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Trans-Tactical Performance Actions as an Antagonistic Form in Dealing with the Hegemonic Forms of Neoliberal Policies of Power

Abstract: Public space is where the interests of the community and its individuals as entities are articulated. It is fundamental to democratic governments. And as such, there should be reconciliation between the interests and actions of governmental policies and those of the citizen's public interests as healthy democratic procedures. Unfortunately, this is not the case, since the neo-liberal and quasi-democratic societies still use hegemonic methodologies to implement their policies and ideologies, bypassing harsh criticism of public opinion and critical thought, even in the realm of public space. Such approaches are initiatives for actions in the field of cultural and artistic interventions performed in the spirit of trans-tactics (such as transmediality, transdisciplinarity, transhistoricism, transmemory, transnationalism), opposing the norms of social constraints and distorted values of the domination of capital, as opposed to history, collective memory, quality, and identity as paths to contemporaneity.

This paper deals with the artistic actions carried out by a young group of individuals – Filip Jovanovski (artist), Ivana Vaseva (curator) and Kristina Lelovac (actor). It's about a trilogy of performative actions: "If Buildings Would Talk"; "The Universal Hall in Flame" and "Dear Republic" which took place between 2015 and 2021. These are contemporary forms of cultural and artistic actions of an interactive character, which can be defined as trans-tactical performance essays. These participatory forms also point to the distorted boundaries of contemporary art in the public space of today where the loss of the boundaries of mediality, discipline, nationality, historicism become the main matrix for action against the policies of power.

Keywords: public space; trans-tactics; transdisciplinarity; transmediality; performance actions; political art.

Manuscript

Public space is where the interests of the community and its individuals as entities are articulated. As an arena for political debates and participation, the public space is fundamental to democratic governments. But are the developments in the

public space always consistent with Chantal Mouffe's theory of "agonistic pluralism"¹ which favors antagonisms between the policies of positions of power and the "radical democratic citizenship"; instead of a consensus? This is not always the case, as neo-liberal² quasi-democratic societies still use hegemonic³ methodologies to implement their policies and ideologies, bypassing harsh criticism of the public opinion and the critical thought, even in the realm of the public space. Mouffe uses the term "antagonistic public spaces" in which the conflicting points cannot bring final reconciliation. Such an agonistic perspective contradicts the common perception of public space as a place where consensus should be sought.⁴ Nonetheless, their projects, which are often connected to the absurd (the project Skopje 2014⁵ for instance), in the end become an initiative to take action in the field of cultural and artistic interventions, which are lately performed in the spirit of trans-tactics (such as transmediality, transdisciplinarity, transistoricism, transmemory, transnationalism), and thus challenging the norms of social constraints and distorted values associated with the domination of capital, as opposed to history, collective memory, quality, identity, as a path to contemporaneity.⁶ Hence, these actions too that are seen as a reaction to the policies of power, become a political act, both implicit and explicit.

Such critical actions are very much interfered with politics. In fact, political issues have an aesthetic component, while art has a political dimension. Indeed, according to hegemony theory, artistic practices have a role in both the formation and preservation of a given symbolic order, as well as its challenge, which is why such acts must have a political dimension. The political, on the other hand, is concerned with

¹ Chantal Mouffe, *Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 104.

² Neoliberalism is contemporarily used to refer to market-oriented reform policies such as "eliminating price controls, deregulating capital markets, lowering trade barriers" and reducing, especially through privatization and austerity, state influence in the economy. Neoliberalism is tidily related with globalism, in which emerged the appearance of the "precariat" – a new class facing acute socio-economic insecurity and alienation. See Taylor C. Boas and Jordan Gans-Morse, "Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44, 2 (June 2009): 137–61.

³ For Antonio Gramsci, one of the most important Italian political leaders and theoreticians related with the theory of hegemony, hegemony was a form of control exercised primarily through a society's *superstructure*, as opposed to its *base* or social relations of production of a predominately economic character. Under the term *superstructure* he understood two main levels: civil society – that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private,' and that of 'political society,' or 'the State.'

⁴ Chantal Mouffe, "Critical Artistic Practices: An Agonistic Approach," *The Large Glass: Journal of Contemporary Art, Culture and Theory* 27–28 (2019): 118.

⁵ "Skopje 2014" is a project that from 2010 to 2015 under the influence of the then authoritarian government, changed the appearance of the city's central public space core and resulted in the construction of monuments of historical figures made of marble and bronze, fountains, sculptures, new buildings, and institutions, and "changing" many façades of the existing modernist buildings into neoclassical and baroque style. It was the smokescreen behind which the idea to fully privatize the public space was materialized, obstructing every single attempt to organize the civil society or workers' organizations, and establishing a dominant nationalist narrative, which paralyzed the social and economic needs of impoverished Macedonians, Albanians, Roma, Turks, etc.

⁶ Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee, *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.

the symbolic ordering of social connections, and it is here that the aesthetic dimension of politics is found.⁷

By expanding the field and rejecting the self-isolation of elite space and conquering pop culture more courageously with the help of new technologies, art as a specific segment of visual culture has become a more efficient tool for manipulation and implementation of the emancipation project, through various forms of social struggle.

It is often discussed whether art could contribute to changes in social reality today, such as the decolonization of time and living space available to citizens, i.e., repoliticisation of public space and increased transparency in decision-making and implementation.⁸ As Mouffe points out “Critical artistic practices are those that contribute to a variety of ways to unsettling the dominant hegemony and which play a part in the process of disarticulation/re-articulation that characterizes counter-hegemonic politics.”⁹

Today, especially considering the rise of schizophrenic populist movements around the world with ultra-conservative agendas, as well as advancement of technology that increase the risk of destruction, the debate over the function of contemporary art comes down to key questions regarding its efficiency as a form of social engagement and action. The line of distinction is usually drawn according to how its *modus operandi*: as an ideology or technology, i.e., in the symbolic space as an image, or in the material world as a direct action, although there is so much more effort to achieve a subtler distinction.¹⁰

This study deals with the first group of actions namely, with recent actions by a group of young individuals: Filip Jovanovski (artist), Ivana Vaseva (curator) and Kristina Lelovac (actor), organized through a platform titled *Faculty of Things That Can't Be Learned*. This is in fact a trilogy (the first part of which has been developed in several forms) “If Buildings Could Talk”; “The Universal Hall in Flame” and “Dear Republic” that took place between 2015 and 2021 in different public object. It is about modern forms of cultural-artistic action of participatory character,¹¹ which can be defined as trans-tactical performance essays. The visitors themselves become the central media and material, much like theatre and performance. The authors of these actions bring back into focus the public spaces in the capital city of Skopje, the position of Skopje’s modernist past and brutalism, as well as the obliteration of collective memory caused by the hegemonic neo-liberal politics of power and their dealing with “public goods”. These participatory forms also point to the distorted boundaries of

⁷ Mouffe, “Critical Artistic Practices: An Agonistic Approach,” 118.

⁸ Јанчевски, Владимир. “Политички слики после смртта на уметноста: Фотомонтажните интервенции како релевантна политичка акција и нивната дисеминација во медиосферата,” *Окно*, November 11, 2020, <https://okno.mk/node/86965>, acc. on January 9, 2022.

⁹ Mouffe, “Critical Artistic Practices: An Agonistic Approach,” 117.

¹⁰ Miško Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika. Savremena estetika, filozofija, teorija i umetnost u vremenu globalne tranzicije* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 12–14.

¹¹ Claire Bishop, in “Artificial Hells,” identifies such projects as participatory art “because it means involving many people (as opposed to one-on-one interaction)” and avoids the ambiguities of “social engagement” in: Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London, New York: Verso, 2012), 1.

contemporary art in the public space as it is today, in which the loss of the boundaries of mediality, discipline, nationality, historicism, become the main matrix for action against the ‘catastrophe’ in favor of progress (Walter Benjamin¹²), delivering the key political line on every level of interpretation.

If Buildings Could Talk

The initiative “If Buildings Could Talk” is a performance experience. The design of the performance is not physically constructed scenery, and although it is presented as an architectural space – a cinema theatre, it is an experiential, forming, emotional and artistic process, formative and transformative, that wishes to become a sanctuary of sorts, a community that would be caring beyond artistic action or the threshold of its own home. It is composed of a contemporary transdisciplinary engaged approach that unites elements of the visual and performance arts, expanding their scope and framework and strives to preserve the meaning of all that is public and public space. This action goes up against the processes of erasing, concealing, or ignoring the traces of unity, solidarity, responsibility from the collective memory. The artists chose the building of the Railway Station as their location and fortress which they have used to lead the battle against negligence and to keep the memory alive. It is a fitting location since the building of the Railway Station chronologically coincides with the construction and development of modern Macedonia, from the post-war period to present day. It was built between 1934 and 1946, with a unique architectural design, in the spirit of early modernism in the country. In addition to its original appearance, the specific element of this railway workers’ building, was that it contained communal sections such as laundry, cinema, atrium etc. It is one of the few buildings in the central city area that did not collapse during the catastrophic earthquake of 1963; unfortunately, it wasn’t because of natural disasters, but rather because of privatization and capitalism that its purpose and intention of communal living in the true sense was destroyed. However, in addition to its physical endurance, the Railway building has also been inscribed in the collective memory of the city, and its story and that of its tenants reflect all the stages of development and transition of the state and the city, bounced between political systems and economic models. Consequently, the various disciplines ranging from sociology, to politics, culturology, anthropology, communicology, architecture, theatre, the visual arts have become a mixed polysemous conglomerate, nurturing the collective spirit and attempting to reconcile, to gently nudge the memory, restore true values, solidarity and the essence of things that are at the center of the complex transdisciplinary and transmedia project. The story unfolds across different media platforms,¹³ taking the viewer on a journey from one medium

¹² Elizabeth Stewart, *Catastrophe and Survival: Walter Benjamin and Psychoanalysis* (New York, London: Continuum, 2010), 4.

¹³ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 95–96.

to another, engaging various sensibilities to sense this experience, having in mind that the focus is not on the form (discussion, controversy, communication, participation, photography, narration, architectural construction, text, scene, film, installation), but it is rather on the essence and the work as a whole. Here we can point out the participatory dimension of this project, since it transforms the “audience” (which is not a regular audience) from spectator to spect-actor using Augusto Boal’s term, which is considered as practical training in social antagonism, or what Boal vividly describes as a ‘rehearsal of revolution.’¹⁴

“If Buildings Could Talk”, conceptualized as a form of “participatory art is often at pains to emphasize process over a definitive image, concept, or object. It tends to value what is invisible: a group dynamic, a social situation, a change of energy, a raised consciousness. As a result, it is an art dependent on firsthand experience, and preferably over a long duration (days, months or even years).”¹⁵ As a final form of presentation the initiative uses artistic performance experience that is contextual, context-responsive and context-creative. It is not a performance in its initial form, but it is rather a performing performance, re-performance and rethinking of the meaning of the public element in the modern world and capitalist whirlwind.¹⁶ The performance transforms the political and social categories into artistic spatial images and strives to preserve the importance of the public element and the public space, through a combination of different forms of scenography: space, stage, exhibition, memory, community and communication. “The performative should be understood in terms of the performative power of art or its ability to cause ‘movement’ in thought, word, or deed within the individual or social sensorium.”¹⁷

The artists create ‘relationships’ in their work that emphasize the importance of communication and negotiation, but they don’t include these relationships into the work’s substance. Because the work acknowledges the impossibility of a ‘microtopia’ and instead maintains a tension among viewers, participants, and context, the relationships established by their performances and installations are distinguished by feelings of unease and discomfort rather than feelings of belonging. The entrance of partners from other economic backgrounds is an important aspect of this dynamic since it challenges contemporary art’s self-perception as a sphere that encompasses other social and political institutions.¹⁸

The project transports us trans-historically through the various chronological periods of the building’s existence, incorporating in this journey all the changes, digressions, leaps, and regressions, but the essence is in overcoming historicism and in giving salience to the timeless qualities of collective nature. With such an approach

¹⁴ Augusto Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 141.

¹⁵ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, 6.

¹⁶ Ивана Васева, *Оваа зграда зборува (на)вистина*, Pavilion of the Republic of Macedonia at the Prague Quadrennial on Performance Design and Space, Museum of the City of Skopje, Skopje, 2019.

¹⁷ Barbara Bolt, “Artistic Research: A Performative Paradigm?” *Issue 3: Repetitions and Reneges Summer*, 2016, <https://parsejournal.com/article/artistic-research-a-performative-paradigm/>, acc. on January 13, 2022.

¹⁸ Claire Bishop, “Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics,” *October* 110 (Autumn 2004): 70.

the ‘causal’ historicism has been replaced by a materialist cultural theory that presents the ‘historical event’ as a cultural narrative that is subjected to cultural and materialist public analysis¹⁹ in which the participant has equal share in the dissemination of the problem.

With this project the authors offer a very effective and productive model and a recipe on how to bring back to life all the forgotten stories, and by creating timeless narratives, how to preserve the local narrative and history from the clutches of politics.

The Universal Hall in Flame

“The Universal Hall in Flame” is the second participatory-performative intervention of the same curatorial-artistic team that is taking place at the Universal Hall, which is a building that was constructed in Skopje after the earthquake, when the city became known as the city of solidarity.²⁰ This building has been closed for some time now, and for many years before it was totally padlocked, there were numerous discussions (behind closed doors) whether to renovate the building, redesign it, demolish it or transform it into a park. It’s as if the symbol of solidarity is no longer worth the trouble and thus the building could be erased not only from the city and the ‘antagonistic’ public space (without the opportunity to hear the voice of the people) but also from the collective memory. That is why the authors have re-created a participatory-performative action with an artistic research process, which has seen several additional performances aimed to reach a slightly larger but still intimate audience, because the audience is a direct participant in the action, a recipient, witness, reviewer, and a puppet. It goes through various roles and manages to reach the undiscovered parts of the building, thus experiencing the essence and the enigmatic foundation of the collective good. This desire to activate the audience is at the same time “a drive to emancipate it from a state of alienation induced by the dominant ideological order – be this consumer capitalism, totalitarian socialism, or military dictatorship. Beginning from this premise, participatory art aims to restore and realize a communal, collective space of shared social engagement”²¹. Every person wears a protective helmet, with lights that are an integral part of the authors’ visual-auditory narrative style.

Through this trans-tactical artistic form, the team focuses on the public space in the city, how it ‘breathes’, how it coexists with the community, with the social and cultural currents, but also with the instability and fragility of the material world around us and serves as a memento of historical waves. The specifics of these interventions are trans-historical: it uses history as a form to indicate to the timelessness and the quality of solidarity and collectivity, skillfully transcending from one historical period to another, ‘inundating’ the participant with information, archived data, knowledge,

¹⁹ Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika*, 29.

²⁰ Skopje received the primacy of the “City of Solidarity” just 24 hours after the catastrophic earthquake in 1963 when 77 countries helped raise the bent city and thus put it at the top of the map of world solidarity.

²¹ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, 275.

facts, criticism, views. Transmediality, on the other hand, is reflected in the fact that each applied medium retains its manifesting nature, but the fusion takes place on an abstract level, where the manifestations are conceptually redefined.²² Transdisciplinarity is more than evident, as interventions go beyond the dimensions of all the disciplines involved in the interest of contextualism in focus. They speak of solidarity, and what is solidarity, precisely the solidarity they speak of, if not the effort to rise above nationality – transnationality.

These actions are a clear critique of the policies in power. Through the various platforms and referring to the period of post-war Skopje and its re-performance, the authors wisely touch upon key aspects of the metastatic disfiguration of the city – such as the Skopje 2014 project or the current impotence in undertaking strategic and important conservation efforts, rather than erasing the city’s memory. Even though their participatory art invariably opposes neoliberal capitalism, the values they ascribe to it are understood formally (in terms of opposing individualism and the commodity object), without acknowledging that so many other aspects of this art practice fit even better with neoliberalism’s recent forms (networks, mobility, project work, affective labour).²³

Dear Republic

The performance “*Dear Republic*” is a participatory-performance essay on the building that is home to the Telecommunications Centre in Skopje, which is one of the most representative modernist buildings in the country, constructed in a brutalist style. The world (with the exhibition at MOMA) attests to and values this period of Balkan modernism in the architecture as a relevant and important period in the history of world architecture, and our behaviour is nothing short of negligent, disinterested and irresponsible. This performative act was conceived with the idea to act as a warning of the eternal spirit of totalitarianism or hegemony, which only changes its form and adapts to the appropriate conditions.

Here it is very relevant to address to Mouffe’s idea about the affective dimension of the art practices in order to subversively fight against the dominant hegemony, as approach used by those artists too, noting: “The object of artistic practices is not the production of concepts but the production of sensations, and thus the cognitive/conceptual dimension should not be privileged. This does not mean that there is no cognitive dimension in artistic practices, but that it is via the affective dimension that the cognitive level should be reached. If we want to visualize how artistic practices can contribute to the subversion of the dominant hegemony, it is necessary to acknowledge their discursive/affective character, conceiving them as providing affections able to modify subjective structures.”²⁴

²² Christy Dena, *Transmedia Practice: Theorizing the Practice of Expressing a Fictional World across Distinct Media and Environments* (PhD diss., University of Sydney Australia, 2009).

²³ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, 277.

²⁴ Mouffe, “Critical Artistic Practices: An Agonistic Approach,” 118.

The participatory approach and the active role of the visitors is again a key aspect with which the viewer becomes an active participant, who is guided through the contextual narration. Although participatory art's logical conclusion is to exclude a secondary audience (everyone is a producer; the audience no longer exists), for these actions to be important, for the stakes to be high, there must be ways of transmitting these activities to those who replace the participant.²⁵ Following this track, the audience is led from the parking lot of the building, by several powerfully symbolic tools: the black clothes of the performers, the red cloth that all the participants have to carry together around the building, thus leading them to the main counter of the Post Office, to take part in cutting and dressing the steps with the material, and finally to walk over the steps covered in the material. Texts and videos are projected on the walls of the building, loudly illustrating the emotions that need to be evoked. The performers are silent for almost the entire duration of the performance. They do not have a dramaturgical approach, but rather they are kind of providers of facts, documents, photographs, forgotten archives related to the building and its history, political circumstances in different chronological periods, solidarity, interculturalism, transnational approach to constructing the building and post-earthquake Skopje, to modernism, to the artists and architects involved in designing this unique object by the brutalism. Trans-tactics and transdisciplinarity are seen in each part of the participatory-performative act, using the means and methodologies of the social sciences, economics, political theory, historical studies etc. as well as their terminology.²⁶ They do this with the help of modern technological tools, with tablets, to browse images, videos, texts, graffiti, and inscriptions, using them in transmedial manners. Around the visitor, from all sides, there is a powerful choral intervention of several compositions, in different locations, which create nostalgic, but also shocking experiences, by changing roles and situations. The authors and performers immediately and completely engage the audience in the action, in order to further strengthen the emotional complex inside the building with the effect of smoke, dogs walking among the spectators and finally, the placing men and women in different rooms. An additional effect of participation is applied by photographing each visitor at the very entrance to the performance, without the visitor being aware of what the photograph will be used for. After the separation of men and women, as if in a camp, a new 'act' begins, in which visitors are divided into victims and executors of the past and the building and their portraits, along with many real figures from history, are projected on the walls of the Counter Hall, as if they were part of the 'museum' settings of the camps from a not-so-distant past. In this way, the visitor directly witnesses the defeat of the people by their Republic, of the people by the inhuman world around them, of the individual by the selfish cohabitants next to him/her. Finally, the visitor is placed in a "courtroom" as a witness or jury, to deal with the facts on the fire and the destruction of this building. To reconsider the responsibility for this contemporary state in which we live, over

²⁵ Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, 217.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

the metastases of political corruption and irresponsibility, and at the same time to reconsider oneself, over one's disinterest in the public element, in the collective, in the values of the past that should be a sound basis for building a future. "In our contemporary world, only art indicates the possibility of revolution as a radical change beyond the horizon of our present desires and expectations."²⁷

Conclusion

The performative artistic paradigms that permeate these three trans-tactical projects of Jovanovski, Vaseva and Lelovac indicate an approach that establishes, is reminiscent of, criticizes, and initiates reflection on the socio-political situation and the modernity in which we live, and which should create fruitful conditions to create new values. The research and performance methodologies of the authors enable the application of sociological and cultural approaches, application of archiving and documentation in the work, as well as historical facts and evidence that add to the real basis of the interpretive act. The use of trans-methodological platforms, on the other hand, allows them a wide unlimited and free access to knowledge and their application in the performative action as sensory factors in capturing the contextualism and multiplicity of the narrative paradigm.

The effects of performativeness are multidimensional – they can be discursive, tangible and/or affective. Our task is to find ways to map the movement in the concepts, perceptions, methodologies, material practice, affect and the sensory experience that occurs in and through the experience of research in the performance act. Of course, the determination of the tactics and the ways in which this action is carried out and the mechanisms used by the authors in order to achieve the contextualism, are those actions that did lead to the selection of these three performative actions as artistic events in public space, which directly criticize the policies of power and the managing social systems in which we exist. The experimentalism and experiential turn in the performance actions of Jovanovski, Vaseva and Lelovac must not be ruled out, because the performances and re-performances of the interventions certainly were an uncertain act, first of all because they were performed in experimental spaces and abandoned public places, of exceptional importance for the community in wider and historical context. And "the experiential turn" is a term introduced by Dorothea Von Hantelman who says "I want to suggest the experiential turn as a term that might be more appropriate and useful to describe these ongoing tendencies in contemporary art [...] Referencing Sociological theories such as those put forth by Gerhard Schulze in *The Experience Society*, I propose that the artistic shift toward the creation of experiences should be seen in the context of a general revaluation of experiences as a central focus of cultural, social, and economic activity."²⁸ Particularly important

²⁷ Boris Groys, "On Art Activism," *e-flux Journal* 56 (June 2014), <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/56/60343/on-art-activism/>, acc. on January 5, 2022.

²⁸ Dorothea Von Hantelmann, "The Experiential Turn," *Living Collections Catalogue*, Walker Art Centre, 2014, <http://walkerart.org/collections/publications/performativity/experiential-turn/>, acc. on January 10, 2022.

is the effect that this type of artistic intervention has on the material, emotional and discursive domains and how much they are able to displace the real socio-political situations from a standstill. Austin and Butler²⁹ provide some concepts that help us focus our interpretive efforts. By following the complex and multidimensional narrative presented in transtactical ways in a performative act, we can begin to map the forces and effects of specific 'events and phenomena' in relation to the events and phenomena themselves. Through this, one can gain some understanding of the effects produced by the performative productions.

This study may be concluded with a statement taken by Miško Šuvaković, which determines the role of the analyzed interventions on the platform *Faculty of Things That Are Not Taught*: "Activist activities are characterized by the intention to network and create mobile critical and often reforming interrelationships globally and locally, between the situations of the manifestation of life itself (bio) and the determinants of non-transparent economic and political power. Activist practices seek, as always, the creation of a community, propose and extract opportunities for a new community in the fragmented, i.e. atomized neoliberal global society."³⁰ By using transtactical methodologies, they try to offer a system of free form of expression, life and action, which critically responds to the phenomena in the neo-conservative society, further complicated by local and global crises in both, health and ecology and in the economy, at a time when there seems to be an attempt to descend into one's own meta-narratives. Applying the fusion of disciplines to the media, rising above the individual bubbles of established theoretical and practical tactics, they create works of humanistic, sociological, and cultural significance, as a practice for reaching more universal knowledge. And finally, with this research we gave a local glance to Mouffe's question: can "the artistic practices still play a critical role in societies in which every critical gesture is quickly recuperated and neutralized by the dominant powers."³¹

²⁹ John Langshaw Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. By J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) and Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York, NY, and London: Routledge, 1993).

³⁰ Šuvaković, *Umetnost i politika*, 294.

³¹ Mouffe, "Critical Artistic Practices: An Agonistic Approach," 117.



If Buildings Could Talk, Public performance, Skopje, 2015, photo credits: Zoran Shekerov



This Buildings talk truly, Quadriennale, PRAGUE QUADRENNIAL OF PERFORMANCE DESIGN AND SPACE. Pavilion of Republic of North Macedonia, Public performance, 2019, photo credits: Nemanja Knezevic



This Buildings talk truly, Quadriennale, PRAGUE QUADRENNIAL OF PERFORMANCE DESIGN AND SPACE. Pavilion of Republic of North Macedonia, Public performance, 2019, photo credits: Nemanja Knezevic



Universal Hall in Flame, Public Performance, Skopje, 2020, photo credits: DragicaNikolovska



Universal Hall in Flame, Public Performance, Skopje, 2020, photo credits: DragicaNikolovska



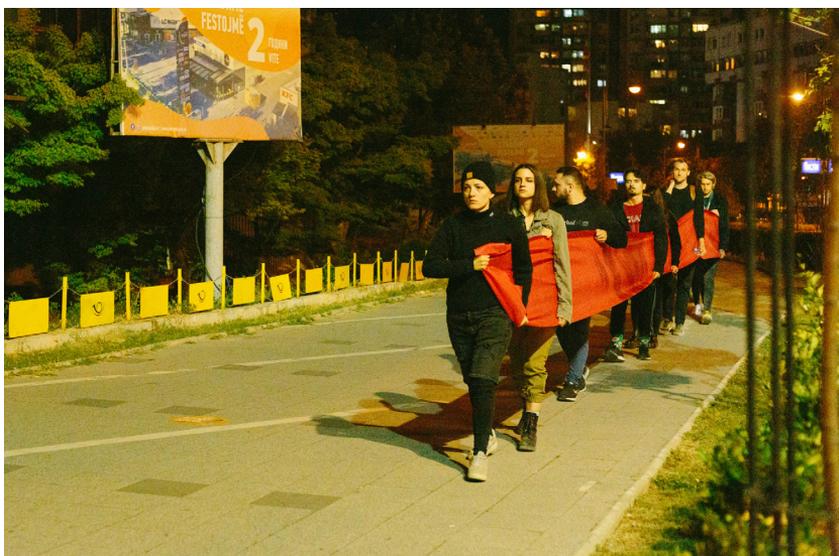
Universal Hall in Flame, Public Performance, Skopje, 2020, photo credits: DragicaNikolovska



Dear Republic, Public Performance, Skopje, 2021, photo credits: MarjonkaVeljanovska



Dear Republic, Public Performance, Skopje, 2021, photo credits: LjubicaAngelkova



Dear Republic, Public Performance, Skopje, 2021, photo credits: DragicaNikolovska



Dear Republic, Public Performance, Skopje, 2021, photo credits: DragicaNikolovska

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