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TRACES - Contentious Cultural Heritage as an agonistic approach

Presentation at CCP 5 Conference Transforming MAZE – Long Kesh Prison, 15.03.2017, Belfast

[SLIDE 1 Title]

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KLAUS

Dear colleagues,

Thanks a lot to Aisling and Martin for inviting us to speak about the concept of Agonism as an analytical perspective in the TRACES-Project.

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[SLIDE 2 "focusses on the challenges"]

We are very grateful for the opportunity to present our work-in-progress on an agonistic approach to heritage transmission at this conference. Our reflections are based on case studies in the Alps-Adriatic Region, and especially in Austria. But for us it was very helpful to have the keep the little we know about long Kesh / Maze in mind during the analysis. We are curious whether the questions we are asking can also be of use for the process of "transforming Long Kesh / Maze prion".

In this conference, it is probably not necessary to point out that heritage can be difficult, painful, awkward. Heritage can reflect a troubled past that reaches right into the present. It can be a legacy that is hard, or even impossible to deal with. Such "contentious heritages" are at the heart of the TRACES project. The term "contentious" directs attention to the *cultural politics* of heritages that sit awkwardly in the hegemonic discourse.

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Heritages that are silenced, traumatic, or seem to be framed in irresolvable conflicts, or *antagonisms*.

[SLIDE 3 – Content]

This is what we are going to do in this presentation:

1. On TRACES and our research in Klagenfurt

2. TRACES meets agonism: Three proposals

3. A crisis of representation in heritage institutions

4. The Carinthian dispositiv. An agonistic perspective on a minority conflict

5. UNIKUM and the role of art in the Carinthian dispositiv

6. Discussion: An agonistic perspective on Long Kesh / Maze Prison?

1. About TRACES

[SLIDE 4 - map of Europe]
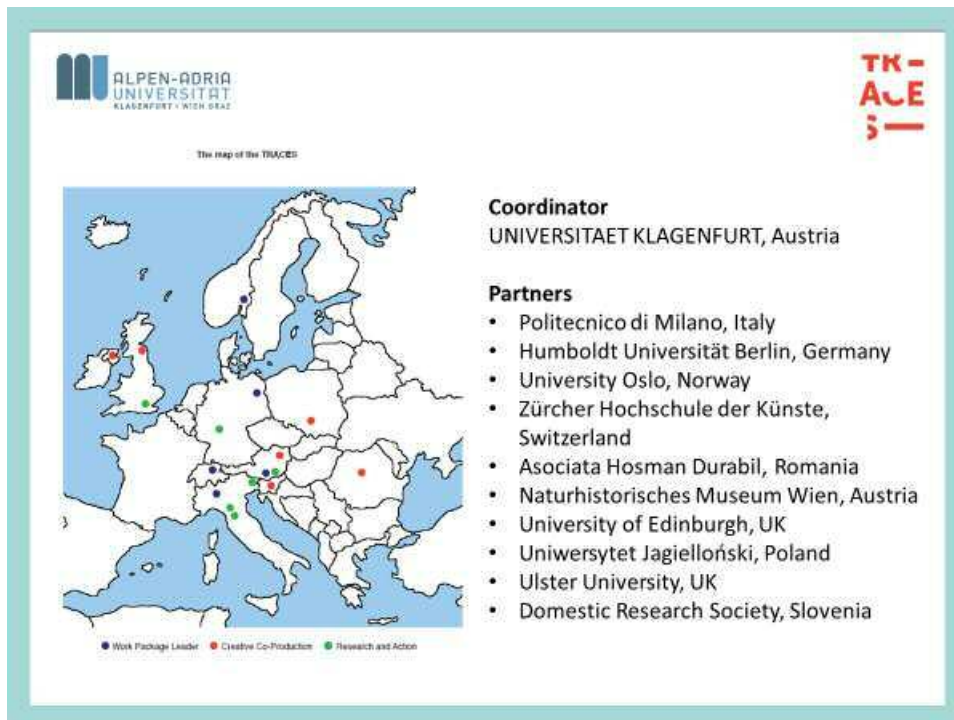
TRACES stands for "Transmitting Contentious Cultural Heritages with the Arts".

A transdisciplinary project, TRACES investigates forms of difficult or problematic cultural heritages, and the transmission of such contentious heritages with the Arts. Overall, we argue that actively dealing with contentious heritage may contribute to a European imagination from below. Is a Europeanisation of identities based on reflexivity and artistic practices feasible?

The slide shows a list of the eleven TRACES partners in nine countries. They are marked by blue dots on the map. Importantly, TRACES set up five experimental art-research projects, where artists, researchers and heritage institutions work together to produce public formats of creative heritage transmission. We call them "creative co-productions" or CCPs. The red dots indicate where the CCPs operate. "Transforming long Kesh / Maze Prison"

is in the North-West. The green dots mark research actions. Our research in Work package 4 is situated in Carinthia, the most Southern Austrian federal state, just above Slovenia and Northern Italy.

TRACES Questions and aims

[SLIDE 5 - TRACES Questions]
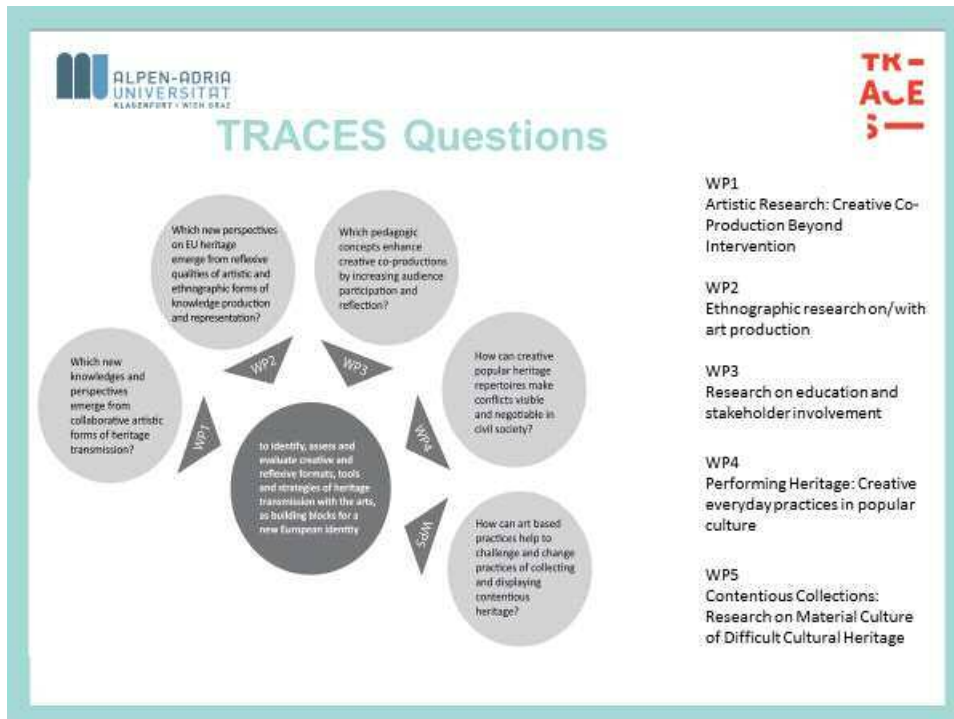
Here is a visualisation of the TRACES research questions and the Work-Packages which deal with them.

TRACES is interested in democratic, participatory ways of transmitting contentious heritages, and in the creation of pluralistic, democratic spaces where negotiation is possible. How do artistic practices contribute to open up entrenched positions in the contested field of cultural heritage? What is it that makes artistic approaches so attractive in the field of heritage production? Which benefits - and obstacles! – emerge from such trans-disciplinary collaboration?

The overall aim is to develop creative methodologies that allow negotiating antagonistic interests in the field of heritage. This includes acknowledging

conflicting narratives and experiences. In this presentation, we borrow from political philosopher Chantal Mouffe. In her *agonistic* approach, she proposes an interesting perspective on antagonism. She argues that in democratic societies, antagonism is unavoidable. Therefore, the aim cannot be to completely resolve any conflict. Rather, the task is to find compromises all side can live with, although no side will be completely satisfied. To do this, a democratic political space is necessary, where people holding opposing positions can relate to each other as *adversaries*, rather than *enemies*. Critical artistic practices play an important role in extending such pluralistic democratic spaces.

In this presentation, we will demonstrate how an agonistic approach could help to understand the role of art and artistic practices in the field of contentious heritage.

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Setting the scene – an example of contentious heritage

We start with an example, to outline how we intend to use an agonistic approach.

We are based at the University of Klagenfurt. This is the sign at the entrance of campus. The institution also represents itself in Slovenian: Univerza v Celovku. Many students and lecturers add the Slovenian name of the City of Klagenfurt to the name of their University: "Universtität Klagenfurt / Celovec. This is because the South of Carinthia is bilingual. The constitutional rights of the Slovenian-speaking minority have been hotly contested since the founding of the Austrian state after World War 2. This conflict over heritage was and is acted out in a politics of representation. Angry supporters of a monolingual German-speaking Carinthia have been in the habit of spraying over bilingual signage at the entrance of towns and villages for decades. At the bottom right you see that bilingualists also corrected the signage. In this context, using the semi-official bilingual name of the University of Klagenfurt-Celovec is a political statement.

[When we finalised the application for the TRACES project, we had to cut off the Slovenian extension, because it is not part of the official name – and anyway, space in these proposals is limited. In the context of the Horizon

2020 applications, administrative ease took precedence over a political statement which is predominantly regional in meaning]

The so-called "Ortstafelstreit" or "signage dispute" was highly charged with emotion. It deeply affected people's identities in both language groups, and also those who are somehow in-between. Carinthians carry he burden of a contentious heritage which has its roots in the homogenising national politics in the 19th century, the new borders drawn after World War 1, territorial claims and the mass deportation of Slovenian speakers under the Nazi-Regime. Collective memory holds bitter experiences involving loss of language and identity, displacement, pain and death.

In Carinthia, we see hegemony at work in the field of heritage: different forces are seeking to control the rules which organise the public discourse. The positions are entrenched. Complete reconciliation between the antagonists seems impossible. The conflict is brewing until today. Bilingualism in Carinthia is framed as an antagonistic matter of national belonging or exclusion. From this perspective, there is no way out of the entrenched situation. We are wondering: Will one side of the dispute eventually give in? At which price? Is it possible to see the Carinthian dispositive in a different light? Celebrating multi-lingualism, for instance?

[SLIDE 7 – Carinthian Heritage Dispositive]

Engaging with Chantal Mouffe's theory of <u>Agonism</u> opened a new perspective onto the complex Carinthian heritage dispositive, and the artistic practices we encountered in our research.

- Which are the *hegemonic procedures* that perpetuate non-reconcilable, antagonistic positions? And how can artistic practices displace them? Which preconditions are necessary to do this?
- Which artistic practices dis-articulate (or dis-connect) the bi-lingual heritage in Carinthia from the highly identitarian dispute over minority rights? How do they place it – re-articulate it - in the context of border-crossing multi-culturalism instead?
- How can artistic practices of representation displace the hegemonic carinthian dispositive?

Maybe similar questions could be productive in understanding other heritage settings.

We move on to part 2:

2. TRACES meets Agonism: Three proposals
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The concept of agonism proposes that antagonistic positions can be made negotiable in a pluralistic democratic space. What does this mean for the transmission of contentious heritage with the arts? How do creative, proactive heritage practices extend "the political space"? What does it mean to "re-politicise" entrenched positions?

In colloquial use, the word "politics" is often used in a derogative way. The urban dictionary, for instance, defines it as "the cage which houses monkeys and snakes". For many, "politics" is something to stay well away from.

[SLIDE 8 Mouffe]

In contrast, Mouffe acknowledges "the political" in its antagonistic dimension: The political is the "ever present possibility of antagonism", as different social forces struggle for hegemony. Heritage providers, such as museums, memorial sites and archives are actors in this struggle. According

to Mouffe, "critical artistic practices can contribute to the creation of a multiplicity of sites where the dominant hegemony can be questioned." Thus artistic practices can be act as counter-hegemonic interventions.

The agonistic approach to politics and pluralistic democracy holds three interesting proposals for ways of dealing with contentious cultural heritage.

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The first proposal is:

No conflict resolution through rational deliberation

When we think of resolving conflict, a widespread view is that rational deliberation in the Habermasian public sphere will eventually result in resolution. [see quote Habermas][1]

In contrast, Mouffe argues that in pluralistic democracies, there are "conflicts for which no rational solution could ever exist" (Mouffe 2007). This, indeed rings true in the field of contentious heritage, where traumatic experiences and strong emotions are involved. (Mouffe, steirischer Herbst) Where rational exchange of arguments is bound to fail, artistic practices can help to open up new perspectives. In its openness for multiple interpretations and alternative narrative, art addresses precisely that messy affective dimension which rational deliberation must ignore.

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The second proposal is:

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[1] "Such a conception is clearly very different from the one defended by Jürgen Habermas, who presents what he calls the 'public sphere' as the place where deliberation aiming at a rational consensus takes place." (Mouffe. „Agonistics.")

An agonistic approach does not aim for consensus.

If no solution is possible in the realm of rational deliberation, where can conflicts then be resolved? The agonistic approach completely rejects the idea that resolution is possible at all. To the contrary: Human societies are characterised by the dimension of *antagonism*. This is a grim view. On the bright side, Mouffe argues that antagonism is constituent for a pluralistic democratic society. Consequently, her agonistic democratic project is not about the production of complete consensus. Rather, the point of agonistic interaction is to enhance the democratic process. As anthropologist Marcel Mauss put it, democracy does not consist in reaching total consensus, but rather in *organising* dissent. In other words, an agonistic political space enables people to have different opinions "without slaughtering each other" and come to an acceptable compromise[2].

The democratic project unfolds in public space, according to Mouffe "the battleground where different hegemonic projects are confronted, without any possibility of final reconciliation" (Mouffe 2007). The arts can be players in this battleground.

If we drop the idea that complete consensus is possible, and aim for the extension of a pluralistic democratic space instead, we better understand the political dimension of proactive, creative forms of heritage transmission.

But then, how can we imagine productive democratic interaction between people who mutually despise each other on the grounds of pains caused by the respective other side? Proposal 3 is to reconfigure the way opposing parties relate to each other:

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[2] Mouffe, "s'emposer sans massacre"

Enemies become adversaries

The term agonism comes from the Greek word *agon*. It refers to an athletic contest oriented not merely toward victory or defeat, but emphasizing the importance of the struggle itself—a struggle that cannot exist without the opponent. While in conflict, adversaries acknowledge each other's legitimacy. They see themselves "as sharing a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes place." Making concessions to a respected adversary is bearable. It does not destroy our subjectivity, identity or honour. Re-Framing Carl Schmitt, Mouffe explains that enemies have an *antagonistic* we/they relation. The two sides do not share any common ground. There is only winning, loosing or, at worst, elimination. In contrast, the agonistic perspective transgresses the dichotomy of friend-enemy, us and them. The task is to encourage people to relate to each other as *adversaries* rather than *enemies*. The conflict remains, but there is no need to eliminate an adversary. [quote Schmitt[3]]

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We move to Part 3:

3. A crisis of Representation in heritage institutions

At the beginning of our investigations stood an empirical observation. We noticed that museums, memorial sites and other heritage institutions are increasingly calling upon artists to somehow deal with contentious heritages. Drawing on post-colonial critics and the 1980s Writing Culture debate in anthropology, we interpret this as a symptom of "the crisis of

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[3] Thinking "with Schmitt against Schmitt", Mouffe distinguishes his understanding of antagonism from her own agonistic perspective: "While [Schmitts] antagonism is a we/they relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground, agonism is a we/they relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. They are 'adversaries' not enemies. This means that, while in conflict, they see themselves as belonging to the same political association, as sharing a common symbolic space within which the conflict takes place. We could say that the task of democracy is to transform antagonism into agonism." (Über das Politische S. 20)."

representation". The hegemonic position of heritage institutions in defining what counts at heritage in a given society cannot not be taken for granted anymore. Therefore, institutions are looking for new ways of maintaining legitimacy. Evaluations of artistic interventions in the heritage field are controversial. Proponents of Institutional Critique argue that the attraction of art for hegemonic institutions is based on its ability to generate new and critical perspectives while leaving the respective exhibitions and institutions intact. Thus artistic interventions may well serve to obscure conflict by casting an aesthetic gloss over ugly and painful heritages.

In contrast, Mouffe sees a role for critical artistic practices "in the constitution and maintenance of a given symbolic order or in its challenging." They produce

> *"dissensus, that makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate. It is constituted by a manifold of artistic practices aiming at giving a voice to all those who are silenced within the framework of the existing hegemony (Mouffe 2007).*

Or, as Brian Holmes put it,

> *"Art can offer a chance for society to collectively reflect on the imaginary figures it depends upon for its very consistency, its self-understanding" (Mouffe 2007)*

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Hypothesis: TRACES poses that the crisis of representation in the heritage field can provide opportunities for change. The increase of artistic interventions does not necessarily lead to obfuscation of conflict and legitimisation of hegemonic positions. To the contrary: Artistic interpretations of contentious heritage may allow for an opening of entrenched positions and an extension of the narrative repertoire.

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This, however, can only be achieved if closure is avoided. Rather, conflicts of interest and conflicting narrations must be recognised as constituent for an agonistic form of transmission. Conflicts of interest and opposing positions are nothing „evil". To the contrary – they could be the precondition to establish shared grounds.

Critica heritage practices should not serve to promote a single, fixed cultural heritage that essentially defines the collective identity of a given social unit. Rather, they should be situated in the very process of constructing and defining said social unit. Such a productive, processual and plural understanding of identity could be described as a collective "imagination". Conflict and difference do not need to be silenced. To the contrary, they are constitutive. This also applies to the European dimension. Difference and conflicts of interest must be seen as a constituent part of the European project. A Europeanisation from below thus means crossing boundaries and borders, and to integrate what has been on the outside. Not only within and between the various member states, but also between centre and periphery.

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While Mouffe's theoretical elaborations are compelling. Put into practice, they could be productive in dealing with the challenges Europe is currently facing. To actually realise the agonistic proposal in the field of heritage, artistic expertise and everyday practice may be better equipped than political theory. We move on to part 4:

4. **The Carinthian dispositiv: An agonistic perspective on a minority conflict**

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[SLIDE 9 Map language]
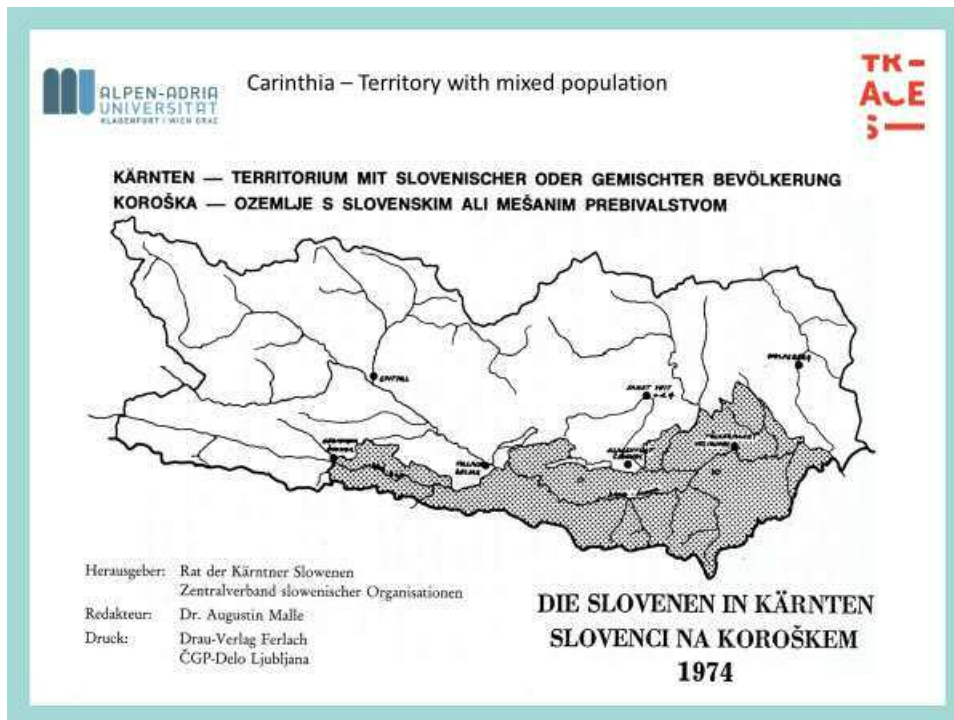
In the beginning, we mentioned the bilingual part of Carinthia. This map was provided by the Association of Carinthian Slovenians. The bilingual part of Carinthia is marked in grey. We will elaborate an agonistic approach to heritage based on the Carinthian heritage dispositiv. Although each heritage conflict has its own configuration of contentiousness, some of the characteristics of the Carinthian dispositiv may also relate to the contentious heritage configuration in which Long Kesh-Maze prison is situated.

No Deliberation – more Emotion

The Carinthian heritage dispositive emerged from a long-term conflict, which has at times been carried out with military means. Occupations, territorial claims, deportations and assaults by the state had been on the agenda for decades.

[SLIDE 10 – Drohung aus den Karawanken]

As you can guess from this caricature, the conflict has been marked throughout by irreconcilable positions and deeply felt emotions. [**ASK: Explanation needed?**] In consequence of this affective charge, the conflict could not be resolved through informed dialogue, participation and rational deliberation.

This is not surprising, as the deliberative model excludes passions, feelings and emotions are excluded from the public sphere. In contrast, the agonistic model provides space for antagonistic affects and emotions.

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[SLIDE 11 – Gravestone Abwehrkaempfer]
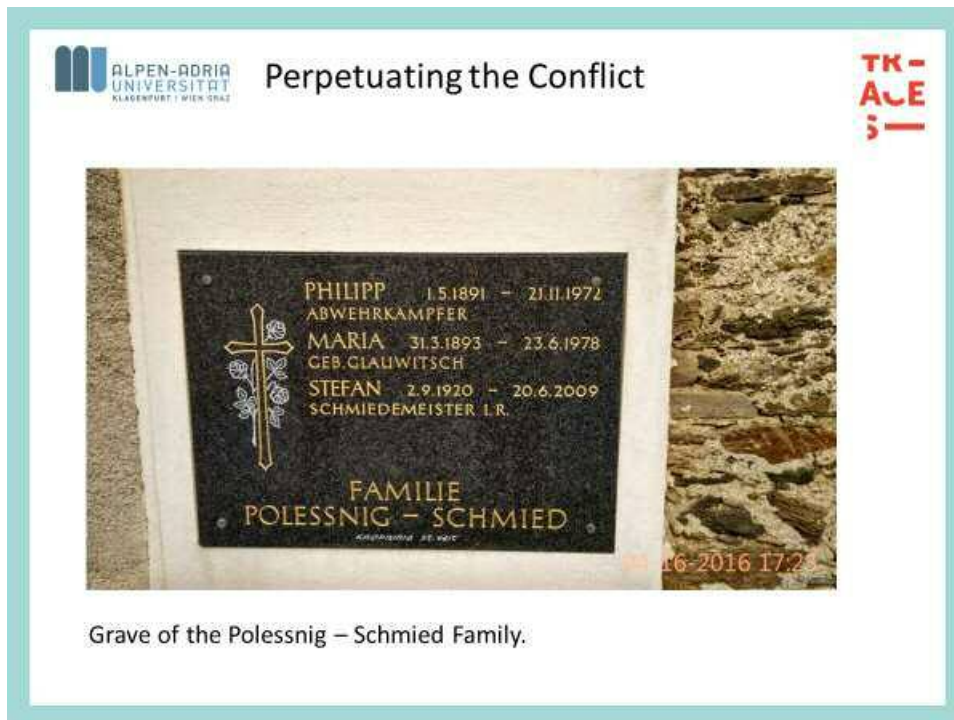
Grave of the Polessnig – Schmied Family.

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The Carinthian Dispositiv: Abwehrkämpfer Philip

We have given you a very brief historical background of the Carinthian dispositive. You remember? I would like to add to this by looking at the gravestone of the Polesnig-Schmied family. Polesnig is a germanised Slovenian name, as is Maria's maiden name Glaubitsch. Stephan, presumably her son, is remembered by profession as a master smith. Philip, presumably her husband, is commemorated as an "Abwehrkämpfer", or "defense fighter". This "war of defense" was fought after World War 1, when the Slovenian state made territorial claims to the bi-lingual part of Carinthia. Philip and his mostly German-speaking mates fought against a feared occupation by the Slavic neighbours. In the 1920 referendum, the majority of Carinthians, including many bilinguals and Slovenians, voted to remain with Austria. We don't know the mother-tongue of Philip and Maria, but we can be pretty sure that they voted "remain". However, fear, paranoia

and resentment did not go away. Philip died in 1972, when the "signage dispute" (you remember?) was in full swing. The inscription on his gravestone can be seen as a popular practice of representation which perpetuates the experience of the "war of defense", the imagined threat from south of the Karawanken mountain range and the fear vis a vis the Slovenian speaking minority into the present. This is supported by hegemonic heritage procedures, such as annual public commemorations of the referendum.

Under the Nazi-Fascist regime, Slovenian Carinthians were systematically deported to forced labour or even concentration camps. In the 1940s, many escaped "into the woods", where they joined Tito's partisan army.

The partisans are the symbolic counterparts of the "defence fighters" in the Carinthian dispositive.

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Partisans

[SLIDE 12 Partisanen Denkmal]

ALPEN-ADRIA
UNIVERSITÄT
KLAGENFURT · WIEN GRAZ

TK-
ACE
S—

Partisan Monument against Nazi and German National Violence

1947 Built for the graveyard of St. Ruprecht in Völkermarkt

1953 Blown up without any following criminal investigation

1982 Restoration and reconstruction at Partisan Museum Peršmanhof

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Collective remembering or silencing of the Slovenian-speaking partisans also shapes the heritage conflict in Carinthia. On the slide, you see the Partisan Museum Peršmanhof – a remote place in one of the Carinthian mountain valleys with its own complex and heavy history -, and a celebratory memorial for the partisans. Without their struggle, there would not be an Austrian state today. Because, in 1943, the Moskau Declaration issued by the Allies stated that to be accepted as a sovereign state after the War, Austria would have to make its own, military contribution against Nazism. The only armed resistance to be found in Austria were the Slovenian-Carinthian partisans. However, by joining Tito's partisan army, they had sided with German-Carinthia s longstanding southern "enemy", and thereby taken sides against the German-speaking majority which largely supported the Nazi-Rule in Austria. After the war, memory of this conflict was perpetuated. The current hegemonic discourse tends to construct the partisans as aggressors, rather than the precondition for the establishment of the Austrian state. In 2002, a memorial "against partisan violence" was erected at a central location in Klagenfurt, referring to revenge actions after the end of the war.

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[SLIDE 13 commemoration Peršmanhof]

Partisan Commemoration Peršmanhof, 26.6.2016

Meanwhile, the organised Slovenian-Carinthian minority celebrates the partisans as liberators from Fascism. These photos were taken at the annual commemorative event by organised Slovenian Carinthians at the Musem Peršmanhof. You can see the monument, and the old partisans in their Unifoms.   Practices of representation on this side as well.

The monument was built in 1947 and erected in the town of Völkermarkt (St. Ruprecht). It was vandalised in 1953. Someone picked up the broken pieces and stored them in a barn. In the 1983, the memorial was re-erected next to the newly established partisan museum.

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[SLIDE 14 art action partisan memorial]

Nicole Six & Paul Petrisch:
„Das Denkmal" („Monument").
Art Action and Exhibition.
Lakeside Klagenfurt 19.5.2015.

The monument was taken from Peršmanhof and temporarily returned to its original location.

2015, an art collective took the memorial on a tour of the country, and temporarily placed it in town.

[SLIDE 15 ortstafeln]

Bilingual signage dispute in Carinthia. 2016, 2005, 2011, and earlier

Language, signage dispute and consensus talks: Enemies are transformed into Adversaries

Within all these bitter experiences, the carinthian dispositive shows elements of an agonistic approach. The most prominent of those is connected to the "signage dispute".

Since the post-War period, the number of bilingual town signage in bilingual Carinthia had been controversial. In 1972, the conflict escalated. In organised assaults, members of the German-speaking majority vandalised the bilingual signs. A prominent explanation in the Carinthian dispositive is a "primal fear" of the southern neighbours in Slovenia.

A dynamic of dichotomic contraction can be observed: Every political debate around bilingualism or minority rights was articulated with an emotionally charged demand for national positioning: One had to either identify with the side of the "Slovenians", or of the "German Carinthians" (Deutschkärntner). Unambiguous identity was crucial. In-between positions that are so numerous in everyday life are silenced - but note defense-fighter Philip and his germanicised Slovenian surname. People whose parents or grandparents grew up speaking the Slovenian-Carinthian dialect, but who have never been taught it. People who bear Slovenian surnames but identify as German speakers.

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Konsensgespräche

In the 2000s, an arduous agonistic process dealing with the signage dispute unfolded. Representatives of both language groups met over a longer period for what they called consensus talks. These eventually resulted in a pacification of the conflict. An agreement was found over the number of places where bilingual place-signs would be tolerated. None of the

conflicting groups was entirely satisfied: For the Slovenian minority, there were not enough. For the organised German speakers, any bilingual sign would have been one too many. Antagonistic perspectives on the shared history remained intact.

Thus no consensus in the deliberative sense was achieved. The achievement laid in the construction of a pluralistic democratic space, where hard-liners amongst the organised German-Nationalists[4] and representatives of the organised Slovenian minority sought for a compromise.

Conclusion Kärtner Slowenen

The minutes of these "consensus talks" demonstrate that engaging with the respective opponent was a very painful process for both sides. But in this process of honest negotiation, enemies were transformed into adversaries. The signage dispute was dis-articulated from the dominant nationalising and exclusive Carinthian dispositive. Instead, it was re-artiulated with a democratic exchange between adversaries, including emotions and identities.

[Antagonistic conflicts are unlikely to emerge when legitimate agonistic modes of articulation are available for opposing positions. When they are not available, dissent can become violent.[5]]

The agonistic democratic space is not fixed and cannot be taken for granted. The conflict continues:

In 2015, 4 years after the agreement, a commemoration for the 1920 referendum took place in the Carinthian Parliament. The Carinthian chair of the right-wing populist "freedom party" (FPÖ) lamented that never had he heard so much Slovenian spoken at such a commemoration.

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[4] Kärnter Heimatdienst unter Vermittlung der SPÖ-dominierten Bundesregierung, rechtspopulistische Kärntner Landesregierung

[5] „Die Entstehung antagonistischer Konflikte ist so lange unwahrscheinlich, wie für widerstreitende Stimmen legitime agonistische Artikulationsmoglichkeiten existieren. Wenn sie nicht existieren, tendiert der Dissens zu gewaltsamen Formen – sowohl in der nationalen als auch in der internationalen Politik." Chantal Mouffe: Die Politik und das Politische, S. 30

[SLIDE 16 Demo in front of building of the regional government]

Demonstration in front of the regional government, Carinthia, February 2017.
Inclusion of Slovenian language in regional constitution (Carinthia) under threat.

Representatives of Slovenian minority insist that Carinthia is bilingual
Foto: KURIER/Daniel Raunig

In 2017, a reform of the Carinthian constitution was planned, where Slovenian was to be defined as an official language in Carinthia. This turned out to be inacceptable for the conservative party (ÖVP). In the final draft, the Slovenian language is not mentioned at all. Many in the Carinthian-Slovenian minority feel that this is a backlash – as this demonstration shows.

[SLIDE 17 UNIKUM website statement]

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Our TRACES artist colleagues from the University Cultural Hub UNIKUM commented on the issue through their website. The website is in German and Slovenian throughout, this is part of UNIKUM's practice of re-articulating bilingualism. If necessary, other languages (Italian, English, Friulian …) are added. On the occasion of the erasing of the Slovenian language and minority from the Carinthian constitutions, all non-German words were crossed out on the UNIKUM website.

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5. UNIKUM and the role of art in the Carinthian dispositive

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„The agonistic approach sees critical art as constituted by a manifold of artistic practices bringing to the fore the existence of alternatives to the current post-political order. Its critical dimension consists in making visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate, in giving a voice to all those who are silenced within the framework of the existing hegemony." (Mouffe)

We have some more slides on the role of art in the Carinthian dispositive. All examples are by UNIKUM, the University cultural centre at the University of Klagenfurt, which has been active since 1986. Their activities are located in the North of the Alps-Adriatic region.

Emil Kristof, Gerhard Pilgram and Niki Meixner of UNIKUM are masters in agonistic practices of disarticulation and re-articulation. They collect and bundle artistic and discoursive activities that transgress the Carinthian Dispositiv. They give voice to all those who challenge the entrenched Us-and-them Dichotomy. Central topics are the Emphasis on bilingualism in Carinthia, and memory of the Partisans. This has incurred explicit hostility on the part of German-national parties and associations in the region, resulting in considerable lack of funding from city council or regional council.

UNIKUM's TRACES activities aim at shifting the hegemonic discourse, in order to come from an entrenched situation to a situation of cohabitation.

> „*The way public spaces are envisaged has important consequences for artistic and cultural practices because those who foster the creation of agonistic public spaces will conceive critical art in a very different way than those whose aim is the creation of consensus.*" *(Mouffe, Agonistics)*

With its exhibitions, art-trails, performances and hikes, UNIKUM is a known actor in the regional independent art-world. At the same time, they are present wherever citizens challenge the Carinthian Dispositiv – through physical presence and protest media at demonstrations, through their website and other channels: Multimedial handeln, überall dabeisein: In MOuffe's language: a manifold of practices.

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It is always through insertion in a manifold of practices, discourses and language games that specific forms of individualities are constructed. This is why the transformation of political identities can never result from a rationalist appeal to the true interest of the subject, but rather from the inscription of the social agent in a set of practices that will mobilize its affects in a way that disarticulates the framework in which the dominant process of identification takes place. " (Mouffe, Agonistics)

[SLIDE 18 UNIKUM Ausverkauf – Practices of Representation]

Klagenfurt. UNIKUM Sales. University building or Bilingual Shopping Centre? 13.2.2016.

- Worked in the region as critical artists and curators for 30 years.
- Celebrated anniversary with "Ausverkauf"
- UNIKUM Shop als Praxis agonaler Represäntation.
- hegemonial ist: Universitäten und andere governementale Verwaltungsgebäude werden nicht als zweisprachig ausgewiesen – und wenn, dann ist es eine Provokation. Denn das steht nicht im Staatsvertrag.

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- Unikum asks: What if?

«Artistic practices play a role in the constitution and maintenance of a given symbol order or in its challenging" (Mouffe)

[SLIDE 19 Buchstabensuppe, letters to write German words in Slovenian scripture]

[SLIDE 20 In Schwebe, Rearticulating popular practice of „hiking"]

[SLIDE 21 Discussion]

6. Discussion

The Carinthian example shows that entrenched heritage positions can to an extent be opened up. We would like to invite you to consider if an agonistic process could be / or has already been set in motion at the Long Kesh/ Maze Prison.

7. References

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Online Urban Dictionary:

http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=politics&defid=109034