggest:

> Social scientists commonly 'see', 'observe', 'illuminate', 'view', 'display', 'uncover' patterns, processes, and structures. Sight, more than any of the

other senses, puts the thing perceived in the context of its environment. Sight, therefore, situates objects, much as analysis seeks to do with propositions (2004: 26).

Documenting an ephemeral event such as a festival can reduce its components to disconnected parts. Yet, photography can capture 'moments', helping to locate a lived experience through visual means. 'Photographs help to convey important case characteristics to outside observers' (Yin, 2009: 110). They also served to provide rich sources of data triangulation.

However, I acknowledge that visual 'representations' can be markers of prejudice, stereotype and inequality. Indeed, arts as discourses can be exclusionary, since all socially constructed narratives in turn circumscribe and constitute what is recognised as 'socially visible' (Leavey, 2009: 221). bell hooks also reminds us that art can function as a site for exclusion, but that visual art also carries a transformative power that can resist and dislodge stereotypical ways of thinking (1995). It thus becomes necessary to interrogate artworks on many levels, considering the range of discourses and counter-narratives that may be present. The visual diaries are a method that embodies, through arts practice, the critical questioning of received discourses and definitions.

Despite the apparent realism of photography as a medium, the visual diaries are not designed to provide a uniquely authentic account of the festivals, rather to provide a more in-depth understanding, from a visual perspective. As Chris Jenks has postulated, 'both seeing and social theory are acts of interpretation: selection, abstraction, and transformation. Both are socially constructed and culturally located' (1995: 210). I thus acknowledge the subjectivity inherent in both taking the photographs and selecting them to accompany the research.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews make allowance for participants to respond in their own ways. This results in an inclusive model of data generation, giving the researcher opportunities to engage in more detailed questioning on a certain aspect which has been under-expressed, for example. It is a responsive,

conversational approach that allows for clarification and critical questioning, which means that participants' answers can be engaged with in the moment (Patton, 1990, Rubin & Rubin 1995). The interviews, therefore, changed form with each respondent, engaging with their primary concerns resulting in descriptive and analytic possibilities. The use of semi-structured interviews allows both parties to explore the 'meanings of the questions and the answers involved, which is not so central, and not so often present in other research procedures' (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 32). That is to say, answers can be clarified and, therefore, understandings and meanings can be explored in-depth. This is an approach that embodies the cosmopolitan methodology, rather than presupposing a fixed notion of knowledge. This is echoed in Grant McCracken's assertion that the long interview is powerful because it

> can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experiences…. to see an experience the world as they do themselves (1988: 9).

Most of the interviews were conducted face to face,[14] recorded, transcribed and translated by myself. There are thus instances where translation has become a factor in representing the views of participants; as has the need for reflecting certain nuances lost with a simple transcription.

In order to ensure the validity of interviews, I conducted a respondents' validation check, whereby transcriptions were sent to the participant to confirm accuracy (Denzin, 1989; Saukko, 2003; Silverman, 2001, 2010).[15] In addition, I pretested my interview guide. Before each interview, participants were given the informed consent form (which was in both Greek and English). They were assured of anonymity where relevant, and informed about the purpose of the research, as well as having the right to withdraw. For the sake of consistency, all interviewees have been identified by first name and initial. I elected not to anonymise them (or use code names) since I am also referring to artworks

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[14] Except four email interviews with certain street artists (for purposes of anonymity).
[15] In the case of any inaccuracies, the transcriptions reflected suggested changes. In one case, a participant requested a follow-up meeting to ensure a specific statement would remain undisclosed in the research.

which ought to be attributed. I realise that researchers involving immigrant participants who may be compromised due to their legal status often elect to identify people through code names. In this study street artists and some participants use nicknames while those holding official roles within organisation have been identified with their job title if relevant.

Focus Group Method

I turn now to the choice of the focus group as a method, since participants were selected because they are 'known to have been involved in a particular situation' (Merton et al, 1956 in Bryman, 2004: 346). The focus group engaged participants to collectively imagine a remapping of Athens. The session generated 11 versions of Athens 'remapped', with critical comments and further analysis from participants reflected in the case record for the focus group. One participant felt uncomfortable with his map being shared or disseminated, and it has subsequently been removed from the case record.

Data Analysis Methods

Throughout this research project, qualitative analysis requires what Dey calls 'a dialectic between ideas and data. We cannot analyse the data without ideas, but our ideas must be shaped and tested by the data we are analysing' (1993: 7). With this in mind, this research has developed a hybrid approach; drawing on the strengths of grounded theory (namely theoretical sampling, case records and rigour in coding and concept-generation); while applying a middle range approach to how theory informed research questions and hypotheses during research design phases. The following section provides an overview of grounded theory, then places the research within a middle range theoretical approach.

As Antony Bryant and Kathy Charmaz (2007) point out, grounded theory is a contested concept often used to describe a research method, neglecting its foundations as a new theory resulting from the research activity. As such, the concept is often used in a partial manner. This section is concerned with what grounded theory as a method (GTM) can add to a qualitative empirical study of an everyday phenomenon. One of the problems of adapting grounded theory is

inherent within the argument that the method is a fixed approach. Rather, its multiple developments from the early models of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) mean that its principles can be applied in a wide range of research contexts, exemplifying a simultaneous strength and potential weakness according to Bryant and Charmaz (2007: 9). Since gaining popular currency, it has been applied in many contexts, with residual lack of clarity resulting in some mistrust of the methods (Alvesson & Skőldberg, 2009). The main criticism of grounded theory is that it is almost impossible to adopt a theory-neutral approach to fieldwork, since the researcher would almost certainly have a predetermined hypothesis when choosing cases.

By contrast, Robert Merton's (1949) approach to middle range theory departs from all-inclusive structural theories by asserting theories that can be derived from limited ranges of empirical data. They are developed from limited sets of assumptions, from which hypotheses are tested, whereby results contribute to a wider theory. As Charmaz has stated 'middle range theories consisted of abstract renderings of specific social phenomena that were grounded in data' (2006: 12). Whilst grounded theory seems to have become a popular approach to research, and some of its principles are adapted for this research, the approach taken here draws more on the methods employed in the development of middle range theory. The grounded theory approach can be rather formulaic and specified. By contrast, a middle-range theory enables the generation of theory through a procedure of enquiry without the strictures and limitations of grounded theory approach. In particular, Kathleen Eisenhardt demonstrates that the use of case studies allows for middle range theories to be hypothesised and tested (1989: 553). As with a grounded theory approach, middle range theory allows for theories to spring from the research data and analysis through systematic coding and concept-generation. Eisenhardt acknowledges that cases need to be predetermined with some prior hypothesis, since neutrality is not possible with limited resources. Thus, all analysis, coding and categorisation of data occurs within-cases (from fieldwork observation notes, case records and interviews), between cases (i.e.: exploring commonalities and differences across data), and by shaping hypotheses. The need for verification of the 'fit' between data, methods, and hypotheses occurs in a continuous manner. One

of the final phases of data analysis is what Eisenhardt calls 'enfolding the literature', whereby concepts and categories are considered in relation to the surrounding field of literature (1989).

Essentially, as Charmaz puts it, 'grounded theory methods consist of systematic inductive guidelines for collecting and analysing data to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain the collected data' (2000: 509). In her terms, this approach can be flexible, 'straddling postmodernism and positivism' (2000: 509).[16] Methods drawn from grounded theory used in the study are: theoretical sampling, simultaneous collection and analysis of data, data coding, constant data comparison, memo writing aimed at the construction of conceptual analysis. Whilst I have already demonstrated how I developed theoretical samples, and made the case for simultaneous data collection and analysis as well as comparison, it remains to demonstrate how data coding was conducted.

Research Question/ Concept

Key Word/ Phrase	Belonging	Imagination	Resistance
	Community	Stereotypes	Define against
	Us/ Them	Tolerance	Action/ Activism
	Other	Empathy	Change
	Home	Vision	Solidarity
	Local/ Global	Alternative society	Resistance
	Togetherness	Recognition	Representation
	SYMBOLS		
	EXCLUSION/BORDERS		
	SELF/OTHER		

Table 4: Providing Keys for Coding Participant Interviews and Fieldnotes

In table 4, I provide the sample of key words that were generated within the three dimensions. Codes 'serve as shorthand devices to label, separate,

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[16] She uses the term 'constructivist grounded theory', stating that 'neither human realities nor real worlds are unidimensional' (Charmaz, 2000: 522).

compile, and organise data' (Charmaz, 1983: 186). This occurred at several stages in the data collection and analysis; some codes emerged during interviews, others becoming evident during transcribing and translation. The coding process was ongoing, allowing for refinement and redefinition. Codes were also applied to images, thus triangulating concepts across data sets.

The focused coding (Bryman, 2004: 402; Charmaz, 1983: 187), places emphasis on the most common codes and those that are seen as most revealing about the data. Some codes were determined in relation to the surrounding literature (for example 'local/global', 'us/them'), whilst others emerged in the language of the participants, since they seemed to share a common linguistic currency. Such terms as 'solidarity', 'togetherness' and 'change' were included as codes.

The next level of engaging with the data is the generation of memos (ie: categorization) of the data.[17] This series of actions makes allowance for further strategies to engage with unexpected or new opportunities for investigation. As the literature outlines, the primary challenges of capturing case study data is assessing to what extent the data collected is sufficient (i.e.: whether there is saturation); and whether the data is valid (Charmaz, 2006; King, Keohane & Verba, 1994; Ragin & Becker, 1992; Silverman, 2010 and Yin, 2003, 2009).

The risks of the hybrid grounded theory/ middle range approach are that the volume of data can be unwieldy, though possibilities for rich descriptive cases are increased. A further weakness is the potential over-reliance on technical aspects of concept-generation through 'coding' (Alvesson & Skőldberg , 2009: 71). The use of a cyclical approach to theory and data collection means that the resulting theories are convincing, economical, and coherent. Indeed, the opportunity to conduct follow up interviews meant that data saturation was guaranteed. Some of the further criticisms of this approach are that it is time consuming, and resource intensive. In particular, the resources and networks

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[17] I make use of Glaser's notion of memos (see Bryman, 1988; Bryman & Hardy, 2004; Charmaz, 2006; Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004).

needed were often complex to manage, requiring time for rapport building before formal research methods could be implemented.

The defence of my decision to use manual coding (rather than the sophisticated coding software available and designed for use with grounded theory), rests on the level of constant contact with the participants' views through repeated listenings, transcribing and translation. The repetition gave me access to the voices of the interviewees, and manual coding meant that my interaction with them remained hands-on, human, and dialogic.

Validity and Reliability
Both Robert Yin (2009) and Silverman (2010) distinguish between three modes of validity for data. I have adapted their modes below, outlining the three modes in light of this research.

1. Construct validity: triangulation of data, case records and respondent check, multiple sources of evidence.
2. Internal validity: comprehensive data treatment, coding, pattern matching, explanation building
3. External validity: thick description. [18]

The use of case records, triangulation and thick description are discussed in further detail. Once all interviews and empirical studies have occurred, the researcher develops a case record of the event, outlining all details, and including full transcription of the interviews, alongside all other documentation. For example, a case record for the street artists' focus group includes all email correspondence, the call for participation, as well as the session outline, transcriptions of the discussions and images generated by the participants in the workshop. Lawrence Stenhouse saw the need for case records to establish grounds for verifying the case study, since the case record permits critical scrutiny of the interpretations and selections made by the case writer by allowing access to the background data (1975; 1980). There is, at this level, no initial analysis made of the case record, merely the opportunity for participants

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[18] Peter Knight asserts that we might consider that what matters 'is not reliability but trustworthiness and transparency; not validity but credibility and appropriateness' (2002: 133).

to respond to the data that will ultimately reflect their participation in the fieldwork.

The use of images directly challenges the exclusion faced by those who may be in a host country operating in a language that is not their mother tongue. A departure from logocentric research approaches to predicating meaning-making in alternative forms is itself a means of carving space for difference. This step (although time consuming), provides transparent and accurate data from which to generate further codes in order to begin creating 'webs of significance' and reflect on the indicators linked to the primary research questions.[19]

I make use of Robert Stake's protocols for providing valid data by means of triangulation.[20] He recommends a range of strategies both during data capture and analysis phases, which I have used in various stages of fieldwork, particularly in providing 'case records' for participants to authenticate and respond to. This approach to research engages participants and research subjects themselves in the triangulation of data. Triangulation, for Stake, helps to 'gain needed confirmation, to increase credence in the interpretation, to demonstrate commonality of an assertion' (1995: 112). Rob Walker raises a common question about case studies, concerning how specific cases are supposed to provide a basis for generalisation. He says:

> Developing an understanding of a field is not simply a question of searching the literature for like cases… but of developing an understanding which elsewhere we have compared to knowing a landscape (Schratz & Walker, 1995), i.e. being able to look at it from different angles and facets, being able to plot different routes through it and being able to tell different stories ('song lines') which might connect its key features (2002: 120-21).

He turns to Stenhouse, who saw generalization as a matter of judgment rather than calculation, saying '… the task of case study is to produce ordered reports of experience which invite judgment and offer evidence to which judgment can appeal' (Stenhouse, 1975: 49). Therefore, for Stenhouse, it is important to

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[19] I borrow this terminology from Clifford Geertz (1973).
[20] Arch Woodside poses the need for multiple approaches for triangulation of case data, particularly highlighting the subjective position of a participant in an interview, the complexity of accessing the subconscious thinking as well as the researcher's subjectivity (2010: 3 - 7).

supplement the final analysis of the field work with 'case records'. These are not digested or theorised, but are more 'authentic' documents from the field which can further assist in the triangulation of data. In this way, the artworks, photographs and transcripts are used in dialogue with the researcher's observation and hypotheses.

Finally, in order to explore how cosmopolitanism is performed in Athens within this milieu, I engage with Geertz's notion of 'thick description' as a means of telling the stories I encountered while conducting empirical fieldwork. A thick description sets down 'the meanings that particular social actions have for the actors whose actions they are' (1973: 25). Description must be distinguished from interpretation. Interpretation involves explaining the findings, attaching significance to certain results, and putting patterns into analytic framework. However, thick description often accompanies ethnographic accounts of places and peoples. The aim of description here is to draw large conclusions from specificities, supporting 'broad assertions about the role of culture in the construction of collective life' (1973: 27-28) and therefore, instead of using thick description as a main plank of the approach to field work, it is supplemented, expanded upon and enriched by artworks and case records to constitute sufficient, compelling data expressing multiple perspectives.[21]

Ethical Compasses
Held refers to the agenda of cosmopolitanism as not seeking to ascribe a broad and universal ethic to the widest possible range of human morality and juridical issues. Rather, he advocates the conditions of agency and collective decision making in which all human beings are understood to be equal (2009: 160). Therefore, in constructing an approach to researching the practice of cosmopolitanism, I have attempted to engage the moral and ethical framework in all stages of research design. The ethics referred to by Jeff Ferrell (2009), Paul Routledge (2009), and Amster et al (2009) demand a transparent, grassroots, dialogic approach to meaning making. In addition, Appadurai, in his call for a decentred academic discourse says a

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[21] In particular, I make use of educationalists Stenhouse and Walker for a rich understanding of the value of case studies and case records. (Stenhouse, 1980; Walker, 2010).

research ethic is obviously not about just any kind of new knowledge. It is about new knowledge that meets certain criteria. It has to plausibly emerge from some reasonably clear grasp of relevant prior knowledge (2000: 10).

The new contribution to the field offered by this kind of approach to field work seeks to expand the project of cosmopolitanism to include a practical, embodied and everyday practice that can be seen in the festivals in Athens. Appadurai asks whether we can 'retain the methodological rigour of modern social science while restoring some of the prestige and energy of earlier visions of scholarship in which moral and political concerns were central?' (2000: 15) In his wide ranging critique of the globalised academy which privileges Western epistemologies, he wonders whether researchers could learn from other national and cultural settings 'whose work is not characterised by a sharp line between social scientific and humanistic styles of inquiry?' (2000: 15).

Therefore, in developing a research method that engages the voices of the 'subjects' of the research in a creative interplay, I attempt to generate an ethic that embodies the principles of critical cosmopolitanism itself. That is, an inclusive, empathic, participatory approach which involves reflexivity and transparency at all stages of developing meaning, allowing for complex multiple meanings to emerge in a story with many authors, and not one authoritative researcher. In outlining the move from classical sociology to a hybrid model of approaching fieldwork I have developed a distinct and holistic response to the gap that exists in the field. Underpinning the approach to research methods is my desire to establish an inclusive space for learning in which participants and researcher can collectively discuss, debate and attempt to create pathways for remapping fixed understandings of identities, urban spaces and belonging.

As Routledge says

> the boundaries between my roles as 'activist' and 'academic' are always in flux, always being negotiated… this 'third space' is thus a place of invention and transformational encounters, a dynamic in-between space that is imbued with traces, relays, ambivalences, ambiguities, and contradictions, with the feelings and practices of both identities (2009: 89).

He maintains that activist researchers need to develop a 'relational ethics', reflecting their own positions as engaged within committed performance of social activism alongside subjects of research. He reflects the multiple positions that need to be considered in the process of developing and conducting research; particularly in the transparent and open communication of agendas, funding and vested interests. Participants in the research are empowered to understand a mechanism that is normally kept hidden when oppressive power relations are dismantled. His approach to research fieldwork is forged by a mistrust of objectivity (2009: 99); and his research ethic is 'concerned with action, reflection and empowerment (of oneself and others)' (2009: 82).

Herbert Blumer asserts that the researcher by definition does not have direct access to the sphere of social life under investigation. He maintains that the researchers' position 'is almost always that of an outsider; as such he [sic] is markedly limited in simple knowledge of what takes place' (1986: 35). I will show, however, that rather than being an outsider with limited access to the layers of meaning in a social group separate to myself, I am embedded within the discourses I aimed to explore through research. For example, being resident in Athens to conduct fieldwork was an important element in my level of access to respondents. I was able to engage in systematic work for Puzzle Festival, and developed a strong circle of respondents that are street artists – usually covert operators that prefer anonymity. I feel I was thus able to straddle the demands of the researcher to be a curious 'outsider' with a desire to learn from my fieldwork respondents, and simultaneously an active participant in the social groups I analyse. In this respect, I have ensured that my position is consistently reflected upon, and I place value in the ethics of my position.

The reflexive researcher reveals the extent of her positionality: as an activist researcher, I was fundamentally both part of the communities of resistance I was working alongside, and critically engaged in determining key issues emerging from these communities and the events they construct. Therefore, in conducting fieldwork, the more traditional social science methods that require absolute objectivity and deny situatedness are less valid as they would result in

partial, inconsistent and inaccurate results in the research design and data collection.

As a researcher, throughout the fieldwork, I have also engaged in multiple roles in relation to the contexts I analyse. I have been audience, co-worker and curator. I therefore have needed to be critically aware of the contingencies this has placed on my objectivity at times, and in the case studies, I provide transparent accounts of my own positionality in the fieldwork.

Concluding Remarks
Before concluding, some critical reflections are in order. As an integral part of my approach to fieldwork, I developed a series of questions relating to field work and qualitative methods that seek to de-stabilise the assumptions of the researcher position. These questions make allowance for iterative reflection on the practice of conducting research through a cosmopolitan lens:

- Does defining research subjects as Greek vs immigrant not fall into traps of inclusion or exclusion according to national identities, which have been criticized by Beck (2006)?
- How is it possible to avoid limitations of labelling and 'belonging' according to such narrow concepts?
- In what ways does a researcher's language choice in interviews construct the respondents' frame in terms of 'Greekness', 'foreignness' or sense of community?
- What are the possibilities of critical conversations about belonging within the language of the adopted country (i.e.: when the language choice itself frames the conversation with implicit power)?
- How does reference to artwork and collective experience in a festival serve to challenge the hegemony described above? This is considered without reverting to simplistic claims of art form as uncategorized or unaffected by boundaries that may or may not be informed by national identities, but certainly by methods, schools and techniques that affect theme, symbolization and medium.

In engaging with the lived realities of my research subjects (participants), I also redefine my approach, my line of questioning, even questions themselves. In other words, I appreciate the opportunity to reposition myself as a respondent to the participants, not remaining an objective researcher. Since it is not fixed, remaining open to changes, re-interpretations and unexpected outcomes, the methodology becomes itself a chance to remap.

Skrbis and Woodward (2007) claim that cosmopolitanism can be an analytic tool if seen as a set of 'practices and dispositions' (734). In cartography, mapmakers choose to include certain data for certain models of map for a commonly understandable representation of terrain. So, too, in these case studies, I chart out relevant details relating to site, the social conditions and the milieu. Further, I make a claim for a more veracious map: one that allows for individual disagreements, complexifications and redefinitions. Thus, rather than providing a neat map that corresponds with the borders and dimensions we might expect, the project has drafted multiple maps, which I, in turn, have incorporated into a palimpsest. Athens remapped is an ongoing project, underscored by a prevailing ethos of negotiation and definition. These case studies attempt to pin down a moment without neglecting the time-boundedness of the events or the limitations of the data, meaning they are not intended to be generalisations that endure as incontestable representations of fixed terrain.

I have argued for a methodology that embodies the principles I believe are fundamental to the generation of this overview mapping cosmopolitan actions and interactions in Athens. The factors constituting an original contribution to the sociological understanding of a situated cosmopolitanism are conceived throughout my study in the following ways: the empirical participatory method; the theoretical overview of cosmopolitanism as a necessary condition in a globalised postmodern world; the overview of the notion of cosmopolitanism as an emancipatory alternative; and the systematic analysis of cases representing material culture as critical cosmopolitanism.

CHAPTER 4
ANTIRACIST FESTIVAL: ACTIVISM THROUGH FESTIVITY

There have been fruitful and interesting accounts of festivals and their relationships with the cities that host them (see Jamieson, 2004; Piette, 1992; Quinn, 2005a; Sassatelli, 2011). Some festivals are generated in order to attract tourists to the city, such that the culture becomes co-opted by urban branding which oftentimes overtakes the cultural products (destination festivals); others claim to represent the cultural realities of its diverse populations (fringe festivals); while still others emerge in response to changing urban environments in an attempt to celebrate and generate attachments between population and the city (contextual festivals). It is the latter type of festival that characterises Antiracist Festival. The interplay between Athens and the festival is in flux, with form and content informed by the social changes evident at local level in the urban environment. As Bernadette Quinn has said, arts festivals ought to be rooted in society and real life in order to be responsive and evolving (2005a: 935). Rather than rely on city branding or a tourist-oriented characterisation, Athens is both the site and the subject of the festival.

This case study concerns the ideals and the structures of a festival which began as an activist movement which recognised the social capital held by arts and culture to platform the issues they identified; namely, racism, xenophobia and exclusion. What is of importance in the structuring of festivals is the

> interaction between the producers and consumers of culture. At first glance, the artists, directors and managers are the primary producers and the audience the consumers. However, as consumers absorb the culture, demanding more of the same or something different, they force the performers to provide them with what they demand so the 'consumers' become active 'producers' and *vice versa* (Waterman,1998: 69).

The double-focus on the urban space as the locale for antiracist performances – not just during the festival – but through year round ad hoc events, makes the city space the locus of imagining community. Crespi-Vallbona & Richards argue that large festivals often uphold the hegemonic tastes and approaches of elites, rather than aiming to represent a multiplicity of backgrounds (2007: 104). Their

criticism of social and economic privileging in staging such events highlights the issues of participation in cultural production and subsequent representation in urban festivals. Such a critique could not be levelled at Antiracist Festival, which maintains the features of autonomous self-representation a local festival might champion, despite its size and access to resources.

Prior to conducting in depth fieldwork on the Antiracist festival, I had attended four festivals (between 2004 and 2008) as an audience member, attracted by its sustainability, its ambitious scale and its well-publicised sense of Athens as a multicultural city. The festival was always a chance to experience new tastes, smells, sounds and art forms; where diverse communities could share spaces together, not be ghettoised in small areas in central Athens; and celebration could be a mutual goal. Despite being driven by a specific socio-political concern, Antiracist Festival was one of the only events that was not aligned to any party-political agendas, so the festive moment remained non-partisan; though invariably political.

Fieldwork commenced for this study in 2009 until late 2010, with some follow up interviews conducted in early 2011. Initially, I made contact with the members of the network 'Network for the Social Support of Refugees and Immigrants' (NSSRI), and spent time gathering data at the 'Immigrants' *Steki'* (Immigrants' Hub). I conducted empirical observations at the summer festivals in both 2009 and 2010, documenting through photography, reflexive diaries, conducting face to face informal discussions, and strengthening my network of contacts for detailed in depth interviews to be held in the winter months. I conducted 22 interviews with participants representing organisations, forums, communities, local groups and social centres, lasting approximately 40 minutes to 70 minutes each. All data were transcribed and translated by myself. In order to continue engagement with the festival and its concerns as part of my empirical observation, I attended six ad-hoc events over the two years, including fundraising gatherings, marches and symposia; and documenting where

appropriate, using photography.[1] I am aware of sensitivities regarding photographs of vulnerable people and children and made every effort to get permission from responsible adults before the picture was taken. Pictures from protests and marches tend to highlight crowds and banners with slogans rather than individuals. As part of the case record checks, I reflected the chosen images to 'NSSRI' members who agreed they represented activities and did not expose any individuals.

The main section starts with an overview of antiracism as a field, locating the study within cosmopolitan discourse. This frame serves to locate the festival as a cultural event informed by such principles. Next, there is an overview of the festival, concerning the structures, organisational and impact agendas of the festival, in order to situate the large scale activist-driven event in its socio-political context. This section is largely drawn from the organiser's perspectives, with more critical reflection on structures and agendas remaining for subsequent analysis. The three main units of analysis derived from indicators analyse the festival in terms of communities of belonging; spectacle antiracism and the concomitant role of commodification of culture; and the importance of transnational activism. This section is primarily concerned with the festive moment, in which identity negotiations and ideals are interrogated through the practicalities, programming, ethos, and performance in and through festival spaces. Also included here are the ad-hoc year round events. Finally, critical concepts are detailed regarding the interrelationship of the festival and the urban terrain.

Racism, Antiracism and Cosmopolitanism
According to Jacques Derrida, Western thought is structured around polarised categories, or to use his words:

> good vs. evil, identity vs. difference, mind vs. matter, man vs. woman, nature vs. culture... These polar opposite do not, however, stand as independent and equal entities. The second term in each pair is considered the negative, corrupt, undesirable version of the first, a fall away from it… In other words, the two terms are not simply opposed in their meanings, but

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[1] See Appendix B for the visual diary of Antiracist Festival, which includes images and captions from both festivals and the ad-hoc activities.

are arranged in a hierarchical order which gives the first term priority (1981: viii).

Racist thought is based upon this hierarchical arrangement of binary categories, providing its own vocabulary, with the foundational entries being Self seen in opposition to the Other and national in opposition to non-national. In postmodern urban environments these dualities have dissolved and merged together in new forms which transform the basis of everyday consciousness and identities. As David Goldberg points out 'the presumption of a single monolithic racism is being displaced by a mapping of the multifarious formulations of *racisms*' (1990: xiii, emphasis in the original). In other words, the outmoded idea of racism referring solely to the idea of ethnic background and skin colour has gained a new postmodern vocabulary (Alexander, 2000; Back & Solomos, 2000; Hall, 2000; Lentin, 2004; 2011; Modood, 1997; Taguieff, 2000).

Furthermore, Lentin's suggestion is that racism and antiracism need to be re-conceptualised in this 'post-race' (Lentin, 2011) milieu. Yet, Lentin and Titley refer to the 'insistent traces of modern expectation attached to broadly postmodern arrangements' (2011: 129) which affect the migration/integration debate with an ambivalence and a reductive cycle of 'immanent frustration'. It thus seems to be impossible to avoid identification and vocabularies based on fixed categories.

It becomes necessary then, to explore how 'cultural racism' differs from the concepts of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Using Lentin's (2004; 2011) distinctions, culturally-based forms of racism draw attention to a shift in the focal point of racism from physical characteristics to cultural practices. As such, cultural racism does not imply any predetermined innate incapacity to change. Rather the underlying assumption in cultural racist ideology is that marginal groups are acceptable if they adapt to the structures of the hegemonic culture. In this light, assimilation means homogenisation and accordance to the hegemonic cultural values – as suggested by Lentin and Titley (2011). This is an insidious and common attitude, which is not necessarily reviled as 'racism', remaining hidden in social behaviours and prejudices against performed identities, such as

fashion choices, music preferences and sexual identities that appear to spring from ethnic or national identities and cultural practices. Examples of the minaret debate in Switzerland and the Burqa ban in France are cited by Lentin and Titley (2011) in this regard. As Michel Wieviorka explains 'to speak of cultural racism is to insist on an image of racial difference which is not natural or biological but contained in language, religion, tradition, national origin' (1997: 142).

The subsequent section applies these definitional concerns with racism and antiracism in relation to the current economic crisis in Greece, calling attention to the multiple mechanisms of marginalisation, and the means by which capitalist exclusions result in a return to un-productive views of 'us' and 'them' – or what Balibar calls 'crisis racism' (1991: 217). The economic criis translated into the collapse of social state and resultant over-burdened education and health systems. This has had a visible impact on vulnerable Greek population groups. Under these circumstances immigrants' rights have been overshadowed and naïve expressions of xenophobia and racism prevail (HLHR, 2010). In Greek society cultural racism leads to racist attitudes appearing as 'innocent', reduced to a mere side effect of social decay. In this view, Greekness deserves to be 'defended' against being undermined by cultural Others. This understanding creates the hope that change can occur if social structures change, but does little to address the possibility that cultural racism is predominant and upheld by hegemonic thinking.

As Nava argues, 'the emphasis on the production of racism, however politically imperative, has led inevitably to the marginalization of the complex and changing nature of everyday cosmopolitanism and the socio-emotional aspects of anti-racism' (2002: 89). Nava highlights the need for a new perspective which focuses on new narratives and aspirations that will provide cosmopolitan answers. In the same line of thought Paul Gilroy (2000) argues for the need to overcome racialised differentiation by means of 'planetary humanism' and cosmopolitan imagination. Yet, what seems to be missing from this account is a discussion of critical cosmopolitanism and how it emerges through antiracist practices. A critical cosmopolitan agenda would not develop as a 'planetary

humanism', but rather through investigating intercultural tensions and evolving translations. In fact intercultural tensions may give room to a third space which can 'effect forms of political change that go beyond antagonistic binarisms between rulers and ruled' (Papastergiadis, 1997: 279). The main challenge of cosmopolitanism then, as Nussbaum (1994) puts it, is to work toward a state of things in which all of the differences will be non-hierarchically understood.

Cosmopolitanism, then, is concerned with action, reflection and empowerment in order to challenge oppressive power relations. It points towards the creation of participatory spaces of action which are inclusive and anti-hierarchical. Antiracist Festival and its organising network of communities and organisations is a case study of a non-hierarchical space in which links are extended and cultural differences are included. Moreover its improvised activism through festivity embodies antiracist practices and addresses issues of belonging, identity formation, and alternative representations crucial for cosmopolitanism in action.

Setting the Scene
The Antiracist Festival can be seen as an example of the establishment of a producer/consumer dynamic in the field of social change through cultural activities. It positions itself in such a way as to encourage a wide audience to consider marginal voices and platform anti-hegemonic views, whilst the demand from a growing public awareness of such issues fuels support for the festival.

In 1995, a group of activists and NGOs gathered together to develop a network of organisations involved in supporting immigrants to Greece.[2] Within one year, the small but committed network had created a *steki* (hub): a space for legal advice, counselling, job opportunities and referrals to other services in the city centre. The need for joined up services was proven by an increase in the number of xenophobic incidents that were reported, according to the 'National Focal Point on Racism and Xenophobia', a state agency concerned with human

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[2] As mentioned in chapter 1, there was a notable increase in immigration in the early 1990s, attributed to the Balkan unrest.

rights.[3] Furthermore, from the first year of its formation the network's main action was to highlight the absence of state supportive organisations and to put pressure on the reformation of immigration law. As a key member of the '*Steki*' explains:

> Immigrants remained socially and legally invisible and, therefore powerless. Athens was experiencing its pre-Olympic 'golden years' based on the exploitation of immigrants' cheap labour… there was an urgent need for a big platform in order to make those people doubly visible: to the public sphere and to the state (Iro P. – Interview 3, 2010).

Working in collaboration with immigrant communities, the 'NSSRI' attempted to create a flagship event symbolising struggles in Greece and abroad.

From these humble beginnings as an activist network prioritising service delivery, the Antiracist Festival has become one of the cultural landmarks on the city's calendar, gaining support from approximately 28,000 visitors annually, with 2 stages featuring international musicians alongside local and immigrant artists.[4] As the organising network explains, the central issue of the festival is not racism but the wider question of prejudice, exclusion and oppression. For Antiracist Festival the cultural Others facing such exclusion were not only immigrants, although challenging racial and ethnic stereotyping is central to the festival's agenda.[5] One leading member of the 'NSSRI', jointly responsible for the festival stated in an interview:

> exclusion and marginalisation are explored in all their aspects – religious differences, gender equality, vulnerable and excluded groups such as addicts, abused women and children, and the platform includes violation of human rights outside the European borders, for example, Gaza and Kurdistan (Nikolas T. – Interview 2, 2010).

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[3] Comments taken from a circular entitled 'Racism and Society in Crisis' produced by the Hellenic League for Human Rights (21/03/2009).

[4] Statistics are estimated since complete data is not held by the box office, but annual ticket sales and free passes were said to be 'between 25,000 – 30,000 in 2009 and 2010' (Nikolas T. – Interview 2, 2010).

[5] 'The world is our homeland, equality is our language, solidarity is our weapon'. Under this slogan the Antiracist Festival has worked to unite socially engaged NGOs, immigrant communities, antiracist movements, anticapitalist activists, refugee, LGBT, student and local groups, eco-friendly and legal support organisations, substance abuse therapeutic communities, independent publications, magazines and newspapers and social centres.

Antiracism as an orientation operates through its positioning against racism and other forms of discrimination. In praxis it can be intrinsically rich and multidimensional, exhibiting a variety of tendencies and beliefs. The network is a collection of activists and professional from different backgrounds. 'Each one of us brought to the fore a different agenda and created a polyphonic orchestra of issues' (Sotiris P. – Interview 21, 2011). Indeed, the growing platform created by the 'NSSRI' meant that organisations dealing with exclusion, prejudice and injustice found a platform that would engage activist concerns with festive celebration. This shift to a broader ethos over the last years may have helped to engage wider, more diverse audiences.

> The main focus is still on immigration issues, yet Antiracist Festival is not only a reaction against 'biological forms' of racial exclusions but an answer to taboos and stereotypes that lock our identities and form our communities (Katerina V. – Interview 4, 2010).

The need, for Katerina V., appears to be for awareness-raising through a festive moment of all the multiple means of exclusion and inclusion; and how these narratives are played out in the daily lives of those in the city. One of the primary aims of the festival is to work towards a model of active participation and active citizenship. By remaining engaged with local communities, organisations and encouraging a cycle of consultation, dialogue with policymakers and activism, the festival itself remains relevant, connected, and a vital platform for the voices of these groups. This is reiterated in the view that 'the power belongs to people, civil society is to be the driving force for change and the role of the festival is to open a space and summon the actors' (Nana P. – Interview 1, 2010). Therefore resistance to racism, acceptance of the Other, and solidarity are conquered step by step, through daily practices but also through common activities and claims. The claim that 'NSSRI' is giving voice to minorities translates into constant consultation and research at the local level and 'the ability to question and redefine your own position through the comments of the participants' (Nikolas T. – Interview 2, 2010). A degree of self-analysis and reconfiguration over the years is what makes Antiracist Festival reflexive and vigorous.

Antiracist Festival has created a dynamic network over the years and its philosophy is to create and reinforce local groups and communities by developing sustainable relationships with national and international NGOs and support organisations. The festival draws together a wide range of organisations – both funded and voluntary – while the 'NSSRI' does not have its own funding. Rather, the network draws on its members' funding as well as relying on ticket sales for the festivals, and regular fundraising events aligned to social issues. However, the pooling of funding towards the festival's agenda does not imply that organisations are expected to pay to participate in the 'NSSRI', merely that there are diverse sources of funding. One might say that the coordinating network makes use of social entrepreneurship in the sense that they ambitiously seek to expand their terrain of influence and seek new solutions to social deprivation, prejudice and exclusion. By forming the 'NSSRI' as a loose network of member organisations, the festival is thus both grassroots and large scale. It is driven by local concerns and not constrained by government agendas. The member organisations choose to channel their EU funding to the festival, as a means of delivering their own project outcomes. Furthermore, in an attempt to widen their platform over the last six years, the festival has expanded to other major cities in Greece.

Before proceeding to the overview of how the festival model is innovative, it may be valuable to reflect on the bureaucratic structures that dominate cultural life in Greece. An unwieldy Third Sector, whose protocols and systems are over-complicated (with duplication, overlap and conflicts of interest rife); alongside a heavily bureaucratised public sector, and a notoriously corrupt civil society add up to fertile conditions for an activist festival to react against. Correspondingly, in order to function as a festival, the 'NSSRI' has developed a complicated structure consisting of sub-committees, member organisations, supporter organisations and communities. Organisational anomalies aside, the clarity of purpose and the singular vision of the festival and its ad hoc events are a welcome addition to the Athenian cultural map.

Innovative Festival Model

Antiracist Festival is rooted in 'real societal tensions providing a space for self-critical examination, community strengthening and alternative imaginings of the city' (Antonis G. –Interview 5, 2010). In order to accomplish its goals the festival has adopted an innovative frame of action formulated across three different forms of struggle, namely:

1. Spontaneous protest: the annual festival is based on a time-specific and planned model. This leaves no room for spontaneous immediate reactions to problems occurring throughout the year. This perceived gap is covered by spontaneous events (not time consuming to organise) and protests taking place under the banner of the festival. As Iro P. says

   > after the size and the robustness of the 2008 spontaneous protests in Athens, we learned that change can occur through active civil participation… festivity is one thing and real daily activism is another. Antiracist Festival is a combination of the above, aiming towards an active and spontaneous civil participation in protests and marches in our daily lives in the city and not only to a one-off celebratory event (Interview 3, 2010).

2. Opening opportunities for resources and support across a range of organisations aiming at minimising social exclusions: since antiracist policies challenge the prevailing forms inherent in institutional practices, counter-discourses need a big supportive network behind them. This network is able to mobilise a large number of organisations and citizens in order to put pressure on local politicians and officials. Moreover, participation in the festival can open doors to further collaborations between organisations and, therefore, new funding opportunities. In that sense the festival can be described as part of what Steven Buecher terms a 'social movement community', a broad range of formal and informal groups that identify their goals with the preferences of a social movement and attempt to implement those goals (1990: 18).

3. Planned political actions: articulated through campaigns, manifestos and petitions which are formally delivered to parliamentary officials annually. The festival forms the centre of the consciousness raising around these

issues for the public, but this significant action aims towards asking government to respond.

In addition to the annual main festival programme, three key characteristics of Antiracist Festival's year-round programme have been outlined: spontaneous protest, ongoing networks and support referrals, and planned political actions. In short, the Antiracist Festival is based on an innovative model of spontaneity, sustainability and partnership working. These three lynchpins of the ethos counter what Henderson terms the hyper-organised nature of festivals, saying 'festivals in general are never impromptu or improvised events, and arts festivals, in particular, are never spontaneous: they are 'serious fun' (1991: 11). On the contrary, this model is reflexive and responsive, structured, yet open. I call it an improvised readiness for activism though festivity.

Structures, Actors and Festive Semiotics
'To be able to name a festival antiracist you have to make sure that you practice what you preach in the structures and inception of the event' (Nikolas T. – Interview 2, 2010). Indeed, access to the festival is open, and anyone can perform or exhibit on the basis of meeting the general objective of diversity, evident in the range of organisations and communities represented, from large, international NGOs (such as '*Medicines San Frontiers*') to smaller and often more radical organisations (such as 'The Human Library'). In analysing the structures, then, there are several questions arising about the semiotics of the festival and schemes of representation, particularly around issues of race, ethnicity, class and other markers of social exclusion. Namely, how is difference represented at all levels of the festival? On what stages? Through which art forms? Using the popular slogan "diversity is our strength", the 'NSSRI' 'invites more participants every year in an attempt to extend the size of the festival and make room for more voices, artists and organisations' (Konstantinos C. – Interview 13, 2010); and new events responding to the current socio-political situation are staged.

The festival is an open-air event held annually in summer in a range of venues across central Athens. The audiences may be attracted by high profile

musicians and artists,[6] yet the resounding sensation of the festivals is gained from the 'organisation walk' – the avenue of organisation stalls presenting posters, discussions, agendas and merchandise.[7] The conviviality of the event is boosted by a workshop programme, presentations and keynote addresses. Alongside the socio-political intent and the main artistic programme exists a second platform of immigrant artists and local community performances and the popular world cuisines market. This facilitates the meeting of Athenians and immigrants in a festive moment that celebrates and questions; and the unique positioning of this festival is that it is not just a momentary celebration, but an event in a calendar of actions that work towards a common agenda of social change.

Yet, despite the rhetoric of inclusion, there is a visible separation of 'mainstream' and 'immigrant-centred' activities. Through the prioritising of well known bands and performers, the organisers market distinct stages or areas, contributing to a spatial discrimination regarding the visibility and accessibility of specific artists and organisations. To be more precise, the main attraction marketed by the festival is the music stage. The division of the stages into 'main' and 'immigrant' stages is problematic in terms of reinforcing polarities and dual categorisation. Following Skrbis et al it is worth noting that the terminology used to categorise immigrants tends to foreground their 'ethnicity' above their 'Greek-ness'; 'second-generation Albanians', for example, are also 'first-generation Greeks', although they are rarely described as such. Their 'second generation status can be a form of 'othering'' (Skrbis et al, 2007: 262). Moreover, as a model of presentation it did not empower collaboration between Greek or European musicians and immigrant musicians and artists or explore ways of developing cross fertilisation between acclaimed and emerging artists.

In terms of the spatial dynamics of the festival, such separation, dualism and hierarchies presented themselves in distinct spaces for 'main attractions' and all other events. To borrow from the Situationists, the 'journey' of the festival is

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[6] Artists included Chicks on Speed, Deus Ex Machina and Michalis Delta (2010); and The Last Drive and Fivos Delivorias (2009).
[7] See image 1, on p. 97.

described. The cultural voyage to 'antiracism' began through ticket barriers leading directly to the main stage; next to which were the toilet facilities and the popular world cuisine section. Thus, those audience members who had come primarily for the music could end their journey at this main stage. One needed to walk through the fine art exhibition, the workshop space, and the mini cinema screening documentaries in order to reach the 'immigrants' stage' and the 'organisation walk'. That is to say, the latter were represented as 'b-side' events in the festival and as such had less visibility and were less accessible. This more issues-based side to the festival was attended by fewer audience members, as reflected in the comments of the participants:

> the 'NSSRI' estimates that almost 30,000 people visit the festival every year. From our estimation only six to seven thousand make it to the organisation walk (Niki A. – Interview 20, 2010).

> Many people stopped in front of the main stage and never made it to our stands… [most audience members came] in and out of the main entrance, [they were audiences] for the concert not conscious people participating in the Antiracist Festival (Ridvan C. – Interview 22, 2011).

Another participant organisation reflects on how the main attraction activities made the organisations' work more difficult in advertising their campaigns and agendas. Thus, the practical dynamics of space, site and planning meant that the main stage overshadowed and dominated the rest of the festival, for example, 'when the big names were on the main stage the music was so loud we couldn't concentrate on the music and traditional dancers on the small stage' (Fatih E. – Interview 14, 2010).

Image 1: 'Organisation Walk' (2010)

Whilst the genesis of the festival was grassroots based, the desire to capture a wider audience means that high profile musicians could potentially attract more people than a purely 'ideological festival'. Michelle Duffy has suggested that it is an economic imperative to attract international performers who will, in turn, attract a larger audience (2000: 51). To juxtapose the participants' criticism with the 'NSSRI' view, Katerina V stated:

> Big names are there to attract larger audiences, but also they participate semi-voluntarily with the minimum cost… All of the participants' performances are accordant with the festival's ethos (Katerina V. – Interview 4, 2010).

Therefore, the programming is aligned to the social and political agenda of the festival, meaning the fan base attracted by the musicians may also share antiracist, liberal worldviews.[8] In defence of the spatial dynamic of the festival, another key member of the network mentioned:

> The division of the stages happens for practical reasons. Artists can perform at the same time…The further division into main and immigrant stage is simply a matter of musical taste. The main stage has pop and electronic music and immigrant stage has folk, traditional and ethnic music (Iro P. – Interview 3, 2010).

The second over-arching critical issue regarding the framework of the festival is to what extent markers of exclusion and inclusion exist in its structure. The programming included over 300 organisations in the development of stalls, theatre and music platforms as well as debates and discussions on the immigrants' stage. This meant that there was a range of styles, aesthetics and art forms profiled; for example, in 2009, there was a shadow workshop, a drama workshop and child-centred activities. In 2010, children made banners and slogans with clay.[9] There were screenings of international documentaries, all running throughout the festival. Whilst these programmed events were scheduled to include as many forms as possible (with 12 simultaneous events), there was no 'open mic' or improvisation time set aside for collaborations,

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[8] This suggestion is offered because it would be reductive to imagine that all fans who attend a festival because of a high profile music line-up also share the ethos of the wider festival, and all its participants.

[9] For visual documentation see Appendix B, images B7- B9.

though several people were busking with drums. Despite the highly programmed timeframe not always allowing for spontaneous collaboration, the accessibility and inclusiveness of the art forms were clearly appropriate and sufficient, representing a wide range of national, folk, and cultural forms.

Regarding language, however, the exclusive use of Greek as the medium of all public communication from the network proved problematic. Some of the international NGOs, the immigrant unions and committees had multilingual displays. Yet, very few of the participating Greek organisations had translated pamphlets and posters into English, and no other languages were present. This leads to a reinforced barrier between assimilated immigrants and those more recently arrived. For immigrants, the use of language as a primary means of encouraging belonging is an important factor which reinforces communication as a step towards mutual recognition. However, for a festival founded on antiracist ideologies there should also be widespread recognition of other major languages spoken by immigrant communities (particularly French, English and Arabic).[10]

Finally, considering the accessibility of the festival to its target audience, the questions were posed: what exclusions are evident in terms of the audience? How are ticket prices structured? How accessible is the venue? How is the event marketed? It is clear that the event intended to capture a mass audience through its mainstream and immigrant stages with world cuisine and family friendly activities. In addition, the venue was easily accessible via public transport in both 2009 and 2010. Even though the festival is well-established and well-publicised, it is important to bear in mind that the majority of visitors were local; meaning that for the most part tourists and other international visitors were not seen to be part of the audience, even though it was held during the high season of tourism in Athens.

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[10] The information sessions, debates and discussions should be translated, if possible, working alongside volunteers, if interpreting is considered too expensive. The two exceptions were the inclusion of multilingual instructions in a workshop and an exhibition of Arabic cartoons, about which I write later.

The ticket prices were affordable, (at 6 euros per day), with free passes to participating organisations and volunteers. There was also a free entrance policy for refugees and immigrants. However, this policy again raises issues of stereotyping and ethnic profiling, since box office ticket collectors would obviously 'read' audience members as 'foreign' in order to let them in for free. During interviews the network avoided critically interrogating this choice, saying their policy was to let anyone in for free if they could not afford the ticket price. This strategy appears to be inclusive, but may in fact run the risk of naming and profiling audience members because of skin colour, ethnic style or appearance.

In what follows the formation of new communities of belonging with respect to the actual festive moment is analysed. Through an account of the internal dynamics and rituals, the imagined alternatives and aspects of cosmopolitanism through transnational activism are seen to be evident in the festival itself. Finally, the ad hoc events are described in order to analyse how, and to what extent these protests, marches and year-round activities contribute to the antiracist agenda specifically, and to a wider critical cosmopolitan process in general.

New Communities of Belonging
Antiracist Festival provided an urban experience of encounters and celebration which transcends the daily reality in the city. Through ideological reinforcement of marginal subjectivities and organisations it aimed to raise awareness of aspects of contemporary urban identities and communities of belonging. To make use of Mike Featherstone's terminology, the event aimed towards rescripting city spaces as 'spontaneous' and 'carnivalesque' in a careful projection of 'ordered disorder' (1991: 82). In particular, the festival provided an ordered platform for appropriate meetings and carefully planned representations of the Other, where place transformed into 'festival space' in which the hegemonic structures and dominant polarities were redefined, leaving room for marginal voices. At the same time, through this re-appropriation of values and norms the festival space provided a *dis*ordered reality in which the opportunity for new and creative forms of sociability was possible.

Through the transformation of everyday norms and rituals the embodied experience of the festive space opens up questions about the relationship between the Self, the Other, and the city. This disordered nature of Antiracist Festival along with the safety that the ordered structures provided made the participants feel comfortable, and thus able to engage in self-transformative manoeuvres. Two participants are cited at length:

> [The festival] every year makes me analyse and question myself and my worldview. I learned so much over the years…seeing from the perspective of the Other, being exposed to different agendas and personal stories leaves no room for absolutism (Evi S. – Interview 10, 2010).

> Participating [in the festival] is always a creative experience, not so much for the different food and rhythms, but because it offers an original representation of the social problems. I mean, living in a big city isolates you, the media misrepresent, and you tend to construct a fake image of the problems occurring in the city. In the festival neighbourhood communities, local groups and organisations gather and offer a true and original image of Athens (Tasos K. – Interview 12, 2010).

Evi S. (from the NGO 'Be Positive') highlights an aspect of internal transformation. For her, being able to see from the perspective of the Other is a pedagogic experience which changes preconceived understandings of difference. While for Tasos K. (from 'Deport Racism Movement') the festival is seen as a meeting place which offers an 'authentic' understanding of social arrangements in the city. As such, the festive space becomes a platform of representations where subversive alternatives to the dominant social structure can be posed from below. Therefore, a person can stand outside of their 'normal' modes of isolation and disconnection in the city and, through exposure to the real city fabric, can embrace alternative social arrangements. However, both interviewees reflect a somewhat romanticised view of the festive moment as somehow more 'authentic' and 'true' than their everyday experience. Such a view is clearly tinged with sentimentalism concomitant with a joyous celebration, but leaves aside critical (and contradictory) experiences of cosmopolitan 'harmony' and the dissonance of daily life.

In an attempt to grasp the feeling of festivity described by the participants and to analyse the setting in which new paradigms of social and symbolic structure emerged, 'The Shadow Workshop' may be seen as an example of a creative

encounter between different communities. The workshop was conducted in silence and was based on shadows, used as symbolic metaphors for the journey of marginalised people. Beforehand, instructions were handed to participants in different languages so no one felt excluded. Using pantomime and few words the facilitators explained the creative concept of the workshop: from the formation of groups to silently using shadows to create an outline of the human body. The workshop participants were put in a position whereby communication was possible through body language, as an attempt to experience the disempowerment of not being able to communicate (the experience of a newly arrived immigrant). As every participant could use his/her body and the shadow it created there was an unspoken equality in the group. Moreover, shadows as metaphor can expose insecurities, desires, past memories, and hidden imaginings of each individual. By extension, the participants were able to connect their personal experiences of dislocation and alienation with others. Afterwards, participants were asked to conceive those shadow outlines as members of an imagined community and then, to use colours to imprint alternative values. The workshop was intended to be a symbolic journey of the immigration experience, the displacement, the disconnection and the disempowerment felt in the beginning; and then a creative exploration of what would lead towards imagined communities.[11]

A representative of the 'African Women's Union' reflecting on her workshop experience said:

> as an immigrant woman the workshop gave me the opportunity to interact on equal terms with Tasos (a Greek male). We jointly created something. Perhaps it was one of the only equally participatory opportunities I was given. Even the 'African Women's Union' is centred around our male supporters (Niki T. – Interview 6, 2010).

Niki T.'s statement reflects her surprise at the sense of belonging which emerges through an experiential process in a festive moment; she is simultaneously aware of the double marginalisation she experiences as a woman creating social opportunities for the men of her community. Her statement records the ambiguity of attachments that arose through a creative

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[11] See Appendix B for visual documentation of the workshop, image B5.

experience. Through casting shadows, Niki T. and Tasos developed a temporary sensation of intimacy and belonging that emerged through a shared experience of the festive moment. Elsewhere in the Antiracist Festival, it is evident that such encounters resulting in a sense of community are commonplace. The mutual socio-political agendas driving participants, activists and audiences to engage in a festive moment of celebration could be seen as a frame: that is, a structure which frames daily activities, roles and expectations.

The festival brings together a variety of groups under the common antiracist banner, yet the critical question is how organisations and communities mark their own boundaries between in-group and out-group activities. Simon Watney (2000), in a criticism of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) interest festivals, analyses how marginalised groups protest against certain forms of domination but then invent their own groups wherein the same patterns and practices determine who is included or excluded (for example, LGBT groups excluding heterosexual participants, extreme feminist groups excluding male participants, faith-based groups excluding supportive members of another faith, etc). Indeed, inter-group tension and contradictory agendas existed in the festival. Yet it is through this dynamic encounter that identities change and new forms of belonging emerged. As a member of the 'Lesbian Group of Athens' explains

> our stall was next to the 'Palestinian community', and even though we could understand their fight for refugee rights in the beginning many members of our group felt uneasy with the markers of male domination and [our perception of] female passivity in that community… through small gestures – we exchanged food and desserts – a fascinating conversation started… it was the beginning of our collaboration and at the moment we participate together in the women's union events (Maria B. – Interview 9, 2010).

The small bridge-building gesture described by Maria B. holds the key to third spaces, alternative paradigms and models of social communication. Attachments can be formed in these moments where tensions and disagreements are recognised and transformed into dialogical creativity. Communities of belonging can also be formed through the central activities of the festival – participating in workshops, eating together, singing together, and art activities. This positive experience of the festival is what, according to Boni

K. (of the 'Forum of Albanian Immigrants'), translates into meaningful participation and the need to multiply festive moments in everyday social interaction. 'If in our daily lives we could easily sit together in the same taverns, feel free to make jokes in our working environments, then I would feel less of an outsider in Athens' (Interview 8, 2010).

The capacity to form communities through the festival also derives from the exposure to alternative narratives resulting in a reconstruction of the world to which our imagination responds. One such idea which started through small gestures of communication and collaboration in the festival is the 'Human Library', which is based on the idea of traditional libraries, lending people rather than books, drawing on the tradition of oral histories whereby knowledge and information is passed down through human conversation. In this library, the stories include notions of exclusion from a certain perspective (for example, due to gender, sexuality and ethnicity).[12] This project gives the opportunity to 'readers' to communicate with people from different backgrounds. As one of the 'human books' explains 'it is a means of practicing communication and our main concern is to educate and raise awareness on issues of human rights in order to fight social discriminations' (Niki A. – Interview 20, 2010). The bookshelves of the 'Human Library' allocate 'human books' to the readers; their personal histories and their experiences. As Appiah argues, stories hold a pedagogic function, since stories have

> the capacity to follow a narrative and conjure a world: and, it turns out, there are people everywhere more than willing to do this. This is the moral epistemology that makes cosmopolitanism possible (2007: 258).

A different reaction outlining the need to form new communities of belonging was expressed by some Greek participants in the festival. The starting point of their critical positioning was a declaration of not-belonging to the current socio-political climate, and markers of national identity. This resulted in a political critique of nationalism expressed in a sense of ethical dislocation from

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[12] The 'Human Library' lends 'stories' for half-hour sessions, in Greek and foreign languages. Listeners can borrow the 'human lexicon' or interpreter. The project aims to expand its collection of stories of exclusion. See http://livinglibrary.gr (accessed 4 April 2011).

mainstream performances of belonging. What is of importance here is the rejection of national ties and a turn towards European identification. Yet, most participants were critically predisposed towards an idea of Europe free from nationalist xenophobia and cultural borders. In other words, despite rejecting 'Greekness' in favour of European identity, there remained certain key criticisms of Europeanisation, the E.U. and human rights abuses in Europe. Some comments from participants reflect this view:

> immigrants challenge the democratic structures of the Union, I believe that we should work towards a new common Europe, where migration plays a constitutive role (Prodromos P. – Interview 11, 2010).

> immigrants are fighting for what Europe will become, those who oppose them are a threat not only for their national environment but for the whole Union (Konstantinos C. – Interview 13, 2010).

This line of thinking demonstrates the complex interplay between the Greeks' resistance to nationalist identifications and the commensurate hegemonic bordered thinking and the ethnic and racial stereotyping on the rise in Europe.

Some examples of the satirical and critical stance on race and immigration in Europe emerged in the art forms platformed in the festival. Some such points of contention were addressed and analysed through satirical comics of Sarkozy and the burqa ban in France.[13] In addition, the critical framework of debate and discussion highlighted European issues, rather than specifically Greek laws (for example debates on E.U. laws on immigration, maps of Europe and immigration flows). This Eurocentric programming can be partly explained by the fact that most of the NGOs and communities in question were sponsored by the E.U; however, there was ample room for critical reflections on the idea of Europe. Moving from this discussion, the following section explores how consuming difference marks antiracism as a spectacle.

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[13] See Appendix B: Image B10 – B11 for examples of satirical cartoons.

Imagination: Spectacle Antiracism and Consuming Difference

> Festivals follow a folkloric approach to cultures: cultures become commodities and there is a form of cultural difference to suit every taste. The consumption of cultural commodities allows us to construct our perceptions of selfhood, our relationships to the world and to 'others' (Caglar, 1997: 182).

A festival aiming to deconstruct stereotyped ideologies and dualities can reinforce simplified notions of cultural Others in the ways such cultures are marketed, spatially allocated, and in the types of activities they are programmed to present. A festival must engage imagination to both open up to Otherness, and predict limitations. In a large scale festival, the 'performance' of otherness is programmed to function in certain ritualised and specified ways; mainly, as commodities. In order to become commodities, marginal cultures need to be packaged as homogenised and in accordance with the culture as understood by Westerners; such that the markers of that culture become emblematic, easily identified and understood, and thus easy to consume.

The commodification of culture through characteristic examples in the festival is analysed. It is a marker of belonging to 'have the t-shirt' from the latest music concert or festival. But if the t-shirt is claiming antiracist standpoints, does that mean the wearer is automatically 'read' as antiracist? Or is he or she understood as a consumer of the festival? This relatively banal question points to the production of meaning through markers of belonging which remain un-interrogated because they are 'worn' as merchandise, and not practiced as ideologies. As Tomlinson notes,

> commodity has acquired, in late consumer capitalism, an aura beyond its function. The commodity now acts *on* the consumer, endows him/her with personal qualities which can be displayed in widening contexts (1991: 9).

When the world food market appears in the Antiracist Festival, Greek (and foreign) consumers are not challenged by entirely unfamiliar tastes, smells and textures. They get what they expect: noodles served by Chinese people, falafel prepared by Egyptians, meat and potatoes by South Africans, and souvlaki by Greeks. Reflecting on the ease with which audience members consumed the world food products, Antonis G. made a pithy statement 'a falafel is less

dangerous than a veil' (Interview 5, 2010). This belies the need for a consumable version of otherness that poses no threat to the stability of the consumer. The Self is not directly challenged, or put in danger; the consumer's self-perception remains holistic, and even expanded as benevolently making an 'exotic' consumer choice may indicate open-mindedness. The engagement with the Other stops at this point; the choice to consume a discrete element of culture does not translate into wholehearted acceptance of the culture or of the people who 'represent' that culture. The same can be said for the consumption of ethnic music. Despite audiences attending world music performances, their fascination with ethnic music does not automatically translate to altered perceptions of race nor challenge underlying beliefs of superiority. Such consumerism of exoticism is the cosmopolitanism associated with the elite (Kanter, 1995; Kirwan-Taylor, 2000).

The experience of the festival highlighted the complex positioning of Otherness in a hegemonic culture, in which individuals and collectives are packaged *as* that culture. Thus, the 'Palestinian group' represents all Palestinians; the 'African Women's Union' stands in for all African women. As one respondent mentioned in interviews, participants in the festival suddenly faced the burden of being the representatives of a whole continent with so many different cultural aspects.

> I felt as if I have to represent all the African women in Greece and maybe all the immigrant African women in Europe… should I present myself with my traditional uniform or with the clothes I wear everyday? Should I add more spices in the food or prepare a more light version? (Niki T. – Interview 6, 2010).

These dilemmas, expressed as simple performative choices, echo a deeper Fanonian double consciousness, in which the Other feels disconcerted about how to best perform the Self in order to be acceptable and appropriate. As Appiah has said, though:

> the larger collective identities that call for recognition come with notions of how a proper person of that kind behaves: it is not that there is *one* way that blacks should behave, but that there are proper black modes of behaviour. Collective identities, in short, provide what we might call

scripts: narratives that people can use in shaping their life plans and in telling their life stories (Appiah, 2009: 675).

While Appiah's notion of collective identities provides a sense of modes of behaviour, it also erases the potential for complex, chaotic and multilayered expressions of Otherness determined by a whole range of identity markers (including sexual preference, social status and education amongst others). In this sense, through the staging of 'world cuisines' and the world music on the immigrants' stage, ethnic modes of behaviour are presented *au fait*. Consumers feel able to accept these packages of cultural goods, without critically interrogating the collectivity, the messy, contradictory and progressive processes which helped form that cultural practice to begin with. Examples might be the ubiquitous image of the face of Nelson Mandela, which metonymically stands in for all benevolent, forgiving and forward-thinking African communities.

These commodified performances of cultural differences may result in 'weak' or 'thin' expression of cosmopolitanism (see Dobson, 2006) with no fixed and final vision of the future. Moreover, they create a definition-specification problem of what cosmopolitanism actually involves. Such articulations of the cosmopolitan discourse have been largely criticised as empty signifiers, as they leave no room for empirical observation (Beck 2006; Lamont & Aksartova, 2002; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002). In order to avoid such accusations, the frame thus returns to critical cosmopolitanism and empirical evidence from fieldwork is articulated through this frame.

Resistance: Common Spaces, Common Struggles
Fighting racism and exclusions demands a 'step-by step ongoing series of actions happening from below' according to the members of the network (Nana P. – Interview 1, 2010). The philosophy of the festival is to focus on everyday activities while at the same time create a wider festive platform as a meeting space for these small gestures with the intention to create wider change. 'How can you achieve change in a 3-day annual event? You cannot, unless it is enriched in daily social struggles' (Nikos T. – Interview 2, 2010). This is

accordant with Amin and Thrift's position on the importance of everyday activities as a means of personal transformation:

> What is seen and said in schools, neighbourhoods, streets, shopping centres, workplaces and public spaces, what is made of the world at large through the filter of local resonances, shapes understandings of self, and behaviour towards others. The intensity of racial or ethnic coding of daily life has a crucial impact on whether the others are seen as culturally compatible and capable of sustaining a common or shared sense of place (Amin & Thrift, 2003: 292).

In confluence with this line of thinking, the emphasis of daily struggles is evident in the participants' words, ''*Nosotros* social centre' operates every day as an attempt to change the structures which dominate our lives in the city' (Euripides X. – Interview 19, 2010). In Athens social centres form an important infrastructure for the integration process. Some of the services and support structures provided are free legal services, workshops, free Greek language lessons, employment agencies, accommodation advice and housing solutions. In addition, more informal autonomous social centres provide food, cultivate fresh produce, and run theatres, a cinema, an independent bar, as well as hosting local festivals. '[The volunteer lawyers] are trying to work on the street level, visiting places like Agios Panteleimonas, to inform people about their rights' (Sotiris P. – Interview 21, 2011).[14] The 'Sunday Immigrant School' has a new project 'to deport racism from schools which are seen as the microcosm of the future society' (Evi M. – Interview 18, 2010).

By encouraging all people to engage in everyday activities of inclusion, rejecting prejudice and reversing xenophobic reactions, the festival and its participant communities are rehearsing a model of active citizenship. Their commitment to creating change is not merely ideological (and celebrated in an ephemeral event), but rooted in the belief that it is through daily actions and encounters that transformation of society is possible. Their activism is sustained, measured through year-round engagement at local levels throughout the city. The festival can be seen as an experience which 'transports' audience members to a joyous

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[14] This neighbourhood is renowned for housing the headquarters of the ultra right-wing party. It has also encountered mass immigration, such that the area is culturally diverse, but also fraught with racist and xenophobic tension and rising hate crime.

and equal world; but that transformation (to use Schechner's distinction) comes through repeated engagement with cycles of attitudinal and behavioural change over time – in other words, resistance. This is the legacy of the festival: social centres drive the antiracist agenda throughout the year, and contribute to the annual celebration.

In central Athens there are many organisations operating in the arena of immigration, with at least 20 support services and NGOs operating within a 2 mile radius of the city centre. Such provision is an effort to claim back the right to the city through the improvement of everyday material conditions for all, not only for Greeks. At the same time it relates to concepts such as democratic participation in the city, the right to self-representation, human rights, and equal access to opportunities.

The well-known slogan 'act local, think global' used by the festival organisers best depicts the underlying logic of the network. 'Act local' is a reminder that change can occur through altering patterns of daily behaviours and 'think global' is a call to link all these moments with wider struggles in an attempt to rework the notion of citizenship. Similar formulations are evident in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's conception of the multitude which is configured as a network of singular agents 'immersed in a common web', such that the singularities are strengths which benefit the common field (2004: 217). The effect of the festival campaigns may be judged by the number of supporters generated for petitions, and new members signed up to relevant causes. Moreover, success may be judged from its ability to create links between local, situated causes and transnational and international concerns. As Chantal Mouffe points out:

> The progressive character of a struggle does not depend on its place of origin…but rather on its link with other struggles. The longer the chain of equivalences set up between the defence of the rights of one group and those of other groups…The concept of solidarity can be used to form such a chain of democratic equivalences (2000: 309).

Solidarity across borders aims to transform national attachments of citizenship by creating obligations towards people suffering outside the nation. Some

examples can be seen in the large number of Greek activists of the '*Sin Remedio* group*'* who travelled to Chiapas, in order to support the Zapatista movement; and the 'Greek boat for Gaza', with food aid for Palestinians. The activist 'missions' were publicised during festivals to gain support and conscientize. The '*Sin Remedio* group' suggested that Greeks can 'learn from struggles elsewhere', which is why they feel it is important to share experiences (Konstantinos C. – Interview 13, 2010). Tarrow argues about transnational activists that their special characteristics are 'not their *cognitive* cosmopolitanism, but their *relational* links to their own societies, to other countries and to international institutions' (2005:1, emphasis in the original). In the same line of thought, Cohen calls for

> the fashioning of a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground (2002: 480).

As we may see, the protests and year round marches hosted by the Antiracist Festival are located within this structure of local activism reaching towards a wider sphere than national politics can effect. The examples mentioned above draw on notions of solidarity, in which meaningful attachments are created, advancing a wider sense of belonging, together with a distant Other. It is this ongoing and sustained movement towards an imagined togetherness that may be an underlying condition for cosmopolitanism.

Protests: Reclaiming the Streets
From the description of the festival above, it might be possible to see antiracist activists as upholding their own positions of marginality in order to raise awareness of others' oppressions. However, rather than remain a ghettoised and exclusionary cultural event in isolation, Antiracist Festival adopts a wider sense of activity during the year. This draws on bell hooks' call for marginality to be chosen as a site of resistance, or a 'location of radical openness and possibility' (2009: 85).

Through empirical observation, it was evident that the festive moment extends beyond the annual three day festival to the ad hoc events, fundraising concerts,

marches and protests. This is due to the nature of an activist festival, since the issues can not be platformed and resolved in a one-off event. Rather, it is in the structure of continual and systematic visibility that the marginal voices in Athens are encountered by local government, the media and the wider public. Katerina V. of the '*Steki*' says the protests are 'an active attempt to make the demands of the festival visible not only to a larger audience but most importantly to the political leaders' (Katerina V. – Interview 4, 2010).

The protests become a site of possibility for negotiation that has wider reach than the festival itself. Indeed, the protests are a means for citizens and immigrants to explore common grievances, expose new concerns, and collaborate in peaceful marches in order to represent these issues. Another representative of the '*Steki*' said: 'questioning the norms of appropriate acts of citizenship, we attempt to create a more inclusive and participatory role for citizens' (Antonis G. – Interview 5, 2010). Protests that disrupt normal activities open up opportunities for those who are usually on the periphery to be heard and seen. As performance theorist Baz Kershaw notes:

> the dramas of protest perhaps always aim… for a radical freedom through the performative, in Derrida's sense of the term. By these means protest can draw authority into a new relation with the potential for change initiated beyond its domain (Kershaw, 1999: 123).

By creating a march in the midst of the functional city space, the protesters achieve a subversion of rationalised space. The protests are a means of claiming streets for a few hours, where unions, small communities and individuals may join together to express their grievances. By walking a common route, from the central square to parliament square, the marchers map their struggles for equal voices. The march transforms into a transgression of the daily roles and levels of visibility as, side by side, protesters claim their right to the city by demanding how that city should accommodate them all.

In closing, a moment in one of the protests is evoked: speaking about oppression in general and forced removals of Palestinians in particular, a speaker in a 2010 street protest said: 'another world is possible' and the crowd roared its approval. As Held writes: 'a democracy would be fully worth its name

only if citizens had the actual power to be active citizens' (2002: 53). Cosmopolitanism promotes an active form of political agency and the idea of a new civil society.

Concluding Remarks

The festival brought together a variety of organisations, communities, groups, academics and individuals in a heterogeneous affinity that traversed race, gender, age and class differences. Such affinity (or belonging) was not an 'identity'; rather it represented a collectivity based upon the processing of differences, through symbolic and direct action. This heterogeneity can break down into smaller, more homogenous groups of people who share common ground. In terms of imagination, the values shared by these groups do not constitute an ideology so much as a structure of feelings which have come about through collective experiences and interpretations.

The festival is an important opportunity to map the racist and xenophobic issues that have occurred all over Athens. The organisations bring together their experiences and incidents from neighbourhoods across the city, and begin to collate the map of what Athens looks like as a terrain of contested spaces, negotiations of identities, languages and practices. Whilst individual organisations do some of this mapping alone, it is in the process of collaborating to present this overview that a realistic (and often surprising) view of the practices can occur. Indeed, this mapping experience seems to recast some of the features of Athenian culture that are taken for granted, and so, the festival itself remaps Athens. Such a view is supported by Doreen Massey's argument that places are 'constructed out of the juxtaposition, the intersection, the articulation of multiple social relations' (1991:18).

The case study has outlined the genesis of the festival, proclaiming it as an innovative model of active cultural participation. Whilst moments during the festival have been highlighted for critique, such analysis allows insight into minutiae of the experience of the festive moments. Taken together with the broader ideological positions, and the grounded evidence of change through

active participation, the festival emerges as a clear example of cosmopolitanism in action.

CHAPTER 5

PUZZLE FESTIVAL: AN ARTS FESTIVAL WITH A POLITICAL AGENDA

Waterman has argued that festivals can provide the politically marginal the platform to express discontent through a symbolic order, suggesting that programming can thus channel revolutionary impulses as a means of 'resistance to the established order' (1998: 60). I would suggest that arts festivals' capacity to counter hegemonic cultural forms, resist marginalisation, and forge new belongings is not a given. Revolutionary cultural events, even those claiming to represent the will of the masses, carry the agendas of a certain group. Thus, festivals claiming to transform social or cultural spheres need to do so with transparency at all levels of production. It is not enough for the art forms represented to be socially engaged. Nor is it enough to claim inclusivity, especially since festivals are by their nature ephemeral. Through this case study Puzzle Festival is shown to be a festival with strong intentions which did not translate into inclusive, transformative praxis during and after the event.

This chapter attempts to consider Puzzle Festival through a cosmopolitan perspective exploring the possibilities between artistic innovation and social transformation. Theoretically, the case study is grounded in a discussion on art and the power of reframing. The analysis begins by addressing issues of organising and structuring the event; then moves to the actual festive moment and the negotiations which occurred; and finally moves beyond the festival in an attempt to explore wider transformations and implications. The concepts explored through those stages through the following questions are: how is a third space created?; how is the relationship between the Self, the Other and the world redefined in that third space?; and finally, can political cosmopolitanism emerge in that third space? The analysis thus explores the festival as a whole, as well as considers its constituent parts.

Art and the Power of Reframing

More than any other human activity, arts and culture are concerned with values and meanings. 'Art without meaning (internal, external, relational) is inconceivable, though it may be as simple as a pop song, or as complex and

renegotiable as the postmodern novel' (Matarasso, 1997: 89). If we see art as an activity as central to how people experience, understand and then shape the world; then culture is where we live our shared mental lives. Matarasso's formulation moves between the two dimensions 'belonging' and 'imagination'. In the postmodern city with the emergence of multiple subjectivities and the never-ending encounter with difference, the relationship with cultural artefacts is forever shifting. The understanding of cultural capital, mediated by changing values and feelings of belonging is a continuous task. The transformative power of arts lies in this translation, and the effect it has on individuals' lives.

The contemporary cultural response to change is through creativity and innovation, which is not the result of diversity itself, but of shared humanity which moves beyond notions of multiculturalism, for example, and into the realms of imagination. As Matarasso argues, empowerment and the social impact of participating in arts festivals which give voice to marginalised groups comes from the support of art-making practices and collaborative participation that directly engage in critical reflection on relationships between Self and Other. For him, the arts offer alternative paradigms to hold such dialogue; not in formal meetings, or debates, but with 'excitement, danger, magic, colour, symbolism, feeling, metaphor and creativity' (1997: 90).

Empowerment is forged in the act of creativity such that understanding and social inclusion are foregrounded. By using cultural symbols, such as images, music, dance and literature, artists navigate through the experience of dislocation. Puzzle Festival's main feature was, to use the distinction made by Geertz, the platform to tell stories of and about ourselves in the realm of art rather than as objective reality (1972). But what needs to be questioned is in what ways art can result in the transformation of pre-existing stereotypes and behavioural patterns. Perhaps it is that art has the power to materialise ideas and therefore enable us to conceive the world differently.

In a study of art and cosmopolitanism, Marsha Meskimmon reflects on the visceral, embodied capacity of art to address materiality, saying that this functions to engage directly with the world, and not escape it. Further, she

claims that the registers employed in the arts (affect, imagination and resonance) powerfully intersect with the dialogic potential to allow for multiple meanings (2011: 92). It is through the reflexive transaction between the Self and the Other that new forms and figurations of how to inhabit the world in new ways emerge. Meskimmon's argument is that art has an 'important role to play in figuring these potential yet actualised spaces, by providing aesthetic passages' (2011: 88). However, it is not the unique province of art to enter the space where ideas of belonging and citizenship are reframed. Rather, it is a repetitive, performative process, enacted and embodied on multiple levels and subjectivities and through different paradigms. Through such models (of which the arts are merely one strategy) people *learn* how to belong and coexist together in difference.

Recent critical work has claimed that artworks that adopt and appropriate from other cultures may be seen as cosmopolitan (Young, 2008; Regev, 2007a, 2007b). Such a suggestion is limited: syncretism and cultural borrowing do not necessarily mean a deeper or more meaningful engagement with complexities of other cultural forms. Rather, such borrowing reinforces the lure of the exotic, and cultural consumption. This claim demands critical conceptions of culture and borders between forms of exchange such that art can be a step towards cosmopolitanism.

Nikos Papastergiadis has perhaps offered a further pathway for arts as inherently part of our embodied existence, specifying that art carves out a sense of place in the world and also provides textures for self-understanding. Further, he contemplates the next concentric circle:

> when the social system reaches a critical juncture of either implosion or explosion, it is no coincidence that art finds some of its most powerful articulations (2003: 14).

However, he warns of the trap of attempting to schematise whether social factors result in aesthetic expressions or *vice versa*; rather that it is in the interplay between experience and expression that we might find meaning. Art's value is in its liveness, its materiality and its positioning with the wider social

context; and not only aesthetic considerations. Art can expand the archive of the real, whereby symbolic experiences are framed so as to interrupt the fixed categories and stereotypes of culture and community. Such a view provides fertile ground for art as a means of disrupting; and to this end the forms of art also need to be considered. This research foregrounds artworks that do not adhere to fixed categories, with preference given to museums without walls, living archives and cities as urban galleries. Puzzle Festival's intention was to provide alternative views of arts from the marginal position of immigrants.

Setting the Scene

Puzzle Festival aimed to draw attention to the importance of intercultural meaning-making within and between diverse cultures, in order to promote Athens as a multicultural European metropolis. Organised by the production company 'Plays 2 Place'[1] and with the support of Athens City Council, the festival's pilot event took place over three days in June 2009. The festival focused on professional immigrant artists from all fields of art.[2] However, after a successful first year, the festival was unexpectedly cancelled a month prior to its second incarnation.

My involvement in the festival was multi-layered, resulting in different levels of access to data sources. Throughout this fieldwork my role as a researcher was fully explained and visible to the production team and participants. The core of my analysis is formulated from three distinct timeframes (before, during and after). I voluntarily joined the production team as an associate curator four months before the event, in February 2009. The role gave me full access to document and interpret the procedures and participation criteria behind the festival. In this time I was able to have in-depth discussions with the production team, introduce myself to the participants and engage in fruitful conversations with them. At the actual time of the event, as I was not an outside observer, the production team granted me full access, and introduced me to key members of

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[1] 'Plays 2 Place' is an independent production company, working on the conceptualisation, production management and development of any projects related to the fields of culture, communication and advertising. Its directors, Martha B. (Artistic Director) and Vasilis C. (Executive Director) worked with volunteers for the pilot festival.
[2] Puzzle Festival's programme included the work of 58 artists from 17 different countries showcasing 4 plays, 3 dance theatre performances, 9 music performances, 2 DJ sets, 9 films, and an exhibition of the work of 19 fine artists.

the audience (academics, members of local NGOs and communities and experts on immigration policies) with whom I could have formal and informal conversations. Finally after the festival, as I had built a network of interviewees, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews as we had already established a connection and they felt comfortable with my presence as a researcher. Initially, such interviews were intended to be a bridge between the first festival and the second. However, after the cancellation of the second Puzzle Festival I was able to explore what happens when 'the lights go out', and resultingly, I could analyse the sustainability and the wider societal impact of such temporary actions. The cancellation meant that in subsequent interviews, participants tended to be able to reflect more critically on the first festival than they might have done otherwise.

Puzzle Festival promotes the work of immigrant artists who live in Athens, as an effort to bring to the surface a hidden aspect of multicultural artistic production in the city. As the artistic director of the festival, Martha B. explains, the initial conceptualisation of the event was based on a profound gap realised through her research, which found that over 200 professional immigrant artists did not have platforms to present their work in their host community of Athens (Interview 1, 2009). She claimed that there were different levels and practices of exclusion but one common need arising was for artists to be able to exhibit their works and get criticism on the basis of their artistic creation 'and not because they don't speak the right language, have the right papers or believe in the 'correct' god' (Martha B. – Interview 1, 2009).

Thus, the festival was an attempt to shed light on the work of artists from different nationalities and at the same time highlight wider problems of societal exclusion and marginalisation exposed by their work. The production company's stated mission was the ambition to impact on social policy through the use of art. Such a claim was reinforced by the platform of the conference as a counterpoint to the artistic programme. The executive director, Vasilis C. attempts to justify the need for one more festival in the cultural map of Athens, saying that:

it stands against any kind of fixed reaction and theoretical resistance to xenophobia and racism. Instead the festival suggests a reconceptualisation in terms of cultural diplomacy (Interview 2, 2009).

Puzzle Festival 2009 was a 3-day event designed to operate on two different schedules and attracting distinct audiences. In the morning the venue hosted an academic conference and in the evening, a fine arts exhibition, movies, music concerts and theatre were platformed on four different stages. The event aimed to bridge the immigrant artists' call for recognition and a wider Athenian society. It was intended as a platform for 'authentic', professional immigrant voices as a means of challenging the marginalisation of those artists.

Driven by the realisation that cultural mixing has produced socio-cultural ghettos and misrepresentations reinforcing polarisation and xenophobia, the festival gave voice to the diasporic cultures that have shaped modern Athenian identity. From this angle, Puzzle Festival echoed cosmopolitan feelings of curiosity and openness towards the Other, as it celebrated fluidity and diversity. In this project cosmopolitanism was not only treated as a mental phenomenon but as an action and a behavioural attitude; not only as a feeling but as the embodiment of feelings and values. Before entering the space of praxis, a few considerations on the theoretical agenda of the festival are in order.

Windows of Cosmopolitanism: The Theoretical Agenda of the Festival
'Windows' is a reference to the insights of the German sociologist Georg Simmel who, when looking through a window into the Postdamer Platz in Berlin in 1908, first understood that the relationship between the Self and the Other were being newly articulated in contemporary urban settings (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002: 3). Using Simmel's gaze on difference and alterity as a metaphor, Puzzle Festival offers a new window through which to view the transformations occurring in postmodern Athens. As a pilot project the festival focused on immigration issues in order to kick-start the conversations necessary to achieve its lofty ambitions. Using art as a 'common language' and as a 'bridge-building tool', the event aimed to become a platform for the inclusion of the Other.

Saying that Puzzle Festival offers a window to cosmopolitan theory does not imply the cosmopolitan character of the event *per se*; it rather points out the possibility to situate cosmopolitanism in distinct localities. Firstly, the event encouraged co-operation between immigrant and Greek artists in an effort to use art as self-expression and communication. 'Art is not necessarily the epicentre of the event; rather art is used as a tool for social understanding and intercultural dialogue' (Martha B. – interview 1, 2009). Secondly, the festival had a dual character: 'celebration/ fest and demonstration/ manifest' (Martha B. – Interview 1, 2009). This dual character was manifest in the structure of the festival as conference and arts. Finally, the organisers claimed to use the model of the 'European Year of Intercultural Dialogue' aiming towards the development of collaboration between different cities (Vasilis C. – Interview 2, 2009). In this way, the festival aimed to provide new means of engagement between the local, the national and international.

Puzzle Festival in theory offered an opportunity for reaffirming Athenian identity and celebrating cultural diversity. Yet, social tensions and challenges to issues of identity usually occur when difference and diversity are experienced in real life encounters. The aim is to consider how and under what circumstances cosmopolitanism could be practiced in a 3-day festival which claims to 'give voice' to marginalised artists, with critical questions arising: Is the simple act of creating a space for expression enough? What are the emerging complexities of the Self and the Other in that space? What images, subjects and visual metaphors are employed? And what are the ethical considerations in 'giving voice' and advocacy?

This line of questioning implies that practicing cosmopolitanism is a complex and ongoing process occurring when the dominant order of things is unsettled, when the hegemonic power structures are dismantled and identity stereotypes are redefined. It is not only evident in acts of solidarity but mostly the consciousness behind such acts.

Creating a Third Space: Organising and Structuring Issues

Representing marginalised groups presupposes a common understanding of terms and agendas by the represented and those representing them. In other words, in order to enter a new space of mutual communication and representation, there is the need to avoid pre-existing patterns which reproduce hegemonic norms. This dialogical practice of the Self and the Other is central to the cosmopolitan agenda. Otherwise, the excluded group faces the danger of becoming doubly marginalised in their attempt to be seen and heard.

Production company 'Plays 2 Place' was entirely responsible for directing, organising and conceptualising the event, so that the festival was based on the personal insights and critical thinking of only two people—the executive director and artistic director. There were no meetings with immigrants' communities or other organisations for creating a more polyphonic platform in planning stages. On the one hand this resulted in the production of an independent festival with what they called a clear and coherent agenda; on the other, preparing and directing a festival that claims relevance and timeliness translates to acting like the master of ceremonies. Critical questions for the research were: Whose voice was reflected in the agenda of the festival? How can a festival address immigrants' issues without consulting immigrants? What elements could be implemented in the set up and preparation stages to encourage communication, inclusion and transparency when considering issues of 'representation'?

Issues of representation and recognition are vital in the contemplation of identity formation. Charles Taylor in his influential essay 'The Politics of Recognition' argues that

> our identity is shaped by recognition or its absence… nonrecognition (sic)
> or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning
> someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being (1997: 48).

Following Taylor and employing Guy Debord's assumption that the postmodern society is the 'society of the spectacle' (2006), non-recognition or the misrepresentation of certain groups can cause or reinforce xenophobic and racist attitudes. Racist and xenophobic ideas often turn on a visual ideology in

which particular categories of people are classified on the basis of stereotypes, and are thereby attributed fixed cultural and social characteristics.[3] From this understanding, it is evident that cultural activity claiming to dismantle or challenge stereotyped categories of analysis ought to be critiqued on its response to issues of representation. In the festival, it was important to explore how language and imagery were used to do so, or how and to what extent they may have (unwittingly) reinforced problematic categories of us and them.

'Puzzle Festival is the first artistic event in Greece focused exclusively on professional immigrant artists' reads the event's press release. Indeed, as the artistic director highlights, the novelty of the event is the high quality of the artistic work presented in the festival (Martha B. – Interview 1, 2009). Yet, such an agenda raises issues of participation and exclusion. Who gets included under the label of professional artist? Does professionalism translate into an awarded university degree from an established institution or an impressive portfolio with many entries in galleries or maybe both? If such definitions remain un-specified, the notion of transparency, considered intrinsic to participatory arts, is lost.[4]

As an associate curator for the fine arts exhibition I was given the names and portfolios of the artists and my role was to transfer their artwork to the festival venue and assist in its installation. The vast majority of the selected artists were from countries of the former Soviet Union and Bulgaria and recognised in their artistic field in the sense that they already had the opportunity to exhibit in many galleries in Greece. Out of the 21 artists only three were born in countries outside the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. Furthermore, all three of them had been living in Athens for more than 20 years and had the opportunity to study Fine Arts in a Greek university (two of them first entered the country on student visas). A further point to be made is on the dimension of the social class

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[3] In chapter 6 street artists are insistent on issues of self-expression and self-representation. They formed grassroots communities, while rejecting every form of institutionalisation of their artwork in order to maintain the chance for uncensored self-representation. A further analysis on issues of representation, agency, identity formation and cosmopolitanism follows in chapter 7.

[4] Consultation, partnership and strategic interventions are considered to be the three necessary approaches for successful inclusion of marginal groups. Kidd, Tahir and Kahn (2008) explore this in detail in the report 'Arts and Refugees'.

of the participants. The festival's stated agenda of providing the initial opportunity for recognition proved to be somewhat ironic, since it potentially reinforced the notion of marginalised immigrant voices ignored by the mainstream and on the economic periphery. However, in most cases, it became clear in fieldwork interviews that the artists were not excluded from the economic market of cultural production.[5]

The production team stated that the festival stood in opposition to 'low quality' events that reinforce images of chaotic, poor and unprofessional immigrants through their artworks. This was the innovative lynchpin of their festival. However, if the festival aimed to represent an intercultural experience based on diversity, then the balance between 'high quality art' and the diversity of the participants was extremely problematic. By insisting on professional artists, the event fell into the trap of reproducing a hegemonic western stereotype of who may be considered an artist. It reveals the role of the West as a power bloc and a privileged cultural forum: artists who had been educated in a Western system or had exhibited their work within the western framework were identified as professionals and 'high quality' artists. Differences were accepted and celebrated for the extent to which they obliterated and pacified less digestible differences. The unilateral assumption of defining 'quality' from one perspective reinforced such problematic hegemonies. The place of the Other should not be mapped according to pre-existing stereotypes of the Self.

In a complex repositioning of margin and centre, power relations were reproduced through the dominant discourse. The festival both positioned immigrant artists on the margins of 'social capital' (Bourdieu, 1986) and simultaneously acknowledged that 'high-quality' artworks can be produced in those margins. Instead of transforming the centre-margin dualism, the festival repositioned the margins in a place where they are 'not so marginal' and, therefore, more accepted by the hegemonic structures of the centre. This interplay of periphery and centre as the location of struggle is splendidly caught in hooks' work:

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[5] I do not have details of personal finances, but most artists described themselves as belonging to the middle class and stated they were earning their money from their artwork.

> Often this speech about the 'other' annihilates, erases: 'no need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice... I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way (1990:151-152).

Participation issues are also relevant with respect to the audience. Access to the conference was free, while tickets for the arts festival were 15 euros. The price of the tickets excluded many of the people who were being 'celebrated' and this is a point raised in the interviews. It also highlights the educational mission of the event as there was no entrance cost for the conference. There appeared thus to be two distinct events; one, intended to be the core arts activity *by* and *for* immigrant artists; the other, a conference *about* the arts activity and immigration issues. The tickets were said to cover expenses, and not for profit, as the press manager explained (Carmen Z. – Interview 3, 2009).[6]

To my question about the issues raised by the price of the tickets and the initial goal with respect to the type of audience they targeted, the production team explained that every participant had 3 free entry tickets, with a defensive caveat that 'the audience that usually participates in high-art galleries, operas and theatres is used to higher prices than that' (Carmen Z. – Interview 3, 2009). However, participants at this festival were distinct from the usual theatre going public. The organisers aimed to attract a more inclusive audience, who are often recognised as needing stronger incentives for participating in activities beyond the scope of everyday life (Kidd et al, 2008).

It was ironic that a festival which promotes heterogeneity and recognition of the Other still addressed its voice primarily to a specific audience that shares a common language rooted in the same master narratives it claimed to challenge. Correspondingly, at all levels of planning, support and resourcing, the voices and positions of the artists themselves were reinforced as marginal.

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[6] The expenses were not transparently reported. None of the artists was offered assistance in transporting their work to the venue, or for their own transport or subsistence costs. Most of the staff worked voluntarily, and the venue was donated by the city council.

Furthermore, a key issue in the structuring of the festival was the use of Greek throughout the proceedings, and this was one of the weaknesses of the event. In practice the gap was covered by volunteers' good will in translating the announcements individually to non-Greek speaking members of the audience. Yet, it was a rather frustrating experience for the volunteer group, as one of them ironically commented 'the motto of the festival should change from 'art as a common language to Greek as a common language'' (Konstantinos D. – Interview 6, 2009). A further observation and an indicator as to the type of audience targeted was the absence of an area for children and the non-family friendly character of the event. In addition, the venue lacked access for people with disabilities. Access is seen as one of the most important elements in developing an event for and by a community (Kidd et al, 2008), and several organisational choices reinforced the lack of understanding of the target audience, as access issues would no doubt have been raised had there been adequate consultation with the target groups.

Retrospective comments from the artists and the audience were also made about the location of the festival venue, which was situated next to right-wing party offices and several right-wing supporters verbally threatened the participants in an attempt to undermine the festival. As a result the organisers informed the police for protection and hired door security.

At the time of the festival this resulted in a stimulating contradiction of symbols and rituals, with the right-wingers simultaneously staging their own celebration of ethnocentrism, as they gathered close by, playing national anthems and carrying flags. The presence of security may have also contributed to a sense of exclusion for those potential audience members who felt unable to enter a guarded building. It seems an unusual choice to stage an inclusive festival with and for immigrants in an area renowned for its xenophobic and racist incidents. Whilst it may be valuable to engage in direct antagonism to extremist views by exposing the value of the Other, it is not sensitive to the perceived threat participants may have felt being exposed to racist and xenophobic abuse. It was unclear how many of the participants and potential audience members had

been threatened or intimidated by the presence of right-wing flags and defamatory slogans.

Cultural practices are important sites where social identities and relations are constituted. An empirical investigation of cosmopolitanism and the conditions under which it can occur requires defining its performance in a way that renders it open to critical observation and falsification. The philosophy and the theoretical agenda of the festival were coherent and offered a glimpse of cosmopolitan potential. Yet, the design and materialisation of this plan had some serious issues in terms of participation and exclusion of the audience and the selected artists.

'Hospitality of Art': Modes of Belonging, Layers of Identity, Streams of Imagination

The festival provided a platform for expression and communication for 'professional immigrant artists in Athens'. Yet, even in a festival which celebrates difference and cultural diversity the label of immigrant was visible. There were several reminders of the limitations of labels as excluding markers of belonging, so that 'immigrant' was always already the prevalent label, obscuring all further complex identifications that may be erased with such categorisation. However, despite having characterised the festival as deviant in terms of structure, organisation and ethos, there were some valuable 'glimpses of cosmopolitanism through the hospitality of art' (Papastergiadis, 2007). The following section outlines participants' sense of belonging and some examples of artworks are analysed.

Despite starting from being labelled 'immigrant artists', there is potential to reframe such limiting labelling. A powerful ritualistic moment in the festival was after the end of a dance performance when artists were saying their names and then adding the label of immigrant. This ritual 'reclaiming' of the label was reminiscent of the Alcoholics Anonymous circle of identification, in which members claim their addiction in front of witnesses. A member of the audience replied 'we are all immigrants' and everyone cheered in approval. It was a gesture of empathy, a voice of inclusion, pointing towards the understanding of

a collective future. Also, the ritualised claim of a subaltern Other becomes a space of producing immigrant subjectivities. As Beck proclaims, a step towards cosmopolitanisation is to discover the Other within us. The dominant view was to exclude national Others, thinking that everything which is relevant for politics is only within the national context. 'But… like it nor not, the nationally excluded other is part of our own living, working and family condition' (Beck, 2006: 82). In the same line of thought, Julia Kristeva asserts that 'if the foreigner is within me…we are all foreigners' (1991: 192).

Being able to exhibit and share art in the public space that the festival offered, many of the artists experienced a sense of attachment, perhaps after some time feeling dislocated.

> I was listening to all that music and voices and seeing smiling faces and people drinking for a moment I thought I was back home, back to the good years. It was an amazing feeling (Oksana C. – Interview 10, 2010).

Despite some of the artists being professionals and well established in their countries of origin, some were actively performing after a long time. Reconnecting with a Self that was left behind in the memories of the homeland, artists experienced feelings of meaningful belonging. Performing isolated and marginalised parts of their identity—i.e. their cultural difference—also enhanced confidence. Difference was no longer a marker of exclusion, but rather it was a means of inclusion in Athenian cultural production.

> I was amazed by the audience reaction… yes, we communicated because the things that connect us are bigger than the barrier of language (Anna G. – Interview 15, 2010).

> The festival was an opportunity to feel part of an idea, of a group, of a community, even for a short time. That was important for me and not the fact that I could see my painting hanging on the wall (Nuru M. – Interview 13, 2010).

To further contemplate the hospitality of art, several examples of artworks and festive moments are analysed in relation to theme and content.

Image 2: 'Bordered Self' (2009)   **Image 3: 'Icarus' (2009)**

In his attempt to visualise his experience of dislocation and marginalisation, Altin P. (image 2) created the sculpture of the 'Bordered Self': an imprisoned head without a body. Borders, wires and stereotypes imprison the mind and our imagination, block the view and create myopic representations of reality. At the same time, borders and wires are also a prison for the identity of the Self as it has to fit in predetermined closed categories. Altin P. addresses the journey of constant dislocations, not only the exodus from the homeland, but also the continual reflections of multiple positions in the new environment: belongingness in the urban terrain, in the artistic community, in the new society, and in the new neighbourhood.

Painter Stefan G. (image 3) uses the Greek myth of Icarus to represent his journey as an immigrant artist.[7] The experience of immigration is similar to this myth: the opportunity to escape a difficult situation together with the enthusiastic longing for a new environment is usually juxtaposed to the fear of drowning in exclusion and invisibility. These readings of the images emerged through the

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[7] The subject refers to how Icarus and his father (Dedalus) were imprisoned in a massive labyrinth. Dedalus thought that the only way to escape was to fly, so he made them each a pair of wax wings. He also warned Icarus not to fly too high and close to the sun, because his wings were going to melt and he would fall. Icarus forgot his father's warning and followed his own course; falling into the sea and drowning.

artists' statements, discussions during the festival, and audience responses to the works.[8]

Individually, the artworks offer personal, situated responses to the conditions of immigration. Collectively, they raised questions about these conditions. Another instance is Chris R.'s play about exile, exclusion and political imprisonment in Bulgaria, in which the artist followed the trajectory of a political prisoner in the years of communism. Being able to perform their identities in the ways they wanted to be seen and heard, artists reflected that they felt self-confident and empowered. It was a dual act of recognition: of their artistic capabilities and their personal views and stories. By exploring and sharing their words, images and symbols artists claimed an equal opportunity for performing an undistorted identity. For a marginalised community to be exposed in the centre of cultural production, the capacity of self-representation is vital.

The feeling of a shared community was reinforced by co-operation between Greek and immigrant artists. An exemplar was a collaborative performance ('Random country/Accidental poet') which juxtaposed the story of an anonymous Greek emigrant in the 1940s and the contemporary story of an anonymous immigrant in Greece. The performance reviled the commonalities of the daily struggle in an alien environment. Giorgio Agamben has called for a community without the classical notion of identity anchored to place, nation or class. He outlined a community of belonging driven by desire (1993). As Jean-Luc Nancy argues, such a sense of community allows us a transition from a 'collective of having something in common to one of being in common' (1991: 62). Cosmopolitan dispositions are closely related to openness to the Other, to welcome the stranger and bring into visibility a chain of signifiers of belonging. Such steps grant the Other the power of speaking and acting as if included as a member of a common community. Cosmopolitan performances reconstruct social borders and challenge conventional notions of 'home' in order to allow the emergence of multiple subjectivities and overlapping communities. It is in the name of a shared experience and in the realisation of an overlapping fate

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[8] See Appendix C for more examples of art from Puzzle Festival.

that people form communities of shared responsibilities. This echoes Beck's thesis on the emerging cosmopolitan 'civilizational community of fate' based on the experience of various conflicts, crises and national remapping of late capitalism. He conceives of the binaries of internal and external, national and international and us and them as having lost validity (2006). Instead of such binaries, there is the need for a new sense of community to take their place.

Resistance and the Potential for New Communities

Living in the margins isolates people from social contacts, and halts the sharing of common experience with the majority of the population. Creating moments of positive encounter and shared experiences is an act of socio-cultural remapping. This is consistent with Appiah's remark that 'cosmopolitanism celebrates the fact that there are *different* local human ways of being' (1998: 94, emphasis in the original). As the following two artists have expressed, the notion of belonging and community is inherent within the artistic practice and identity of the artist.

> It is the immediate belonging to a community… everywhere in the world I am an artist and as such I can be included in the local artistic community… It is a way to communicate with myself, express and understand how I feel in different environments (Anna G. – Interview 15, 2010).

> Painting was healing for me. I could paint a picture of an imaginary Ethiopia… a place between Ethiopia and Greece with different races, cultures and scents (Elisabeth T. – Interview 12, 2010).

For these women, art becomes a method of communicating when other languages are not available. The practice itself is a means of positioning the Self in relation to a new context. Their identification as 'artist' becomes more important than their identification as Other, more prevalent than ethnicity, race or national identity. In this sense, a festival that prioritises their artist-identity is welcomed.

A further observation that came out of fieldwork interviews is the positive experience of the festival which encouraged some of the participants to engage in more cultural events. Moreover, networking in the festival created the space for further collaborations and reinforced the enjoyable feeling of participation.

> I had such a good time in the festival, hopefully there would be more events like this in the future (Fatih A. – Interview 7, 2010)
>
> The festival for me was an opportunity to meet other artists, engage in dialogue and get inspired (Nuru M. – Interview 13, 2010)
>
> Even if there were things I didn't like, the experience of being in a room with creative people who share more or less the same need for communication was like fresh air. It's good to know that you're not alone (Themistoklis K. – Interview 14, 2010)

Participation in the festival fights social exclusion by building individual and community competence, but more importantly by building belief in the potential for positive change. It is all those moments and interactions within the festival that resist subordination to socio-cultural conventions and make a claim for alternative ways of organising society by creating networks of solidarity and further collaboration. As Guibernau points out, a cosmopolitan identity emerges out of reflexive conversations, exchange and reciprocal respect for each other's cultural practices, 'while taking into account the *specific temporal and geographical* social milieu within which they have been constructed' (2009: 152, emphasis added).

It is the hope that if a temporal moment of communication and interaction exists then many such moments could exist; and from these moments, the requisite attitudes, beliefs and imagination anchoring cosmopolitanism could form the basis of a new society. One small example of a moment transformed is described by one of the participants as such:

> on my way to the festival I was disappointed by the gathering of *'Chrisi Avgi'* [Golden Dawn][9]… but my experience in the festival made me feel secure and confident that together we can create a different society… it was refreshing (Nuru M. – Interview 13, 2010)

Within the moment of celebration it seems as if potential change could 'transform' everyday realities. The positive comments above maintained the rosy view and warm glow of a heart-warming festive experience, but do not make allowance for the 'morning-after' effect. The intoxication of a festival of

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[9] *'Chrisi Avgi'* (Golden Dawn) is a far right-wing political party often engaged in public rallies with fascist overtones.

belonging also led in many instances to an expectations hangover. Festive moments and festival places are neither real nor fictional, they are empowering in the sense they can promote feelings of attachment and solidarity beliefs but in order to create wider societal impacts changes need to be sustainable. This echoes Schechner's (1993) suspicion of cultural activities that claim to 'transform' audiences or participants. Rather there is a necessity to recognise the need for small repeated shifts in attitude, behaviour and belief that tend to move participants forward towards an ideal.

In a cosmopolitan frame this would translate to navigation between the utopian promises of a new cultural harmony and the hegemonic colonisation of imagination. Cosmopolitan promises can be fulfilled in an in-between space of daily negotiations occurring regularly. In a further section I discuss the impact of the cancellation of the second Puzzle Festival and the resultant disbelief in the potential for everyday change. Initially, however, I consider the potential of the Puzzle Festival conference as the intended space for such discussions.

Conference: '*Logos* in Action'[10]

The promise of social change inherent in the title of the conference needs to be approached with caution and sincerity, since marginalised communities can be beguiled by its tempting allure, constantly surrounded by the glow of possibility. The conference section of the Puzzle Festival programme would thus need to be seen in relation to its accompanying arts festival. Unfortunately, in practice, there was a distinct divide between *logos* and *praxis*.

The oft-cited binary between knowledge and entertainment could have been dissolved through innovative programming of events side by side (such as in Antiracist Festival, chapter 4), profiling both arts and learning as equal interlocutors. As an example of the separate monologic events, delegates at the morning conference would have needed to wait for four hours between programmes if they intended to support the daily exhibitions and performances. This translated into entirely separate programmes, with distinct audiences.

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[10] Conference title *'Logoi epi to ergo'.*

The dual character is highlighted at every stage of the event: in terms of structure, there was a division between the 'serious academic conference' and the joyful 'high art festival'. In terms of management and marketing, there were two different flyers for the separate agendas of the event, indicating distinct target audiences. In terms of these audiences, the conference was for free meaning it was more accessible.[11] Finally, in terms of funding, the conference was developed with the economic and intellectual support of the Municipality and the official centre for research on minority groups (KEMO).

The programme outlined the following three thematic areas: 'art and cultural Otherness in Greece' mainly addressed the problem of transition from a former monocultural society to more liberal and pluralistic modes of living everyday with the Other. Secondly, 'art and intercultural education': focused on the value of intercultural education and community learning in general with only one paper addressing the complexities of the current Greek social moment. The third area was 'actions, policy programmes and good practices for cultural assimilation and integration'. This section analysed the value of existing state policies and strategies, as well as outlined the need for more intercultural products and further discussion platforms.

Education and learning can provide alternative imaginary visions for new community formations. However, the conference delegates seem to share sanctioned views of current policy without engaging in debate with the actual communities. There is thus the danger of upholding the hegemonic discourse that existed prior, without opening up a third space for dissent, counter-discourses and change. Whilst ground breaking in its platform to share information, the conference proceedings were also limited in the sense that public support was attached to precise unspoken conditions, since the programme of the conference reflected official policies on immigration. This, in practice, left little to no room for further interrogation.

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[11] This is ironic, considering the audience for the conference was more likely to be comprised of academics and professionals able to pay a modest entrance fee, than the families and supporters of artists who may face economic constraints.

The main problem of the conference (and the festival as a whole) was the absence of interpretation. For a conference which tackles issues of immigration and with a stated agenda to promote Athens as a modern European city undergoing multicultural transition, the absence of translation was a noticeable contradiction.[12] The linguistic Other was silenced and, thus, invisible and marginalised in the face of the speech of the dominant group on behalf of his/her otherness. As Trinh Minh-ha highlights,

> a conversation of 'us' with 'us' about 'them' is a conversation in which 'them' is silenced. 'Them' always stands on the other side of the hill, naked and speechless, barely present in its absence (1989: 67).

In the same line of argument, Gayatri Spivak (1988) demands critique of the role of intellectuals and the subjects about which they speak. According to her, the language and the symbols used in the Western academy cannot dissolve the stereotypical formulation of otherness imposed by the dominant centre. Spivak's formulation about alterity and Minh-ha's concerned with appropriation cut across the themes and subjects presented at the conference and talk back to the underlying ethos and assumptions in its performance.

In considering the shift from 'serious' and weighty contemplation of the problematic Other to the light-hearted celebration of diversity through culture, the tension and complications between such binaries are evident. I would not suggest the academic conference should not take place, but rather, that it could hold open invitations to less formal exchanges between policy makers, academics and immigrant artists. Cosmopolitanism embodies listening and learning rather than self-confident triumphalism. Indeed, the real power of cosmopolitanism 'lies in communicative power, the problematising, the reflexive transformation of cultural models and raising a voice' (Delanty, 2001: 41). Such a notion is furthered by Vertovec & Cohen, who suggest that a cosmopolitan educational agenda which forms

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[12] Interpreters and official translation can be expensive, and as such, resources would need to be budgeted for from the outset. In my opinion, consultation with community organisations could have avoided this complication, if partner organisations were able to translate into English and French, for example.

> the basis for shaping attitudes as well as institutions, would have among
> its goals to appreciate how common ends are variously instantiated in
> many cultures, to imagine vividly the different basted on a mastery of
> facts, and to stimulate in every person an overall process of world thinking
> (2002: 21).

The desire to foster cosmopolitanism is a process that ought to be 'located among a number of intermediary institutions in public space, including journals, conferences and political discussions' (Delanty, 2001). An educational approach can best institute the structures for a cosmopolitan citizenship, which 'entails mechanisms of translation whereby the different levels of learning are connected' (Delanty, 2003: 604). Thus, the role of intellectuals and learning needs to be rooted in cultural schemas in order to be transformative; and the example of the Puzzle Festival conference can be seen as a missed opportunity. Whilst all ingredients for 'change' and 'transformation' formed the basis of its recipe, the method of its assembly was exclusionary, and as such un-cosmopolitan.

Post-festival Blues: Sustainability Issues

Some of the critical issues that I have highlighted above were issues of representation and participation (who speaks, and for whom?), structuring and programming issues and the ethos of the festival. I have considered how these issues were constrained by lack of resources, and the fact that this was intended to be a pilot stage for a long-term investigation into the gap of immigrant artists' assimilation into a wider cultural community.

During the 2009 festival, the executive director outlined a view of the future plan of the festival which aimed at the development of collaboration between foreign cities, with a further goal to establish the festival as an international platform for presenting creative work from all artistic fields, created by people with different cultural backgrounds. With approximately 1000 audience members[13] for the artistic programme and favourable publicity for the conference, Puzzle Festival 2009 was felt to have established itself on the cultural map of Athens. Moreover, representatives of the Associated Press covered the festival and

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[13] Data provided by the production team after the completion of the 2009 festival.

made it accessible to 80 countries through short edited video clips, which were posted online.[14]

In real terms, the perceived 'success' of the 2009 pilot festival paved the way for a larger, more ambitious programme in 2010, strategically situated in one of the most high profile cultural venues in Athens. In addition, tickets for the conference/ festival proceedings were to be free, subsidised by the City Council. However, there were several steps which led to the unfortunate last minute cancellation of the second event. The resounding support proffered by the City Council in 2009 did not translate to financial support the following year, which had been relied upon by the organisers. Participants were notified a mere two weeks before the event that the festival in 2010 was cancelled. Ultimately, the only communiqué was a short press release published online, stating the festival's cancellation, but providing no further details. All further attempts to gather interviews with the production team were futile; and my conclusion was thus that the silence spoke volumes about the festival's ethos. To recapitulate, the ideology of open communication, transparency and a shared platform was renounced in the choice not to communicate directly with participants. Some of the participants reflect their views:

> The festival made me believe that change can occur even in small gestures and events like that. After the cancellation I was disappointed (Elizabeth T. – Interview 12, 2010);

> I was disappointed because no one explained to me that the festival was cancelled and I was still preparing my work for the submission…then I realised that the 2009 festival disappeared from the web and it was like it never happened…I believed in the festival and feel betrayed (Fatih A. – Interview 7, 2010);

> It's a shame it was cancelled like that, in a way it is like cancelling the whole effort of the artists for recognition (Didi D. – Interview 8, 2010).

It becomes clear that practicing cosmopolitanism is not necessarily an easy ride; that complications, competing agendas, social structures and mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion will affect the conditions of a cultural performance of

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[14] All documentation from the 2009 festival was since removed from the 'Plays 2 Place' website.

cosmopolitanism. However, these tensions and ruptures become valuable points of learning: lessons in the need for resiliency and reflexivity in constructing the conditions for solid practice. Since the general conception of cosmopolitanism is situated within 'a vision of the world as a peaceful place' (Delanty 2001: 41), it is too often applied to moments that can fit positive images. However, change cannot be founded in an absolute experience of happiness, togetherness, free communication and erasure of difference. Sometimes, moments of cosmopolitan negotiation may need to occur through rupture, fissions, and confusion. In this way, the experience of navigating the cancellation of Puzzle Festival offers key pivots of learning in unexpected moments.

Concluding Remarks

The dual character of the event aimed to combine issues of cultural marginalisation alongside wider political 'problems' of integration and assimilation. Cornelius Castoriadis (2007) claims that philosophy creates conceptions and art creates perceptions; in this light the festival moved between perceptions and conceptions of exclusion in an attempt to widen the image of cultural production in Athens. I analysed the semiotics of the festival, the modes of symbolic representation and the layers of identity formation with respect to a critical cosmopolitan approach. In particular, cosmopolitanism is viewed as an unfolding series of actions that needs to infiltrate every stage of planning, set up and delivery of a festival, as well as infuse the encounters in the festive space, in order to create wider impacts and potentials for change.

In conclusion, the analysis of Puzzle Festival is predicated upon the transformative power of art and how it creates meaningful attachments and positive identifications of belonging; how it empowers the Self and the notion of community and shared values; and the formation of new imaginary visions and faith that change can and will occur. However, bold banal claims for transformation are the stuff of press releases, and are much more nebulous to quantify. In particular, I return to Schechner's distinction between 'transportation' and 'transformation'; such that 'transportation' is a small shift of experience (in which participants may return to the exact same state of being as

before the event); with transformation as the more permanent state of change (usually associated with rites of passage). Further analysis of the potential for cosmopolitan enacted through these cultural events can be seen in Chapter 7.

The dynamic quality of cosmopolitanism depends on the extent to which it contributes to new imaginations in which difference is not pacified or reified but which remains open to contestation and dialogue. A cosmopolitanism which is practiced everyday escapes 'rhetorical' academic boxes. In summary, the festival may position a door of possibility for the cosmopolitan encounter, without providing the mechanisms for repetition of such encounters.

CHAPTER 6
STREET ART FESTIVAL: A VISUAL DIALOGUE IN URBAN SPACE

This final case study concerns a one off day-long festival, which is nevertheless a significant festive model for analysis. Most literature on festivals is concerned with highly resourced, regularly occurring events which tend to attract large audiences. The reasons for this are manifold, but especially significant is the ability to test research findings over time. The case study here, however, provided an interesting counterpoint to the two previous festivals, as it was indeed an arts based festival predicated on the desire for social change. However, it has also resulted in a legacy of urban street art that has extended into a subcultural movement. Street Art Festival was a grassroots event which used participatory actions to change the ways residents and artists viewed each other, altering the urban landscape with street art. 'The role of festivals in challenging the perception of local identity can be very important', which is often the primary outcome for smaller festivals, suggest Karen de Bres and James Davis (2001: 326). Moreover, community festivals 'frequently celebrate both group and place identity' (2001: 327) so they perform a useful community service, by enhancing both. On the same note, Jamieson highlights the transformative relationship between the urban environment and the festival 'that can be explained by way of the redefinitions to which Bakhtin refers' (2004: 68). Unlike other street art festivals and collective mural creation, this event was a community-led platform for communication through spray cans. It became a festive (and chaotic) Bakhtinian celebration; a means of rejecting the formal structures of festivals as externally organised and resourced events. Instead, the festival was an energetic attempt to make visible the marginal voices in the area through art.

This case study explores the cosmopolitan possibilities of the Street Art Festival focusing on the relation between a grassroots event, the resulting sustainable subcultural milieu, and the ways these subcultural inscriptions challenge the urban script. Theoretically, the chapter provides a discussion of urban subcultures grounded on the specificities of the Athenian paradigm. The

analysis begins by setting the scene and then moves to the festive moment and the mediations occurred. Then, the legacy of the festival and the dialogical interaction of street performances, urban identities, and emancipatory spaces are explored. Finally, through the focus group discussion further critical concepts are emerging regarding the interrelationship of street art and the social, political and cultural terrain of Athens.

Urban Tribes and Cosmopolitan Inscriptions

The classic work of Dick Hebdige on subcultures follows a semiotic approach which assumes a homological unity of class-based practices.[1] From the teddy boys, to the skinheads and punks, Hebdige imposed a linear logic to the relationship between music and stylistic preferences. The problematic assumption in Hebdige's work is that both subculture and the parent culture against which it is defined are coherent and homogenous formations with 'static' borders (Downes & Rock, 2007: 151). In a globalised world where ideas, styles, music and people circulate and collide in multiple ways the simple dichotomy between monolithic mainstream and subculture resistances seems parochial.

David Downes and Paul Rock (2007) refer to the means by which subcultures have been analysed as floundering on circular logics, such that delinquent behaviours or styles are seen to be the result of certain social problems. Resultingly, such studies assume that problems could be 'solved' if they were minutely analysed and understood. Another view is that subcultures themselves arose to 'solve' the problems they recognised in the hegemonic culture. The phenomenon of social analysis of such subcultures is that inherent properties of the group were increasingly seen as distinct from the social phenomena that gave rise to them. Downes and Rock critique such myopic views, recalling the class, gender and socio-economic factors to which subordinate cultures are reactions (2007: 153). Their main critique of subculture theories is that there is the need to explore subcultures as ambiguous, anomalous and contradictory.

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[1] A major contribution in outlining the theoretical, political and methodological assumptions of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham which is the benchmark against which to mark out and assess subsequent studies on subcultures.

The street art community or subculture is not bounded by class, economic or location with the sense of fatalism or inevitability that adheres to cultural behaviours; that is, there is a diversity of individuals who choose to engage in street art activities (still considered deviant and illegal). The street artists position themselves deliberately in ideological margins. There is not one style (Hebdige, 1979) or genre of music (Hebdige, 1988) connecting them, nor is the subculture bounded by class, gender or age. Underlying the choices in location, group activities and style is the notion of symbolic capital, Bourdieu's term referring to the range of alternative currencies which permeate culture, providing status, meaning, and mapping a sense of belonging and not-belonging to the mainstream (1986).

This study of the current Athenian street art milieu is based on Maffesoli's conception of the 'urban tribes' (1996). Maffesoli established a postmodern framework of analysis that dismisses prefixed ideas of social identities in favour of new fluid forms of sociability. In particular, group identities, he argues, are no longer formed along traditional structural determinants (like class, gender, or religion); rather behavioural repertoires and everyday practices enable individuals to create new 'tribes'. The tribe operates 'without the rigidity of the forms of organisations with which we are familiar; it refers more to a certain ambience, a state of mind' (1996: 98). The tribes encourage plural rather than discrete and encompassing group identities – individuals are able to flow between multiple signs of identity conceptions. In this view of subcultural 'belonging', Maffesoli believed that 'tribal members rate their individual needs and satisfaction higher than group values or political utopias' (1996: 99). Perhaps it is due to the deviant nature of most subculture groups, and the often valorised accounts of their anti-hegemonic behaviours that such a view fails to grasp the potential social impact such groups might have on the wider communities. That is, when subcultures are formed around political or social ideals in order to pursue social change, such subcultures intend to radically and actively change the shape of social formations. Members of this urban tribe challenge hegemony by drawing on the particular experiences and customs of their community and thus demonstrate that social life can be constructed in ways different from the dominant conceptions of reality.

By contrast to Maffesoli, is what David Muggleton and Rupert Weinzierl term 'post-subcultures' (2003). They critique the view that subcultures in and of themselves serve as transgressive counter-narratives that can effect change. Their argument centres around the need to recognise the wider macro-level operations of political effectiveness, through direct action rather than the micro-formations of style and taste often examined as subcultures.

What this case study offers is an account of street artists as a subculture – an urban tribe – using their common activity of making art in urban environments towards critiquing the status quo. Street art challenges the codes of the orthodox. If it was assimilated into the geographical mainstream, the 'proper spaces', it would be given new meanings, becoming a commodity. The current case study firmly locates the street artists as resistant and political; and as such, rejects the cynical view of the diminished social capital of subcultures. The argument, then, for why the urban tribe of the Street Art Festival can be seen as cosmopolitan is evident in the use of innovative forms to engage minority voices, explore human rights, and in the process of doing so, disrupt the way city spaces uphold majority views.

Setting the Scene
The Street Art Festival is one of many one-off grassroots festivals that occur in Athens. The socio-cultural context for this plethora of events may be understood as a kind of collective cultural entrepreneurship in retaliation against the lack of structural support or resourcing for community based activities. This runs counter to the official stance of arts, culture and heritage as central pillars of national identity.[2] Yet, the notorious political lack of transparency and limited funding available for arts and culture means that events that do not serve the agenda of Athens as a tourist destination are likely to be overlooked. This means that local, grounded social inclusion projects tend to be generated from a core group of passionate practitioners that form direct links to local communities and small business to gain support for their activities. It is readily evident in Athens that there are many urban spaces that have been co-opted for community activities, many of which are arts-based (autonomous parks, social

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[2] See for example the Athens Festival and the high-profile Onassis Foundation arts programme.

squats and cultural centres abound in Exarhia, for example). Perhaps this phenomenon could be called 'community creative autonomy'. This festival is an example chosen because of its stated mission of conscientisation through a direct medium of art that has gathered more social currency in the last few years.

The case study follows the emergence of the street art scene in Exarhia, based on the initial one-day festival in February 2009. The festival was organised by a collective of people, all of whom shared a positive attitude towards the emergent street art scene in the area. In order to ensure the participation of many grassroots artists the festival was not supported by corporate or state sponsors, as they are antithetical to the ethos of street artists. The event was promoted as a response to the increasing visibility of street art pieces in Exarhia with the following poster, highlighting the ethos of the event:

> In moments of fear and social exclusion, the way we create outlines the world we imagine. Self-organised, equal and collective, we, the free people against uniformity and the aesthetic of dull grey, invite all artists to bring their own spray cans in a meeting of uncensored expression and creativity (2009).

Street art in Athens has boomed over the last years, transforming the fixed landscape of the city into a platform for dialogue and negotiation. For almost 2 years (February 2009 - December 2010) I followed visual markers on city walls and engaged with artists in an attempt to grasp and analyse this new street-level language. The topographical frame of my fieldwork is the suburb of Exarhia, the bohemian and anti-comformist neighbourhood. The area has played a significant role in the social and political life of Athens, it is the centre of most independent publications; a place where many intellectuals and artists live; the meeting place for leftist and anti-authoritarian groups; and, therefore, the ideal terrain for many socially engaged NGOs and cooperative social centres.

The documentation for the purpose of this analysis is constructed around four different levels of engagement with the area's street art scene. Firstly, the Street

Art Festival; secondly, the visual diary of the festival is an attempt to document the artwork and keep a reference of the new artists and 'crews' (the term for affiliated members that work together to produce work). A sample of the resulting images is in Appendix D. Several sections refer repeatedly to images included there as the analysis is in conversation with the images. Thirdly, I conducted 14 interviews – nine personal and one email interview, followed by four more personal interviews in 2011. Finally, in establishing the terrain for further critique and analysis I developed a focus group which engaged 11 artists in collaboration through collective art-making.[3]

As social researcher, documenting street art through photography was a relatively simple yet ongoing task, as new works emerge continuously, erasing even 'old favourites'. However, the opportunity to interact with artists, establish creative connections and conduct interviews was much more difficult to 'tag' to the wall. Since street art is illegal, and since there is a necessary (and somewhat constructed) aura of mystery around this subculture, I found that I needed to allow trust to develop, and a network of contacts to emerge through creative conversations. At this point it is a necessary caveat to add that, whilst I am aware of the warnings against glorifying the subculture (Downes & Rock, 2007), there is a need to explore and understand the anonymous contributions to social discourse these particular street artists have made in Athens.[4] There is thus added value to exploring the work of artists who agree to be identified and explain some of their approaches to work. Recent newspaper coverage has noted that politically engaged street art has proliferated in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, for example. The media coverage thus affirms the increased social capital of street art, but also highlights the immediacy of the form in exhibiting revolutionary thinking to the public in an anonymised way.[5]

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[3] For more details on the structure and organisation of this focus group, see Chapter 3, p.74.

[4] There has been recent popular media coverage of street art and its position in the mainstream, thanks to the ubiquitous Banksy, for example. See Higgins, C. (April 22 2011) 'Street Art Reveals Hidden Treasure' *The Guardian.*

[5] See for example, Mulholland, R. (June 5 2011) 'The Libyan Artists Driving Gaddaffi to the Wall' *The Guardian*; Steavenson, W. (July 27 2011) 'Revolution in Cairo: A Graffiti Story' *New Yorker; and* Zoo Project (2011) 'Tunisian Martyrs'/ 'Les Martyrs Tunis' *Website.*

The main obstacle in my attempt to approach the artists was the fact that the practice's subversive and nocturnal nature meant that issues of trust and the need for assurances of anonymity came to the fore. In addition to artists' personal mistrust of strangers, and a natural suspicion of 'experts' attempting to decode the subculture, I also believe that the mystery of code names and tags is itself an important element in the street art scene as it removes personal 'liability', marking itself as written by 'an Other'. Aside from the obvious security reasons, anonymity symbolises the faceless majority excluded from social visibility and decision-making. Many of the artists claim they work without names and faces because they represent many unseen faces and invisible names which are now, through their work, emerging as new subjects.

The festival was a springboard for artists to create some of the more 'permanent' works of street art in Exarhia, but also served to introduce me to the key contacts that became allies when attempting to make regular contact with street artists and street art crews. My appearance at this festival as a documenting photographer (and supporter) served to render me visible to the artists, which helped in the third stage of my fieldwork interviews. The artists were able to engage with me personally as they had seen me support the festival and their work over time, since I was not 'flying past'. I was a part of the community, and had proven myself in some small way. It is thus clear that the festival was an initial inspiration and meeting place, with further activities occurring over time.

After a year of observation and establishing connections with some artists I was able, with the assistance of key contacts, to enter the scene as an observer and researcher. Upon first meeting the artists for interviews, I ensured that they were aware of the potential for anonymity, including in photographs. Each chose to be cited as their tag name. I use these names consistently in making reference to their works, or referencing their comments. Each respondent also had the opportunity to check their interview transcriptions (or case records), and make additional comments; and wherever necessary, I have respected requests for removing comments or images they indicated did not represent them.

The Festive Moment: 'Hiding in the Light'

Hebdige argued that contemporary urban subcultures usually engage in public activities that include pleasure and transgression and translate the fact of 'being under scrutiny into the pleasure of being watched. It is hiding in the light' (1988: 35). This response fits with the joyful anomic sensation of the festive moment in 2009. The festival was grounded in a sense of play although the playfulness was informed by politics – such an ethos creates an initial sense of fun but it is guided by an urgency to disrupt the comforts of norms and conventions of daily life. The playfulness of the city is manifest in colourful and faded images in a perpetual process of renewal and metamorphosis. Ephemeral by nature, both festivals and street art pieces are art forms that celebrate change and feed on new ideas.

The event started off with music and discussions on the importance of street art as a means to promote dialogue and then moved on to practical matters. Several artists facilitated a stencil workshop and gave the opportunity to the audience to express their own concerns through stencils. The final outcome was for artists to paint the audience's concerns on a specific wall. Throughout the day, locals expressed their sympathy towards the artists and clearly outlined that 'street artists are going to be protected in this area as we-the inhabitants of Exarhia- think that this new form of art is "endangered" by the law'.[6]

The festival was considered a success in the sense that there was a community spirit, but faced some challenges in terms of its logistics: street artists did not constrain themselves to that wall and left their marks in a wider area. It is evident that widespread community support of artists is unusual; where many communities support legitimate art, the use of colours on public (and private) walls can infuriate and alienate the community, who consider the images vandalism, and not art. I would hesitate to say there is blanket acceptance of all street art in this area, but rather that its revolutionary history means that its inhabitants are more likely to support consciousness-raising messages.

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[6] This quote comes from the poster advertising the day's events (Street Art Festival, 2009).

As a result of this event, I came to realise that street artists prefer to avoid 'legitimate frames', meaning that they prefer to create their art wherever and whenever they feel something is missing from the urban environment. When human rights are being violated and the existing power elite does not allow voices from the margins to be heard; when human suffering plays mute on the news; when minorities remain invisible for the sake of a colourful society and happy consumption; then political street art is a powerful and ironic critique written on the wall, informing passers-by that an alternative history is playing out. The artists point out the need to look beyond mainstream, sanctioned publications for stories that expose exclusions and exploitations and that explains why they view with suspicion any festival or funded project. I have also realised that the street art scene has its own invisible borders and unwritten rules. It is difficult to enter the scene with the label of the researcher since, in their eyes, academia is part of the existing power order and many times 'consumes and misrepresents communities and individuals' (xkon – Interview 4, 2010). I had to defend my position and make clear that in many cases social research is combined with social action and, thus, academia can benefit local communities. Ultimately, I was granted a 'subculture visa' to enter the scene; I was a valid ambassador of the artists' writing on the walls.

Beyond Festivity: Towards a Street Art Community
'Remapping Athens' engages with urban markers of a third space, it is an investigation of the potential new imaginations and alternative representations in the city of Athens. In this light street art is examined as a form of social diary, a visual history of marginalised and minority groups. City walls transform into a reporting forum of social dialogue where voices from the margins can be expressed. Street artists actively participate in the production of culture in the micro-level by consciously contributing to the need for urban regeneration. Street art captures the need for self-expression in a changing environment.

Due to the nature of street art the important element is not the festival *per se* but the formation of communities and the impact it had on the public conception of street art. The dynamic interrelationship between artists, the urban spaces and the communities they represent was evident in the festival. More valuable,

though, was the legacy of the event; as street art works were ostensibly 'commissioned' by the public; and some have been protected from 'tags' ever since, lending longevity to a notoriously ephemeral art form. There is a strong 'urban tribe' of street artists in Athens. The main feature of artists that were interviewed is that they all create political street art in Exarhia area at the moment. A further criterion was that they remain active.

As a form of art, despite enjoying a postmodern '15 minutes of fame' in popular culture, street art has not been widely theorised, and as such there is not one solid definition that resists unacceptable categories for the artists interviewed. This may also be due to the fact that the artists themselves defy definition and are constantly seeking innovation and new forms. Respecting their need to fight against fixed orders, what follows is a presentation of their ways to explain their work, in their voices.

> It is a form of art in the streets; it is there for everyone to see it… every reaction is welcomed, simply because you've placed your work on a public space. Street art belongs to the streets because it no longer belongs to you (84 – Interview 3, 2010).

> Street art holds the hope of an alternative view of politics and society. It's a voice from the margins, a need for expression and reaction, a critique of the existing system, it is all about hope. Hope that we can achieve what we've imagined, we would be able to change small things and everyday patterns… Making art on the streets is a call for action (Mister K – Interview 10, 2011).

The artists here expose the public nature of street art as a means of sharing ideas. There is no censorship on the message and no restrictions on the viewer's reactions. Criticism as a dialogic form is welcomed as it promotes communication. Street art is about temporary actions, statements and ideas played out on the streets. Although it is an exclusive (marginal) club of artists, it is a democratic art form, in the sense that there are no limits on the 'audience'. It is a viable and valuable expression of individuals, groups and communities in order to create a visual terrain of resistance. It is a call for new imaginations and social action, a way to join hands, images, slogans and futures.

If These Walls Could Talk: Street Art and Urban Belonging

Street art is largely connected to and inspired by the existing social reality. Athens is the canvas and social conditions the paint in a gallery of untold stories. Redefined symbols, decomposed stereotypes, revisioned aesthetics and antiauthoritarian slogans are the tools for the transformation of Exarhian walls into social diaries. Messages differ, yet usually they are expressed against everything that can be seen as a symbol of the dominant culture. In addition to tags and slogans, artists use stickers and create paintings that are against racism, mass consumerism and state oppression.

Image 4: 'Black Boy, White Ghost' (2009).

Image 5: 'Solidarity with immigrants' (2009).

While often seen as the result of disaffected youth fighting against the system, pigeonholing street art as merely a youth movement is not correct - especially when 'most of the artists are in their thirties' (xkon – Interview 11, 2011).

The artists included in this case study are active commentators on their milieu and not just teenage 'taggers'.[7] As a final point of clarification, I see graffiti as superficial tagging and street art as a conceptual engagement with issues and the urban environment. The examples of street art I examine here are images of

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[7] Tagging graffiti is usually a signature (nickname, crew name) often a stylised 'logo'. Considered the most basic form of graffito.

a new form of belonging in the city, stencils that focus on the need to create new territories for social inclusion. In Exarhia the walls are shouting about the need for a new Athenian identity. The changing population is transforming the area and traditional notions of belonging, giving birth to a new street level imagining.

Image 6: 'War against Fear' (2010).

Street art is invasive. It creates a certain politics of space, claiming territories by marking out cultural borderlines, and engendering a sense of belonging by laying 'claim to an alley, a corner, a roof, or an entire area symbolically fenced off by gang signatures' (Nandrea, 1999: 112). Unlike gang graffiti in early 80s in New York, current street art in Athens marks the terrain of an imagined community, a revolutionary non-violent urban tribe. As 'Walls on Fire' explain

> We made most of our pieces in Exarhia and in the city centre because those are the areas that inspire us in the sense that they are misrepresented. Immigrants are not our enemies, difference does not equal criminality. There are 2 targets: first of all we want to say to the new citizens that there are some of us here who say 'Welcome' and secondly we want to create a more accurate representation of those areas (Interview 1, 2010).

For 'Jnor NDA' the new residents of the city become the urban elements he works with. He created a series of human figures placed strategically in urban spots under the slogan 'we are all immigrants'.[8] Urban space is in direct correlation with human activity, it cannot exist on its own; some kind of relationship is invariably evident. This means that an urban setting does not only consist of buildings, streets, road signs and other objects which define it – the main element of this urban scenery is also the people, whose daily activities give it its metropolitan manner.

> In Exarhia it is easy to make a piece, because people here are open-minded and they like a good piece on their walls. Therefore, you have more time to create your piece. You have better communication with others, there's always a comment underneath our pieces in Exarhia. Maybe that's why we like making street art here. Because we communicate on the wall. (Political Zoo – Interview 5, 2010)

The idea of self-expression and communication is a vital need for the artists. They tend to feel more connected with Exarhia because they all share a certain feeling of attachment with the area's radical and autonomous character. Exarhia is treated as a symbolic place, a third space of collaboration, deliberation, and contestation.

On the other hand, because street art is provocative, and about political awakening, Political Zoo hope to make more pieces in different neighbourhoods in Athens. 'We need to be careful of the trap of making Exarhia a small 'Gallic village' (Political Zoo – Interview 5, 2010).[9] 'Political Zoo' reflect the need for oppositional views to be cast as a dialogic form onto the fabric of the whole city, and not merely platformed by a group of few artists, activists and citizens in the area of Exarhia. The trap is to romanticise a place as alternative and revolutionary and transform it into an unquestioned trend. This can be avoided through empowerment of the local community and at the same time opening up spaces for dispute and communication in different moments and spaces. A practical remapping of Athens, a call for 'in-between spaces' in which 'urban

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[8] See Image D7 in Addendum D.
[9] 'Political Zoo' are referring to the 'Gallic Village' of Asterix and Obelix which remained a stronghold against the Roman Empire.

inscription allows the city to become known through the bodility [sic], rhythmic writing and re-writing of it' (Dickens, 2008: 27).

Street art breaks the conspiracy of silence. Like the media one role is to form social consciousness. It is a decentralised, democratic form with universal access, and the real control over messages comes form the social producers. 'It is a barometer that registers the spectrum of thinking' (Chaffee, 1993: 3). Chafee argues that mass communication need not be limited to professionals wielding technology or gadgets; there are 'other significant processes and cultural settings involved in the flow of political information, that often, not exclusively, originate from below by grass-roots groups (1993: 3-4). The artists explained their practice of this new form of mass communication as follows: 'Images speak louder than words and if we use words, we make sure that they are in English so everyone can understand… We want to create a new visual vocabulary' (Mister K – Interview 10, 2011). The subculture refines and defines the communicative tools of social discourse by subverting symbols and exploiting recognisable images and brands.

Street art is with us on our daily walks. Like passers-by, images are part of our everyday experience. To greet them, we have to share with them an alternative visual understanding. It is like a visual community since there is a shared sense of belonging. There are no restrictions or exclusions to being a street artist as it seems to transcend social boundaries. In the world of the artists the only thing that one is judged by is artistic skill and attitude. The race, gender, social class and age of the artist are not considered (Walsh, 1996: 11).

In addition, artists base their community in a common awareness of not belonging: they do not fit in the societal boxes, and they react to pre-existing categories of belonging. This is echoed in 'Nula's' statement 'I find the idea of community problematic… I would rather find myself in the margins than in the uniformity of a group or community' (Interview 2, 2010). Street artists question stereotypical forms of identification, and they also share a desire to create new communities. Jean-Luc Nancy speaks of a community founded on a communication that is far more than the simple exchange of images and words

(1991). That is the form of communication the experience of making and seeing street art can offer. An encounter 'reminding us always of the Other, whose presence is both a challenge and a solace' (Young, 2010: 113). I suggest that artworks (in the sense that they remain after the initiating moment), offer glimpses into the potential for transgressions and transformations of existing social structures as repeated actions. I assert that the street artworks demand that viewers reflect on the potential for such transformation.

Some of the artists reflected that they like the possibility their artworks offer to think of themselves and society in a different way. This reaction against fixed notions of belonging and the desire to create from the margins speaks back to postcolonial and feminist theory which demanded that the oppressed resist closed categories. Such critiques of belonging are central to the project of critical cosmopolitanism. bell hooks warns of the trap of the margin as reinforcing binaries and oppression. The artists' discomfort with categories of belonging asserts the need for constant and active engagement with what exclusion and marginality means. They are not speaking on behalf of a marginalised Other, *they are* marginalised Others. And to use bell hooks' phrase they are 'choosing the margin as a space of radical openness' (1990).

The trap to be avoided is thinking that marginalised voices can only make small marginal interventions. Street art creates an urban gap, or more correctly identifies a new space where margins have a voice and communication is based on the formation of new communities and the inclusion of the Other. According to Tristan Manco

> communication has become a modern mantra: the city streets shout with billboards, fly posters and corporate advertising, all vying for our attention. They almost invite a subversive response (2002: 7).

Artists create symbols and a new language on the city's walls. Each piece left on the wall interacts with the people coming into contact with it, and if there are no restrictions to the audience on the streets it is 'so it's visible. So it's accessible. So it's exposed. So we are exposed' (Pi & Fi – Interview 8, 2011). Street art is a means to claim urban spaces, echoing Daniel Makagon's manifesto to claim and invest in such spaces for a vibrant and changing public

culture (2000: 205). Some of the artists experienced the practice of making street art 'as the voice of the city, as a dialogue, as communication, as imagination. It's the political oasis of postmodern cities' (Nula – Interview 13, 2011). The city is a living organism, and street art is the art of everyday encounters, the art of unexpected communication.

See the Writing on the Wall: Imagination and Cultural Performance
The voices of the artists reflect their claim on the right to the city, and particularly, Lefebvre's notion needs to be ethically inflected is in the matter of the imagination. Amin & Thrift suggest that cities offer material with which to fuel the imagination and construct different forms of longing. 'The kind of symbolic violence done to groups who cannot express or, in some cases, even formulate those longings in the first place must be extreme. Surrounded by a semiotic environment of texts and screens that are props for other people's stories, it is difficult to be clear how to frame demands for some degree of imaginative autonomy' (Amin & Thrift, 2003: 297).

A common conception of cultural performances is of an audience and an initiator of a message or meaning to be communicated. As such, performance becomes a means of analysing minute 'behaviours' in a context of the wider stage of socio-political discourses.[10] Street art's claim of spaces for marginal voices is performative: first in its vocalising and visualising; and second in its demand for an audience to react to it. This section demonstrates how the street artists themselves see their actions as marking Athens with the need for transformation. One might argue that the small yet repeated acts of resistant street art as interventions can not merely transform spaces; the repetition of certain phrases, symbols and images may be a start to transforming attitudes too.

'Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed through artistic and literary practice' (hooks,

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[10] For a detailed analysis of cosmopolitanism and cultural performance, see Chapter 2, pp.47–51. Richard Schechner (1985), drawing on the work of Erving Goffmann (1969) and Clifford Geertz (1973) developed a set of 'performance' terminologies to describe a wide range of social actions and behaviours.

1990: 153). It is not a coincidence that most street art pieces can be found in borderlands—in spaces where boundaries blur and new forms of belonging emerge. The performance of making street art is a direct interaction between artist and audience, which requires interpretation and reinterpretation of the artist/Self and the Other. In order to develop a visual response artists become part of the place, they engage with the varied social tensions and struggles. As 'Nula' explains

> I observe, I listen, I feel and then I wait… every place has its own history and I'm becoming part of it. That's why I choose borderline areas for my work. I believe those places hold the promise for something new to emerge; it's an unbelievable energy, the energy of transition (Interview 2, 2010).

Under these circumstances, street art becomes a visual manifestation of local social attitudes and behaviours. This critical manifestation is one which questions stereotypes, reflects on given identity markers and remains open to difference. The artists themselves, in their daily encounters are the human agents of their visual artworks. In this sense, being a street artist is a continual performance of certain sensibilities such as openness and empathy towards the Other, the stranger. As mentioned before, one has to meet certain unspoken criteria in order to enter the street art scene. Thus, the crews and individual artists hold active agency, ready to intervene whenever there is the need for redefinition of closed categories. It is an agency which creates its own symbols and codes and declares its own space for expression; an agency which sketches an imagined community with a cosmopolitan perspective.

Performing street art is an active (and illegal) participation in the production of counter-culture at the micro-level. As the artists explain, cultural performances of street art are translated into forms of active citizenship. 'If I want dialogue and communication through my work… I try to stay open and ready to engage in dialogue anytime of my life' ('84' – Interview 3, 2010). 'Mapet' remains active both as street artist and as a citizen of Athens. His line of critical questioning of the role of an active citizen feeds his artistic approach, prioritising direct links to the community. For a crew, like 'Walls on Fire', the creation of street art continues whether holding a spray can (not for ad hoc tagging, but for socially engaged stencils or images) or engaging in everyday activities. For them the

need to communicate is very important and it is expressed in daily social performances.

> We organise a weekly meeting, participate in festivals, create room for dialogue everyday in the bus, in the train, in the market. Whenever and wherever we feel like we have to speak (Interview 14, 2011).

Performing street art requires a serious redefinition of the Self in the city, but at the same time it is grounded in a sense of playful, carnivalesque inversions of accepted behaviours, and the normative uses of space. Street artists participate in a playful war of redefinition as they 'bomb' the city walls.[11] The performance of 'bombing' is a political and activist statement; an intervention collage which gives rise to a new 'wall culture'. This 'wall culture' in the urban framework shares intimate ties with socio-political conquests that have unfolded on the streets. Slogans silently 'vocalise' political opinions, social criticism and public protest. This relationship between iconic articulation and socio-political reaction has on the one hand extended the use of street art among individuals in order to make their voice heard, and on the other it served to intensify those voices by providing a new form of vocalisation.

Through the practice of 'bombing', street art does not change the urban infrastructures, 'it attacks not so much the property (walls can still stand) as the property *relation*' (Iverson, 2010: 130, emphasis in the original). In using public and private property as a surface for communication, artists create a city *in common* (2010: 131, emphasis in the original). This subcultural behaviour imagines a city where the margins are no longer marginal as they can be represented in the micro-level of cultural production, where social exclusions transform into visual inclusions as they are recognised on the city walls; and where difference is respected as it remains visible and uncensored on the city's fabric. The possibilities are only limited by human imagination. Or as 'Bleeps.gr' describes it:

> I see it as a way to communicate, pass ideas, create a visual event, compete with the capitalistic propaganda by questioning its idols, or even

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[11] To 'bomb' an area is to paint many surfaces overnight.

> just write a rhyme…At the end of the day these creations serve a humanistic role as they - mostly - are the urge of an individual to add their brushstroke to the social being (Interview 7, 2010).

Street art forces us to witness something. Artists do not need authorisation from the dominant culture. On the contrary, what makes it effective as a response to the social centre is the prior knowledge that it is there without permission. Since audiences know it is illegal, it means that they are aware there is no sanctioning of the message by official bodies, corporates, or the state itself: the message comes directly from the margins. Artists are fully aware of the illegal nature of their art:

> But street art does not need the authorisation of the state…of course it's illegal, that's why it's still powerful. In some years it will become a commodity, it will be legal. It has already started in other places, see Banksy for example. Street art is illegal as are all the really revolutionary things in this world ('Nula' – Interview 2, 2010).[12]

Moreover, the performativity of the creation of art 'being illegal' evokes an immediate expression of solidarity with the artists and simultaneous dissatisfaction with the socio-poilitical order from the viewers' perspective. As mentioned, the inhabitants of Exarhia had openly expressed their sympathy and positive attitude towards the artists. The viewers' consent creates direct attachments with the artists, as they are abettors of the same crime. That also means that they are accordant with the artists' messages; which also accounts for the way in which certain artworks are 'protected' by the community. It is a practice of active solidarity, a moment that creates a certain feeling of belonging. According to 'Walls on Fire' that is why 'respect is a common word in the scene' (Interview 1, 2010).

This raises an interesting anomaly about street art in Exarhia. Artists feel able to raise marginal voices in this space because the place is receptive and open to them. Pieces espousing hate speech or fascism would be removed, defaced, or

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[12] Halsey and Pederick comment on a publicly funded graffiti project, concerning questions of how the sanctioning of an activity that demands an 'edge' of illegality and marginality. Their analysis shows that artists were suspicious of the process, anxious about censorship, and ambivalent about the efficacy of large-scale work as changing perceptions about the persistent 'value' of street art (2010: 90).

contradicted immediately. Most of the artists seemed to agree: a political street art piece should be made in reciprocal respect. Artists respect the community, group, individual and they carefully raise issues on the wall and at the same time they expect their approval.

Another Brick in the Wall: Street Art as Resistance
There is a feeling that the city belongs to us.
Every time we revisit our images in daylight.
(xkon – Interview 4, 2011).

Street art is a multilayered performance of resistance. Firstly, it is a redefinition of the relation of space to individual, using public space as a surface for interaction and communication, artists create alternative spaces in the city. (Dickens, 2008; Halsey & Pendrick, 2010). Secondly, street artists refuse to recognise the modern hegemonic order. They rather impose their own aesthetics on the city walls. Art becomes a means of empowerment of the individual's identity and favours the formation of new communities. This view is borne out from the empirical evidence in this case study. Finally, street art messages produce alternative labels and representations. Messages create a new visual vocabulary which is a powerful political statement and a call for social action (Ferrell, 1995).

One of the examples from fieldwork to support these assertions is the crew 'Political Zoo'. The tag name derives from the Aristotelian conceptualisation of civil society and active citizenship. According to Aristotle, human beings are '*zoon politikon'* – distinguished from other animals due to their capacity of reasoned speech and their moral sense of justice and equality. The artists' postmodern interpretation:

> We have an idea of a different society, different power dynamics and different human interactions. I don't like to give a name to that: it is not anarchy, not communism, it is what we imagine and paint on the walls (Political Zoo – Interview 5, 2010).

Political street art in Exarhia starts from a shared understanding that the existing social and political order cannot represent the Self and certain communities. Therefore, it needs to change. The most powerful motivation for

the artists is the need for change and the empowering outcome for the communities is the realisation that change is going to occur through social struggles and active citizenship. 'You start from the realisation that you don't like what surrounds you. You don't like what you've been served' (Mapet – Interview 6, 2010). Street art is a means of empowerment in the sense that it transforms oppression and repression into creative resistance. 'Repression always gives way to expression' (Pi & Fi – Interview 10, 2011). Street artists understand their own marginality, yet, instead of a passive acceptance of their own position they propose a colourful resistance from the margins.

> I prefer to have moments of freedom now rather than waiting for a revolution that may never come. I create my own situation, albeit temporarily. In many ways street art is like this: a moment of temporary autonomy projected without permission, lived and then left behind. Street art results in a kind of spatial poetry (xkon – Interview 11, 2011).

Negri advocates 'there are moments in which war and resistance are necessary in order to be free and to live with dignity' (2008: 41). Political street art is an alternative form of war: it does not seek to seize state power. It, rather, calls for a transformation directed by civil society. 'It reminds me of Herbert Marcuse's philosophy: why tolerate when you feel the need to react? (Bleeps.gr – Interview 7, 2010). 'Bleeps.gr' is referring to Marcuse's notion of 'repressive tolerance' (1969: 113). According to him tolerance must have its own limitations, otherwise it ends up being repressive and intolerant. I argue that this sense of community-building informed by the need for social change is fundamentally aligned with the notion of critical cosmopolitanism.

In this light, street art is viewed as a barometer of freedom, as has been noted in studies of the juxtapositions between the freedom of the capitalist West and the totalitarian Eastern bloc which frequently made reference to the flowering of street art on the Western side of the Berlin Wall (Cresswell, 1996, Iverson 2010: 131). Political street art manages to create a mirror where we can recognise the features of our own concerns. What makes it remarkable is the personal and at the same time deeply collective voice that emerges from the pieces. Moreover, the voice transmits a common message, the words as living bridges between

the artists and the Athenian society attempt to disrupt and disturb the hegemonic monopoly on truth.

> The message is clear: systematic redefinition of 'holy symbols'. Our target is to diminish dogma. Where? In public spaces … Why? Because we do believe in change, because we have seen the vision of an alternative society (Mapet – Interview 14, 2011).

Image 7: 'Tagging' the National Library (2009).

Street art has a long association with performing rebellion, as it fits in the general 'Do It Yourself' philosophy and subvert symbols of authority. The choice of these artists to make use of popular forms also resists the commodification of 'fine arts'. The power of such forms, as demonstrated by their characterisation as carnivalesque, is in their accessibility, immediateness, and irreverence. Popular forms of art are not merely catering to the lowest common denominator, but are able to extend and expand the potential for art to communicate important messages. They fundamentally critique the hegemonic categories of what and who defines 'art', and thus also make allowance for 'change' to be an egalitarian process.

As such, street art (despite the criticism that it is a trend that attracts unimaginative creations) clearly points out that a public wall is a place for creative expression, social communication and protest. It alters the city's image and in turn the identity of the people in it, taking active participation in shaping a contemporary 'wall culture' and mutely shouting out that the city is a living organism, bursting with energy and action in ways which cannot be bound by rules or restrictions.

Therefore, street art cannot be restrained in galleries or museums, or established in the terms of the capitalistic economy of 'art', despite the incongruous success of artists like Banksy. If this happens, street art is no longer capable of exerting powerful change-oriented actions on the urban landscape. The artists' desire for change is evident in their systematic, conscious and repeated efforts to declare change a priority in their work. Their refusal to be commodified or co-opted by any agendas is evidence of the need for independent actions (even if those actions may be towards a common goal – for example, raising awareness of racism and xenophobia). Such independence was a key feature at the focus group organised in Exarhia in December 2010.

Focus Group: 'Traveling Doors Project'

Since the initial festival (which introduced me to the street art scene) there was one concern regularly raised by the artists: that they tend to work in isolation and the positive outcome of the festival was that they had the opportunity to meet one another. Through our conversations and interviews, most of the artists raised the point that legality and lack of trust results in artists working alone or with their crews. Moreover, all of them mentioned the need to participate in a bigger and wider project, not only in Exarhia, but in every neighbourhood. They desired not only a project with wider impact and more publicity (i.e. more credibility and attention from the mass media), but a project for a wider audience which would be accordant with their manifestos.[13]

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[13] When I asked them why they hadn't done it so far, artists raised certain issues: firstly, the project could not be organised by any state institution, (specifically, they would not want it funded by a state or corporate organisation); and secondly that such a project should not be started by a street artist or a crew (as in the past) because everyone is concerned by who gets the credit. This directly corresponds to the theory of who holds social capital with the structures of the subculture. It seemed to me that I as both an insider and outsider in the scene could try

This one-off focus group was a pilot project about the role artists play in engaging audiences in active rethinking about the issues they encounter in the city daily. Participants were invited as representatives of the street art community, and included a range of men, women, Greek and immigrant artists. The mode was through participatory games and exercises, to engage participants in spontaneous interchange, unhindered by political correctness and politeness that often renders intercultural gatherings superficial. The use of games was a means of engaging initial responses and forging relationships through fun and common experiences. From simple games, the participants moved through to group exercises and brainstorming the priority issues in the city as small groups. The main part of the workshop asked participants to literally 'remap' the city: the facilitator gave each a large map of central Athens, along with a range of materials, and had participants consider landmarks as the need for dialogue/ doors or potential for change/ weak spots. They could use any configuration of media, with the common element that 'doors for potential change' needed to be symbolized by dominoes.

This practical remapping of Athens was the most compelling element of the workshop. Some of the questions raised during this exercise were: How can you map solidarity? Where do you feel like home? Which parts of the city make you angry or vulnerable? How do we understand the journeys we make everyday? When do our roads meet? The outcome was an interesting collage of urban dreams and desires; ten different maps outlining different personal experiences in an attempt to re-evaluate and recompose the same city.

The importance of mapping as a multisensory process lies in its ability to evoke relationships between place, lived experience and community. The artistic approach to the map-making procedure is a transformation of the conventions of mapping, such as scale, symbol and geophysical terrain into a new aesthetic which involve metaphorical representations of place and space. It is a reconfiguration of place to address perceptions of belonging and ways of inhabiting the city. In other words, it depicts lived experiences, everyday

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and gather artists in one room, so we could open doors to dialogue and outline what was missing from the Athenian map.

activities, untold stories, uses of space and local conceptions of the neighbourhood, the city and the built environment. Mapping can offer an insight on how people view their world, where they spend their time, what is important to them and what kind of social relations they form. More than providing a sense of the actual spaces, these maps offered a picture of the ways in which we translate spatial dynamics and construct cultural, racial and political boundaries

The group discussion when examining the final outcome was stimulating and showed that there are layers to the experience of artists. All expressed marginalization and difference alongside wider political and economic exclusions. A commonality was that people needed to feel able to belong in certain parts of the city; all of them included a symbolic place which considered home. Roads and avenues transformed into social values leading to glimpses of an alternative society (Image 9). One of the artists presented a map of dislocations and deterritorialisation in order to express his critique of borders, exclusion, fixed capitalistic symbols and fake national identity emblems (Image 8). For him, we choose the city in which we want to live, and form the attachments that give meaning to life, it is a matter of personal choice. Artists remapped Athenian landscapes in order to include the other and expanded boundaries to fit margins and peripheries.

Image 8 and Image 9: Athens Remapped (2010).

The use of a collaborative and participatory methodology enabled the research to emerge through transparent discussions. The focus group engaged with critical questions through creativity: describing symbolic senses of belonging, imagining a common civil society, and engaging in open, empathic discussions in which Self/Other and the world were collectively re-interpreted.

Concluding Remarks

My analysis of street art has led to entirely new ways of accessing and understanding Athens for me. Navigating its streets has become a daily adventure in reading the palimpsest of narratives, margins and voices that remain hidden in legitimate public forums. As James Hillman has put it:

> These marks made in public places, called the defacing of monuments, actually put face on an impersonal wall or oversized statue. The human hand seems to want to touch and leave its touch, even if by only obscene smears and ugly scrawls… surely, a city is a masterpiece of engineering form and architectural inspiration that would not be despoiled by the presence of images that reflect the 'soul' through the hand (Hillman, 2005: 81).

By considering street art as a visual dialogue in urban space, I believe that belonging, imagination and resistance, central to my notion of cosmopolitanism, are actively evident on the streets of Athens. The images included here and in the visual diary offer a street level view of how the city has been remapped by street artists.

The main finding I encountered through the festival was that grounded acts can translate to a shift in the urban landscape, resulting in a change in the way everyday interactions occur. Perhaps this can be termed cosmopolitanism from below. If politically conscious messages are omnipresent, vital, and capture the zeitgeist in a way that moves beyond language and other structures of inclusion and exclusion, then viewers can engage and redefine their own navigation of the city. Cosmopolitanism is not evident merely in the agenda or the intent of the festival, but continues to be seen in street art works long after the original event. In short, what was memorable about the case is the impact that a one day festival can have on a city.

CHAPTER 7
TOPOGRAPHIES OF BELONGING, IMAGINATION AND RESISTANCE:
COSMOPOLITANISM IN ACTION

Topography derives from the Greek words *topos* (place) and *graphi* (writing, inscription). In classical literature this refers to capturing a local history of a place and then writing about it. In sciences it is conventionally understood as a system for mapping either a landscape or the contours and form of a place. Topography is concerned with the detailed analysis of a local surface including local stories, culture, and daily residual signs. It involves observation, excavation, analysis, and representation of the findings. Topography is thus not only about landscapes but imagination. I refer to my analysis as topography because it captures the cosmopolitan inscriptions of postmodern Athens through stories and encounters as an attempt to revise and reveal the assumptions and prejudices which may have determined what terrains were mapped, and what landmarks, stories or spaces were included.

At the centre of this project stands the premise that critical cosmopolitan theory should be grounded and analysed through everyday routines, habits and actions. The case studies offer examples of daily milieus in which the realities of encountering the Other create opportunities for new, polyvocal spaces. Festivals are cultural events that frame and support specific ideals and agendas. In these cases, they offer an opportunity to rehearse and develop cosmopolitan practices and dialogues and in the process generate spaces for future cosmopolitan actions. Thus, it is argued that these characteristic festive moments are platforms to showcase cosmopolitan practices but also demand active participation in imagining future social change. In brief these three case studies demonstrate a move beyond time-bounded festivity, becoming the examples of engaged social practices.

The case studies exist in relation to wider contextual issues in contemporary Athens, both addressing and reacting to the existing social and political dynamics in a complex and changing manner. The preconditions, namely globalisation and postmodernism are foundational in the sense that social

performances rest upon them and are shaped by them. Furthermore, the recent economic crisis and mass immigration has undoubtedly changed the landscape of the cosmopolitan milieu in Athens.[1] Critical cosmopolitan theory is translated into three researchable dimensions which open doors to everyday practices. Whilst I have characterised the dimensions as three stages, they are not distinct, fixed categories. Rather, they are in constant correlation with each other, with the third dimension of resistance forming a triangulated paradigm in which ways of being in the world and ways of encountering the Other meet in actions and reactions.

This chapter begins with a summary of the three case studies in order to outline the connecting points and deviant markers on a case by case basis. Such a comparative analysis forms the opportunity to engage with new perspectives through insights and ideas springing from data collection and case study analysis. The main section of this chapter is devoted to detailing a model of 'cosmopolitanism in action'. This model is then used to schematise the findings of the research. The subsequent section relates the research findings to the wider context of Athens. Finally, the research is critically analysed in terms of limitations, unintended outcomes, and its implications for different audiences.

Summarising the Case Studies

The summaries make reference to elements which confirm patterns, or trends, or which resist comparison. The structure of the summaries is accordant with the cosmopolitan dimensions of belonging, imagination and resistance. Antiracist Festival offered individual participants and attendees the opportunity to encounter many layers of otherness. The programme aimed to platform multiple exclusions and margins, and thus, questioning was multi-layered. What is of importance here is the festival's innovative model which exemplifies multiple sources of funding and shared responsibilities in a horizontal model of communal decision making. It is notable that the festival has been running for

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[1] An analysis of such preconditions and the ways they shape contemporary Athenian identities is offered in chapter 1.

15 years, meaning that its structure is sustainable. Uniquely, the festival is able to be responsive to the situation of the day.[2]

Antiracist Festival and the 'NSSRI' with its particular structure open up spaces for the formation and collaboration of new communities. The reinforcement of civil society and participation through the formation of new groups and communities is a central concern of the network. This was reflected in the festive moment as well where participants and audience felt exposed to the 'real' city fabric and embraced alternative social arrangements. Both belonging and imagination are dimensions that are evident in the network structure, and the festival programming. The commitment to engaging communities to self-represent and platform their issues in the annual festival and year-round events highlights the need for empathy and perspective-taking as of paramount importance. The critical concern relating to this point is the potential to commodify otherness.

Finally, the festival and its subsidiary events are geared towards social change through active participation and active citizenship. By remaining engaged with local communities, organisations encourage a cycle of consultation with policymakers and activism, the festival itself remains relevant, connected, and a vital platform for the voices of these groups. The iterative model of active engagement, festive celebration, consultation and further activism is one that leads to transformative moments. This category of consultation and representation of voices leads to the discussion of the second case study, Puzzle Festival, in which these notions were troubled.

Puzzle Festival, despite its problematic labelling of all participants as immigrants, superficially offered a redefinition of labels and binaries through art forms. The case showed the gap that can arise between agendas and practicalities of running a festival, what I have termed the schism between 'logos' and 'praxis'. Clearly, the intention to construct a cosmopolitan practice is

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[2] The Antiracist Festival did not follow its usual programme in 2011, since the NSSRI feels it is more important to maintain social engagement in Syntagma Square, which has been the site of national community protests (through debate, protest, and spontaneous performances), since May 2011.

not enough if it does not translate to lived realities for participants. Examining Puzzle Festival through the dimension of belonging, it is evident that there was the potential for cosmopolitan engagement from participants (i.e.: in a bottom-up dynamic). Through the collaboration between Greek and immigrant artists the formation of new attachments was begun. Moreover, the festive meeting of artists with a common purpose generated a belonging through art forms. This pointed to the value of sharing visions and ways of working on an egalitarian platform. The case study shows that the dimension of imagination is visible in the artworks themselves, rather than being constructed and supported by the festive platform. This modus operandi also served to underscore the dimension of resistance, through the capacity of participatory arts programmes to build bridges between immigrant artists and host communities.

However, this festival emerged as a deviant case, since, even though one can find evidence of each of the processes in examining the festival, the structure, and the unexpected cancellation of the second festival portrayed and reinforced the norms that were intended to be questioned, namely that immigrant art is chaotic, badly resourced, with little communication, and at the mercy of the host artistic community. The case study demonstrates that matters of representation, participation, and inclusion were not fully supported by community consultation beforehand, with a top-down model of benevolence instead. Despite some problems and tensions in the festival programme, the potential for cosmopolitanism occurred in the actual spaces of interaction, sharing and art encounters. This, then, becomes an exemplar of 'transportation', whereby attitudes and experiences shift in a temporary way. Ultimately, the festival failed to achieve its own aims with the exception of moments in the festival of the ordinary variety (collaboration, audience responses). Yet, the cosmopolitan possibility lies in the constitutive power of grounded encounters.

The final festival, although smaller in size and scope, is indeed a transformative example. The Street Art Festival was community-led and all the artists and participants could freely create and interact with a specific urban environment. It was a grassroots festival, emerging within a fixed time and place. In this context, street art was seen as a performance of critique in terms of who has

control over the urban landscape, as an act which disrupts the comforts of the *status quo.* As a result messages usually targeted anything representing the dominant culture.

In terms of the belonging dimension, Street Art Festival starts from rejecting hegemonic notions of belonging, critiquing stereotypes directly through art forms, resulting in the creation of a visual vocabulary of community. In particular, the case of street art provides the most illuminating example of rethinking identities, specifically with the widespread use of the slogan 'we are all immigrants'.[3] Street art points towards the redefinition of the Self and the city, with its invasive performance of using public space as a platform of communication and interaction, it creates a reconceptualised space in the city. The illegal, unsanctioned nature of street art demonstrates that artists do not need authorisation to express their views. This leads to the perception of more authentic messages, and thus it is a more effective engagement between art and its publics.

Regarding imagination, the grassroots nature of the festival provides immediate, egalitarian engagement with marginal perspectives. The nature of political street art is informed by the specific milieu, reacting against dominant cultures. The street art festival developed a 'visual community' on the city walls, a community built on an alternative visual understanding. The community is driven by shared sensibilities engaging actively in the practice of cosmopolitan translation, thereby demonstrating democratic agency.

In relation to resistance, street art in Athens marks the terrain of an imagined community. This revolutionary non-violent gang claims urban territories, marking spaces, borderlands, making belongings and exclusions visible. The practice of reciprocal respect was critical for the artists, who respect the voices of a range of communities, groups or individuals as they raise issues on the wall and at the same time they expect approval and further collaboration. The festival was a platform of this imagined community as it successfully brought

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[3] See Image D7 in Appendix D.

together artists and viewers in a dialogical meeting place which tightened the bonds and resulted in a vibrant and socially active street art scene in the area. The festival managed to create a third space of everyday street politics where the walls translate into a forum pointing towards social change.

The outcomes (despite it being only a one-day event) were that the sense of collaboration and ties with local communities were maintained, leading to further development of the street art phenomenon in Athens. The wider implication of local communities' needs being widely publicised is that they feel empowered through its provocative presence as a debate. Such a result insists that the festival laid the ground for a longer term transformation – of how, where, and in what ways voices can be heard.

Above, I have summarised each of the case studies in terms of structure, analysing them through the dimensions of cosmopolitanism. However, it would be counter-intuitive to attempt to quantify similarities in the case studies since they are unlike cases. Rather, the comparative analysis below shows the extent to which the festivals created doors to third spaces, as well as patterns emerging in the processes identified. This allows us to assess whether, and to what extent, the festivals translate their activities into cosmopolitan moments.

Comparative Analysis: Connecting Points and Deviant Markers
Jorge Perez Falconi coins the term 'festivalscapes' to describe the fluid landscape of structures and actors created in moments of festivity. According to him, 'festivals… flow into the space and time of a city, propelling a trajectory, mobilising structures and conventions' (2011: 12). The three festivals offer a multiplicity of landscapes and trajectories with cases configured as established platforms, pioneering local, and grassroots festivals. These differing scopes also necessitate a range of approaches, sites and means of engaging audiences with the social fabric of the city. The table below offers a comparative mapping of the festivalscapes under investigation.

	Antiracist Festival	Puzzle Festival	Street Art Festival
Characterising the festival	Established platform for 15 years	Pioneering integrated arts festival	Grassroots, community-led
Ethos	Highly consultative, long standing record of inclusivity	Agenda-driven festival with little consultation, not inclusive	Local, anti-authoritarian, chaotic
Access (participants) / Tickets (audience)	Range of ticket options	Tickets too expensive	Free Access/ Ticketless
Festival Size/ potential reach	25,000 - 30,000 over 3 days	Limited capacity for 3 days	Unlimited potential audience through street based activities
Location/space	Open air, multi-purpose venues	Omonoia, venue choice inappropriate	Open air, Exarhia square and autonomous park
Impact on participants (Belonging)	Participating organisations form a network that is able to lobby government	Initially, rewarded by sense of community; ultimately betrayed by its collapse	Continued sense of collective creativity, renewed safety through forming 'crews'
Impact on local community (Imagination)	Access to many organisations, education and advocacy	Engaging with professional level artworks challenged stereotypes	Revived local community's engagement with space, and renewed sense of urban aesthetics
Social Change (Resistance)	Change encouraged through active participation (regular action)	Social change transient and temporary in festive moment	Art form demands social change, while festival claims urban spaces
Impact on policy	Ongoing communication, platforms and consultations with local and national governmental representatives	Links with local government, with no further action after 2009	Council permissions thereafter extended to urban gentrification programmes in other areas
Sustainability	Maintains strong support, growing each year through its network model	Not sustainable, with any positive links becoming erased after the festival's cancellation	Not in a festival model, but as a series of workshops

Table 5: Comparing Case Studies

As far as the character of festivals is concerned, the potential for cosmopolitan spaces is not unique to a single model or structure. They emerge in grassroots, marginal one-off events, occur fleetingly in pilot festivals and are abundant in longer term events. Whilst scope and resources clearly affect the impact a

festival can have, this research has shown that each festival's character is linked to the extent to which it is embedded in its target community. This means that the placing of the festival (in terms of its site, audience, community and ethos) determines its character. In addition to this socio-geographical 'placing', each of the festivals is situated within, and responds to, a specific urban context.

Imbricated within this 'placing' is the ethos of each of the festivals which pervades its organisational structure and its relationships with participants and audiences. It is of primary importance as it infuses structures, modes of communication and decision making, creating inclusions and exclusions, recognitions and misinterpretations. Whilst the ethos is important within the festive moment, it is necessary to maintain ethical considerations beyond the festival (in wrap up, feedback events, and in further interaction with participants). The research clearly demonstrates that when agenda is in conflict with ethos, as in Puzzle Festival, that the effect of participants and the experience of the festival itself is conflicted. As such, ethos infiltrates all subsequent categories of analysis.

The critical consideration of inclusion and exclusion begins with organisers defining who is included in festivals as participants, and as audiences, which begs the question: what are the communities of belonging the festival seeks to constitute? This category is termed 'access', translating to access to participation in the festive moment, access to the community of reception (of artwork, or message), and access to a wider spaces of critique and creativity in the city. Furthermore, access can be considered from the audience perspective, since ticket prices can affect who is able to attend. Since cosmopolitanism needs to be grounded and not elite, access ought to be polyvocal, multilayered, and responsive to change. Festivals can disrupt hegemonic representations by staging encounters and temporary spaces for cosmopolitan engagement.

The size or the potential reach of festivals does not necessarily determine the quality of cosmopolitan outcomes, only insofar as a large festival could have a

larger potential impact.[4] Its location forms a key element in the mapping of audiences' and participants' relationships to the city. Open air events and festivals which lay claim to the 'right to the city' enact the creative interplay of margins and centre. In this regard, street art remains as part of the urban fabric, so its accessibility is impossible to monitor, as the public engages long after the festive moment. The festival's outcomes embody a fluidity of meaning that troubles the time-boundedness of a day long event.

When assessing the impact on participants it is clear that what is most valued is the generation of meeting places and spaces that are bound by a shared ethos. In these third spaces participants were able to respond to the need for human recognition, and the desire for responsible, creative and generative interactions through open self-expression. It is therefore in this frame that new attachments occur. These festivals were important sites for researching cosmopolitan phenomena since they successfully transcend the present moment of the everyday. Festivals disrupt normativity, but once they are over, there is not always the potential to maintain or sustain the change or impact that has been experienced in the course of the festive moment. This means that if the attachments formed over the course of the festival are strong enough, 'transportation' continues in the daily environments of the participants and becomes a positive example for future cosmopolitan moments. In the example of Antiracist Festival, individuals return annually to the festival in order to re-experience a common space. They continue to engage with festive moments (and protests) long after the festival itself has ended. This means that the cosmopolitan moments are evident in the after-events, through ongoing dialogues, feedback, and community involvement.

In the complex interplay between claiming the third space and engaging in reflexive conversations, the drive for social change leads to the third dimension of resistance. In this light, Antiracist and Street Art festivals played with the notions of appropriate citizenship, pointing directly to the concept of a new civil society. Civil society in this context refers to 'a set of interaction among an

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[4] 'Impact' is often studied in relation to economic returns, which is beyond the scope of this research. However, it would be an interesting future project, concerning audience experiences.

imagined community to shape collective life that are not confined to territorial and institutional spaces of states' (Brown, 2000: 9). Such a form of civil society does not emerge from the *status quo* but rather as a reaction to it, expressed as a network of local, national and transnational NGOs and activists could contribute to the deepening and extension of cosmopolitan values.

In this regard, there has been an increase in socially engaged festivals in Athens over the last years responding to public needs, which generates a sense of a burgeoning civil society. This notion of 'street politics' – or reclaiming the streets – is seen in multiple ways in both Antiracist and Street Art festivals. There is a departure from festivals as moments of cultural meeting to arriving at wider performances of recapturing the Self and the Other in the city; and from the structured encounter in the festive place to various accidental meetings in the urban landscape. This echoes Lefebvre's claim that

> transforming the everyday requires certain conditions. A break with the everyday by means of a festival – violent or peaceful - cannot endure. In order to change life, society, space, architecture, even the city must change (1987: 11).

Cosmopolitanism is not simply measurable through a demographic survey (asking, for example how many immigrants are located and how different cultures are performed in the city); it is rather embedded in strategies for change. The implication is that the notion of a cosmopolitan Europe cannot be considered a given legacy but a 'possibility' that might be created through policies and strategies for change (Delanty, 1995; Holton, 2009). So the notion of 'possibility' must translate to implemented policy in order to be more than a utopian cosmopolitanism. Avoiding the charge of transience necessitates a consideration of sustainability. The 'transformative' potential of the festive moment needs to be reinforced with further events, subsidiary activities and staged cultural exchanges in order to drive towards a vision of social change.

Towards a Model of Cosmopolitanism in Action
It is the assertion of this research that cosmopolitanism is a process and not a final outcome of a cosmopolitan nirvana state. Conceiving cosmopolitanism as 'a contested concept' (Beck, 2010; Roudometof 2005; Vertovec & Cohen 2002)

locates disagreement and tension as generative points of departure and coalition for its multiple meanings and affiliations. Any attempt to positively define cosmopolitanism would be bound with different layers of disagreement. Indeed this tension is part of its meaning as it is inevitable and healthy. This thesis is not an attempt to silence opposing positions, but rather through continuing discussion to attain a sharper understanding of a critical cosmopolitanism.

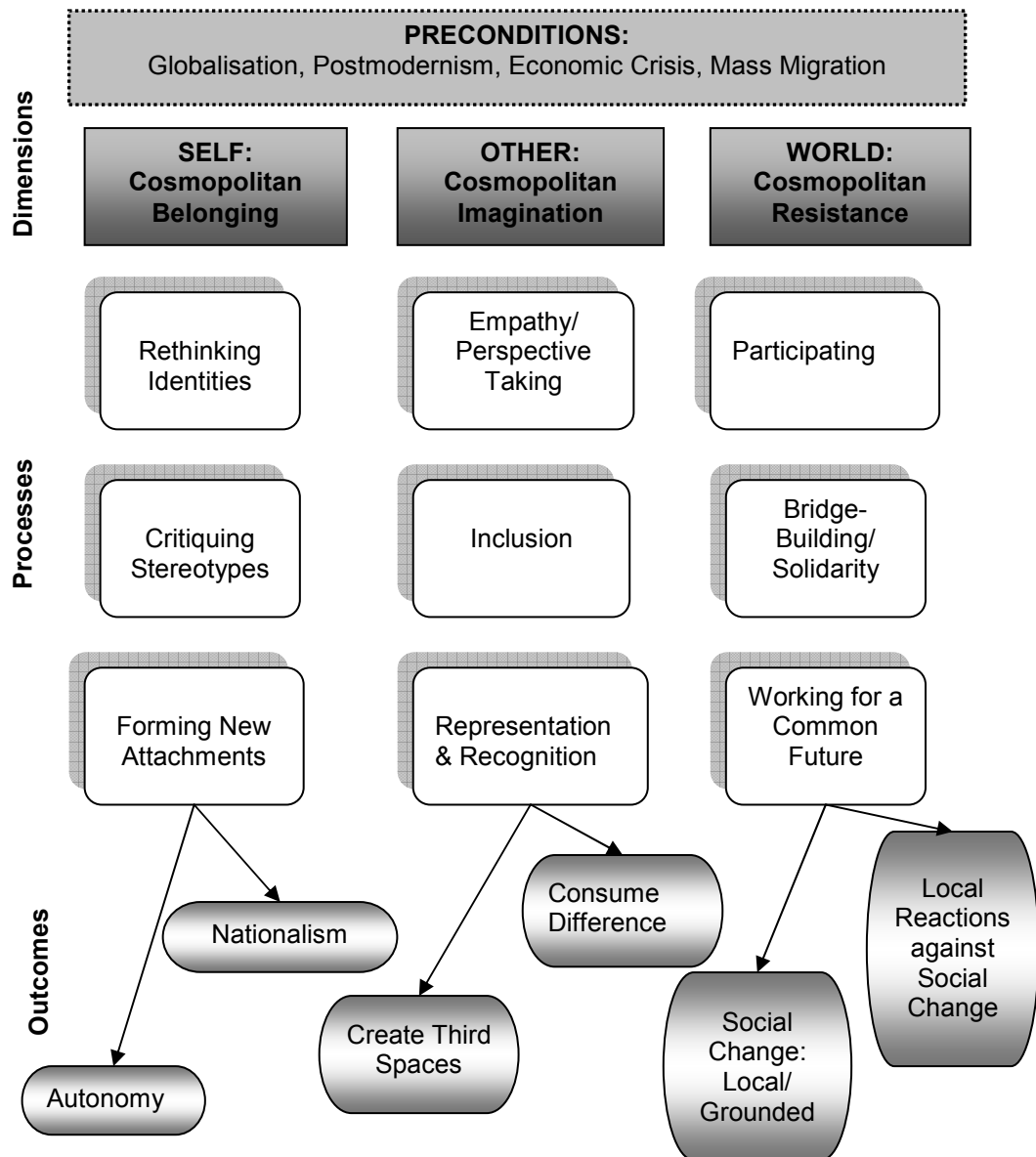|	**PRECONDITIONS:** Globalisation, Postmodernism, Economic Crisis, Mass Migration		
Dimensions	**SELF: Cosmopolitan Belonging**	**OTHER: Cosmopolitan Imagination**	**WORLD: Cosmopolitan Resistance**
	Rethinking Identities	Empathy/ Perspective Taking	Participating
Processes	Critiquing Stereotypes	Inclusion	Bridge-Building/ Solidarity
	Forming New Attachments	Representation & Recognition	Working for a Common Future
Outcomes	Nationalism / Autonomy	Consume Difference / Create Third Spaces	Local Reactions against Social Change / Social Change: Local/ Grounded

Table 6: Cosmopolitanism in Action

Above, the final model ('Cosmopolitanism in Action', Table 6) is presented through an analysis of the different layers of the study's stages. The preconditions form the foundations of the dimensions (which explore the different concentric circles of Self, Other and the world); the processes (tacit beliefs, attitudes and performances) lead to outcomes (more tangible behaviours). This model is the researcher's attempt to place the insights and ideas springing from data collection and case study analysis in a way that they would create a multiplicity of stories. Thus, the model is a subjective construction, and this limitation is explored in more detail later. The intention of this model is to characterise the active participation necessary for shaping, defining, and proposing cosmopolitanism as a lived experience, and not a theoretical abstraction.

Belonging is not a static phenomenon but rather a set of procedures and dispositions that are central to the ways in which human relationships are conducted. The exploration and experience of various modes of belonging often translates to a journey into the semiotics of images, symbols, gestures and behavioural practices. This first step in this transformative journey, whereby ones' identity is questioned, refers to the self-reflexive drive to reframe hegemonic norms and structures. It occurs when the Self is exposed to different narratives and as such it is accelerated by the model's preconditions. Beck's conception of a variety of modes of belonging supports this initial conception (2006). This stage in the model represents a local, individual process which we may align to the notion of rooted cosmopolitanism.[5]

The second step in the journey – the personal and collective ability to critique stereotypes – marks the realisation of the relativisation of our positions. Our identities need to be refined because they have been constructed on the basis of misleading polarisations. Stereotypical understandings of home, nation, and Other inform the way we conceive ourselves in relation to the world and, therefore, the way in which we form our attachments to the Other. Redefining our vocabularies means critically rejecting the ritualisation of differences; in

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[5]See Ackerman, 1994, 2009; Appiah, 2005; Cohen, 1992. Bhabha's term is 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' (2001).

which we enter the space of cosmopolitan translation, where the interpretation of the voice and the stories of the Other is a self-transforming exercise. At the same time, entering the space of cosmopolitan translation creates room for the opportunity to form new attachments.[6] As seen in the case studies the questioning of stereotypes translates into a strong statement of not-belonging. The anti-hegemonic belonging can be positively revisited through the formation of new ties and communities of meaningful reattachments, as depicted by Nava (2002: 94). In this model, it is the important third step in the journey of cosmopolitan belonging, since these attachments provide the 'rootedness' of the model.

The result of undergoing the processes in the first dimension of belonging can be a sense of autonomy, which I assert is the capacity and will of individuals to have control of their own lives. Castoriadis calls for a 'society to come by', in which 'autonomous, liberated and equal beings live in terms of mutual recognition' (2007: 182). However, such an ideal is difficult to support if attachments are not durable. Thus, if the processes break off before the attachments are formed the likelihood is that redefining the Self can result in the use of the secure terminologies and symbols of nationalist identifications. This is heightened in moments of crisis (economic crisis, war, etc), where attachments of like to like are more valued as the security of belonging becomes a vulnerable target.

Moving to the second dimension, the imaginary becomes the means by which the world is perceived. Since one's position is rooted within specificities, it is necessary, and inevitable, that boundary-transcending imagination advances our potential connectedness to wider communities and societies. It is through the imaginative realm that generates cosmopolitan feelings that one is able to engage meaningfully with the Other.[7]

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[6] This process is echoed in the work of Appadurai (2001), Calhoun (2003a) and Hannerz (1990).
[7] This dialogic imagination anchored in everyday actions is upheld by Beck (2006:89), Rorty (1989), and Skrbis et al (2004: 122).

In the model, entering the space of dialogical imagination demands the ability to see from the perspective of the Other. What is more, who is included or targeted as the Other is important. Inclusion is central to this study, since the claim here is for how ordinary people experience 'everyday, practical cosmopolitanism' (Lamont and Aksartova, 2002: 13). The remit of this research is to explore the ways in which marginalised groups in Athens experience the city, and the extent to which centre and periphery interact. This constant interplay between margin and centre links directly to the need for recognition which, as Vertovec and Cohen (2002: 13) assert, is not a simple cognitive mechanism, but also and mainly experienced through feelings. Representation, resulting through such recognition is inevitably founded on mutual respect, and a desire to imagine common futures.[8] We might see this process as resulting inevitably in the creation of third spaces necessary for the actualisation of cosmopolitan practices. However, if the three processes are disrupted, the potential outcome could be further marginalisation, or what has been termed 'consuming difference'. This insidious attitude can be dressed up as cosmopolitanism, connoting superiority, elitism and exclusion, as noted by Appiah (2006).[9]

Cosmopolitan belonging and cosmopolitan imagination are inextricably linked, and re-united through cosmopolitan resistance. The term resistance is used with reference to actions which seek to challenge or change the particular circumstances of the current order. These circumstances may involve domination, exploitation, exclusion at the material, symbolic or psychological levels. Resistances are assembled out of the materials and practices of everyday life and imply some form of social emancipation (Routledge, 2006). In the model, active participation steps beyond the imagined and felt realms, to make change possible through personal agency. The practice of bridge-building and solidarity further develops civic bonds which are the mainstay of active

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[8] Held (2002:43) correlates cosmopolitanism with the ability to empathise through an understanding of overlapping common fortunes.

[9] 'Cosmopolitan many times depends on privilege… celebrations of the 'cosmopolitan' can suggest an unpleasant posture of superiority towards the putative provincial' (Appiah, 2006: xiii).

citizenship. The need to embrace and move towards a common future moves closer to a sense of a global civil society.[10]

These resistant set of actions are underscored by the need for social change. A resistance grounded in local space where issues and ideas take shape in action. By local I do not point towards small bounded communities, but rather acts of positioning within particular contexts. By contrast, we must make allowance for the tensions and frustrations often evident within shifting social terrains. If cosmopolitanism was a one way process to a utopian ideal it would fail to grasp the complexities and differences of multitudes. Thus, the model includes a second potential outcome, that of local reaction *against* social change. In this view of critical cosmopolitanism, resistance and social transformation are not easy paths leading to a final destination called emancipation. Nothing exists in an absolute state: there are multiple forms of attachment, different levels of dependency and varied degrees of autonomy. Cosmopolitanism is an ongoing procedure of navigation through miscellaneous moments and places. It is a continuous study of self-determination leading to actions which enable heterogeneous voices to be heard, marginalised Others to be represented and alternative cultural practices to be visible. It is the space for further critique and reflexivity which makes this model vigorous.

The cosmopolitan is therefore someone who can cope with unpredictability on a first level, positioning themselves on global/ national debates and learning to navigate and reposition in the contingent narratives of postmodernism. Cosmopolitanism comes with a set of dispositions and practices that can be applied in the contemporary moments, such that cosmopolitan virtues are the compass with which to navigate in a new terrain. Saying that does not imply that it is the *only* compass or that the compass is navigating the cosmopolitan to a lost treasure island. Since cosmopolitanism is a continuous series of actions and navigations, there can be no cosmopolitan promised land, yet I argue people in daily encounters create doors and passages to cosmopolitan bridges and third spaces.

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[10] Models of cosmopolitanism and active citizenship can be found in Bauman (2002: 50), Delanty (2001, 2006), and Mignolo (2000b).

Critical Evaluation of the Research

This empirical study draws on critical cosmopolitanism to create a rich description of the ways in which everyday cultural practices can be seen as cosmopolitan. The timeliness of this study is key as it engages with a moment of rapid cultural change in Greece (and in Europe). It sits alongside other scholarly examinations of international festivals, though in this work, Athens is explored as a particular locale within a current milieu. The contemporary city, its current shifts and changing landscape due to the economic crisis and mass migration, is the platform for these festivals. Indeed, the chosen case studies exemplify three distinct modes of cultural reactions to and with issues of social struggle and immigration; grappling directly with discourses of race, subcultures, and citizenship. There have been few examples of empirical social science studies of contemporary festivals. The most recent is a collected volume on festivals and the cultural public sphere by Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty (2011). Such studies offer overviews of festival models, funding structures and festivals as spaces for cultural exchange. In addition, this work generates an overview of the social conditions and responses through public platforms and cultural products.

This study explores the multiple roles of interdisciplinary arts festivals as both cultural celebrations and instances of socio-political performances, in which these three festivals engage in further community-building activist events outside the remit of time-bound arts festivals. The study thus generates a wider political context for the arts as discourses of belonging, imagination and resistance. Interpreting the arts festivals through a model of critical cosmopolitanism allows a map to emerge of the ways in which cultural moments can be seen as more widespread phenomena. The research has generated a model of cosmopolitanism in action that can be applied to a wider range of contexts, situations and events. This contribution thus opens up the possibilities for further empirical work in alternate urban contexts.

However, despite its complex and wide ranging effects, empirical research is necessarily focused and must acknowledge its limitations. Evidently, since the research occurred at a particular political turning point for Greece, the study

reflects context-specific results. Whilst the results may not be directly replicable, the value of a detailed map of the socio-cultural performances of civic belonging is clear. Referring to the notion that maps are assumed to be accurate representations of reality, Smart says that 'a cartographer at any point in history can only include the information that is available, which may be inaccurate or incomplete' (2004: 13).

At this point of critical evaluation I turn to assessing my research odyssey. Critics might recall the need for researcher objectivity, though I would counter that groundedness in the cultural specificities of Athens, and my background in active antiracist performance was of paramount importance in accessing research participants. Furthermore, the fact that I had generated strong networks with cultural organisations and local artists in Athens over preceding years made my inclusion as a researcher in meetings, events, and on the Puzzle Festival team possible. It would undoubtedly be a near impossible task for another researcher with few links to the artists' networks, and without the additional research tool of photography to document the festivals in such depth. Further, the level of trust I could engender because I could speak both Greek and English, was valuable during interviews with both immigrant and Greek artists. This was an advantage, too, when transcribing and translating the interviews.

Unintended outcomes in research occur as a useful means of reminding us that research expeditions are active and dialogic, and do not always follow a fixed or predetermined path. Some of these outcomes could be positive: such as the decision to launch the street art focus group and the renewed sense of 'community' that street artists attested to. The steps leading up to the formation of the focus group were the result of accessing the artists for personal interviews. I feel this can be attributed to the illegal nature of street art, and the resultant lack of confidence the artists have in any sanctioned activities, including research. The case study details the time intensity of engaging artists, and the formation of the focus group thus served two purposes: firstly, to gather a wider group of artists, and secondly, for their own sense of community. It is valuable too, to note that fieldwork was much more time consuming than I had

anticipated, so the fact that I was Athenian, and not under stressful time and logistical constraints (as a visiting researcher would be) was to my advantage.

Other unintended outcomes may be perceived as more negative: such as the Puzzle festival participants' lack of faith in the festival after it was cancelled in 2010, and the subsequent blurred responsibilities I felt, having been a point of contact the previous year. However, in all cases, consequences are worthy of examination as they may demand further inquiry. I should mention that I elected to return to a solitary researcher role for 2010; in other words, I had found negotiating boundaries between researcher and associate curator somewhat complex. Whilst I was undoubtedly privileged in that position in gaining trust and access to participants for interviews, the opportunity to remain critically distant from the politics and structures of the production company were rather more multi-layered. This threw up interesting questions for me in terms of the researcher's position, but was a valuable opportunity to reflect on the intricacies and delicacy of multiple layers of involvement, and the resultant power structures that can affect access to data. I count it as a poor decision on behalf of the organisers to have deleted records of the first festival, and to have shut down communication channels with all participants, thereby erasing access to data by other researchers.

The examples above attest to the complexity of conducting research, and the need for realistic goals, boundaries, and timeframes in fieldwork. I found flexibility to be a great asset. If I had the benefit of hindsight, I would not necessarily have chosen to focus on an event that was in a pilot phase. The lack of follow-up data in the second year of Puzzle Festival could have been a big disappointment for me, though I was able to work directly with participants, which helped to alleviate the gap cancellation could have meant. Another critical reflection I could ask of myself comes from the difficulty in gaining trust from the street artists. I wonder whether it may not have been an alternative approach to have used covert research techniques instead of openly identifying my research interests? However, for ethical and safety reasons, my choice was to err on the side of caution, and be up front about my position.

A key consideration when conducting research interviews was maintaining a cosmopolitan ethos through the interviewing strategies. This led to me questioning my use of language in the interviews, especially when working with immigrant artists. When immigrants are reflecting on belonging in the language of not-belonging, then I needed to reflect my awareness of, and complicity with, narratives of inclusion and exclusion. My interviews were thus longer, and interviewees tended to include images, metaphors and other languages to express their feelings. My desire in future would be to have resources to work with a translator, should that be possible. The main lesson to be learned is that social phenomena change so rapidly, and that even established festivals change focus, so that it becomes necessary to limit one's project to a researchable frame.

The model of cosmopolitanism in action is translated for distinct audiences, outlining the deductions from the research, and what broader perspectives can be understood from the generation of the model. The discussion in the previous sections is located within the discipline of applied sociology, whereby the research shows that theory is embodied and most rigorously tested when it meets its practical ground. Moreover, cosmopolitanism can be deepened and challenged in meaningful ways by engaging with everyday life.

For practitioners and festival organisers, the model outlines the backbone of good practice. Furthermore, there is the need for a consistent ethos, a festival structure that is inclusive, avoiding managerial top-down models of communication. Funding sources should be diversified in order to avoid being the central sponsor's marketing mouthpiece. Accordingly, since funding agendas and fashions change, festivals could be on safer ground with a portfolio of funders. Marketing is a key consideration here, with the example of Antiracist and Street Art festivals launching street level marketing and forms of guerrilla self-marketing.[11] By contrast, Puzzle Festival's highly sophisticated council funded marketing plan revealed fixed agendas, target audiences, and demands for efficacy.

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[11] In addition to posters, audiences were engaged with widespread use of stencils, and drumming, see Appendix B, Image B2.

The value of the three case studies featured here is that practitioners can encounter differing strategies of communication and community consultation. The most important lesson from the case studies for other festivals is how the structures build legacy through sustainable thinking; sustainability is not only a funding issue, but refers to the generation of 'a public' (in this frame, considered communities). Should festivals intend to platform relevant, socially engaged art as part of urban community building, it is necessary to work with local communities at all stages of planning, maintain good communication throughout, ensure that programming reflects the needs and tastes of those represented, and that engagement with communities does not end with the capital exchange of money for tickets.

Finally, the link with communities provides a key opportunity to engage with policy makers. That is to say, the festivals as celebratory moments are a part of the responsibilities of organisers. Since they are embedded within communities in the development of large scale events, they also have a place for representing their constituents to policy makers on a formal level. This dual role proves to be highly efficacious in the case of Athens, and would be a valuable model for other contexts.

The last audience for whom the value of this research can be translated is the layperson. At the risk of being reductive, individuals could reflect on the extent to which they encounter and undergo the processes evident in the model. This happens in different contexts, at different times; but a critical awareness of the model's outcomes can help drive the processes towards active citizenship. Thus, how we begin to question the Self and what we imagine as community need to be actively pursued. This is possible through the dissemination of findings of the research to a range of audiences, which has already happened through paper presentations, publications, photographic exhibitions and a performance. The photographs from the visual diaries have been exhibited in Athens (Minim's Multi-space, 2009), and at Edinburgh North Arts Centre (September 2011), as part of the *Knowing Ways* Conference in collaboration with Amnesty International. In addition, Wild Sheep Chase performance (June

2010), explored the processes in the model through a performative dialogue with the audience.[12]

Revisiting the Research Questions

'Cosmopolitanism in action' has been argued as a means of a new sociological tool for understanding cultural performances in Athens. In order to conclude the analysis, the initial research questions will be revisited through the lens of the model. The subsidiary questions regarding the dimensions of cosmopolitanism have been mapped through the model. In addition, questions relating to participation, representation and performativity were posed in order to mark the terrain of responsibility and the ethics of cultural meaning making in relation to festivals.

These festivals allowed for participation on a micro-level of cultural production; the local, grounded and rooted nature of collective actions has been shown to be important. Secondly, the manner and means of communicating meaning of and by the marginal groups was under consideration. The research demonstrates that marginal groups feel empowered when they have access to platforms, and the control over the way needs and issues are expressed to a wider public, especially through relevant art forms. In some of the cases, it was necessary to demonstrate how meanings and multiple subjectivities were made evident through art and public events. On a more profound level, it is clear that participation of diverse groups in such fora can increase a sense of empowered belonging. As argued before, these festivals, each with a different impact, remapped the socio-political terrain of the city. By mobilising a large network of locally engaged citizens (Antiracist Festival); making visible marginalised pieces of a changing Athenian culture (Puzzle Festival); and creating visual forums on the walls (Street Art Festival), these events laid a claim to the right to Athens.

Since the consideration of representation is a fraught and complex one, it was important to consider how the Other was portrayed in artworks as well as at all levels of festival organisations and in the festive moments themselves. The

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[12] See Appendix E for the flyer of the *Visual Dialogues in Urban Landscapes: Athens*, and Appendix F for visual documentation of 'Wild Sheep Chase'.

hybrid, syncretic art forms evident in the visual diaries are testament to the multiple voices and approaches used in the festivals. However, the overriding theme emerging from these case studies was that collaboration was important, and that art forms and practices were seen as constructive. The Other is more likely to be sympathetically and creatively explored when artists feel they are speaking from similar positions, avoiding the charge of ventriloquism and mimesis often levelled at neoliberal festivals.

The final paradigm that was questioned was performativity, concerning to what extent festivals can be seen as having a legacy after the festive moment. To justify this notion, Schechner's spectrum from 'transportation' to 'transformation' was evoked. On an initial analysis, the case studies could be positioned on such a spectrum: from established to the one-day festival. However, the analysis has shown that more nuanced and complex manifestations of change emerged in relation to the street art scene, for example. What is argued is that successful community-building surrounding the festive moments generates a more lasting legacy, such as the community of the Antiracist Festival.

In the beginning of this study the aim was to explore the extent to which Athens can be seen as a cosmopolitan city. Yet, a city is a living organism consisting of the 'hard city' one can map through roads, buildings, public spaces and the 'soft city' of inhabitants, multiple belongings, and imagining desires.[13] The capacity of a city to be cosmopolitan is the extent to which the 'soft city' informs interplays and eventually remaps the 'hard city'. In this regard the research question is reposed: to what extent can the fabric of the city change through cosmopolitanism in action? In this sense the festivals enable us to rethink ways to read the Athenian script.

Such a question gains prominence at this juncture of 'crisis' in Greece, in which an active civil society engages in debate and protest in order to pursue change, which can be seen in the recent examples of active citizenship in Athens' public

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[13] The terms 'soft' and 'hard city' were made popular by Raban, J. 'The city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, night- mare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate on maps in statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture' (1974:2).

squares, most notably, in Syntagma Square, since April 2011. Whilst parliamentarians were deliberating over the austerity measures imposed by the IMF and the EU, Athenians were debating the same matters in the lower parliament square; they had turned the public square into an *agora*, as Douzinas has argued, saying 'this is the closest we have come to democratic practice in recent European history' (2011).[14] The practice of active citizenship did not emerge in a social and political vacuum, rather it was grounded in the smaller acts outlined in this study, amongst others. This, I would argue is evidence of transformation of the *demos*' engagement in civil society; analysed by Douzinas and Papaconstantinou:

> Standing below parliament, the Syntagma multitude has become the lower house or the parliament of the common people, confronting the paralysed upper house and adding popular participation to the failing principle of representation (2011).[15]

Cosmopolitanism in action translates to a new era of street politics, with citizens asserting their right to the city through demonstrations, claiming their autonomous positions as agents for change. Syntagma Square has been remapped as a site for dialogue between multiple strands of society; with no-one excluded from expressing their views. Such inclusive street politics may be seen as a way out of crisis, an emancipatory alternative. On a wider scale, especially at this juncture of crisis in Greece with a certain EU and global impact, there is an urgent need for cosmopolitan identifications which would forge a terrain of new civil society.

> Events do not all fall back into the morass. Some set up new refrains – and new challenges, challenges which can be named and built upon (Amin & Thrift, 2002: 159).

Taking the challenge from Amin and Thrift a step further, I would posit that this milieu is a turning point of emergent nationalist tensions, divisions; and, at the same time cosmopolitan formations and emancipatory possibilities. Whilst events are unfolding it is difficult to predict how such tensions and mistrusts will

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[14] See Douzinas, C. 'In Greece, we see Democracy in Action' *The Guardian* 15 June 2011. Douzinas raised these points in a paper presented at the *Cities in Conflict* conference hosted by Goldsmiths College, the Centre for Urban and Community Research.

[15] See Douzinas, C. and Papaconstantinou, P. 'Greece is standing up to EU neocolonialism' *The Guardian.* 27 June 2011.

be resolved. However, the primary argument in this research is not a call for neat, cosy, utopian resolutions, but rather cosmopolitanism in action. I do not intend to provide a universal cosmopolitan map nor to plot the contours of a cosmopolitan city; rather I present cosmopolitanism as a terrain with porous boundaries and hybrid exchanges. In the following, and final chapter, the Athenian topography is analysed in relation to wider landscapes unfolding the far-reaching possibilities of cosmopolitanism in action.

CONCLUSION

> If there is a place in the city where we can see the sublime, it is not before the great monuments, but in the flowing moments of exchange and the small gestures of conviviality (Papastergiadis, 2006: 469).

The research has provided an overview of three festivals and how their staging upon the social fabric of Athens can be seen as cosmopolitan. They are analysed according to how practices occurring in the festivals are seen through a model of 'cosmopolitanism in action'. The objective of the research was to construct, through a hybrid grounded- and middle-range approach to theory generation, the means of analysing festive moments in the urban environment and how such moments in turn change the city. Whilst some of the limitations and challenges that emerged through the research have been discussed in the previous chapter, it is important to see these challenges as motivations and openings for further research. Indeed, the simultaneous limitation and richness of a study located in one urban environment lies in its specificity.

The idiosyncracies and obfuscations of Athenian daily life were ever-present in fieldwork, and undoubtedly linger in the analysis of everyday performances; not least because Athens (if personifications are excusable), like a mythic heroine blinded by hubris, has yet to wake up to the realities of her present situation. Since current events mean that material conditions are changing as rapidly as social policy, and where public sentiment seems to mark the streets like clouds of teargas, it is perhaps fitting that an analysis of cosmopolitanism engages with such examples of socially engaged arts festivals. To attempt to crystallise cosmopolitan moments on a fixed stage in one site would be the author's hubris. Rather, I turn to exploring how the research offers further questions for future investigation.

Future research projects should engage in grounded research of the everyday performances of cosmopolitanism in order to link theory with real life encounters. Therefore, further research could seek to demonstrate the place of a critical cosmopolitan agenda. In particular, potential research projects might be a critical comparison of empirical research in two or more contexts, resulting

in intercultural comparisons. The experience of this research has encouraged me to pursue interdisciplinary research methods, and in future projects I will follow alternative means of engaging with contemporary social situations through visual documentation and participatory research methods, for example. In relation to festivals specifically, more empirical validation of individual festivals and intercultural comparisons, as well as collaborative research with policy makers and festival organisers would be valuable. Finally (and perhaps most marketably), detailed and longitudinal research on impact, sustainability and future growth of festivals could be pursued.

Cosmopolitanism as an approach to social issues is often accused of being too vague and empirically intangible in the light of human history and current socio-political events. As an answer and reaction to such criticism this study offers a glimpse of cosmopolitanism through everyday behavioural performances and cultural encounters in the current milieu. As such, it does not celebrate utopian modes of global civil society and cosmopolitan democracy, but points towards the urban structural shifts that open up cosmopolitan possibilities. Cosmopolitanism is not taken as given, as the existing order or the state of things to come, but rather as a process leading to new territories and maps of civil society. In that sense, cosmopolitanism is not merely *about* change, but is *reactive to* change.

A critical commentator might wonder why festivals were seen to be valuable sites for conducting research on what is, after all, a city-wide phenomenon. The temptation to engage empirically with the city is compelling, yet in this research project it was important to locate the study of change and flux by rooting the analysis in fixed moments, or frames. Even so, the ephemerality of once-certain social markers in Athens pervades the research. At times, it has felt that Athens was disappearing, only for it to be discovered in a new way through the eyes of cultural actors dedicated to engaging with new layers of the city. Over the two years of fieldwork, blustering bureaucracy and spiralling economic crisis had an impact on every aspect of daily life in Athens, undoubtedly adding intensity to the well established Antiracist Festival, contributing to the cancellation of Puzzle Festival, and deepening the artistic legacy of the Street Art Festival. The

delicate balance between certainty and chaos is paramount in cultural performances in the city; and when such performances are not merely individual expressions of belonging, but are fed by growing sentiments of xenophobia and racism, the value of critical analysis on such cultural performances is evident.

The importance of observing annual events is in the opportunity to develop long-term relationships to aid empirical research. Yet, the festivals chosen were not monolithic structures, impervious to the winds of social change, but shifted focus according to the zeitgeist, staging responsive ad hoc events. Through their programmes, everyday life events were staged as noteworthy cultural moments, using arts to share experiences and expose often hidden stories. In such a way, festivals can become a means of marking cultural memory. If, too, the cultural memories being marked are characterised by inclusivity, participation, and dialogue, then festivals provide the empirical site for researching cosmopolitanism.

At this juncture it is necessary to address concerns which move beyond the single city, becoming key features of current urbanism in an attempt to place the Athenian script in a global montage of overlapping maps in motion. As Keith has insisted, 'if the cosmopolitan is to represent a normative model of the future, the city is to be its empirical realisation' (2005: 22). According to scholars the city constitutes the ultimate site for the development of cosmopolitan sensibilities. This is due to the way urban environments collect people, stories, cultural practices and products, so that locations are both local and globalised (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Appadurai, 2000; Bauböck, 2003; Bhabha, 1994; Caglar, 1997; Calhoun, 2003; Clifford, 1992; Hall, 2002; Müller, 2011; Patton, 1995). Thus, if cities are to be seen as 'globalised localities' (Albrow, 1997: 51), these local case studies can be seen as pointing towards wider phenomena, and whilst I reflect cultural specificities, they add richness to the data without collapsing the more general arguments into parochial behaviours.

So, in assessing the study as a contribution to the wider field, there are two main points I wish to stress. Firstly, the case has been made for why cosmopolitan alternatives are needed; especially in view of the fact that

multicultural approaches have lost their appeal in Europe. This has been largely due to the notion that 'multiculturalism becomes a defence of the 'national' culture and 'tolerance' and thus becomes an argument to keep communities separate' (Delanty et al, 2008: 2). Such separation and containment is no longer imaginable, and there is the danger of Europe becoming trapped in old rhetoric which has germinated a growing right-wing sentiment, intent on terminating change. Especially at this juncture, cosmopolitanism is an alternative that is

> aware of its dilemmas and paradoxes, can avoid or overcome both the combination of arrogance and ignorance towards cultural others and the counter-romanticism that consists in idealising the alien and in demonising itself (Beck & Grande, 2007: 263).

Secondly, cosmopolitanism in action is both necessary and relevant in the contemporary milieu, at the turning point of 'crisis'. However, the narratives of 'crisis' seem to support the sense that a schism in normality can be bridged, and that 'normality' can return. Yet, when it is clear that the crisis being faced by Greece and Europe is not merely economic, nor with a simple economic solution, then the idea that a society can return to normal is empirically intangible. The intersubjective relationships between migration, economics, shifting societies and everyday cultural practices provide challenging but interesting terrains for applied social research. The urgent political and theoretical project now is how to engage with opening spaces for critical reflection in order to advance views of how civil society changes, and make claims for new mechanisms and processes towards such change.

At the conclusion of this study, it seems the critical tools and concepts emerging through the research are appropriate for beginnings rather than a predetermined end point. The model 'cosmopolitanism in action' gathers some conceptual tools for thinking about how the world works and can change, and considers the role people in cities have in contributing to such change, through local, everyday actions and cultural performances such as festivals. In a contemporary milieu of 'crisis', remapping allows the potential for charting pathways out of fixed, fatalistic territories. It points towards a vision of a future grounded in shared imaginaries and dialogues, played out on urban streets and

public squares. The images, voices and texts shared in this research provide glimpses into how urban spaces can be appropriated as third spaces.

In this regard, individual needs and struggles are made collective through using arts and activism as a means of rupturing the everyday and providing the space in which the new can flourish. Through repeated creative revisions of belonging, a progressive project of imagination, and the multiple ways marginal voices in society take central focus in a performance of solidarity, the potential for cosmopolitanism in action is crafted. The existing order is

> not something which can be destroyed by a revolution, it is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently (Landauer, 2005: 165).

I have argued that cosmopolitanism in action is a means of forging the networks that make alternative behaviours and relationships possible. It is through constructing a multilayered vision of urban contradictions and flows that the model edges towards providing opportunities of negotiating what we once thought of as fixed and immutable: the city, the frames governing our behaviours, and the daily encounters of Self and Other. Cosmopolitanism in action insists on a dynamic, reflexive approach to such encounters.

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APPENDIX A: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

Antiracist Festival

Interview 1	'Network for the Social Support of Refugees and Immigrants' (NSSRI), Nana. P. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 2	'NSSRI', Nikolaos, T. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 3	'Immigrants' *Steki*, Iro, P. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 4	'Immigrants' *Steki'*, Katerina, V. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 5	'Immigrants' *Steki'*, Antonis, G. Personal Interview. Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 6	'African Women's Union', Niki, T. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 7	'Immigrant Women's Union', Dimitra, M. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 8	'Forum of Albanian Immigrants', Boni, K. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 9	'Lesbian Group of Athens', Maria, B. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 10	'Be Positive', Evi, S. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 11	'Youth Against Racism', Prodromos, P. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 12	'Deport Racism Movement', Tasos, K. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 13	'Sin Remedio Group', Kostantinos, C. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 14	'Citizens for Africa', Fatih, E. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 15	'Active citizens of Exarchia', Christos, K. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.

Interview 16	'18+ programme', Aris, C. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 17	'Hellenic Action for Human Rights', Lida, K. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 18	'Sunday Immigrant School', Evi, M. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 19	'Nosotros', Euripides, X. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 20	'Living Library', Niki, A. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 21	'Lawyers for Refugees and Immigrants' Rights', Sotiris, P. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.
Interview 22	'Euaggelismos Social Centre', Ridvac, C. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Puzzle Festival

Interview 1	Artistic director Martha B. Discussion translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 2	Executive Director Vasilis C. Discussion translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 3	Press Manager Carmen Z. Discussion translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 4	Volunteer Agapi, T. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 5	Volunteer Evi, K. Personal Interview. Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 6	Volunteer Konstantinos, D. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2009.
Interview 7	Fine Artist, Fatih. A. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.

Interview 8	Fine Artist and Musician, Didi D. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 9	Fine Artist, Altunian, G. Discussion translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 10	Fine Artist, Oksana C. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 11	Fine Artist, Eugenia, L. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 12	Fine Artist, Elisabeth, T. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 13	Fine Artist, Nuru M. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 14	Actor/singer, Themistoklis, K. Discussion translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 15	Fine Artist, Anna G. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.

Street Art Festival

Interview 1	'Walls On Fire' Crew. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 2	'Nula' Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 3	'84' Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 4	'Xkon' Personal Interview. 2010.
Interview 5	'Political Zoo' Crew. Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 6	'Mapet' Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2010.
Interview 7	'Bleeps.gr' E-mail Interview. 2010.

Interview 8   'Pi & Fi' Crew. E-mail Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Interview 9   Ally W. Focus Group Facilitator. Personal Interview, 2011.

Interview 10   'Mister K' Personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Interview 11   'Xkon' Follow-up personal Interview by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Interview 12   '84' Follow-up personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Interview 13   'Nula' Follow-up personal Interview by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

Interview 14   'Mapet' Follow-up personal Interview translated by Tsilimpounidi, M. 2011.

APPENDIX B
ANTIRACIST FESTIVAL: A VISUAL DIARY

December 2009: protests commemorating December 2008 riots.

The image depicts parliament in the background, with a banner claiming solidarity with immigrants and the need to oust fascism from the city.

Image B 1: 2009

Engaging Audiences through street music, marches and lead-up events, Image B2 shows some of the 'NSSRI' members playing drums in central streets to publicise the event.

Image B3 shows a banner near the entrance of the 2009 festival venue: this photograph captures a boy easily traversing a dry river-bed, a symbolic bridge above him.

Image B2 : 2009

Image B3: 2009

Image B4: 2010

Organisations' Walk: The participating organisations, unions, NGOs, and communities attracted public attention to stalls displaying their services, products and agendas.

Shadow workshop: using shadows as neutral, race-and ethnicity- free reflections of Self, the facilitators worked with mixed adult participants to outline a partner's shadow and create a banner of shadow people.

Family Friendly Workshops: The devised theatre performance was developed through workshops with young people during the three day festival in 2009.

Image B5 and B6: 2009

Activities for Children: the festival included workshops and activities for young people, such as t-shirt painting, clay modeling and drawing. Image B8 shows a child's clay message 'no to racism'.

Image B7 – B9: 2010

Cartoon Exhibition: In 2009, S. Said mounted an exhibition of his satirical political cartoons, depicting issues of immigration, ID cards, and European Union politics. The exhibition was one of the highlights of 2009's exhibitions.

Image B10 – B11: 2009, **S. Said.**

Debates and discussions: One of the lead-up events, in which 'NSSRI' members discussed issues in a public square before a music event.

Image B12: 2009

Immigrants' Stage: This Georgian folk song group performed traditional music and danced on the immigrants' stage in 2010.

Image B13: 2010

Afghani Women at the World Food Stalls

Image B14: 2010

Afghan Asylum Seekers protesting in front of the old University:

The 'sealed lips' protest was conducted at this site (an asylum space from police brutality) between December 2010 and May 2011. Their demands are publicised by the 'NSSRI', and their agenda has been platformed by some of the participating organisations in the festival.

(The men asked to be photographed to highlight their situation).

Image B15: 2011

Summer 2010 Protests after the annual Antiracist Festival:

'Workers United, Never Defeated'

and a banner protesting against the Bangladeshi Government.

Image B16 – B17: 2010

Summer 2010 protests: In Omonoia Square, the image shows the contrast between the idealised image of Greek islands and a protest.

Image B18: 2010

Image B19: 2010   **Afghani women join the protests**: it is rare to see women from immigrant communities join the marches. This image shows mothers and children engaging in the chants and slogans.

Image C1, 2009
Artist name: Svetoslav Pavlovski.
Title: 'Acropolis'
Technique: Oil on Canvas

Comments: A view of Athens foregrounding natural beauty, where the city is minimised, overlooked by Acropolis. However, unlike most iconic images of Acropolis, the monument is not valorised nor overemphasised.

Image C2
Artist name: Svetoslav Pavlovski.
Title: 'The city I: Athens'
Technique: Oil on Canvas

Comments: Pavlovski's image of Athens reflects a sentimental imagining of a golden city. In the foreground he paints an olive tree as a symbol of freedom and democracy. This view provides the artist's perspective as separated from the idealised city by the sea. However, overwhelmingly the image is both hopeful and elusive.

Image C3
Artist name: Fatih
Title: ' My Kypseli'
Technique: Acrylic on Canvas

Comments: This is a depiction of the artist's neighbourhood 'Kypseli', the first ghettoised area in central Athens. His view of this area reflects the alternative meaning of the name 'Kypseli' as a beehive. Through colourful bold strokes Fatih creates a multicultural honeycomb of diversity.

Image C4
Artist name: Kalinka Georgieva.
Title: 'My Athens'
Technique: Oil on Canvas

Comments: Reflecting the same view of Athens, Georgieva depicts her initial sighting of Athens. Her impressionistic view of the city reflects a distant blurred reality. The artist must transverse a turbulent sea in order to arrive.

Image C5
Artist name: Fatih
Title: 'Athens, the red city'
Technique: Mixed Media, Acrylic on Canvas

Comments: In an expressionistic revisioning of the cityscape, Fatih contrasts the built and natural environments. His characteristic use of lines of colour connects buildings, communities and experiences across neighbourhoods.

Image C6
Artist name: Nutsa
Title: 'Urban Dweller'
Technique: Acrylic on Canvas

Comments: Working on large and small scale works, Nutsa develops characters that are inserted into urban spaces. Her urban landscape is a pastiche of desires, voices, and noises; and the urban dweller is an oddly silent monochrome figure amongst the colourful influences amongst which he exists.

Image C7
Artist name: Anna Golovinskaya
Title: 'The Light'
Technique: Mixed Media

Comments: Golovinskaya's explanation of this multimedia work includes the genesis of the materials she used; citing this as the first work she made in Greece, she refers to how moved she was when she arrived by plane to see the outstanding light. She used her white leather trousers (her only clothes) to create the homage to Greek sunshine, light and ideals. Her conception of Greece confirms the sentimental view of ancient civilisation and endless inspiration.

Images C8 and C9
Artist name: Borislav Naster
Title: 'Urban Punk' and 'Isolation'
Technique: Acrylic on Canvas

Comments: Naster's female figures in the urban landscape contrast two distinct images of difference and exclusion. Alongside his other portraits, these two images are not idealised; rather, express subcultures and isolation.

Image C10
Artist name: Elisabeth Tantesse.
Title: 'Birth of an Idea'
Technique: Acrylic on Canvas

Comments: Tantesse contrasts this image with her other more realistic depictions of rural Ethiopian scenes, reflecting a woman's body as gestating ideas through imagery. She refuses to capitulate to stereotypes of motherhood; instead offering a partial view of the process of developing creativity.

Image C11
Artist name: Altin Patseli.
Title: 'Kouros'
Technique: Clay and Wire, Multimedia

Comments: Patseli developed this work as a response to an art school project requiring him to sculpt the ' Kouros'. Instead of creating a faithful reproduction of an ancient Greek classic statue, Patseli exposes the cracks and contingencies in the over-reliance on ancient Greece as a source of inspiration and as foundational for identity. This sculpture exposes the ruptures in prehistory, so that we glimpse the cages of post-modernity which uphold the structures.
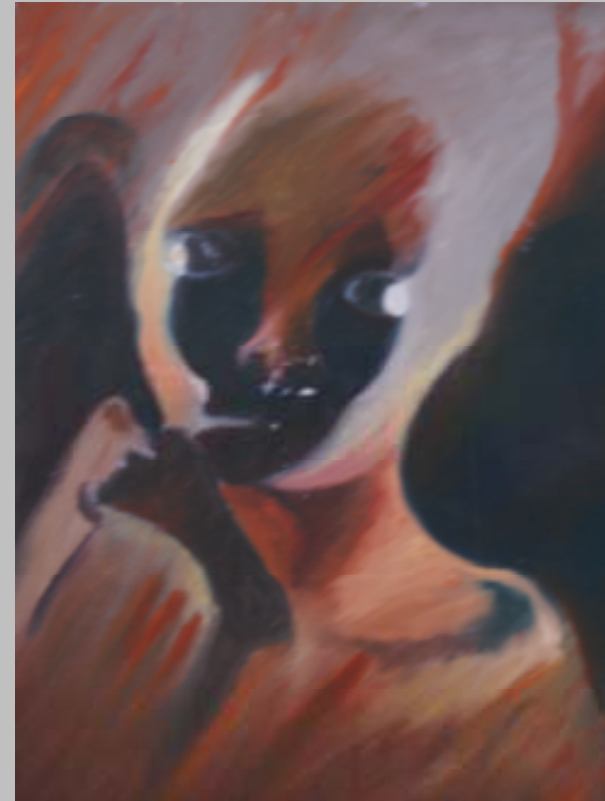
Images C12 and C13
Artist name: Didi
Title: 'Child I' and 'Child II'
Technique: Acrylic on Card

Comments: 'Don't tell me otherwise/ Hear the bells/ hear the shouts./ Laws that do not respect/ human rights/ must be changed./ Don't tell me otherwise' (poem by Didi- interview 13). Didi's reflection on child-like figures exposes the vulnerability of the bodies to wider societal powers.

Image C14
Puzzle Festival's Logo

All artworks were submitted for the Puzzle Festival, 2009; and are reproduced here with the kind permission of the artists.

Artists are accredited with their full names here in order to maintain their artistic copyright over their images. Such accreditation values their creative contribution, while the name and initial accreditation for interviews preserves anonymity where that could be helpful.

Photographs taken by Myrto Tsilimpounidi with SONY A100.

Image D1: 2011

Image D2: 2011

These works created by 'Sidron' represent Athenians as gas-masked figures navigating the dangers of the streets. As violent police protests are fairly commonplace, these images become expressions of solidarity to all those who resist the oppressive police state. Moreover, Athenians should not be infected by the hate speech and propaganda of the mass media; the gas-masked figures and the war over information in the society of the spectacle.

Image D3: 2010

Tagging the National Library, December 2009.

I infer this as a call to resist the one and only absolute truth; resist the apartheid of knowledge; resist following stereotypes and old symbols; resist aesthetic national representations.

Image D5: 2010

Saint-Executive Director, **by Kapone:** sacrificed for a new world order. Artists use sarcasm to criticise existing structures.

The future is unwritten, NDA 381
Artists point towards the possibility of an alternative future that could be written through social struggles.

Image D6: 2011

Translation: 'We are all immigrants', JNor, NDA
'I believe that national communities are one of the best constructed myths of modern history. What really constitutes a national community? I'm not aware of such thing as national blood or national way to feel pain… That's a key element in my pieces: critique on national identities and borders; the use of symbols and words that anyone could understand' (Interview 2-Nula, 2010).

Image D8: 2010

The Starting Point of the 2008 Riots:
Montage by multiple street artists commemorates the site of Alex's murder at the hands of police
with an image of 'V' – from V for Vendetta

'And Justice for all…' by Pete:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Inscription on the Statue of Liberty

Image D9: 2010

Images
D10 - D13:
2010, **Pete.**

A caricatured image of greed and corruption, in which two well known politicians are depicted feeding (off) each other.

Image D14: 2010, anon

Street art holds the hope of an alternative view of politics and society. It's a voice from the margins, a need for expression and reaction, a critique of the existing system, but much more of these, it is all about Hope. Hope that we can achieve what we've imagined, we would be able to change small things and everyday patterns. Making art on the streets is a call for action (Interview 10, 2011)

Image D15 – D16: 2010, **Hope.**

Image D17, 2010, **Political Zoo**.

Political Zoo is a postmodern interpretation of the Aristotelian conception of civil society and individuals as 'zoon politikon' (Interview 5, 2010),
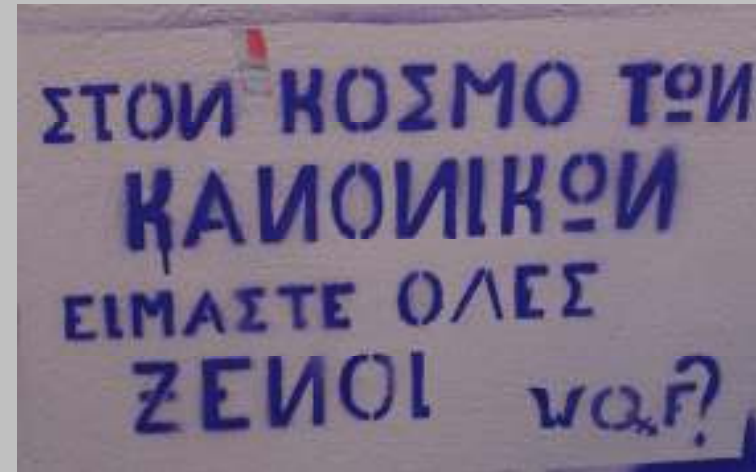
Image D18: 2010,
Political Zoo.

'We play with shapes, we interact with the city. The city is both our muse and our gallery'
(Interview 5-Political Zoo, 2010)

Skeleton brides appeared on Athens' walls in protest against mass trafficking of Muslim brides.

Their appearance ironically highlights their invisibility in society.

Images D19: 2010, **QBricks.**

Translation:

'In a world of normality we are all strangers'.

Street artists are concerned with action, reflection and empowerment in order to challenge oppressive power relations.

Images D20 – D21: 2010

Images D22 – D23: 2010, **Pete.**

Image D24: 2010,
Pete.

It is a voice from the margins, it is more of a scream. Screaming out to everyone who feels marginalised for any kind of reason that 'you are not alone'. That reminds me of my favourite ghost artist: he or she, signs as anonymous. it is all this isolation and anonymity which holds us back (Interview 2-Nula, 2010).

When Blood sees blood it sings to recognise itself

'When blood sees blood…' - when humans encounter human suffering - 'it sings to recognise itself' - there is a deeper need for recognition and empathy; a solidarity song as a call for a more active response to violations of human rights.

This piece marked the site of police brutality, about which I have written in 'Painting Human Rights: Mapping Street Art in Athens', 2011.

Image D25 – D26: 2010, **anon.**

Bleeps.gr aims to dispute the aesthetic standards especially the ones related to consumerism.
The goal overall is to raise issues concerning conventions (e.g. religion, politics, monetary systems, consumerism etc)'
(Interview 7, 2010)

Bleeps.gr: 'Viva la Revolucion'

Image D27: 2011

Bleeps.gr: Translation: 'The era of IMF'

Image D28: 2011

'I have 3 identities. 3 personas need room to be expressed through my work: the serious dentist, Mapet the illegal and provocative street artist and 'cloudicity' the more happy artist who finds the way into the galleries and exhibitions.
For example I joined a project with the doctors without borders. I ended up in Tanzania. I went there as a doctor but I also took some pictures and influences. When I returned, I did an exhibition from those pictures which gave me some money. But I couldn't sit comfortably only with that, so Mapet took control and I created the stencil with the small
child and the hand offering Coke'.

(Interview 6, 2010)

Image D29: 2009

**Mapet in collaboration with Political Zoo**

An iconic work in Exarhia: street art in dialogue with the urban gaps

Image D30: 2010, **ZAP51**.

Spaces can tell stories and unfold histories. Spaces can be interrupted, appropriated, and transformed...

Spaces can open up new real or imagined spaces, for new visions and new communities. (hooks, 1991)

All artworks are reproduced here with the kind permission of the artists. Photographs taken by Myrto Tsilimpounidi with SONY A100.

MINISTRY OF
UNTOLD
STORIES
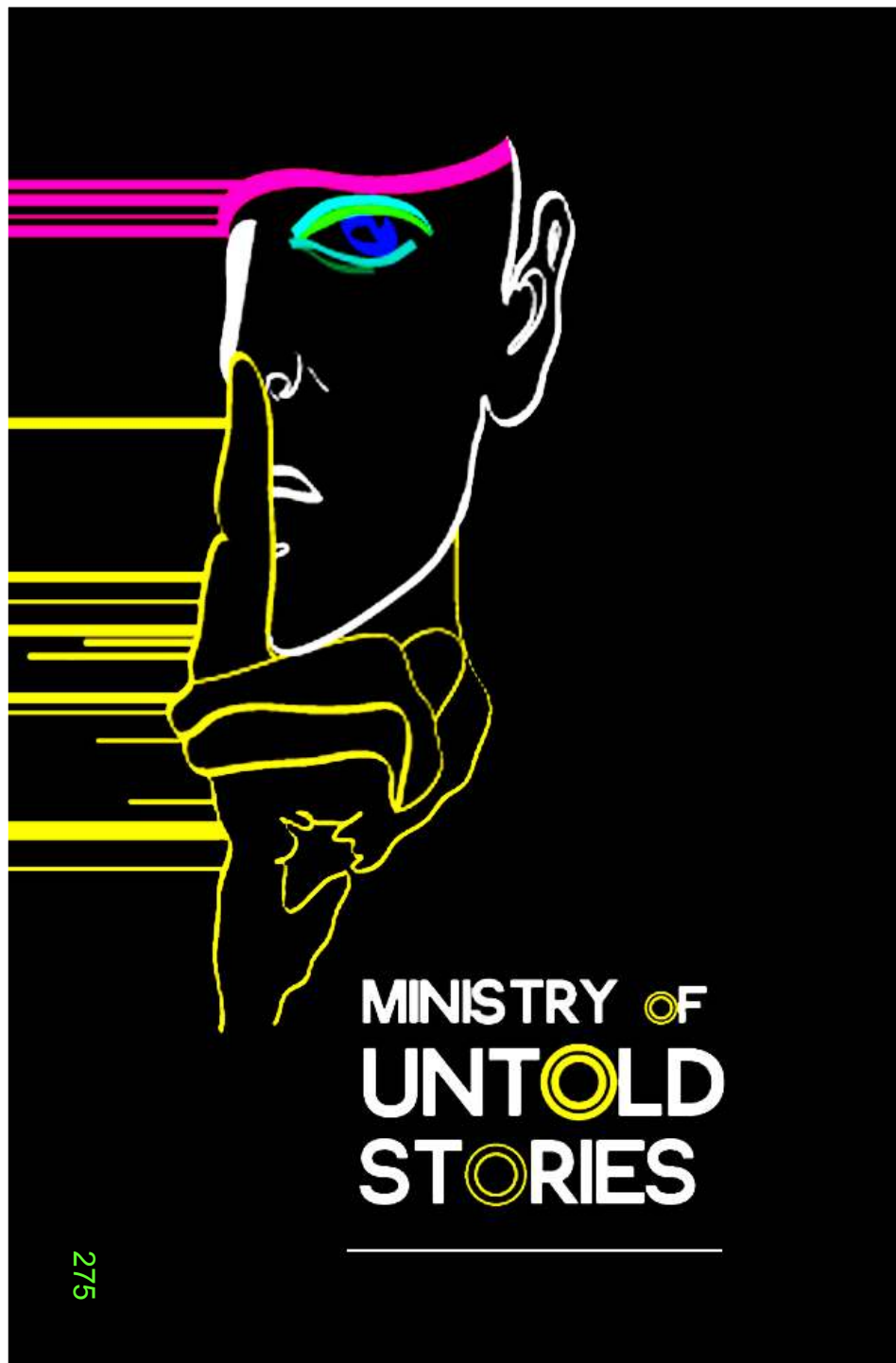
VISUAL DIALOGUES IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE: ATHENS

Street art is largely connected to and inspired by the existing social reality. Athens is the canvas and social conditions the paint in a gallery of untold stories. Redefined symbols, decomposed stereotypes, re-visioned aesthetics and antiauthoritarian slogans are the tools for the transformation of walls into social diaries.
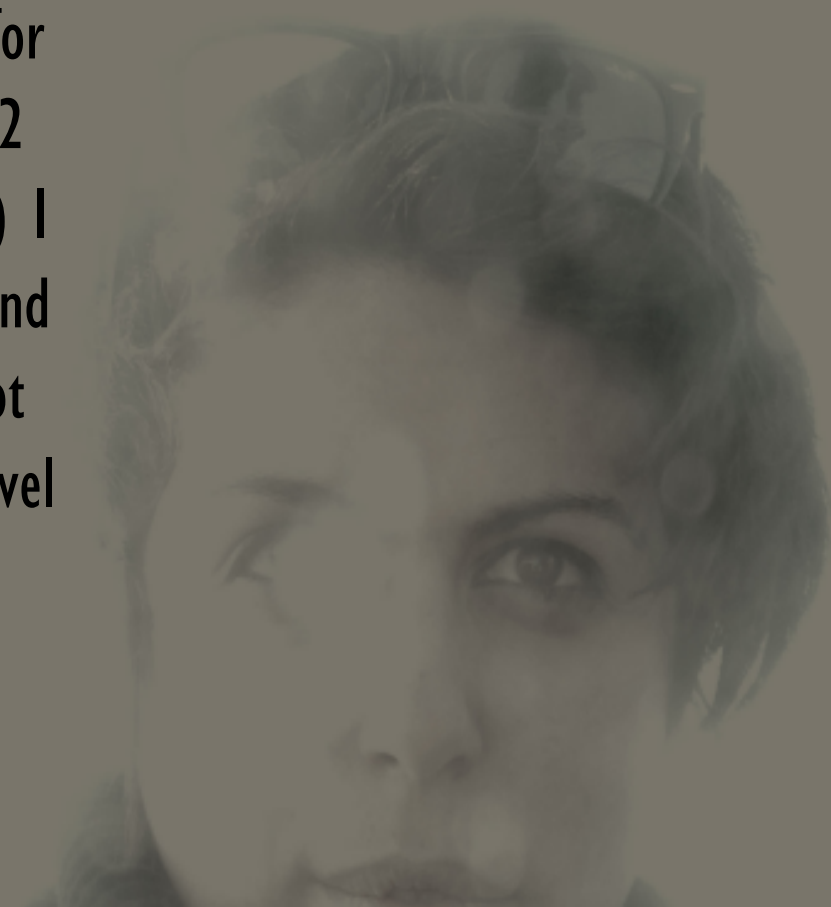Messages differ, yet usually they are expressed against everything that can be seen as a symbol of the dominant culture. In addition to tags and slogans, artists use stickers and create paintings that are against racism, mass consumerism and state oppression.

visual dialogues is an investigation of the potential new imaginations and alternative representations in the city of Athens. Street art is examined as a form of social diary, a visual history of marginalised and minority groups. City walls transform into a reporting forum of social dialogue where voices from the margins can be expressed. Street artists actively participate in the production of culture in the micro-level, in an ongoing regenerating process. Street art captures the new need for self expression in a rapidly changing environment.

MYRTO TSILIMPOUNIDI

Street art in Athens has boomed over the last years, transforming the fixed landscape of the city into a platform for dialogue and negotiation. For almost 2 years (February 2009- December 2010) I followed visual markers on city walls and engaged with the artists in an attempt to grasp and analyse this new street-level language.

RESEARCHER/ PHOTOGRAPHER

ALLY WALSH

The visual dialogues attempt to engage with a wide spectrum of thinking by turning towards social and cultural producers at a street level, where control over messages is not mediated, but emerges, like a scream, from the mouths of urbanites. A barometer, recording the temperature of the city and its dwellers.

artistic director
exhibition project manager

Special thanks to Babis Alexiadis, Stephanie Knight, Intelesi Consulting, North Edinburgh Arts, and the Knowing Ways Conference. Participation was possible thanks to the Glynn Wickham Scholarship, administered by SCUDD.

The visual dialogues form part of Ministry of Untold Stories' artistic programme, which includes participatory workshops, theatre and critical writing. See www.ministryofuntoldstories.gr

APPENDIX F: DOCUMENTING PERFORMATIVE DIALOGUE

A Wild Sheep Chase was a performance resulting from conversations and dialogues that sought to create a shared space, to voice a claim on that space and to demand a platform to express issues of self/ identity and belonging. The show explored the processes of belonging, imagination and resistance through a performative dialogue with the audience.

Some audience comments revealed the isolation and insecurity felt by communities when they encounter scrutiny: people commented on several locations that are well known as ghettos. Weaknesses in the city's fabric were most often associated with overcrowding of 'junkies' and visible drug use; high rates of criminality in Omonoia Square (once the city's central meeting point), while Exarhia, the bohemian neighbourhood was also labelled as 'weak'. And one young woman answered 'a weak spot of the city is my own house, because there I feel most vulnerable'.

Over the course of two performance conversations, it emerged that this community seemed to feel most vulnerable when they encounter difference, because it is in that moment of encounter that self and other must be negotiated, and re-defined. Two examples that arose that demanded much deeper dialogue; the immigrants' ghetto at Euripidou Street, and the parliament square, Syntagma Square. The last example caused a lot of laughter in the audience, as the community engaged in complicit critique of the government.

The exchange between the 6 characters and the audience became the site for negotiations, disagreements and conversations. Many audience members commented on this interaction saying it was a unique opportunity to create meaning, claim space and critically redefine themselves in relation to the city. Further, the contestations of what defines weakness demanded a remapping of the received locus of power and privilege.

This performance is a means of not merely generating stories from communities, but also engaging in creative conversations with those communities in order to open up traditional models of theatre making.

VELAXA Festival at Booze Cooperativa, June 2010. Produced by Ministry of Untold Stories.

Photographs by Efie Tsitsopoulou, reproduced with permission.